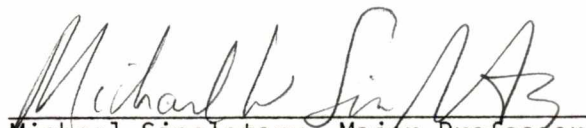
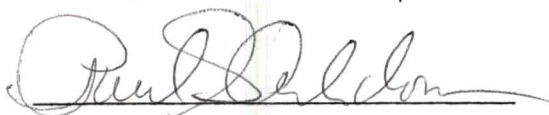


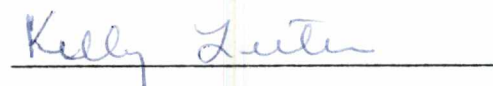
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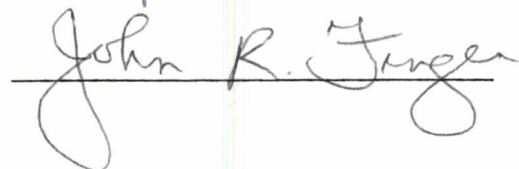
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Michael Singletary, Major Professor

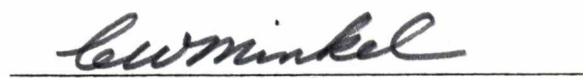
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and recommend its acceptance:







Accepted for the Council:


The Graduate School

THE EDITORIAL CARTOONIST IN THE UNITED STATES:
AN ANALYSIS OF MIKE PETERS
OF THE DAYTON DAILY NEWS

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Christopher Jon Lamb

June 1984

DEDICATED
TO MY PARENTS,
WITH LOVE

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to study the history of editorial cartooning; to present a brief biography of Mike Peters, cartoonist of the Dayton Daily News; and to conduct a content analysis of Peters' cartoons across a 14-year period.

This thesis emphasized that editorial cartoonists have played a special role in American journalism. They are at their best when they are in disharmony with the establishment, and they are regularly allowed to go beyond the accepted borders of their profession with little concern for legal reaction. This might seem ideal: freedom with minimal risk--but the cartoonist is often misunderstood by editors and readers. His intended message is often confused. A study of Mike Peters reflected the persona and the working habits of a cartoonist, and an analysis of his drawings reflected his tastes. This thesis contributed to a greater understanding of how the cartoonist functioned in society and what themes he was most likely to address. There has been a shortage of research on editorial cartooning; this thesis represented one step in giving the profession the attention it deserves.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION.	1
Literary Review	12
II. A HISTORY OF EDITORIAL CARTOONING	23
III. METHODOLOGY	89
A Biography of Mike Peters.	90
A Content Analysis of Mike Peters' Cartoons	118
Results	129
IV. CONCLUSION.	135
Discussion.	141
REFERENCES.	142
VITA.	147

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
3.1. Themes Portrayed in Editorial Cartoons.	120
3.2. Subject Matter Portrayed in Editorial Cartoons.	122
3.3. Number of Subjects Portrayed in Editorial Cartoons.	124
3.4. Occupations and Subjects Portrayed in Editorial Cartoons. .	125
3.5. Proximity Used in Editorial Cartoons.	126
3.6. Technique of Verbalization Used in Editorial Cartoons . . .	127
3.7. Number of Panels Used in Editorial Cartoons	128
3.8. Identification Labels Used in Editorial Cartoons.	128
3.9. Symbols Used in Editorial Cartoons.	129

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. "The King Is Naked! The King Is Naked!".	6
2. The Brains.	21
3. Join Or Die	25
4. Writing The Emancipation Proclamation	28
5. How The Copperheads Obtain Their Votes.	29
6. Compromise With The South	30
7. Patience On A Monument.	32
8. Who Stole The People's Money?	34
9. Under The Thumb	35
10. The Picture That Got Tweed.	37
11. "What Are You Going To Do About It?".	38
12. Columbia Honoring Grant	40
13. The Royal Feast of Belshazzar Blaine And The Money Kings. . .	43
14. Mr. Hanna's Stand On The Labor Question	45
15. Murphy Says, "Last Year's Stripes Will No Longer Be Worn" . .	47
16. Progress.	51
17. The Mirage Of Victory	52
18. At Last A Perfect Soldier	54
19. One Person Out Of Every Ten	56
20. "Now Then, All Together, 'My Country Tis Of Thee.'"	59
21. The Outstretched Hand	62
22. "Come On In, I'll Treat You Right, I Used To Know Your Daddy".	64

FIGURE	PAGE
23. The Evolution Of The Swastika	65
24. "Take Me To Czechoslovakia, Driver."	66
25. Those On The Home Front Are Not So Casual	68
26. Fresh, Spirited American Troops.	69
27. Mr. Atom.	73
28. "I Have Here In My Hand."	74
29. "Here He Comes Now."	76
30. Lincoln Mourns The Death Of President Kennedy	78
31. King Richard.	79
32. "Are They Still There?"	82
33. "Never Having To Say You're Sorry."	84
34. All The President's Men	85
35. Will The Last One Indicted Please Turn The Lights Out	86
36. "The Floors."	96
37. "Frankly, My Dear . . . I Don't Give A Damn."	97
38. Women Priests?.	98
39. No Priests Allowed.	99
40. "This Land Is Your Land."	102
41. A Remedy For The Poor	104
42. The Carter White House.	105
43. "You Won't Have Jerry Ford To Kick Himself Around Anymore."	106
44. LBJ Showing Off His Scar.	108
45. Unacceptable To The Moral Majority.	110
46. "I've Still Got You."	112

FIGURE	PAGE
47. "Pardon Me."	114
48. Ronnie Dearest.	115
49. Carter's Campaign Promises.	117

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Political cartoonists have made an impression on American society over the last 125 years. As artist, humorist, and iconoclast, they deal with pictures in what is primarily a print medium; they function essentially as a separate entity and do so with the most effectiveness when they are in disharmony with the establishment. The extent of their influence has been debated; however, there is sufficient evidence to support the contention that the political cartoonist has made a significant impact on society. The best example of this involves Thomas Nast, whose inexorable attacks on New York's Tammany Hall in the 1870s led to the arrest of Boss Bill Tweed. Tweed's famous words, "I don't care what they print about me, most of my constituents can't read. But them damn pictures!" (Paine, 1904, p. 179) reflect the simple potency the political cartoonist has. Pulitzer Prize-winning cartoonist Bill Mauldin has said, "Editorial cartooning is a good way to communicate . . . people don't even have to read to understand what you're saying" (Bender, 1963, p. 175).

Nast and Mauldin are two of the more prominent names in what has always been a select field. Newsweek magazine reported in 1980 that there were just 170 political cartoonists in the United States, an increase by half over the previous decade (p. 74). To become a cartoonist on a magazine or newspaper often requires that another quit or die first; placement opportunities have always been severely limited. Then,

once a cartoonist, the job leads nowhere else. Dayton Daily News cartoonist Mike Peters--called one of the influential cartoonists who came of age in the wake of Vietnam and Watergate (Newsweek, 1980, p. 74)--remembered the day before he left the art staff of the Chicago Daily News to work in Dayton in 1968. He had lunch with cartoonists Mauldin and John Fischetti.

Suddenly I was one of them. And y'know, editorial cartoonists don't grow up to be editors. I mean, no matter how good you get, you're not gonna be an editor. You don't want to be an editor. You just want to be an old editorial cartoonist. So they were like initiating me, and this was the only promotion I was ever gonna get. (Peters, 1982, p. 3-4)

This can cause a misunderstanding of functions between the cartoonist and the powers that be in the newsroom, as voiced by John Somerville, who left the profession in the 1960s over a conflict with his editor:

Sometimes columnists are given more freedom and scope than the editorial cartoonist, which indicates editorial policy is not so much the limiting factor in many cases but rather the absence of understanding on the part of the editor as to the role the editorial cartoonist should play. . . . Many of the editorial cartoonists I personally know are capable of much more dynamic and meaningful work but are held down by the editor. (Bender, 1963, p. 178)

The political cartoonists' mode of operation is exclusive; unlike other newsroom personnel, the cartoonist often goes to the drawing board disengaged from the rest of the newsroom. His ideas are, ideally, his own. He can demand--and get--total autonomy. Harper's Weekly publishers gave Nast that, as other editors and publishers have done since. Harper's publisher J. Henry Harper said:

He (Nast's) work was entirely his own, and done in his way. He could never bear interference or even suggestions. Sometimes a good idea came in that we thought he might use, but he never did so. (Paine, 1904, p. 578).

It was this loss of freedom that precipitated his resignation from the magazine. When Hugh Haynie interviewed for his first job in 1953, the editor told him if he were hired he would be told what to draw. Haynie then turned around and walked out (Friedman, June 29, 1963, p. 38).

Press (1981) wrote that the cartoonist begins at a disadvantage. Freedom to comment at all and special artistic privileges are not thrust upon artists. Rightly or wrongly, these are treated as privileges they must earn (p. 185). Ranan Lurie, an Israeli immigrant who has drawn cartoons in many languages, said (1973) that artistic license should come with the territory and not be a privilege of an editor or publisher.

I was amazed to find out when I came to this country that, historically political cartooning is not independent here. Somehow, many American political cartoonists tend to be more editorial illustrators than political analysts. Every contract with a syndicate I have had includes a clear-cut definition of the absolute independence I should have from every point of view--analytically, graphically, and humorously--and I can't tell you how much havoc that created with every syndicate. My opinion was that this kind of professional freedom does not at all assure good political cartoons, but I can vouch for poor results from even an excellent cartoonist if he is not given this kind of independence. The fact is that all the very best cartoonists in this country are politically independent, and get staunch support from newspapers who gave them that carte blanche. Cartoonists like Herblock, Mauldin, and Oliphant are excellent because of their independence, among other reasons. (p. 14)

Even if he is given free reign by his supervisor, there is another demand the cartoonists face: the deadlines; they must do work

that is artistically acceptable to themselves while meeting deadlines and conditions set by others (Press, 1981, p. 179). There is an intimacy within the professional; they all realize what the other is against--even if their editors do not--therefore, a cartoonist's best friend is likely to be another cartoonist (Peters, 1983). Former Chicago Tribune cartoonist John Fischetti (1973) said at times he couldn't get an idea and his colleague in the same building on the (Chicago) Sun-Times, Bill Mauldin, would wander in, dying to tell him his idea but would not until Fischetti got one of his own. Fischetti described the scene: Mauldin will just walk off smugly saying, "I've got a lulu!" Then of course all I can think is, "He's got a lulu. . . he's got a lulu" (p. 100).

The cartoonist is in another unique position because he is not restricted by normal journalistic canons; he doesn't have to tell the truth, nor is he obliged to be fair. Jeff MacNelly, creator of the comic strip "Shoe" and most recently the cartoonist of the Chicago Tribune, described his profession the following way:

Political cartoonists violate every rule of ethical journalism. They misquote, trifle with the truth, make science fiction out of politics and sometimes should be held for personal libel. But when the smoke clears, the political cartoonist has been getting closer to the truth than the guys who write political opinion. (Newsweek, 1980, p. 74).

Many political cartoonists, it seems, would rather be right than nice: They like to dig out old cartoons to show that events evolved just as they had them pegged, that Hitler was a menace all along, that the Coolidge prosperity was a fake, that you can't trust the Communists or Nixon either. Then they are truly fulfilling their

function as critics and shapers of public opinion (Press, 1981, p. 178). Lurie (1973) called the editorial cartoon the most extreme expression of criticism that society will accept and tolerate (p. 15). Though some cartoonists through the centuries have been jailed, never in American history has a political cartoonist been successfully sued for his professional interpretations, whereas many writers have been (Lurie, 1973, p. 15).

The thing that gives the cartoonist the freedom to get to the truth without fear of libel or losing his job is the finesse with which he uses satire. Peters said that satire is the cartoonists' greatest gift; in fact, the cartoonist is like the little boy looking at the naked emperor: "A journalist reporting (a story) cannot say, 'Hey, that guy's a liar.' But the cartoonist can say, 'Wait a minute. That guy's not wearing a stitch on his body'" (Newsweek, 1980, p. 85). This analogy was captured in a cartoon by Lurie (Fig. 1).

Satire--by definition--is a destructive art, according to Columbia University professor Gilbert Highet in 1968: The satirist "is able to distinguish right from wrong in society and willing to attack the wrong without reservation" (Vinson, 1967, p. 11). Cartoonists feel that positive cartoons are impossible because there is no such thing; positiveness and political cartoons are, in practice, a contradiction in terms. "Cartoons are ridicule and satire by definition. A negative attitude is the nature of the art," said cartoonist Paul Conrad. Most cartoonists are--to a greater or lesser degree--cynics (Geipel, 1972, p. 19), and liberal ones at that. Charlotte Observer cartoonist Doug Marlette said there is such a scarcity of conservatives among editorial



4-12-73

"THE KING IS NAKED! THE KING IS NAKED!"

Figure 1. "The King Is Naked! The King Is Naked!" Ranan Lurie's cartoon demonstrates the use of satire by using the story of the little boy and the naked king.

Source: Ranan Lurie, Nixon Rated Cartoons (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State Press, 1973), p. 34.

page cartoonists because they are--by their nature rabble rousers.

"Our drawings are at their very best when we are attacking the status quo," he said (Hoff, 1976, p. 280); therefore, the cartoonist is most natural when he is on the offensive. Press (1981) wrote:

The cartoonist must inspire hate and envy by showing that leaders are moral degenerates who are undeserving of what they receive from the system; that they, too, recognize that they have gotten their benefits by unjust and corrupt means. To do this effectively, the system leaders must be portrayed as monsters. They must be shown as planning persecution or hurts out of cold-hearted indifference or sheer sadism, not out of absent-minded incompetence. (p. 113)

Syd Hoff (1976), a comic strip cartoonist, said, "Everybody can love a comic artist. Not everybody can love a political cartoonist. If you want to be loved by everybody, don't become a political cartoonist" (p. 13). Similarly, President Lyndon Johnson found some consolation in the artistic limitations of one critic of his policies, saying, "I'm glad Walter Lippmann can't draw" (Hoff, 1976, p. 15). Because of his penchant for criticism, a cartoonist, Mauldin for instance, said he "can't be for somebody" (Vinson, 1967, p. 12). If a cartoonist endorses something or somebody, it narrows his possibilities for attack; so--as they are alone in the professional workings of a newsroom--they have no stake in cultivating sources. Nothing could be less useful to a cartoonist than a secret (Newsweek, 1980, p. 83). Philadelphia Inquirer political cartoonist Tony Auth said to become most effective, business and pleasure can't mix. "When anyone wants to be a social critic, it's detrimental not to become friends with the people you may be criticizing . . . it (becoming friends) might prove to be a serious handicap for me" (Hoff, 1976, p. 158). Also of Philadelphia, Pierre Bellocq (Peb) said he perceived the editorial page cartoon as something

that should point with as much humor and satire as possible to the problems of the world; he added that the editorial cartoonist was one who must ridicule world situations by taking those situations to their most ridiculous point (Friedman, July 13, 1963, p. 32).

Political cartooning is not without its critics. In a 1954 essay, Henry Ladd Smith wrote, "The political cartoon is a caricature, an exaggeration, an inaccuracy, which should have no place in responsible journalism" (p. 28). In the introduction of William Murrell's A History of American Graphic Humor, Christopher Morely said political cartoonists merely reflect a side of the American conscience:

There has always been something sui generis in the American comic spirit, though I don't know that it has ever been recognizably defined. A touch of brutality, perhaps? Anger rather than humor? Various words rise to the mind . . . sardonic; extravagant; macabre--we reject each one, yet the mere fact that it suggests itself points to some essential hardness or sharpness of spirit. (Murrell, 1933, x).

Another characteristic that surfaces frequently in the profession is a torch-passing, of sorts, where the vacancy of one prominent cartoonist is filled by someone who then becomes successful as a political cartoonist, or where one established cartoonist influences a lesser-established one who then becomes more successful.

Robert Minor, for instance, left the St. Louis Post-Dispatch in 1913 bound for the Socialist magazine The Masses, where he worked with Boardman Robinson and Art Young. His successor at the Post-Dispatch was D. R. Fitzpatrick, another strong cartoonist who interned under Luther Bradley at the Chicago Daily News and stayed in St. Louis for more than 40 years. When he quit, the vacancy was filled by Mauldin, who had already won a Pulitzer Prize for his World War II comic strip

"Willie and Joe." First Fitzpatrick and then Mauldin influenced the St. Louis area, including two artists who had complementary aspirations: Tom Englehardt and Mike Peters. Englehardt later became the Post-Dispatch cartoonist. Following college graduation, Peters began working on the art staff at the Chicago Daily News, where he became further associated with Mauldin, who, in fact, got him his job in Dayton (Peters, 1983).

Though this example is slightly exceptional, this method of operation repeats itself often throughout the history of the art. Some areas have been more fertile than others. Chicago newspapers, for instance, have employed Mauldin, Bradley, Fischetti, Herblock, John T. McCutcheon and Carey Orr, for starters; this does not measure the influence these artists have had on others. Logically, cities like Los Angeles and New York have had effective cartoonists, but so have Denver, Kansas City, Dayton and Greensboro, N.C. Probably no city is so well suited to a satirist's palate than Washington, D.C. When political cartooning regained its bite in the late 1960s and early 1970s--as a result of the Vietnam War and Watergate--Washington itself became a cartoon (Newsweek, 1980, p. 83). There the subjects are down the street and around the corner, rather than a product of the 6 o'clock news or the wire service. Still there is opportunity for a cartoonist to live in a non-metropolitan city and be nationally recognized--through syndication. Peters said this had been responsible for him staying in Dayton, Ohio, so long (Peters, 1983); not only does this give the cartoonist an added outlet for his art, but he gets paid for it as well. Syndication is not a cure-all that is everything good

without side effects. Frank Interlandi, who worked with "Ding" Darling in Des Moines before going to Los Angeles, where he followed Edmund Valtman and preceded Paul Conrad, had this criticism of syndication in 1962:

Editorial cartoons are more widely printed now through enormous papers, groups and the process of syndication. The latter has, in many instances, taken some fire from the cartoonists' message because the result of trying to please everyone and displease as few clients as possible has been to encourage fence-sitting. (Bender, p. 179).

Joseph Pulitzer, then editor and publisher of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, began the Pulitzer Prize for Cartooning in 1922, and the award has been awarded traditionally to some of the best cartoonists since then, and therefore the best cartoons; however, there is a dubious side to the Pulitzer: that it has been given usually to the right person for the wrong reason; by and large, the judges honored those drawings that avoided the specific and the controversial (Hess & Kaplan, 1968, p. 155). There also is an element of the contrived; if you want it enough, there is a formula for success:

(Pat) Oliphant and his wife studied a book of Pulitzer Prize winners and settled on a design that could be expected to please the judges, though hardly themselves. Oliphant then suppressed the natural drollery that is his trademark and produced a picture of Ho Chi Minh holding a dying Vietnamese in his arms, saying, "They won't get us to the conference table . . . will they?" As predicted, it was chosen the best editorial cartoon drawn in the United States during 1966. (Hess & Kaplan, 1968, p. 168).

Press (1981) said that the award is given to the cartoonist rather than to the cartoon: The winning cartoons are generally high-minded sermons against sin, with a thick icing of artificial religiosity (p. 199).

Because the subject matter has to flow from a spiritual tone, this means that a great many subjects have to be left out, as if they had never happened. Politics, and especially political campaigns, are avoided like poison because, one assumes, of their dirtiness. Only (Rollin) Kirby, bless his memory, could get away with a really forceful partisan comment, his "Tammany!" in the world of the Pulitzer . . . petty politics is not a fit subject to win a Pulitzer with.

There is hardly ever any oblique allusion to politicians other than the Kirby cartoon. It is as if cartoonists thought the government was administered by eunuchs or computers . . . foreign devils come off only slightly better, with only Hitler and Stalin so honored.

Equally bad is any form of social conflict. That's nasty-nasty. One looks in vain for a decent comment on the civil rights struggle any time from the Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. Board of Education (1954) to the present. . . . The board's standards are as rigid as those of a prairie-town ladies' uplift club; the conflict of petty politics of among society's groupings is no subject matter for this distinguished award. (In 1949 a committee slipped in an award to Lute Pease for his comments on John L. Lewis and the coal strike, but then they were honoring an 80-year-old veteran, and exceptions must be made for age.) (p. 199-201)

What then is suitable subject matter? Press (1981) answered:

The appropriate style is to load the cartoon with a symbolism that smacks of unctuousness: a dignified Uncle Sam, or War drawn as Mars, or Death, or abstract symbols are religious or can be given a Moses smell, so much the better. A recurrent holiness theme hangs over the whole collection, like cheap incense from the dime store. If high-minded sermons are what is wanted, then cartoonists can supply them, and what would please better than some ecumenical allusion to life's great religious truths? (p. 201)

There are three elements to a political cartoon, according to Press (1981): the picture of reality that the artist presents to us as the essence of truth; the second is a message, sometimes very sketchily implied, as to what they recommend ought to be done on behalf of the deserving; and finally, through artistic technique and allegorical imagery, the artist creates a mood telling us how we should feel

over what is happening--amused, chagrined, or any one of the pedal stops up to outrage (p. 62). He defined a good political cartoon as one that "does not treat a trite subject as trivial, has a political message that does not obviously ring false, and is not presented with trite imagery or artistry" (Press, 1981, p. 26). Lurie (1973) said that the only difference between a good editorial writer and a good political cartoonist is that the editorial writer does not know how to draw (p. 14); therefore, a parallel can be assumed for want of objectivity: The only difference between a good political cartoonist and a good editorial writer is that the political cartoonist doesn't know how to draw.

This thesis is not concerned with comic strip artists, that is unless the artist is concerned with political commentary. The two are not mutually exclusive: Walt Kelly did both; recently, Garry Trudeau did both with "Doonesbury," becoming the first comic strip artist to win the Pulitzer Prize for Cartooning. Because no difference has been found between political cartoon and editorial cartoon, the two terms will be used interchangeably.

I. LITERARY REVIEW

The evolution of political cartooning and political cartoonists needs further review. Books in this field have largely dealt with autobiographies, biographies and collections of cartoons. This, by itself, has not gone far enough; for instance, there is no biography or book of columns on three-time Pulitzer Prize-winner Edmund Duffy. Mauldin and Herblock have both been prolific in publishing books of

cartoons. Many others have gone this route, giving readers and researchers the opportunity to see large numbers of a cartoonist's work. This, unfortunately, offers only superficial insight into the implications and consequences of the cartoons. Another--perhaps more thorough--way of gaining insight into cartooning in this country has been through autobiographies and biographies. Thomas Nast has been the subject of the most intense research. Three biographers (Paine, 1904; Vinson, 1967; and Keller, 1968) studied Nast and his work. Lendt (1979) did the same with "Ding" Darling. Art Young (1939), Al Hirschfeld (1970) and Ranan Lurie (1973) shed light on the art form from a first-person perspective. Syd Hoff (1976) provided an anthology of a few pages apiece on what he deemed the best cartoonists. Jerry Robinson (1981) compiled the best cartoons of a decade in the 1970s: Best Political Cartoons of the Decade. Some books have treated the topic historically, like William Murrell's two volume A History of American Graphic Humor (1933, 1938); Dick Spenser's Editorial Cartooning (1949); and John Hohenburg's The Pulitzer Prize Story (1959) and The Pulitzer Prize Story II (1980). Others have scrutinized the political cartoonist as social critic, such as The Ungentlemanly Art (Hess & Kaplan, 1968); The Indignant Eye: The Artist as Social Critic in Prints and Drawings from the Fifteenth Century to Picasso (Shikes, 1969); Art and Politics: Cartoonists of The Masses and The Liberator (Fitzgerald, 1973); and The Political Cartoon (Press, 1981). In R. P. Harrison's The Cartoon: Communication to the Quick (1981), the author concluded that only recently had American researchers studied editorial cartoons seriously (International Dissertation Abstracts, 1982, p. 278).

Magazine articles include Henry Ladd Smith's "The Rise and Fall of the Political Cartoon" (1954); Time magazine's "One of the Few" (1960); Hugh Kenner's "The Exploding Duck and Other Primal Tales" (1978); Taylor Rhodes' "A Humanist Looks at the Editorial Cartoon" (1979); James Stevenson's "Endless Possibilities," an article on Pat Oliphant (1979); Newsweek's cover story--a month before the 1980 Presidential Election; and U.S. News and World Report's interview with Mike Peters (1981).

Scholarly research has been somewhat limited. In 1949, Schramm and White touched on cartoon preferences in their study, "Age, Education, Economic Status: Factors in Newspaper Reading," concluding that the reading of political and editorial cartoons begins strongly in the teens, increases slightly, then tapers off, and that it increases with economic status (p. 152). There is a void in research concerning political cartoons until 1962 when Jack Bender interviewed cartoonists of the time (e.g., David Low, Scott Long, Darling, Fitzpatrick, Mauldin, Valtman and Interlandi) for his thesis, "Editorial Cartoonists: Development Philosophy Today." Bender, himself a cartoonist, examined their role in influencing society and questioned the future of the medium (Bender, 1963, p. 175). The disappointing state of the art at the time was reflected by Smith in 1954 and further supported in the years that followed: For many, many years the newspaper cartoonist was the major star in the journalistic firmament. He is no longer; his influence has diminished (Smith, 1954, p. 7).

Bender's article, which had some of the same tenor, initiated a four-part series on political cartooning in Editor and Publisher in the

summer of 1963; the reverberations of the series included another article and a few letters in response. The debate focused on what was labeled the "new wave" cartoonists' challenge to accepted styles and stereotypes. Following the series, Vaughn Shoemaker defended the old order and criticized the new wave. The debate between the old and the new was addressed in a letter to Editor and Publisher by Los Angeles Times cartoonist Frank Interlandi in which he quoted "Ding" Darling, who drew cartoons for a half-century. The same comment also appeared in length in Bender's 1963 article in Journalism Quarterly:

I find few, if any, political or social or religious trends trends which have been materially affected by the use of cartoons. . . .

I know of no General who won a war, no heathen who became a Christian, and no candidate whose success or failure was seriously altered by the use of cartoons. Instead they have usually been generated by a school of thought and may have added to the ardor of the reader with like beliefs, but I don't think they ever moved any mountains or changed the course of history. (p. 1795)

Though Darling's comment was perhaps an oversimplification with questionable historical validity, it reflected how cartoonists and others saw the art at the time: with futility and frustration. Everette Dennis (1974) said one of the reasons why the power of the political cartoon declined was because of something inherent in the profession: aging. In agreement with what Peters said earlier, a cartoonist is always--from day one of his professional life to his last day--a cartoonist; therefore, he can burn out over time and lose his vitality and energy. The less powerful cartoons of the 1930s and 1940s might have been related to the natural process of maturation (p. 665). Of the more than 150 editorial cartoonists who lived and

worked between 1870 and 1940, more than half of them continued to work into their 70s and 80s (Dennis, 1974, p. 665).

In the late 1960s, Carl J. Nelson of the American Newspaper Publishers Association was contracted by the Indianapolis Star and the Richmond (Va.) Times. The Indianapolis survey (1967) compared preferences of black and white readers, and found that white males sampled were four times more likely to look at political cartoons than black males; white women were twice as likely (News Research for Better Newspaper, 1969, p. 64). The Richmond survey (1967) compared the preferences of adults and teen-agers. The findings showed that 78 percent of the adult males samples looked at editorial cartoons, while just 59 percent of the male teen-agers did; likewise, 71 percent of the female adults looked at editorial cartoons, while just 60 percent of the female teen-agers did (News Research for Better Newspapers, 1971, p. 69).

Brinkman (1968) concluded that editorial cartoonists and editorials had little effect on public opinion (p. 726). Carl (1968) analyzed whether or not the audience was getting the same message the cartoonist was sending out. He found that the message received by the readers ran the gamut of meanings and interpretations, which often differed markedly from the message intended by the cartoonists (p. 534). He concluded with a call for more research on the subject (p. 535). The next year (1969) Carl's "Ink Blots of the Editorial Page" said that even though a reader doesn't understand a cartoon, he still gets some message from it (p. 40). Whether the message is an influential one is difficult to measure; however, a Duke University political scientist,

John David Barber, answered, "I suspect it (the impact) is very powerful" (Newsweek, 1980, p. 82). Philadelphia Inquirer cartoonist Tony Auth put it this way:

The assumption is made that we are powerful. I sincerely believe that what we do is contribute one particle a day in the vast torrent of criticism, analysis, viewpoint and argument that everyone is subjected to. (Newsweek, 1980, p. 83)

Dennis' article, "The Regeneration of Political Cartooning," (1974) commented on the progress the profession made to return to its more influential days; that progress began slowly in the years after World War II with Mauldin, Herblock and Conrad at the forefront and then increased noticeably during the Watergate period (p. 664). Also in 1974, Dennis co-authored "100 Years of Political Cartooning" with Melvin Dennis, saying that political cartoonists were "directing personal invective toward public officials in the manner that had not been witnessed since Thomas Nast took on the Tweed Ring" (p. 6). In an effort to put the cartoonists of that time into perspective, the authors put them against a backdrop of a century of political cartooning in the United States.

Newsweek (1980) referred to Australian immigrant Pat Oliphant, who was featured in an article in New Yorker (1979), as the bridge between the post World War II masters (Mauldin, Herblock and Conrad) and a younger, new breed of cartoonists including Jeff MacNelly, Tony Auth, Don Wright, Doug Marlette, Paul Szep and Mike Peters (p. 74). A month before the 1980 Presidential Election, Newsweek said there had never been more good cartoonists (p. 74).

Also in 1980, Charles Stuart's master's thesis analyzed each of

six Pulitzer Prize-winning political cartoonists (Rollin Kirby, Edmund Duffy, Mauldin, Herblock, Conrad and Szep) against their time, one from each decade since the prize was first awarded in 1922. No thesis has ever studied just one U.S. cartoonists, whether as a content analysis of his works or as a biography.

Medhurst and Desousa (1980) concluded that the reason why political cartoons were often interpreted in a widely divergent manner was because divergent readers were resonating with different layers of a culturally induced message. By using political cartoons of the 1980 Presidential Election, the authors revealed four inventional topics: political commonplaces; literary/cultural allusions; personal character traits; and situation themes.

Political commonplaces are those topics which are available to any cartoonist working within a modern state. . . . Political commonplaces form the raison d'etre of political cartoons in the sense that one cannot create a political cartoon without focusing reader attention, at least momentarily, on some agreed upon component of politics. . . .

A second source of cartoon imagery is the literary cultural allusion . . . drawn from imagery, folklore, literature or the electronics media. . . .

A third inventional source draws upon popular perceptions of the politicians' personal character. Such traits as intelligence, honesty, age, morality, charisma, and leadership ability can be transformed into a combination of imagery and caption. . . .

Idiosyncratic and transient situations which appear unexpectedly during the course of a campaign constitute a fourth inventional resource. Such events may have an immediate impact and contain a timely message, but they have little salience beyond their immediate concern.
(p. 199, 200, 202)

They also reiterated the notion that the editorial cartoonist prospers on the mistakes or negative perceptions of others. By virtue

of his appearance on the editorial page, the cartoonist is granted an initial presumption of superior insight (p. 232); however, Medhurst and Desousa (1980) said the cartoonist must know his limitations:

Political cartoonists--even the most vitriolic--must know and respect the audience for which they draw. . . . Even well-respected and well-received artists have limits, either imposed or implicit, beyond which they venture only at great risk to their credibility . . . to stray too far too often from one's readers is to invite editorial oversight as well as audience condemnation. Several artists have, quite recently, been found guilty of violating the norms of an audience, either editorial or general. (p. 232)

The authors singled out cartoonists Paul Conrad, Garry Trudeau and the late Walt Kelly as being found guilty of "inappropriateness" by their audience (p. 233). This is, by no means, the complete list of offenders; sometimes the editor will feel the need to censor a cartoon; it is also common for the cartoonist to censor himself. One cartoon that never appeared--by mutual consent of the cartoonist, Wayne Stayskal of the Chicago Tribune, and his editor--showed a group of gays arrested at a demonstration. The desk sergeant was depicted ordering them into separate stalls because they "look a little too happy" (Newsweek, 1980, p. 85).

Mike Peters was one of the cartoonists analyzed by Medhurst and Desousa. Following his selection as winner of the 1981 Pulitzer Prize for Cartooning, he was interviewed by U.S. News and World Report and perceived political cartooning like this:

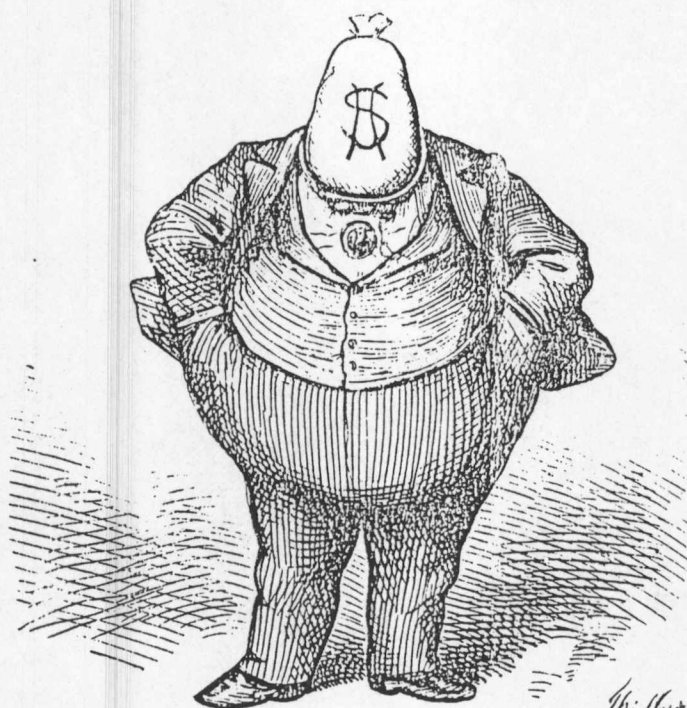
Great editorial cartoons contain basic truths--and are relatively timeless. The individuals portrayed in the cartoon may change, but the themes do not. People may not remember Boss Tweed, the corrupt New York City political leader of the nineteenth century, but they know

we're always going to have the all-around scoundrels who turn up in politics. So when the cartoonist Thomas Nast portrayed Boss Tweed as a sack of money (Fig. 2), he captured that type in a way that will always be remembered. . . . The best political cartoonists are able to express a basic truth and at the same time to catch the mood of the people. (U.S. News and World Report, 1981, p. 50)

Born just more than a century after Thomas Nast, Peters is worthy of scholarly research as a political cartoonist. A winner of the Pulitzer Prize, he is syndicated in between 256 and 300 newspapers, and, as the forementioned said, he has been recognized as one of the United States' prominent cartoonists. Newsweek (1980) singled him out as one of the cartoonists who came to the fore as a result of the Vietnam War and the Watergate crisis (p. 74). This coincided with what Dennis (1974) called a regeneration of the art of political cartooning; by 1974 biting attacks on political corruption and skewering of the presidency became commonplace (p. 665).

Because the profession has always been relatively small, there is an intimacy that ties a political cartoonist of one era to one of another. Peters referred to the influence that Nast made on the profession, but there is an association that ties D. R. Fitzpatrick and Bill Mauldin to Peters as if the cartoonists' grease pencil is passed like a torch. Peters, therefore, is not just a product of the 1960s but of the cartoonists before him; the history of which needs further research. It can, therefore, be beneficial to research Peters and put him against the backdrop of the political art.

Bender's 1962 thesis, which was published as an article in Journalism Quarterly in 1963, has become outdated because of the



October 21, 1871

The "Brains."

THE BOSS. "Well, what are you going to do about it?"

Figure 2. The "Brains." This cartoon by Thomas Nast, more than a century old, has endured.

Source: Morton Keller, The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 491.

profession's growth in the 1960s and the 1970s. In 1974, Dennis studied that growth; in both his 1974 articles as author and co-author he shed light on the increase in influence but did not give enough background, and he soon, too, will be outdated. Stewart, like Bender, interviewed several cartoonists, putting them against their time; emphasis was on the cartoonist--as a group--and not on the time he worked; therefore, a contribution can be made by not just researching political cartooning as it fits its times but to analyze one cartoonist rather than six or seven. Through interviews and a subsequent biography and content analysis, insight can be made into the workings of a cartoonist in a newsroom where both he and his cartoons are often misunderstood. To understand Peters in the context of the 1980s, it is first necessary to understand political cartooning as it developed in the United States from Nast to Peters. What this thesis intends to do then is provide a thorough historical examination of political cartooning; to take one cartoonist--Make Peters--and analyze his perspectives, that is, how he sees himself and his work; and finally, to analyze his cartoons to better determine the themes, subjects, imagery and tone of his cartoons.

CHAPTER II

A HISTORY OF EDITORIAL CARTOONING

The list of cartoonists who have influenced public opinion begins with Thomas Nast, and he still leads all later men in both power and the breadth of his appeal, wrote William Murrell (Vinson, 1967, p. 41). In his biography of Nast, which was published two years after the cartoonist's death in 1902, Albert Bigelow Paine wrote:

As a matter of pictures concerned with the affairs of a great republic, his position was absolutely unique. Never in the history of nations had it been approached, and never is it likely to be again. (1904, p. 262)

Charles L. (Bart) Bartholomew, a one-time Minneapolis cartoonist and founder of a cartoon teaching program in 1926, said, "The name of Thomas Nast overshadows and sums up American political satire" (Dennis & Dennis, 1974, p. 8). Less than a decade ago, Nast's respect in the profession had not diminished. In "100 Years of American Cartooning," Everette Dennis and Melvin Dennis said that Nast set a pace and a standard in cartooning that has never been equaled by a single artist (p. 4). According to J. Chal Vinson, another Nast biographer:

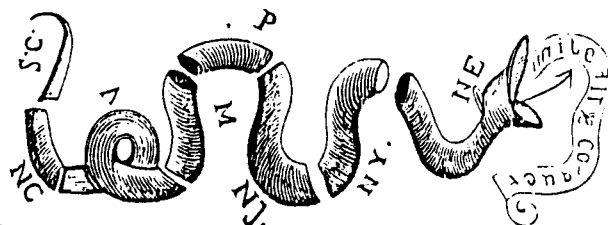
An important and direct contribution to art was Nast's ability to command attention and build up a wide audience. Americans who ignored pictures before Nast's day were awakened to the existence of and practical value of graphic art. (p. 41)

Being first, it was necessary for him to establish fundamentals, to construct the alphabet of an art (Paine, 1904, p. 579). Nast created or popularized the figures of the Tammany tiger, the Republican elephant, the Democratic donkey, the workingman's cap and dinner pail,

and the Rag Baby of inflationist sentiment. In his powerful expose of the Tweed Ring he fixed once and for all the stereotypes of the corrupt city boss; in his terrible anti-Catholic cartoons tapped dark fears in the American protestant consciousness (Keller, 1968, preface).

Political cartooning in the country did not begin with Nast. The first political cartoon is generally accepted to have been drawn by Benjamin Franklin and published in his Pennsylvania Gazette (Fig. 3). In an effort to rouse the colonies to arms in the French-Indian War, Franklin drew a segmented snake with the words, "Join or Die," based on the superstition that a snake that had been cut in two would come back to life if the pieces were rejoined before sunset (Smith, 1954, p. 7). The American school of graphic satire also includes Paul Revere of the War for American Independence era (Geipel, 1972, p. 116). Political cartooning in this country then developed with the rise of the party system following the turn of the century (Smith, 1954, p. 7). In the introduction of Murrell's two volume A History of American Graphic Humor, Christopher Morley (1933) said, "It was not until commercial lithography became available about 1822 that the comic artist in America really had his large opportunity"; however, while there was no dearth of cartoonists in pre-Civil War America, scarcely a half-dozen were to contribute anything of enduring merit or originality (Geipel, 1970, p. 118). The administration of Andrew Jackson gave cartoonists subject matter; Jackson's controversial policies stimulated the proliferation of cartoons. Jackson was a natural target, with his frontier manner, his egalitarianism, and his hatred of monopoly and special privileges, but they hardly ever rose

Even if a cut-up snake can't come back to life, Franklin's cartoon did, reappearing in 1765 at the time of the Stamp Act, and again in 1776 when the colonies revolted.



JOIN or DIE

Figure 3. Join Or Die. Benjamin Franklin's cartoon is considered the first political cartoon in U.S. history.

Source: Syd Hoff, Editorial and Political Cartoons (New York: Stravon Educational Press, 1976), p. 31.

above the level of partisan political cartooning (Shikes, 1969, p. 308).

European political cartoonists dominated the profession before Nast. Primarily the names included Frenchman Honore Daumier and Englishmen Sir John Tenniel and James Gillray, the first popular cartoonists (Press, 1981, p. 27). With the establishment of Punch by Tenniel and others in 1841, political caricatures were permanently launched in England (Vinson, 1967, p. 2). Nast's graphic style was derived in line and texture from Tenniel, his artistic political inspiration was from Daumier and other French artists, and his philosophy was derived from the liberalism of mid-nineteenth century Germany (Shikes, 1969, p. 304).

When Nast was 15, he began working as a political cartoonist for Frank Leslie's weekly. Then in 1862, he began working for Harper's Weekly. It was there Nast did his best work and had his most influence, largely because of the freedom he was allowed by publisher Fletcher Harper. It was because of Harper--more than any other person--that Nast's cartoons and Harper's Weekly became identified with the nation's history (Paine, 1904, p. 82). Nast was fortunate in that the Civil War, Reconstruction and the Tweed Ring gave him the perfect opportunities to reach his greatest potential (Vinson, 1967, p. 40).

His contribution during the war was identified by Abraham Lincoln, who called Nast "our best recruiting sergeant." His notoriety spread throughout the South, bringing him a host of threatening letters. One of his friends told him he would have been burned at the stake if he had fallen into the hands of the Confederacy (Vinson, 1967, p. 6).

Press (1980) wrote that the Civil War produced one superior cartoonist, and it was not Nast. It was Confederate sympathizer Adalbert Volck (Fig. 4). These were not the prints that Mary Todd would collect to frame for the hall outside Lincoln's office. Press (1980) wrote:

His (Volck's) ideology was simple hate. The prints reverberate with his passionate repugnance for the North. The attack focuses mainly on Lincoln as the symbol of the nation. The cartoons picture him as a secret Negro (under the veil), as a devil urged on by other demons. (p. 119).

Had the war turned out differently so might have the reputations of Volck and Nast; following the war, Volck's outlets were limited and Nast went on to his greatest success. As the war ended and the presidential campaign of 1864 grew more fierce, Paine (1904) wrote that two Nast cartoons stirred the nation more than any pictures hitherto published (p. 98): "How the Copperheads Obtain Their Votes" (Fig. 5) and "Compromise with the South" (Fig. 6). The declared principles of the convention were to obtain peace at any price, yielding to the South any point that might bring the seceding states back into fold.

The cartoon of Nast represented the defiant Southerner clasping hands with the crippled Northern soldier over the grave of Union heroes fallen in a useless war. Columbia is bowed in sorrow, and in the background is a Negro family, again in chains. In the original design there had been a number of accompanying pictures, but Fletcher Harper considered the central idea sufficient and made of it a full page. (Paine, 1904, p. 98)

When asked, "Who is the foremost figure in civil life developed by the Rebellion?" General Ulysses Grant said, "I think, Thomas Nast. He did as much as anyone to preserve the Union and bring the war to and edn" (Paine, 1904, p. 106). The death of Lincoln promoted Andrew Johnson to the presidency. Radical Republicans, including Nast,



Adalbert Volck : Writing the Emancipation Proclamation. October 1862.

Figure 4. Writing The Emancipation Proclamation. Adalbert Volck's cruel portrayal of Abraham Lincoln is illustrated in this drawing.

Source: Charles Press, The Political Cartoon (London: MacMillan Co., 1981), p. 119.

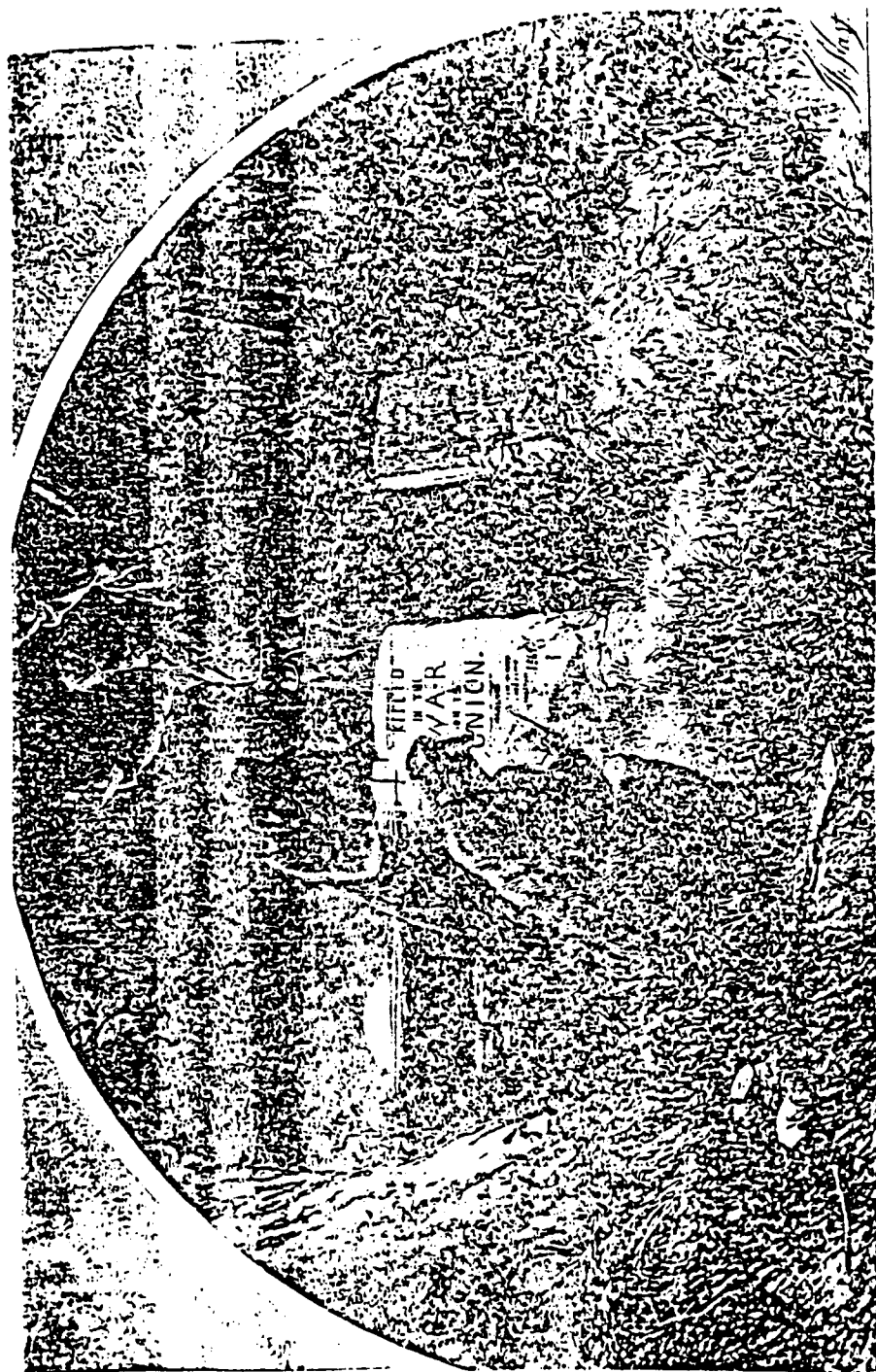


Figure 5. How The Copperheads Obtain Their Votes. Nast attacked the Copperheads as registering the dead to endorse their cause.

Source: Morton Keller, The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 49.

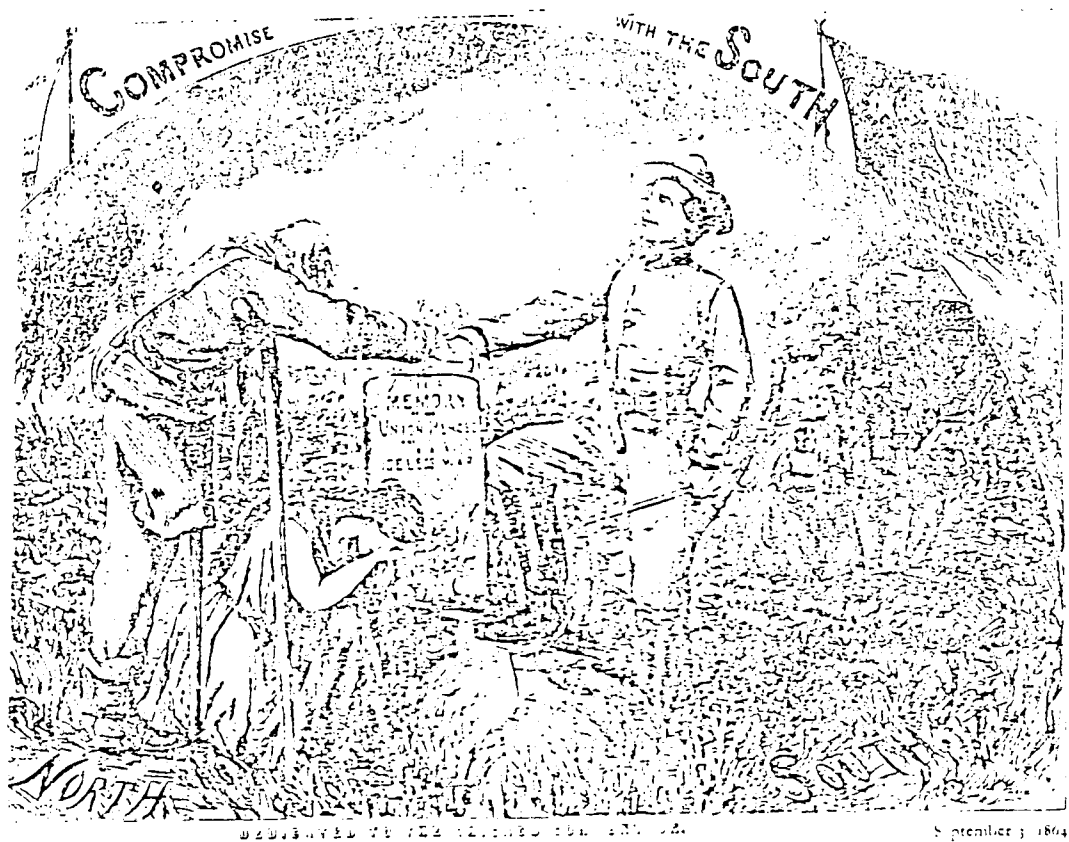


Figure 6. Compromise With The South. Concessions to the defeated South were criticized in this drawing by Thomas Nast.

Source: Morton Keller, The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 49.

figured Johnson would endorse their philosophies. He did not; instead of radical Reconstruction, Johnson was more sympathetic to the South, and Nast pilloried Johnson as a betrayer of Lincoln's principles (Shikes, 1969, p. 311).

Nast was given credit for the election of Grant as president. Mark Twain told him, "Nast, you more than any other man have won a prodigious victory for Grant, I mean, rather, for civilization and progress. Those pictures were simply marvelous" (Keller, 1968, p. 22). His fervant support of both radical Republicanism and Grant was reflected in his work. As Nast approached the 1872 Presidential Election, the Republican Party remained the instrument of union, progress and liberalism, of humanity; the Democrats remained the voice of secession, of reaction, of negrophobia and violence (Keller, 1968, p. 73). Nast praised one with the same intensity as he vilified the other. With the magnitude of his play so great, Nast became a golden boy, of sorts, to the Republican Party. In 1872, at the height of his influence, he visited Washington and wrote his wife of a party given "for the Grant men of Washington to meet me, and I can tell you they came, with a vengens (sic). . . . The power I have is terrible" (Keller, 1968, p. 76).

As a radical Republican he constantly attacked the Democrats' negrophobia and the Ku Klux Klan's anti-Negro violence, and upheld the Negro's right to vote and civil rights legislation. His "Patience on a Monument" (Fig. 7) was a tribute to the Negro's forbearance (Shikes, 1969, p. 316). Though this liberalism is prevalent in his works, there is also--as Keller (1968) put--a "persistent, disturbing strain of

hostility to Catholics in general and to Irish-Americans in particular. . . ."

It might seem paradoxical that an artist quick to respond to the cause of the underprivileged (whether Negroes, Chinese or Indians) should be unrelentingly hostile to this substantial American minority. But Nast's anti-Catholic cartoons, like every facet of his work, had an intimate relationship to his radical Republican point of view. The good society of the radical Republican was liberal, progressive, nationalistic and Protestant. (p. 159)

It is notable that Nast's attack on the church coincided closely in time with his great condemnation of the Tweed Ring. Both posed a threat of unusual emotional intensity to Nast's social ethos; and each evolved from him work of unusual power and passion (Keller, 1968, p. 162). His reputation rests primarily on his brilliant excoriation of the Tweed Ring. It evolved his most powerful work: a sustained attack which in its passion and effectiveness stands alone in the history of American graphic art (Keller, 1968, p. 197).

He began his assault on the Tammany boss in 1869. Nast was offered \$500,000 the next year to drop "this Ring business"; whereupon, he replied, "I made up my mind not long ago to put some of those fellows behind bars, and I'm going to put them there!" (Paine, 1904, p. 182). The New York Times joined with Harper's Weekly and Nast in the crusade, standing against threats and refusing bribes; for the first time Boss Tweed and his gang began to fear public opinion (Smith, 1954, p. 8). Nast ultimately destroyed the ring and effected the arrest of Tweed. Two of the cartoons in the Nast expose of corruption and Tweed's stranglehold of New York City included "Who Took the People's Money?" (Fig. 8) and "Under the Thumb" (Fig. 9). Tweed

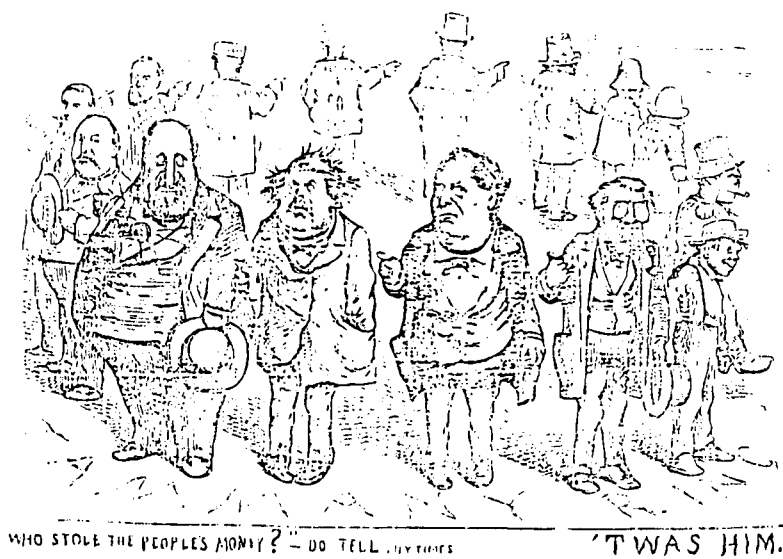
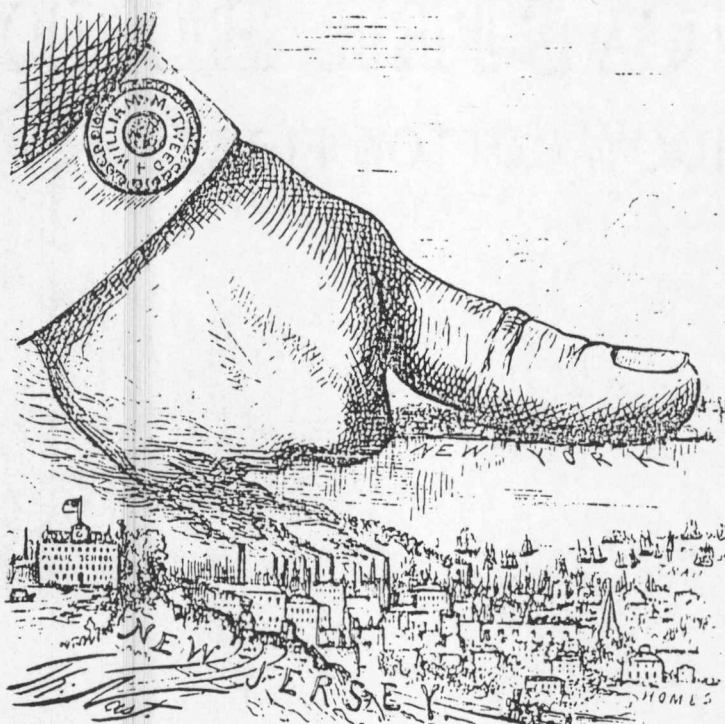


Figure 8. Who Stole The People's Money? This was one of Nast's most famous Tweed cartoons, showing Tammany Hall as a ring of corruption.

Source: J. Chal Vinson, Thomas Nast Political Cartoonist (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1967), p. 47.



August 19, 1871

Under the Thumb.

Figure 9. Under The Thumb. This was just one of the drawings in which Thomas Nast attacked the control of Tammany Hall.

Source: Morton Keller, The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast (London: Oxford University, 1968), p. 191.

escaped from jail in 1875 and fled the country. He was caught in Spain, where he was recognized from a Nast cartoon (Fig. 10). When his baggage was examined, it was found that Tweed had preserved nearly every cartoon Nast had done of him (Paine, 1904, p. 336), including what Paine (1904) and Shikes (1969) called one of the most effective political cartoons in history, "The Tammany Tiger Loose" (Fig. 11). The tiger mauls the prostrate Republic while the Tweed Ring gang looks on (Shikes, 1969, p. 314). The circulation of Harper's Weekly increased from 100,000 to 300,000, a result accredited entirely to the Ring cartoons of Nast (Paine, 1904, p. 196).

Nast's ideologies conflicted with those of Harper's Weekly editor George William Curtis. When publisher Fletcher Harper died and Curtis became more influential, the conflict intensified. Nast said of Curtis: "When he attacks a man with his pen it seems as if he were apologizing for the act. I try to hit the enemy between the eyes and knock him down" (Keller, 1968, p. 77). Nast's greatest years were likewise Harper's greatest. Both the artist and the journal declined at the same time (Vinson, 1967, p. 39-40).

The election of 1880 was the first important milestone in the decline of Nast's political commitment--and his artistic vigor; it was the first time since the Civil War that a Democratic presidential candidate escaped Nast's instinct for the jugular (Keller, 1968, p. 324); in fact, four years later, he endorsed Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, for president. Cleveland's victory in 1884 continued Nast's record of supporting the winning candidate in each of the six presidential campaigns he participated (Vinson, 1967, p. 38). Nast's support might

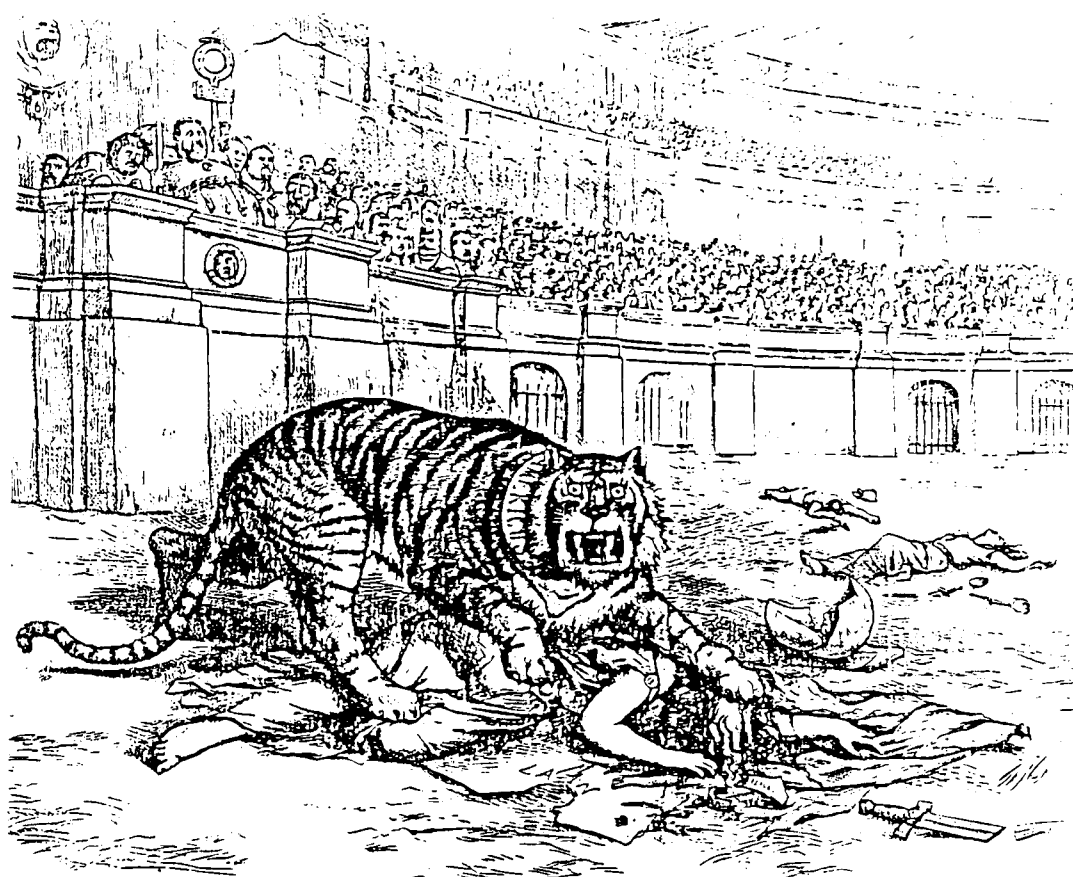


October 7, 1876

The Capture of Tweed—The Picture That Made the Spanish Officials Take Him for a "Child-Stealer."

Figure 10. The Picture That Got Tweed. Boss Tweed escaped from prison and left the country, but was recognized by this Nast cartoon, arrested and returned to finish his sentence.

Source: Morton Keller, The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 215.



THE TAMMANY TIGER LOOSE.—"What are you going to do about it?"

Figure 11. "What Are You Going To Do About It?" This might be Nast's most effective anti-Tweed cartoon. It pictures the Tammany Tiger mauling the prostrate Columbia.

Source: J. Chal Vinson, Thomas Nast Political Cartoonist (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1967), p. 88.

have, in fact, swayed the difference against the Republican candidate James Blaine to the Democrat Cleveland.

A change of five hundred and twenty-four votes would have altered the result. That the influence of Nast alone swayed many times this number will hardly be denied. So, in a sense, it may be claimed that in his last great campaign in the land of his adoption, the little lad of Landau had "made a President." (Paine, 1904, p. 508)

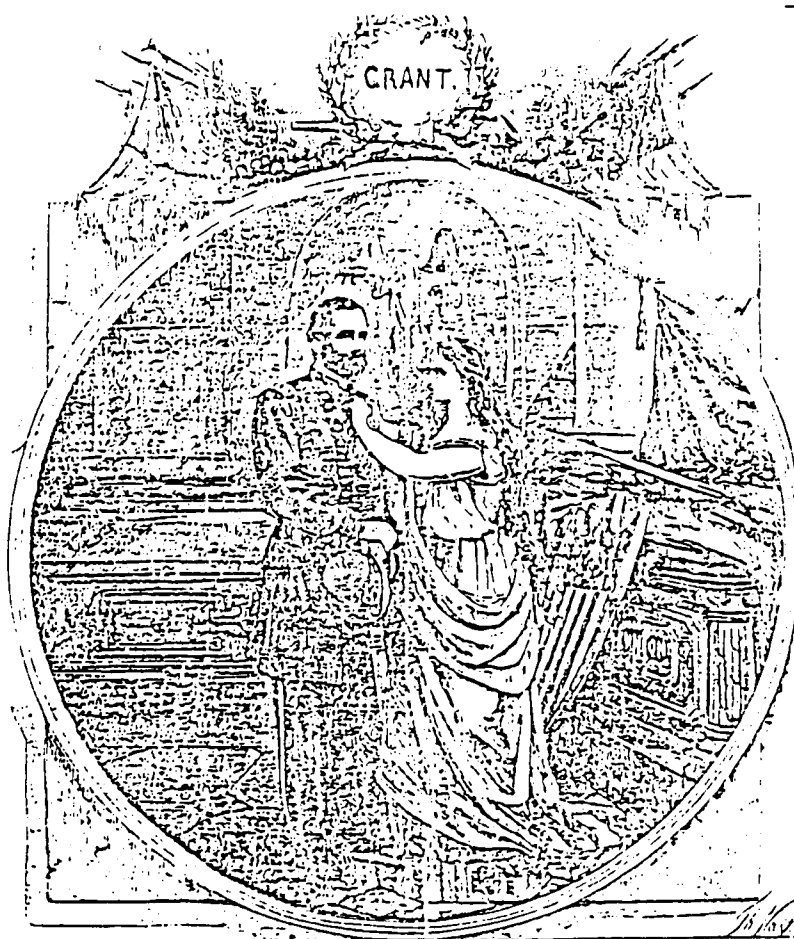
Nast's own ideas and symbols were turned against him by the picture-makers of the other side (Paine, 1904, p. 501). It had been a costly victory for Nast: friends by the hundred he had lost; enemies by the thousand he had made (p. 502). His defection was attacked in the magazine Judge:

Poor, poor T. Nast
Thy day is past--
Thy bolt is shot, thy die is cast
Thy pencil point
is out of joint--
Thy pictures lately disappoint. (Vinson, 1967, p. 36).

His insights were not always the sharpest: His worship of Grant (Fig. 12) as a war hero kept him loyal to the general through eight years of misrule in the presidency (Shikes, 1969, p. 316).

No less than the enormities of the Tweed Ring, the corruption of the Grant administration was part of the price paid for the replacement of a politics of ideology by a politics of organization. Nast had the unhappy duty of commenting on these ugly aspects of a political transformation to which he was profoundly opposed--a change going on within a party to which he was profoundly committed. (Keller, 1968, p. 280)

By the time Grant died in 1885, Nast's career was essentially over. He left Harper's the next year; Nast, himself, was the last to comprehend that the world no longer wanted his work (Paine, 1904, p. 543).



June 6, 1868

Chicago, May 21, 1868.

Figure 12. Columbia Honoring Grant. Nast's adoration of Ulysses Grant caused him problems when the Grant administration was beset by criminal scandal.

Source: Charles Press, The Political Cartoon (London: Macmillan, 1981), p. 64.

While Nast was floundering the changing public temper was matched to perfection by Austrian immigrant Joseph Keppler, who formed the comic weekly Puck in 1876, which favored the Democrats. Judge, another comic weekly, was first published in 1881 and endorsed the Republicans. One of Keppler's best artists, Bernard Gillam, left Puck for Judge. Nast ultimately had to face the fact that the new political order was not one to which he could speak with artistry and force (Keller, 1968, p. 279). He was just 62 years old when he died but because of his lasting influence, he was thought to be much older than that. Harper's Weekly noted at the time: "He belongs so much to the past that the impression has naturally spread that he is an old man" (Keller, 1968, p. 327).

His work could have worked well in a daily newspaper, but it was 1896 before dailies began using cartoons on a large scale (Vinson, 1967, p. 31). C. G. Bush, credited as the first daily political cartoonist, worked with Nast at Harper's and commented: "Nast, more than any other man, demonstrated that a cartoon is not necessarily a humorous caricature, but a powerful weapon of good or evil" (Paine, 1904, p. 581). Vinson (1967) wrote that Nast made political cartooning a respected and powerful journalistic form, it was not coincidental that the golden age of cartooning followed Nast (p. 43). But before cartoonists came of that age, there was a time following Nast when refined draftmanship, once commonplace in the days of Nast, Keppler and Gillam, declined sharply with the coming of the daily newspaper cartoon (Dennis, 1974, p. 666). When the daily cartoon began to appear in the 1880s and 1890s--simple and forceful, it was often crude, hasty and without

form--the weeklies began to fade in their political influence (Shikes, 1969, p. 318).

Frederick Hudson, in his History of Journalism, published three years before Keppler founded Puck in 1873, said that the American public did not support comic weeklies because "no one can wait a week to laugh; it must come in daily with our coffee" (Hess & Kaplan, 1968, p. 119). One of the most influential political cartoons in U.S. history came during the 1884 Presidential Election, and its cartoonist--like Nast--was given credit for the outcome:

The great breakthrough for the newspaper cartoon came five days before the Presidential Election of 1884 when Joseph Pulitzer's New York World printed "The Royal Feast of Belshazzar" (Fig. 13), and interpretation of a plutocratic dinner that had been held the night before in honor of the Republican candidate, James G. Blaine. The drawing by Walt McDougall, although crude and artless, created a sensation. The Democrats reproduced it in the Empire State. Since Blaine would have been elected if he had carried New York and since he lost New York by a mere 1,100 votes, it was not uncommon to hear that this cartoon was responsible for elevating Grover Cleveland to the White House. (Hess & Kaplan, 1968, pp. 119, 121)

Pulitzer ran the cartoon eight columns across the front page; using Biblical imagery, it attacked politicians and robber barons as feasting on lobby pudding, Navy contracts and monopoly soup. What this cartoon did more than any other, wrote Press (1981), was to make every self-respecting newspaper editor think about getting his own political cartoonist for regular work (p. 46). The number of political cartoonists soon increased to 500 but soon began an equally drastic decrease (p. 47), which continued until the 1960s.

Dennis and Dennis (1974) wrote that in the 1880s and 1890s cartoonists proliferated. Among the best of the time included Charles

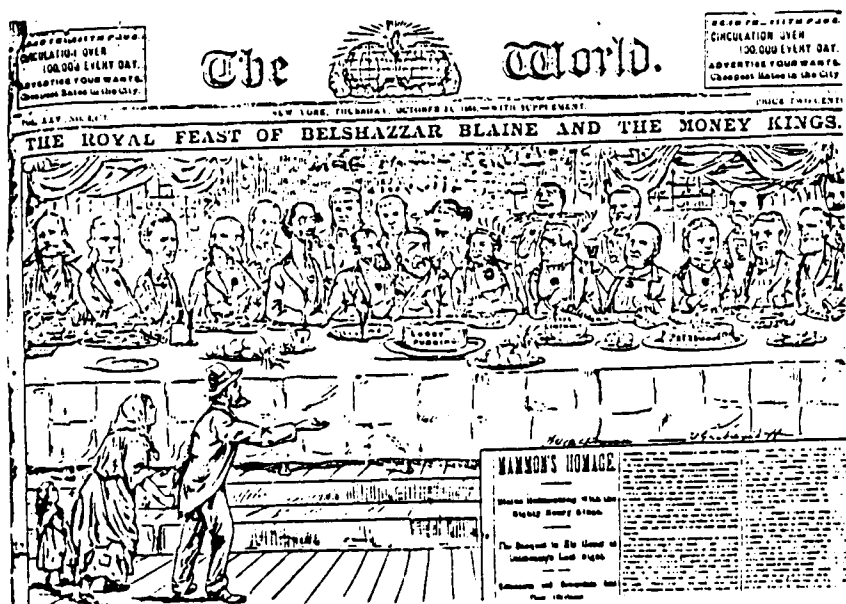
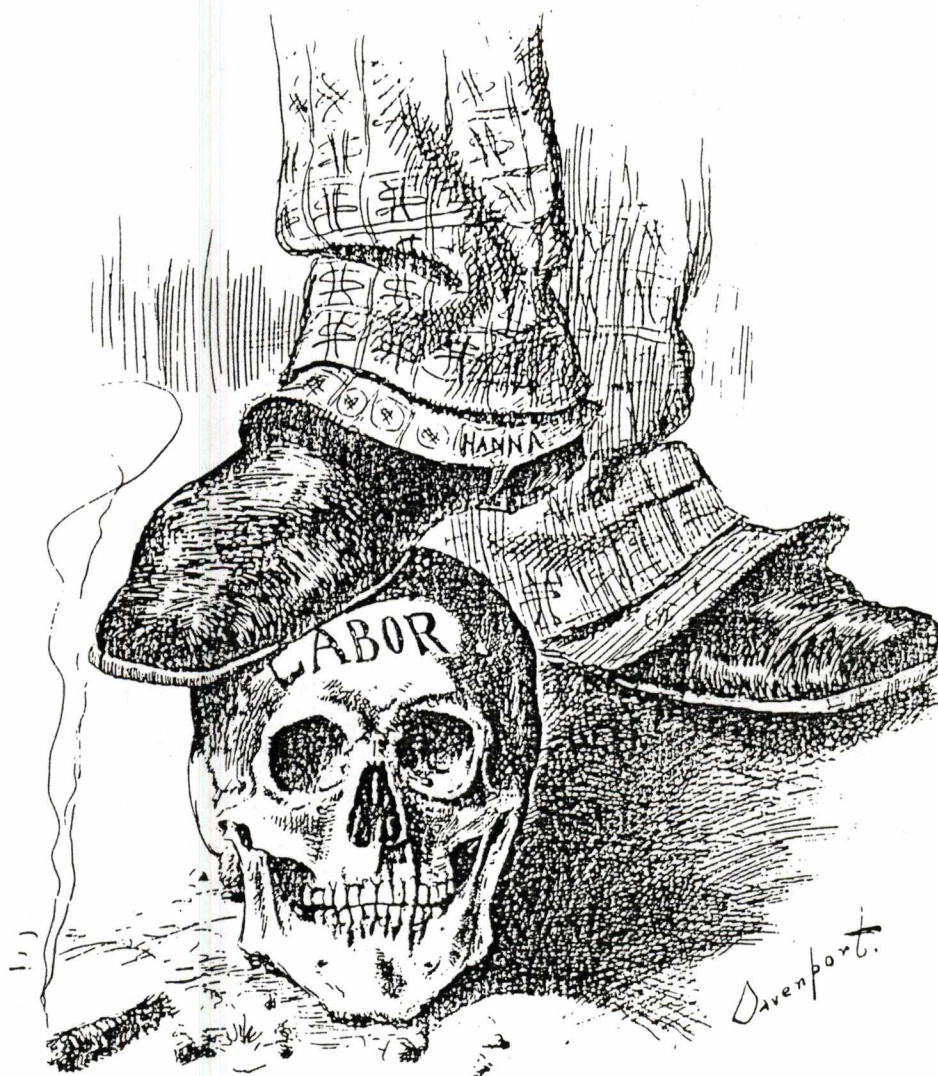


Figure 13. The Royal Feast Of Belshazzar Blaine And The Money Kings. Walt McDougall's cartoon attacking James Blaine made the editorial cartoonist an important part of the newspaper's structure.

Source: Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan. The Ungentlemanly Art (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), p. 121.

Bartholomew and C. G. Bush, and Frederick Burr Oppen and Homer Davenport of William Randolph Hearst's New York Journal (p. 49). The authors said Oppen and Davenport were more important to the history of cartooning for their examples of political cartoons, regenerating the tradition of Nast, than for any influence on style (p. 9).

During his early Citizen Kane days as a radical socialist, Hearst recruited Oppen from Puck; and for sheer good humor and clownishness, for sugar-coating barbs and disguising a sting with an aura of innocent drollery, Oppen never had an equal (Hess & Kaplan, 1968, p. 124). He stayed with Hearst for 32 years, quitting when failing eyesight forced his retirement. "I could no longer see the point of my cartoons," he said (Hess & Kaplan, 1968, p. 124). He became--with Davenport--Hearst's "one-two" punch; unlike the gentle Oppen, Davenport's "pictures invite battle and tears," wrote editor Horace Traubel. When Hearst contracted Davenport, he became the country's highest-paid cartoonist--making \$10,000 a year at age 27. A great admirer of Nast, Davenport emulated his savageness. Emerging from a small-town background as a Puritan prophet right out of the Old Testament, he was ready to cut down the evils around him like so many weeds to be cast in the blazing flames (Press, 1981, p. 269). He often aimed his morality at Sen. Mark Hanna, credited with putting William McKinley in the White House (Smith, 1954, p. 9). According to Frank Luther Mott, Davenport's corpulent, dollar-marked Hanna (Fig. 14), his caveman trusts and his puppet McKinley were not very funny, but they made points with a kind of savage directness (Spenser, 1949, p. 56). The cartoonist wanted his



Mr. Hanna's Stand on the Labor Question.

Figure 14. Mr. Hanna's Stand On The Labor Question. This is one of the examples of Homer Davenport's criticism of Sen. Mark Hanna, which resulted in the senator once crying on the Senate floor.

Source: Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, The Ungentlemanly Art (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), p. 95.

sting to hurt, and he apparently got what he wanted. Hanna once broke into tears when showing a fellow senator one of Davenport's 1896 campaign efforts. "That hurts," he blubbered, "to be held up to the gaze of the world as a murderer of women and children. I tell you it hurts" (Hess & Kaplan, 1968, p. 127).

Attempts were made to suppress the cartoonists, but all failed. The most famous American example, according to Press (1981), involved Pennsylvania Gov. Samuel Pennypacker. In 1902 he urged a bill prohibiting a politician to be drawn as a bird or any other animal. McDougall responded by drawing him as a series of vegetables (p. 188). Boss Platt of New York tried to muzzle the Hearst cartoonists in 1897 just as Tweed had tried to stop Nast with an anti-cartoon bill. It failed; instead providing Davenport with material for a series linking Platt with Tweed. . . . Like other such attempts, in California (1899), Indiana (1913) and Alabama (1915), it backfired (Press, 1981, p. 189). American cartoonists have been threatened with libel, but no such suits have succeeded (Peters, 1983). Tammany boss Charles Murphy threatened a suit against cartoonist W. G. Rogers if he continued to draw him in prison stripes. Rogers responded with a cartoon (Fig. 15) in which Murphy is walking down the street carrying a "libel suit case," saying, "Last year's stripes will no longer be worn." All of the other street gawkers in the cartoon were wearing prison stripes across their everyday clothes (Press, 1981, p. 189).

There was one subject that Oppen, Davenport and the other turn-of-the-century artists could always count on to make their lives easier--Theodore Roosevelt:



W. A. Rogers : Murphy says, "Last year's stripes will no longer be worn."

Figure 15. Murphy Says, "Last Year's Stripes Will No Longer Be Worn." W. A. Rogers responded to a threatened libel suit the following way.

Source: Charles Press, The Political Cartoon (London: Macmillan Co., 1981), p. 190.

The Rough Rider President was, in the words of John T. McCutcheon, "an inexhaustible Golconda of inspiration for the cartoonist." He was himself a frustrated cartoonist (as seen from the sketches with which he peppered his delightful letters to his children), and he rarely took offense at even the most outrageous crimes that the cartooning fraternity perpetuated against his features. In fact, sportsman Roosevelt was known to have been publically irritated by just one cartoon, and then only because it showed him mounting a war horse with the wrong foot in the stirrup. (Hess & Kaplan, 1968, p. 131)

For many cartoonists the transition from magazines to newspapers was difficult, often impossible. The leisurely routine of the weekly journals was replaced by a grinding, daily demand. Many artists quickly found they could not stand the pace or the increased drain on their creative juices (Hess & Kaplan, 1969, p. 124). Davenport and Oppen were repeats of Nast and Keppler, transferred to the newspaper world. Both were able to simplify as Nast did; both had individual styles (Press, 1981, p. 62).

Cartooning became an agent for social and political propaganda again about the time of Davenport's death in 1912. This era in cartooning reflected an angrier side of the country's consciousness:

When cartoonists were forced to confront to a twentieth-century style in drawings that dealt with twentieth-century problems, most notably in the magazines of the socialist press. In broadsides against American capitalism, militarism and complacency, Art Young, Boardman Robinson and Robert Minor offered stylistic innovations in grease pencil art that provided brutally clear images. Anarchist, communist and socialist artists, may have scored the greatest success in pacifist cartoons. Opposition to America's entry into the world war and sustained criticism of the American role in that war was a unifying point for leftist cartoonists. (Dennis & Dennis, 1974, p. 9)

The first quarter of the twentieth century has been called the "golden age" of the political cartoonist (Smith, 1954, p. 9). The

issues were simple enough to be easily interpreted, and there was enough elemental violence in them to satisfy the satirist (Smith, 1954, p. 9). As Harper's Weekly gave Nast a forum to reflect the intensity of the times, The Masses, edited by Max Eastman, gave cartoonists such as Young, Robinson and Minor a forum. Many of the leading artists of the day made drawings--without pay--for The Masses (Shikes, 1969, p. 325). From 1912 until it ceased publication in 1917, when many of its editors were indicted under the Espionage Act, The Masses' editorials and cartoons were the war's most serious critic (Press, 1981, p. 67). Generally, though, cartoonists were actively propagandizing for American intervention on the side of the English and French. Of all the cartoonists on major U.S. dailies, only Luther Bradley of the Chicago Daily News opposed American military involvement (Hess & Kaplan, 1969, p. 137). The coming of the war meant that patriotism replaced originality; the cartoonist became little more than a government cheerleader (Hess & Kaplan, 1969, p. 140). Though the artists working for the federal government did little to expand the art of cartooning, they did produce notable, powerful works in a simplistic patriotic vein of caricature. Best known of these is James Montgomery Flagg's recruiting poster of Uncle Sam proclaiming, "I want you!" (Dennis, 1974, p. 10).

Young was the only cartoonist among the Masses' staff arrested, and he fell asleep during the trial (Press, 1981, p. 190). Before working for the magazine, he free-lanced for Life, Judge and Puck. "In my youth I hoped for no higher status in life than to be among those who would follow in the wake of Thomas Nast, Joseph Keppler and

Bernard Gillam," he wrote in his autobiography (Young, 1939, p. 450). The Masses had a distinct purpose, according to Young: "This magazine exists for socialism. That's why I give my drawings to it, and anybody who doesn't believe in a socialist party, as far as I go, can get out" (Fitzgerald, 1973, p. 36). His World War I cartoon "Progress" (Fig. 16) has been re-published in numerous books and magazines. His autobiography (1939) complements his drawings and enunciates his struggle, and of the struggle of the left against the war effort: "The big war of 1914-1914 was not my war. It was plainly not a war for democracy but for plutocracy; not for people but for plunder, and to make our country military-minded" (p. 457). His perception of reality became so acute that he began to hate Woodrow Wilson and drew him not only as a diabolical figure but as decrepit bum (Fitzgerald, 1973, p. 66).

Dr. R. Fitzpatrick described Boardman Robinson as "a greater artist than Robert Minor, but not so great a political cartoonist" (Hoff, 1981, p. 113). Robinson's "Victory" (Fig. 17) expresses the magazine's feeling about the mirage of victory (Shikes, 1969, p. 331). He stated his creed:

The best political cartoons often grow out of a sense of indignation. They express one's reaction from the meanness and futilities of life, one's feelings of resentment at social wrong and oppression. (Press, 1981, p. 281)

Robert Minor left the St. Louis Post-Dispatch in 1913 and was replaced there by Fitzpatrick, who called his predecessor "the greatest political cartoonist of all time" (Hoff, 1976, p. 118). Minor was fired by the New York Evening Journal for refusing to do pro-war

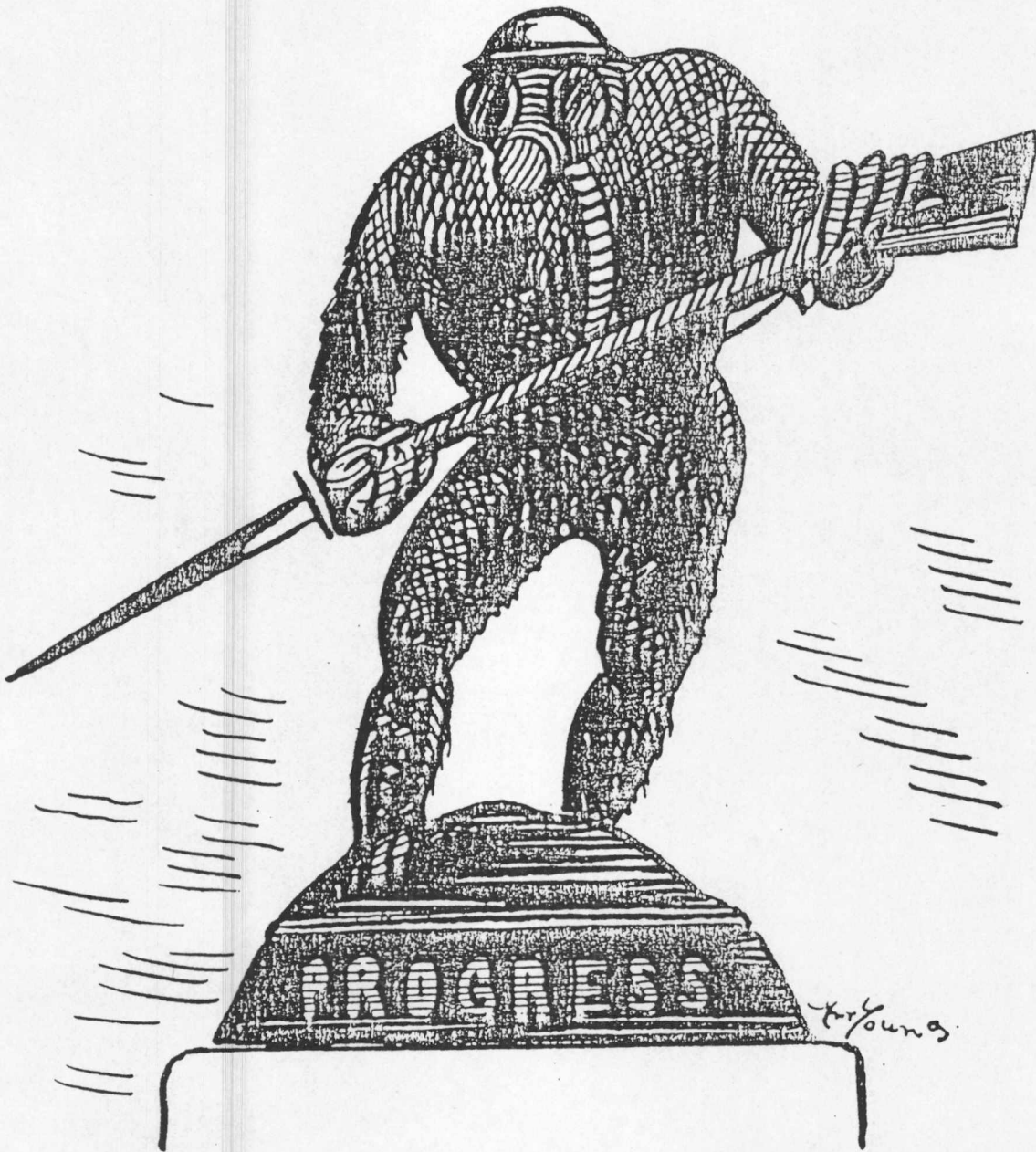


Figure 16. Progress. Art Young and the other Masses cartoonists criticized World War I.

Source: Syd Hoff. Editorial and Political Cartooning (New York: Stravon Educational Press, 1976), p. 104.

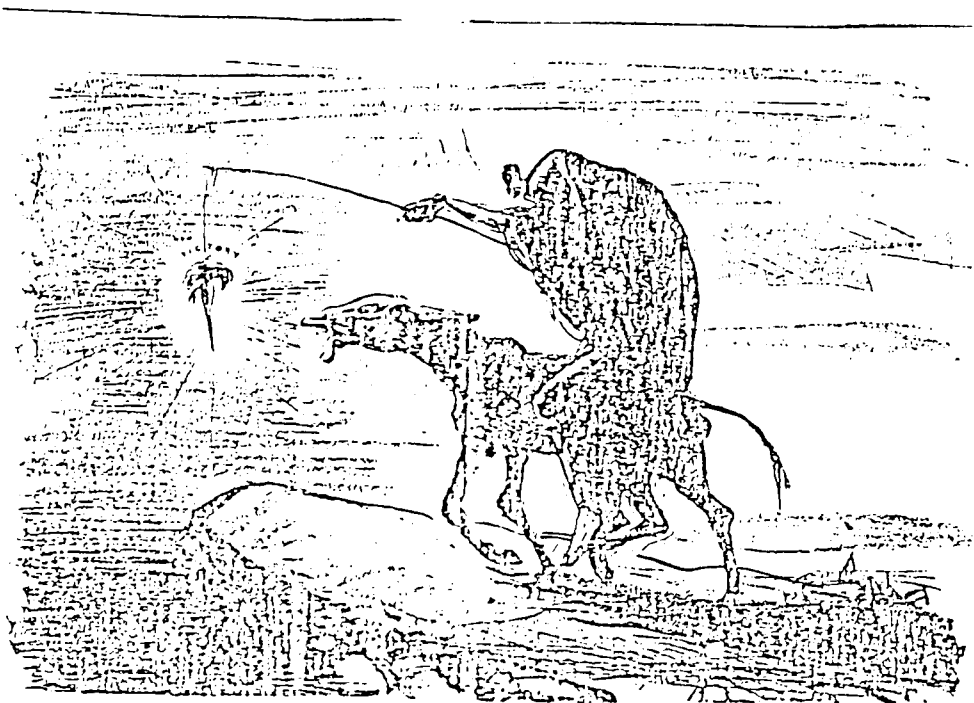


Figure 17. The Mirage Of Victory. Boardman Robinson criticized the government claims that victory was near in World War I.

Source: Ralph Shikes. The Indignant Eve (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 331.

cartoons (Fitzgerald, 1973, p. 68). His "Army Medical Examiner" (Fig. 18) became the inspiration of many cartoons that followed it (Shikes, 1969, P. 330). His life as a cartoonist was limited though; he called a halt to his professional career during World War I to join the Communist Party and devoted his life to that cause (Fitzgerald, 1973, p. 4). Cartoonist K. R. Chamberlain recalled Minor at The Masses:

Minor was altogether a cartoonist. . . . I'd hear him run around, "Defend your country? Who the hell's got any country around here?" That sort of thing. He was always upset about everything. (Fitzgerald, 1973, p. 83)

Only Young continued to work into the 1920s as a radical cartoonist. The Liberator replaced The Masses, which was much tamer, only to be replaced by a more watered-down The New Masses, which was tamer still. A cartoon by Al Hirschfeld criticizing Father Coughlin caused an editorial crisis. The editors felt the cartoon would alienate loyal trade unionists with a Catholic bent. Hirschfeld's comment reflects how tame he perceived The Masses had become.

Insisting that sanity, reason, honesty, political truth were all incontestably on my side, I finally convinced them I was not only stupid, willful, and irresponsible, but--this from the proletarian poet--that I also was acting like a lousy dictator. At any rate, the drawing was never used, and I have since been closer to Groucho Marx than Karl Marx. (p. 1).

That sense of professional outrage was left to Fitzpatrick and a few others as the 20s began. Cartooning became more "civilized," the word Walter Lippmann used to describe the works of cartoonist Rollin Kirby (Press, 1981, p. 287). Though maybe the best artists of this time were iconoclasts, the typical cartoonist of this era was



Army Medical Examiner: "At last a perfect soldier!"

Figure 18. At Last A Perfect Soldier. Robert Minor made a statement about war with this drawing, which appeared in The Masses.

Source: Syd Hoff. Editorial and Political Cartooning (New York: Stravon Educational Press, 1976), p. 119.

more optimistic and likely to advocate a smile over social reform (Press, 1981, p. 278). This trend would continue for the next few decades. Dennis and Dennis (1974) described political cartoons in the post-war era:

After the war cartoons reflected the nation's somewhat bleak political atmosphere. Americans became preoccupied with the lifestyle paying almost fetishist attention to such matters as the length of skirts, the bobbing of hair and the availability of drink. Cartoonists, possibly following the path of least resistance, became the chroniclers of these trivialities. Cartoonists in this time departed so much from the tradition of Nast making attacks so general that few could take personal offense. This trend was reflected in and encourage by the Pulitzer Prize for Cartooning, which was begun in 1922. (P. 10)

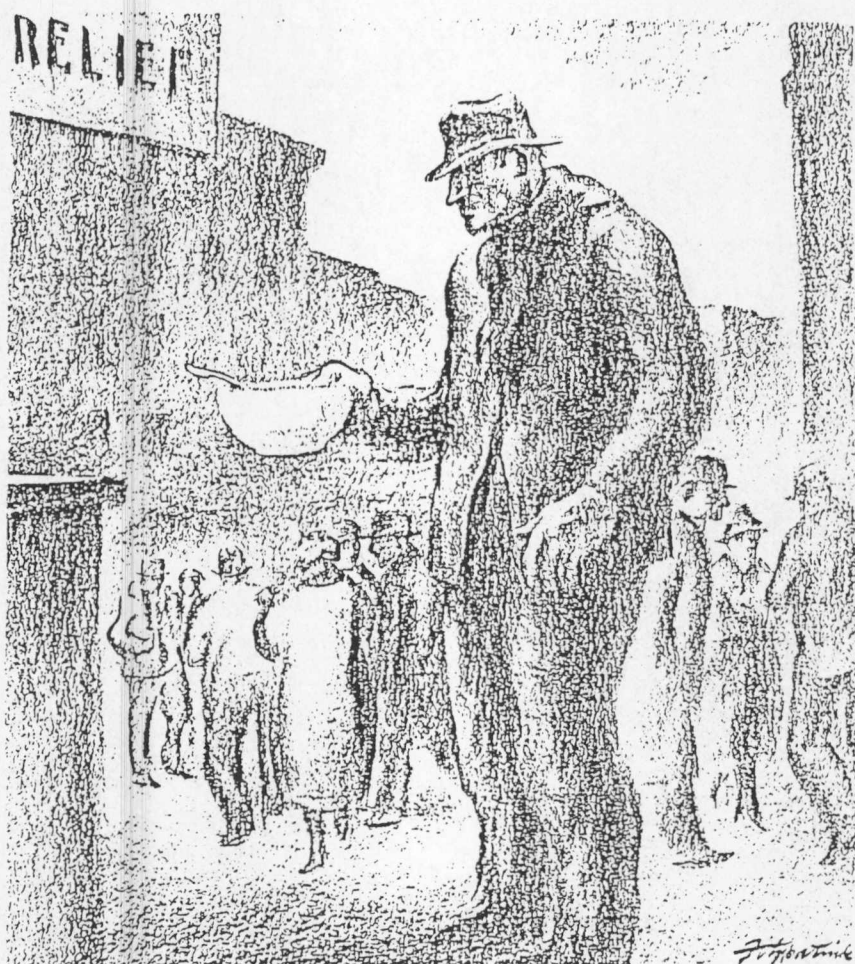
One of the holdovers of the Nastian tradition was Fitzpatrick, who worked for Joseph Pulitzer at the St. Louis Post-Dispatch; this association led indirectly to the origination of the Pulitzer Prize. Pulitzer said of Fitzpatrick:

Many competent critics have called him the world's greatest cartoonist. I may be prejudiced in his favor, but there surely can be little doubt that he ranks at or near the head of a great procession of men who have drawn pictures with a purpose, the purpose being to make things at least a little better in this country of ours and in this distraught world. (Fitzpatrick, 1953, foreword)

The cartoonist was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1926; ironically, he never submitted an entry after that. Press (1981) characterized Fitzpatrick's style as one that left the feeling of impending "Drang and doom"

. . . as if the floor is held up with rotten timbers, unbeknownst to those who are doing the conga above . . . for Fitzpatrick the most common emotion is indignation, at the hands dealt from the deck of life. (p. 287)

The cartoonist, himself, said, "I can sympathize with the underdog" (Fitzpatrick, 1953, foreword). An example of this is seen in Fig. 19.



ONE PERSON OUT OF EVERY TEN
JANUARY 16, 1938

Figure 19.—One Person Out Of Every Ten. D. R. Fitzpatrick pictured the grimness of the Depression this way.

Source: D. R. Fitzpatrick, As I Saw It (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), p. 31.

Indicative of a theme that repeats itself frequently throughout the history of U.S. political cartooning, Fitzpatrick is a product--to an extent anyway--of other cartoonists. Preceded in St. Louis by Minor and followed by Bill Mauldin, he also filled in for four summers for Rollin Kirby at the New York World, another of the leading cartoonists of the era.

Like Fitzpatrick, Kirby worked for the Pulitzers. He won the first Pulitzer Prize for Cartooning in 1922; more than any other cartoonist, he represented the voice of sweet liberalism against narrow-mindedness (Press, 1981, p. 289). His cartoons differed from the savage direction of Fitzpatrick in that they had more of a bittersweet, satiric bite to them--or as Walter Lippmann said:

They are never embittered to the point, which is so often reached in other political cartoons, where the cartoonist deprives his victims of human standing. They are civilized cartoons. (Press, 1981, p. 289)

Kirby attempted to sell his line by making intolerance look ridiculous because it was out of date, rather than by painting it as sinister, wrote Press (1981):

The Klansman who can't use grammar correctly pays off Senator Tom Hefflin, the stupid William Jennings Bryan studies the monkeys, the belligerent Teddy Roosevelt sells his World War I jingoism, the Republican Fat Boy wants to make one's flesh creep with Red scares, narrow-minded Calvin Coolidge types out his newspaper column with the ever-present inspiration of Old Glory . . . and in Kirby's crowning symbolic achievement, prohibition turns out to be a seedy-looking, ignorant hick, rather than a high-minded idealist. Even at his biting best, Kirby never approaches being the intolerant bigot that Fitzpatrick was capable of being. Kirby's target is not the human race but the cultural lags. Precisely the people who the bucolic cartoonists romanticize, he shows as out of date. (p. 290)

In the wake of World War I, two Constitutional amendments were

signed into law: the 18th Amendment, which gave women the right to vote, and the 19th Amendment, which outlawed the sale or manufacture of intoxicating beverages. Kirby is credited with effecting the repeal of the 19th Amendment. Hoff (1976) wrote that the high-water mark of this period, from the standpoint of political cartooning, was the emergence of his "Mr. Dry" (Fig. 20). It is universally recognized that his cartoon contribution to the cause was the greatest of all (p. 108).

Fitzpatrick and Kirby were different from the so-called "bucolic" cartoonists of the day not only in what they said but in how they went about saying it: preferring to use grease pencil on rough paper to pen or ink. The cartoonists who worked with pen and ink were usually conservative in technique and outlook, using country life anecdotes and homegrown humor in presenting editorial ideas (Dennis & Dennis, 1974, p. 7). Press (1981) singled out John McCutcheon of the Chicago Tribune as the leader of what he called the "sunnier side of life" school of cartooning. In his autobiography, McCutcheon wrote:

Preaching and scolding day after day made one a bore and someone not apt to be paid attention to. It was far better to emphasize "the sunnier side of life" on most days.
(Press, 1981, p. 274)

The Literary Digest quoted McCutcheon's colleague at the Tribune, Carey Orr, as saying:

There is really nothing finer than a good cartoon that makes people smile. If the American citizens begin the morning smiling, the American cartoonist has done a big thing. (p. 85)

The grease artists included the socialist cartoonists of The Masses genre and newspaper artists including Fitzpatrick and Kirby;



"NOW THEN, ALL TOGETHER, 'MY COUNTRY 'TIS OF THEE'"

Figure 20. "Now Then, All Together 'My Country 'Tis Of Thee.'" One of Rollin Kirby's causes involved repealing the 18th Amendment.

Source: Syd Hoff. Editorial and Political Cartooning (New York: Stravon Educational Press, 1976), p. 104.

they offered less humorous, more expressive cartoons. Dennis and Dennis (1974) said the grease artists executed their ideas in a brutal, rough manner or employed grotesque imagery in persuading the readers to their point of view, which was most often of a liberal or radical persuasion (p. 7). Kirby, perhaps somewhat biased, found his style superior:

There is greater sophistication, both in conception and execution of these cartoons and they imply an audience of more mature thought than do those of the cheery bucolic nature which abound in this country's press. (Dennis & Dennis, 1974, p. 7)

By and large Fitzpatrick and Kirby were the exception. The political cartoonist of this time was "bucolic" rather than "critical." One magazine that deviated from the norm was The New Yorker, founded by Harold Ross in 1925, who announced it would be designed for the sophisticate rather than "the old lady of Dubuque" (Hess & Kaplan, 1969, p. 135).

Despite their respite in the 1920s, one might have predicted cartooning to take a more courageous stance in the 1930s when explosive social problems confronted the nation. Yet--according to Dennis and Dennis (1974)--they did not; political cartoonists continued to play it safe in the 1930s:

For the most part the cartoonists who depicted the Depression, the New Deal and the coming of World War II did so with notable restraint and lack of imagination. Few artists maintained the tradition of cartooning as a source of social reform. . . . (p. 10)

By the 1930s cartooning differed greatly from the work of such revered antecedents as Thomas Nast, Joseph Keppler and Homer Davenport. . . . Personal caricature diminished and cartoons seemed to have lost their sting because there was less personal invective, less focus on local issues

and more concern with national issues, notably the Depression. . . . (p. 6)

One can only speculate whether the courage of the cartoon was a casualty of the great war, the Red scare after the war years or a general tendency toward mediocrity and conformity in America. Whatever the answer, cartooning failed to fulfill its promise. (p. 10)

This prevailed in the profession until the regeneration of editorial cartoonists' influence in the 1960s and 1970s. Press (1981) characterized the mood--which lasted a half century--as agnostic or good-humored skepticism. The cartoonists seem to suggest that democracies are not in the business of building the city of God by tomorrow after lunch, but only in making life a little more decent, humane and tolerable (p. 300). Rollin Kirby, in 1943, said that cartoons had become a "negative, qualified picture which is guaranteed to offend no one and therefore has lost most of its pungency" (Dennis, 1974, p. 664). By the 1950s it seemed political cartoonists had surrendered their right to comment. In an article on syndicated cartoonist John Milton Morris, Time magazine (1958) wrote:

He draws his syndicated editorial-page cartoons as he parts his hair: right down the middle . . . (editorial cartoonists) either delicately straddle current controversies or join all mankind in approving mother love and condemning sin. (p. 56)

When the cartoonist did condemn sin, someone else somewhere else was committing it, like the Germans (Fig. 21) or the Japanese. But, before America went to war, there was a pervasive view of the coming of the war as a vice (prostitution), which appealed to the hedonistic appetite of the European--and, by implication, was something which the moralistic Americans could abstain (Hess & Kaplan, 1969, p. 155). This



THE OUTSTRETCHED HAND, by Edmund Duffy

Figure 21. The Outstretched Hand. Edmund Duffy's cartoon demonstrated Adolf Hitler "broken promises."

Source: John Hohenberg, The Pulitzer Prize Story (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 164.

mood was caught by C. D. Batchelor of the New York Daily News in his 1937 Pulitzer Prize-winning cartoon (Fig. 22). In the 1930s most American cartoonists (like the majority of the people for whom they drew) felt neither overly concerned nor personally threatened by the events in Europe--as Hess and Kaplan wrote (1969):

Rather than portray Hitler as the terrifying would-be conqueror that he was, they were more apt to pictorially turn him into a comic figure--mountebank, village idiot, or just that little man with the funny moustache. (p. 155).

Hess and Kaplan (1969) said that two cartoonists in the Middle West, historically the home of American isolationism, took the lead in trying to explain the menace of events across the Atlantic: Fitzpatrick, of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch who usually aided with liberal Democrats, and Vaughn Shoemaker of the Chicago Daily News who usually sided with conservative Republicans (p. 155). Despite their differences, both agreed that America's best interests would not be served by appeasing a dictator (Hess & Kaplan, 1969, p. 157). Fitzpatrick described the way cartoonists reacted to the changing world as America neared war:

How to portray to the new movement in cartoon language? Perhaps this is a good example of the distilling process a cartoonist indulges in. The swastika emblem (Fig. 23) of the movement was modified to depict the real nature of Nazism. It is pure pictorial language and as simple as a drawing by an early caveman. . . .

Later, I transformed the swastika (Fig. 23) into a huge, tumbling engine of destruction which I used on a number of occasions. (Hess & Kaplan, 1969, p. 156)

Field Marshall Goering called Shoemaker's cartoons (Fig. 24) "horrible examples" of anti-Nazi propaganda in the United States (Hess & Kaplan, 1969, p. 156). America was at war and cartoonists did what



"COME ON IN, I'LL TREAT YOU RIGHT, I USED TO KNOW YOUR DADDY,"

Figure 22. "Come On In, I'll Treat You Right, I Used To Know Your Daddy." C. D. Batchelor's cartoon won the 1937 Pulitzer Prize for Cartooning.

Source: Charles Press, The Political Cartoon (London: Macmillan Co., 1981), p. 200.

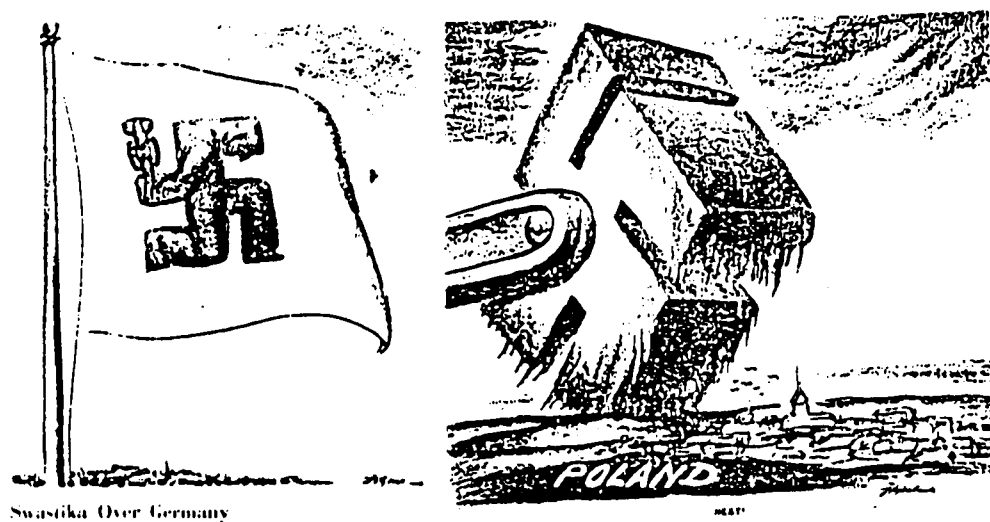


Figure 23. The Evolution Of The Swastika. Dr. R. Fitzpatrick transformed the swastika into an engine of destruction.

Source: Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, The Ungentlemanly Art (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1967), p. 156.



Figure 24. "Take Me to Czechoslovakia, Driver." Vaughn Shoemaker's cartoon portrayed Hitler's progress with macabre detail.

Source: Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, The Ungentlemanly Art (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1967), p. 156.

they could for the cause, reflecting the pathos of a war fought thousands of miles away that could be experienced on the home front (Fig. 25). Once America entered the war, cartoons became predictably bland. "Ding" Darling won the 1943 Pulitzer Prize for an attack on excessive governmental paperwork, one of the rare issues on which there could be hardly any dissent (Hess & Kaplan, 1969, p. 157). The only really exceptional cartooning (Hess & Kaplan, 1969, p. 157) was done by Sgt. Bill Mauldin, whose "Willie and Joe" cartoons gave the readers a flavor of foxhole life. Fig. 26 won him the 1944 Pulitzer Prize. Following a lapse in success following the war, Mauldin regained stride again in the late 1950s and 1960s.

There were effective and prominent cartoonists in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, but cartoonists were largely practitioners of the "sunnier side of life" school. McCutcheon, Orr, Darling and Shoemaker all cartooned for about a half-century apiece, which resulted in their style becoming even more tame. Dennis (1974) attributed this to the natural process of maturation, finding that of 150 editorial cartoonists who lived and worked between 1870 and 1940, more than half continued to work into their 70s and 80s (p. 668). One of the few enduring images created in those days was Shoemaker's John O. Public, the archetypal cartoon everyman in a tax-ridden, war-torn world, who bears his burdens with a smile and a cigar (Newsweek, 1980, p. 83).

Shoemaker, in fact, became involved as the voice of the old order in a 1963 Editor and Publisher forum in which young cartoonists expressed their disenchantment with the state of the art. Bill Sanders initiated the controversy in the November 1982 Edition of the



Figure 25. Those On The Home Front Are Not So Casual. "Ding" Darling captured the home front with this cartoon, which won the 1943 Pulitzer Prize for Cartooning.

Source: J. N. Darling, Ding's Half Century (New York: Quell, Sloan and Pearce, 1962), p. 133.



"Fresh, spirited American troops, flushed with victory, are bringing in thousands of hungry, ragged, battle-weary prisoners . . ."
(News item)

Figure 26. Fresh, Spirited American Troops. . . . Bill Mauldin gave the home front an idea of what it was like at the fighting front with his "Willie and Joe" series. This was responsible for his winning the 1944 Pulitzer Prize for Cartooning.

Source: Syd Hoff, Editorial and Political Cartooning (New York: Stravon Educational Press, 1976), p. 285.

Association of American Editorial Cartoonists newsletter, when he called cartoons

. . . headlines that have been cartooned into an editorial page. . . . A careful and honest examination of a good cross-section of America's editorial cartoons reveals a vast wasteland of multi-captioned, hackneyed cartoons. (Friedman, June 22, 1963, p. 46)

This was followed by an article on Hugh Haynie, who preceded Sanders at the Greensboro Daily News, and once walked out of an interview when told if hired he would be told what he could or could not draw. Haynie said, "Editorial cartoons, as such, are the duller, most monotonous thing that appears in the daily newspaper" (Friedman, June 29, 1963, p. 38). Like Sanders, Haynie classified himself as a liberal, and said that for a cartoon to be effective it had to be critical and usually harshly so (Friedman, June 29, 1963, p. 38). The third article in the series did not criticize political cartoonists in this country for not fulfilling their potential, rather they were criticized for not equalling the work of the European political cartoonist; Europeans, like the new wave cartoonists were not particularly impressed with the work American political cartoonists were doing. One American who studied in Europe, Jim Ivey, had this criticism: "American style was too serious. Americans overlabeled. Americans were unfunny. Americans had no freedom of expression" (Friedman, July 13, 1963, p. 32). An immigrant from Estonia, Edmund Valtman, became the unofficial spokesman for the new wave when he won the Pulitzer Prize for Cartooning in 1962 (Friedman, July 13, p. 32). Valtman said that although there is constant change, satire has always been the basic in the best political cartoons.

In its early beginning the editorial cartoon was rather crude and often accompanied by explanation. It was sometimes a symbolic picture--at times dramatic and passionate, even crusading. Not long ago what we now call the caption was presented in dialogue form. Such dialogue has been disregarded entirely in the modern cartoon largely because of the realization that the cartoon can capture only a fleeting moment on a certain attitude and expression of the characters presented at the moment.

Editorial cartoons are more widely printed now, through enormous papers, groups and by the process of syndication. The latter has, in many instances, taken some fire from the cartoonists' message because the result of trying to please everyone and displease so few clients as possible has been to encourage fence-sitting.

I believe that editorial cartooning is here to stay and do not foresee any drastic revisions needed for it to remain a part of journalism in the future. (Bender, 1974, p. 179)

The Editor and Publisher series concluded with Bill Crawford, chief editorial cartoonist of Newspaper Enterprise Association. Instead of calling for a new wave, he called for a "new cartoon":

The new cartoon can't be an illustrated headline. It must have a personal slant--must convey a feeling about the news that the reader can identify with. (Friedman, July 27, 1963, p. 40)

On behalf of the old order, Shoemaker answered by criticizing the pretentiousness of the new wave:

They appear to have brought little new to our field unless it is a brazen demand for freedom which they as of yet have not earned. . . . I believe that the average cartoonist today is given latitude in direct proportion to his proven ability. . . . Instead of making unjust demands for carte blanche control over copy which is interpreted as representing the views of the newspaper, a good cartoonist will learn all he can from his experienced editor in the hope that he may develop sound, mature judgment. (Shoemaker, August 17, 1963, p. 48-49)

Los Angeles Times cartoonist Frank Interlandi answered both sides in a letter to Editor and Publisher: "The debate between the

new wave and the old order is ridiculous. In short, who cares?" (Letter, August 31, 1963, p. 7).

Offset printing in the 1960s expanded the market for cartoon art as newspapers, magazines and other periodicals increased their use of line drawings, caricatures and cartoons. This encouraged many young artists who previously viewed editorial cartooning as a closed field (Dennis, 1974, p. 665). The number of political cartoonists increased nearly half in the next decade (Newsweek, October 13, 1980, p. 74). Watergate and Vietnam became the catalyst as political cartoonists returned to their influence and stature of an earlier era. The regenerative process began in the years after World War II with the strength of predominantly three cartoonists (Herbert Block, Bill Mauldin and Paul Conrad) who provided the transition between the old order and the new wave (Dennis, 1974, p. 666).

Most exciting of postwar cartoonists was Herbert Block, or Herblock (Hess & Kaplan, 1969, p. 157). He was 19 when he was hired by the Chicago Daily News as a political cartoonist. He did not reach his fullest potential until joining the Washington Post in 1946. As the 1960s gave Mauldin the forum that inspired his best works, Herblock's time came a decade earlier; in the 1950s he became the most influential American political cartoonist since Thomas Nast (Press, 1981, p. 301). His shivery "Mr. Atom" (Fig. 27) symbolized the dangers of nuclear war for millions (Shikes, 1969, p. 69). Herblock was the first cartoonist to coin the term "McCarthyism" in a March 1950 attack on the activities of the Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy (Fig. 28) (Dennis, 1974, p. 667). He may not have played as singular role in ending McCarthyism

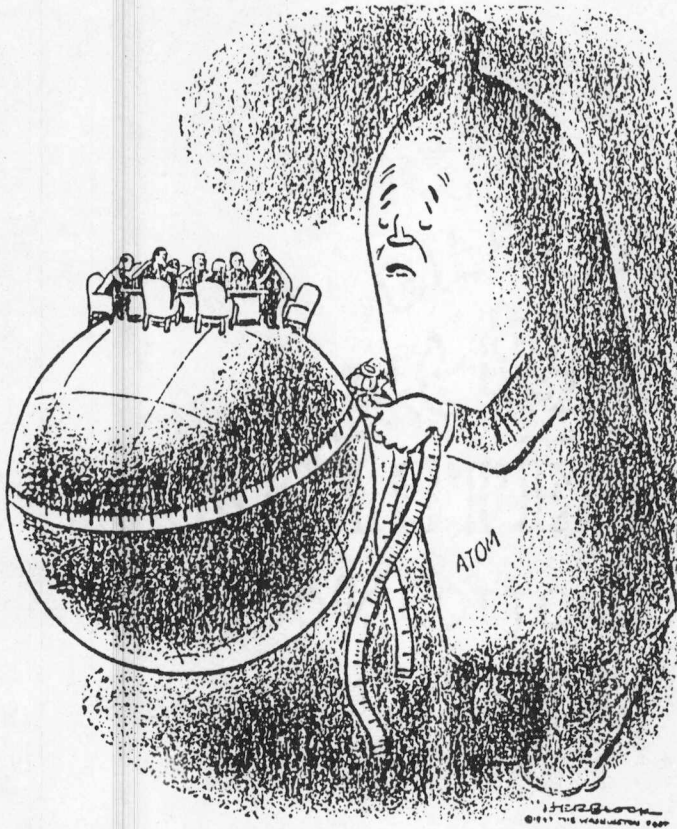


Figure 27. Mr. Atom. Herblock depicted the potential danger of nuclear war with this symbol.

Source: Charles Press, The Political Cartoon (London: Macmillan Co., 1981), p. 365.



Figure 28. "I Have Here In My Hand." Herblock was one of the first to doubt Sen. Joseph McCarthy's credibility.

Source: Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, The Ungentlemanly Art (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968). p. 158.

as Nast did in bringing down the Tweed Ring, but his courageous attacks helped clear the way for McCarthy's downfall (Shikes, 1969, p. 365). The malady the senator suffered from was not slothful stupidity or ignorance, cultural lag or even political opportunism gone wild; it was that he had a serious disorder: McCarthy was Satan trying to turn back the clock and take it all away (Press, 1981, p. 207).

In 1954 Vice President Richard Nixon was drawn crawling out of a sewer to meet his welcoming committee (Fig. 29). Nixon commented on the hardships of public figures and their families; he was not complaining for himself, he said, but it was "difficult when your 10-year-old daughter comes home from school and says her classmates are teasing her about a cartoon in the morning paper" (Hess & Kaplan, 1969, p. 158). Nixon could shave himself raw, but the image stayed. When he ran for president in 1960, he said, "I have to erase the Herblock image" (Hess & Kaplan, 1969, p. 158). Herblock left the stubble off Nixon for the remainder of his presidency, although readers asked when the beard would grow back (Newsweek, October 13, 1980, p. 77).

Block cartoons--like Nast cartoons--have a message for the nouveaux middle-class citizen, shouting, "Are you going to stand for this nonsense? . . . Whenever the occasion calls for it, raise bloody hell!" (Press, 1981, p. 304).

Not until Herblock--with his brutish Nixons and McCarthys and his chillingly thuggish, anthromorphic atom bomb--did U.S. cartooning begin to rediscover the impact of Nast; and not until (Pat) Oliphant, with his free-wheeling style was it put into a form that stirred the imagination of gifted young artists. (Newsweek, 1980, p. 83).

As the issues of the 1950s meshed with Herblock's best, the 1960s did so with Mauldin, who began in St. Louis and later moved to Chicago.



Figure 29. "Here He Comes Now." Herbblock drew Richard Nixon crawling out of a sewer to meet his welcoming committee. This gave Nixon an image he could not shake.

Source: Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, The Ungentlemanly Art (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), p. 158.

He had been well regarded during the war for his Stars and Stripes cartoons, but then his work starved for an audience after the war:

. . . scattering the shot of his ridicule, irony, and exasperation over a wide range of targets from super-patriotism to stereotyped liberalism, he offended many shades of editorial policy and his cartoons were dropped by newspaper and newspaper. (Dennis, 1974, p. 668)

A liberal who opted for social reform, Mauldin became most effective during the civil rights legislation movement of the 1960s. One of the cartoons best associated with Mauldin is his following the assassination of President Kennedy (Fig. 30). What his work boils down to is this message: Do not expect too much in this world and probably not from the next. But that doesn't mean you should give up trying to make things more tolerable for yourself and the other poor slob who don't have your advantages (Press, 1981, p. 316).

In 1960 Conrad complained about the low state of cartoon art in Time magazine: "I'm really ashamed of editorial cartooning in America. There are over 150 cartoonists, but you can count the good ones on the fingers of one hand (p. 53). Time named Conrad as heir apparent to Herblock's job at the Washington Post and defined the Conrad style:

Conrad combines meticulous attention to detail with the powerful punch of simplicity. Hours of painstaking research goes into a Conrad cartoon, with the result being that a Conrad locomotive, for example, really looks like a locomotion--and could pass the technical muster of an engineer. A Conrad cartoon is readily digested at a glance. That glance, he feels certain, is all the reader will give it: "I figure eight seconds is the absolute maximum time anyone should have." Talking balloons almost never drift above the heads of his characters, who are generally so identifiable that they need no name tags; his captions are either commendably short or absent altogether. (p. 54)

In Conradian fashion, the cartoonist brings all the pathos of Richard Nixon to William Shakespeare in Fig. 31. Conrad's career was



Figure 30. Lincoln Mourns The Death Of President Kennedy. In one of his best known cartoons, Bill Mauldin portrays the Lincoln Memorial mourning following the assassination of President Kennedy.

Source: Charles Press, The Political Cartoon (London: Macmillan Co., 1981), p. 365.

O THAT I WERE AS GREAT AS MY GRIEF OR LESSER THAN MY NAME!
OR THAT I COULD FORGET WHAT I HAVE BEEN!
OR NOT REMEMBER WHAT I MUST BE NOW!
KING RICHARD II. ACT III, SCENE III



Figure 31. King Richard. All the pathos of Shakespeare comes out in this Paul Conrad cartoon of Richard Nixon.

Source: Syd Hoff, Editorial and Political Cartooning (New York: Stravon Educational Press, 1976), p. 185.

sandwiched between two other prominent cartoonists. He preceded Oliphant at the Denver Post and followed Edmund Valtman at the Los Angeles Times; however, he has not followed Herblock at the Post, as predicted. Herblock is still cartooning, though Press (1981) said time has taken its toll on his creativity and bite.

Like Thomas Nast before him, Block has become a little dated and his shots occasionally glance off target. . . . Herblock is one of the really great cartoonists of the world and he should get a citizens medal if any cartoonist should. He devised a political cartoon that was most unlike the work of anyone else before, but so good that its tricks were borrowed by others almost on sight. At the same time he has projected the traditional liberal faith of the optimistic and cheerful Americans. Few men or women in their own fields have had the impact that he has on his colleagues or on the political activities of his generation. (p. 311)

Oliphant, who began at the Denver Post and who has since moved to the Washington Star, became the transition from the postwar artists to the new wave and is the most widely syndicated editorial cartoonist in the country--being published in more than 500 newspapers (Newsweek, 1980, p. 75). Probably because of his Australian heritage, Oliphant has a different approach and style from what is typical in American art. One legacy of his foreign base is his use of a small character in his cartoons--a penguin mascot named Punk--who makes a remark about the situation. He said this give him a chance to "make two comments at once and, sometimes a way of putting in an opinion that the publisher wouldn't allow in the cartoon by itself" (Stevenson, 1979, p. 42).

The Carter White House characterized Herblock as "blindly anti-Carter" and saw Oliphant the way people regard a "brilliant surgeon who has turned his skills to safecracking: a great talent ruined by a

warped personality" (Newsweek, 1980, p. 78). Newsweek (1980) also quoted a Carter aide as saying Oliphant was "mean for the sake of being mean" (p. 78). More than anyone else, Oliphant seems to be striving in his caricature to lay bare the personality of a politician; he seems to be arguing that the personality of leaders, their foibles and strengths, are what determine the style of their policy and politics. Oliphant boils down to a psychological analysis of political character and events (Press, 1981, p. 317). Though Mauldin and Herblock may hedge before attacking liberals, Oliphant has no such bias. Everyone is fair game to him (Press, 1981, p. 319). He will shoot at both left and right. An example of this (Fig. 32) has the two 1980 presidential candidates (Reagan and Catter) leering out at the foot of a bed, while a sleepy wife asks, "Are they still there?" Oliphant said (1979) in The New Yorker magazine:

There are no sacred cows for me, no forbidden areas. You have to decide "good taste" for yourself, and you're always going to offend somebody. When you sign your work, you really have to believe what you've said. Sometimes deciding what you believe is the exhausting part. With political figures, I think there's no such thing as a good one, and I go on from there. I suppose my position is negative. If you're going to be in favor of something, you might as well not be a cartoonist. (p. 46)

In Victorian times everyone drew in the Tenniel style. After World War II, the Herblock cartoon was in style; now, modifications of the Oliphant and the MacNelly style are in (Press, 1981, p. 193). Newsweek had MacNelly on its cover on October 13, 1980, three weeks before the presidential election. The magazine said this on the state of political art: "All told, connoisseurs agree, there have never been so many good cartoonists or more wretched excesses for them to

'Are they still there?'

Oliphant © 1980 Washington Sta



Figure 32. "Are They Still There?" The 1980 Presidential Election inspired Pat Oliphant to portray the candidates like this.

Source: Newsweek, Oct. 13, 1980, p. 75.

lampoon" (p. 74). Mauldin, Conrad and Herblock were responsible for reviving the power of Nast. The times agreed with the regeneration.

On their sketch pads the bedrock of American democracy is turning into a pit of quicksand. As our leaders flounder across it, the cartoonists press closer to the edge, vying to capture the polls' expression as they go under. (Newsweek, 1980, p. 74)

Vietnam and Watergate shaped cartoonists' indignation and forged their impartial impulse to bait the powerful. "We went off the picket line and right onto the drawing board" said Make Peters (Newsweek, 1980, p. 83). Charlotte Observer editorial cartoonist Doug Marlette said the Vietnam War

. . . liberated cartoonists to draw politicians the way they really are, as demagogues. All the things we were taught back in Laurel, Miss., about the sanctity of the Constitution turned out to be a lie, the politicians just didn't believe it. . . . We've had a tendency to idolize politicians, to put presidents on pedestals. All that was undermined by the war, and then Watergate. (Hoff, 1976, p. 281)

"Washington itself became a cartoon" in the early 1970s, Marlette said (Newsweek, 1980, p. 83). This was when Richard Nixon was in the White House; ridicule came naturally.

Nixon's long-held suspicion that some elements in the press took special delight in skewering him is absolutely correct, as far as cartoonists go. Never, in their view, has nature so perfectly molded physiognomy to personality. Hunchbacked, fingers wagging in the characteristic double V, he was instantly recognizable even from the back. (Newsweek, 1980, p. 83).

"He was our Camelot," Peters said (Newsweek, 1980, p. 83). Cartoons of Nixon and Watergate are included in Figs. 33-35. The cartoonists who came to the fore in this era included MacNelly, Peters, Marlette, Paul Szep, Tony Auth, Don Wright, Jules Feiffer of The New



Figure 33. "Never Having To Say You're Sorry." Garry Trudeau's "Doonesbury" satirized the terminology of the Vietnam War.

Source: Jerry Robinson, The 1970s Best Political Cartoons of the Decade (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.), p. 40.

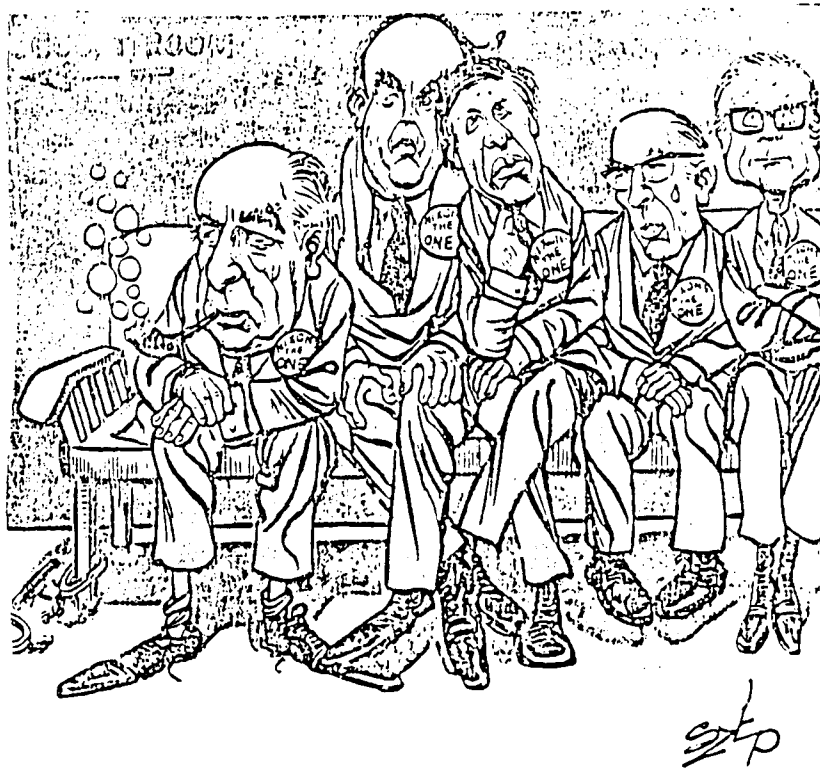
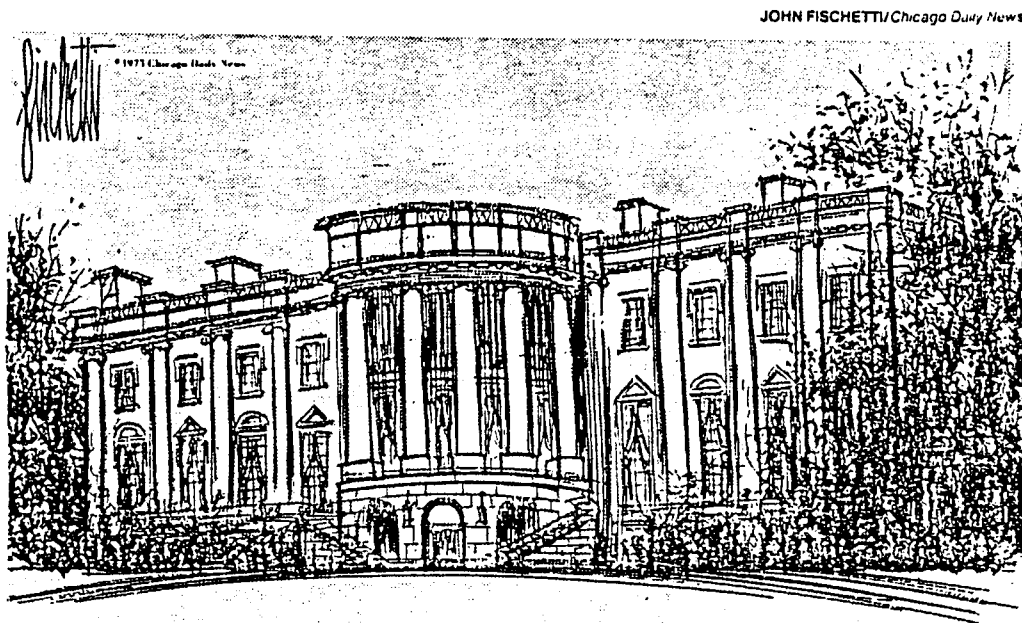


Figure 34. All The President's Men. Watergate gave cartoonists an endless supply of material. This Paul Szep drawing catches a few of the conspirators on a courtroom bench.

Source: Paul Szep, Warts and All (Kansas City: Andrews and McMeel, 1980), p. 39.



Will the last one indicted please put the lights out?

Figure 35. Will The Last One Indicted Please Turn The Lights Out. John Fischetti pictured the result of the Watergate affair the following way.

Source: Jerry Robinson, The 1970s Best Political Cartoons of the Decade (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.), p. 72.

Yorker and Garry Trudeau of the comic strip "Doonesbury." Trudeau became the first comic strip artist to win the Pulitzer Prize for Cartooning, though a few, including "Pogo" artist Walt Kelly were perhaps deserving.

Press (1981) wrote that the future of political cartooning rests with Oliphant and the Oliphant style, though--as had always been the case--mediocrity will continue within the field:

To Oliphant, it seems to me, the future belongs. Other cartoonists have begun to imitate his artistic style. Fewer can bring themselves to adopt his more cynical, humorous viewpoint on politics. Some use the style for crusading, and deump in a bit more bitterness. Others use the style for mainly nonpolitical stuff that just happens to feature politicians. But all this catches little of the Oliphant mood. It is that viewpoint, however, which I suspect will dominate American cartoon comment and the public opinion of the immediate future. (p. 320)

Twenty years ago when cartoonists were criticizing the fall of their stature and lamenting their decline, cartoonist Scott Long said this on the future of the profession--which Jack Bender agreed with in Journalism Quarterly (1963).

I believe cartoons will be with us as long as man remains man. . . . I . . . suspect that even in 1984 some poor devil with a touch of insolence will be drawing surreptitious, sarcastic pictures of Big Brother on the walls of a washroom in furtive protest against the injustices of the society in which he is forced to live. (p. 180)

Long's comment has a relevance in 1984, which is also an election year--a time that brings out the best and worst in cartoonists, said Peters (1983).

It seems like election years bring out the best and worst, just like bad times. . . . Any bad time is going to breed the best satire, the best social commentary, the best writers perhaps. . . . It's going to breed a lot of

feelings that lend themselves into comment one way or the other: social comment or writing or painting or whatever. For the editorial cartoonists, those are the best of times. The first two lines of Tale of Two Cities are probably the most appropriate of any for the editorial cartoonists because we love the best of times and the worst of times. (Peters, 1983)

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Mike Peters is the editorial cartoonist for the Dayton Daily News and is syndicated in between 250 and 300 newspapers. He has been recognized as one of the best editorial cartoonists in the United States. In 1981 he won the Pulitzer Prize for Cartooning.

Peters has published three books of his cartoons: The Nixon Chronicles (1976), Clones You Idiot . . . I Said Clones (1978) and Win One for the Geezer, former "Doonesbury" cartoonist Garry Trudeau, himself a Pulitzer Prize-winner, said (1982):

One of those things being remarked upon in professional circles these days is how many young editorial cartoonists are trying to draw like Mike Peters. No one is more amazed by this than Peters himself, who grew up wanting to draw like Bill Mauldin. Fortunately, he failed, spectacularly, and was forced by circumstance to develop an inimitable style of his own. All of us are richer for it, especially Mike. . . . Mike Peters' cartoons are intelligent, funny and caring. How he gets them that way is his own business. (p. ix-x)

Peters was raised in St. Louis, and as a boy became interested in cartooning by observing Bill Mauldin, who was at that time the cartoonist of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Peters graduated from Washington University, then worked for the Chicago Daily News before joining the Army. He returned to Chicago following the service. In 1968 he became the editorial cartoonist for the Dayton Daily News in Dayton, Ohio. He became syndicated by United Features in the early 1970s. Peters lives outside Dayton in Beavercreek, is married and has three daughters.

Peters was chosen as the subject of this study for several reasons. One is the author finds Peters' cartoons overall as the best in the country; also, because Peters works in Dayton he was accessible to the author's hometown of Kettering, a suburb of Dayton. There has been a limited number of scholarly works in the field of editorial cartooning. A literature review found no theses or dissertations devoted to a single American artist. There is a need to rectify this oversight.

The purpose of this chapter is two fold: first, to find out more about the work habits and perceptions of an editorial cartoonist; and secondly, to analyze the works of an editorial cartoonist. The first chapter will therefore be a biography of Mike Peters: tracing his development as a cartoonist and to articulate his opinions concerning his profession, specifically how he sees himself and his art. The second chapter on this topic is a content analysis of Peters' cartoons. He began working for the Dayton Daily News in late 1968; the content analysis was prepared in late 1983. The sample of this analysis categorized two cartoons from every month from January, 1969, through December, 1982.

I. A BIOGRAPHY OF MIKE PETERS

Mike Peters began drawing political cartoons while growing up in St. Louis, the scene of some of the best political cartoons in U.S. history. Robert Minor, D. R. Fitzpatrick and Bill Mauldin all worked for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Peter's youth bridged Fitzpatrick's final years with the newspaper with the beginning of Mauldin's years.

He said the presence of Mauldin had more with him becoming an editorial cartoonist than did Fitzpatrick's presence. "I didn't want to become an editorial cartoonist when D. R. was in St. Louis. I did when Mauldin was," He said (Peters, 1983).

He described himself in his early years as a "little mover and shaker. . . . When I was in grade school, most of my time was spent taking drawings around to local magazines," he said (Peters, 1983). Then in high school, he brought his cartoons to his high school paper.

All during high school I was drawing the teacher and I'd be drawing everything else. We had a school paper, which was really influential in my development of being an editorial cartoonist, or just any cartoonist, because you're printed--the biggest thing to a young guy who wants to be a cartoonist.

On the first day of (high) school I went to the school paper and said I wanted to be a cartoonist. I remember the first cartoon. It was real big, a symbol of a school we were going to play in football the next week. I had that symbol sitting on a firecracker. I had the name of our school on the side of the firecracker. It was like a little editorial cartoon. The fuse was lit. . . . They shot it way down, but I was ecstatic. It was printed. (Peters, 1983)

Peters described himself as a class clown. In grade school, he would undress from his Catholic school uniform, put on a Superman outfit and jump off the urinal startling unsuspecting persons (Peters, p. xiii). He was a bad student, the "worst student," he said. "I flunked religion. I flunked all the easy courses, and flunked all the hard courses, of course" (Peters, 1983). Peters (1981) said that one of the reasons he went into the profession was to become smart, and that cartooning was the only thing that anyone had said he could do well (U.S. News and World Report, 1981, p. 57). Years of researching and reading for material has made him more knowledgeable, he said.

About five or six years after I got here (Dayton), I was at a party and somebody was asking me about some issue, and I was talking about it, and I was listening to my words and I knew what I was talking about. That was really fun. I'll never forget that. It was one of the reasons why I wanted to become an editorial cartoonist, and all of a sudden I realized it worked. Also marrying an English teacher had a lot to do with it. (Peters, 1983)

Peters married his wife Marian in 1965 after graduating from Washington University. While in college he began visiting Chicago to see Mauldin and the art staffs of the newspapers. This led to his job at the Chicago Daily News following graduation (Peters, 1983). He was there for a year before getting drafted. The service did not interfere with his art. He said he always thought he could be a cartoonist; therefore, in the Army, there was no reason to think he would be anything else. He was not.

I just assumed I'd be a cartoonist in the Army. In basics, in the middle of the night, the only light in the barracks was in the john. I'd go inside the john and draw up cartoons about what happened to me during that day. And then before anybody got up, as soon as the lights went on, I'd get on my clothes and I'd take the cartoons and slip them under the door at the base newspaper. I did that every day for about a week and then they started running them. Then a couple of days after that, an officer came up and said, "Are you the guy doing the cartoons? Do you think you could do a cartoon on so and so?" I started doing it regularly during basics and then when I got out of basics, they made me a full-time member of the newspaper. (Peters, 1983)

He returned to Chicago following the service to resume work with the Chicago Daily News. He also became reacquainted with Mauldin, who was responsible for Peters getting his job as an editorial cartoonist at the Dayton Daily News.

I always hung around Mauldin a lot. Mauldin was there at the (Chicago) Sun-Times. He knew I always wanted to do editorial cartooning. He must not have had lots of kids

hanging around because when Jim Fain, who was the editor of the Dayton Daily News and an old Army buddy of Bill's, called one day--this was in 1968--and asked him if he knew of any kids who wanted to be a cartoonist. Bill said, "There's this guy Mike Peters." And then Fain said, "I'm going to be up for the Democratic convention." So I met him up there. I don't think I showed him any of my cartoons, and he hired me just on Mauldin's say. . . . He was the reason why I got into it, and he was the one who got me my job. (Peters, 1983)

There have always been limited outlets for the political cartoonist, and therefore a limited number of political cartoonists. When he was hired by the Dayton Daily News, he became one of the few, specifically, 151, as he saw it.

When I first got hired, I kept thinking I'm number 151. But over the years . . . the only thing I think about this business of so few editorial cartoonists is that it's just so rough for a guy who wants to break into it because you just don't have the opportunities. And when somebody gets a job, it's a monumental happening. (Peters, 1983)

Once he became a political cartoonist, there would be no more promotions. Peters said, "Editorial cartoonists don't become editors, they become old editorial cartoonists" (Peters, 1983). On his last day in Chicago, Mauldin and Chicago Tribune cartoonist John Fischetti took him to lunch. Peters remembered it as the "highlight of my life."

It was almost like them initiating me into the club. It was a real special day. . . . Have you ever had one of those days when you're just totally full of yourself? This was my day. So we got on the elevator and the three of us editorial cartoonists went downstairs and we went over to Ricardo's and sat at the editorial cartoonists' table, and we had editorial cartoonists' drinks, and we sat around talking about editorial cartoons. (Peters, 1982, pp. 3-4)

Peters had drawn political cartoons before--in grade school, high school, college and the service--but he wasn't sure what he was supposed to do--whether he was supposed to make people laugh or cry, so he asked Mauldin. Mauldin said, "There's only one thing an editorial

cartoonist should be. He should be mean. He's supposed to (anger people)" he said. That's the attitude Peters took to Dayton with him (Peters, 1982, p. 4). His point of view has changed over the years. He said the cartoonist should make the reader think, and there is more than one way to do that.

I tried to be like Mauldin. I tried to be like Herblock, and I tried to be like Paul Conrad because they all got people mad. All of them are very strong cartoonists. And I found I was not them.

I'm upset about topics, but my cartoons are not angry. They're funny. What Mauldin was trying to say is you've got to get people thinking. That's all you can do, you really can't convince them to think the way you want them to think.

If somebody looks at one of my cartoons and is physically touched, either laughs or gets mad it's going to make them think. If he takes the cartoons and shows it to someone, it's going to make him think. I've discovered about myself that I don't have to be like them (Mauldin, Herblock and Conrad). I can be like me, but we're still doing the same thing. (Peters, 1983)

Peters said he is a humorist rather than an iconoclast or an artist; he would rather make someone laugh than make them angry (Peters, 1983).

A normal work day begins at about 6:30 a.m. He said he watches the early news programs on television and jots down a few topics, then does some outside work. The next few hours are flexible. Then he goes to the office and begins the actual construction of the cartoon. Deadline is not until the next morning at 9 a.m. If he has not finished the cartoon by 6 or 7 at night, he goes home--which is where he prefers to work anyway.

I'd much rather come up with the idea at home than I would at the office because I've found that ideas at home are

much more natural. I get a much better view on things. I'm not so hysterical. I often find that when I go to the office and sit there until panic period, which is around 5, and then I begin forcing out an idea, I don't like forcing anything. The cartoons are not all that good. But also you are hurting your body. I'm getting my blood pressure up. I don't need that. (Peters, 1983)

Peters develops ideas through brainstorming with himself:

What brainstorming does is it makes it so you're not deathly afraid of that white piece of paper. Often you'll hear writers and cartoonists say, "I'm afraid of a white piece of paper," a blank piece of paper because they don't have anything to start from. They're starting from an absolute blank.

Of course, in editorial cartooning, it's a lot different than other types of cartooning because you always have something to start from. You've got topics. You open up the newspaper or listen to the news and you've got something to start from, some basis. Guys who do comic strips or guys who cartoon for magazines. They're starting from their own imagination.

. . . Say I'm trying to do a cartoon about women's rights (Figs. 36, 37) or something, I'll sit down and start saying anything that comes to mind about women: Whistler's Mother, Adam and Eve, Mother Goose, anything, just writing down names of things. And then I see what I've written. I'll start drawing Alice in Wonderland and see if anything works. I know, generally, what I'm going to say. Reagan is crapping on them, but I've done it so many times. How do you find a brand new way? What you try to do is give some variations, just to make it interesting if nothing else (Figs. 38, 39). It's dumb to do a certain cartoon the same way twice. (Peters, 1983)

A cartoonist's work is a blatant reflection of his likes and dislikes; if he likes something he can project that; if he dislikes something, he can project that, too. Likewise, if he feels nothing about something, that, too comes out--or because he ignores those things he feels indifferent about. There are no categories he must address--as a reporter or editor must--only those he wishes. There is a lot of overlapping because he has just so many interests. He does



107

Figure 36. "The Floors." Mike Peters uses the theme women's rights in a variety of different ways.

Source: Mike Peters, Win One for the Geezer (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), p. 107.



Figure 37. "Frankly, My Dear . . . I Don't Give A Damn." Mike Peters used a familiar movie setting in this Equal Rights Amendment-related cartoon.

Source: Mike Peters, Win One for the Geezer (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), p. 75.

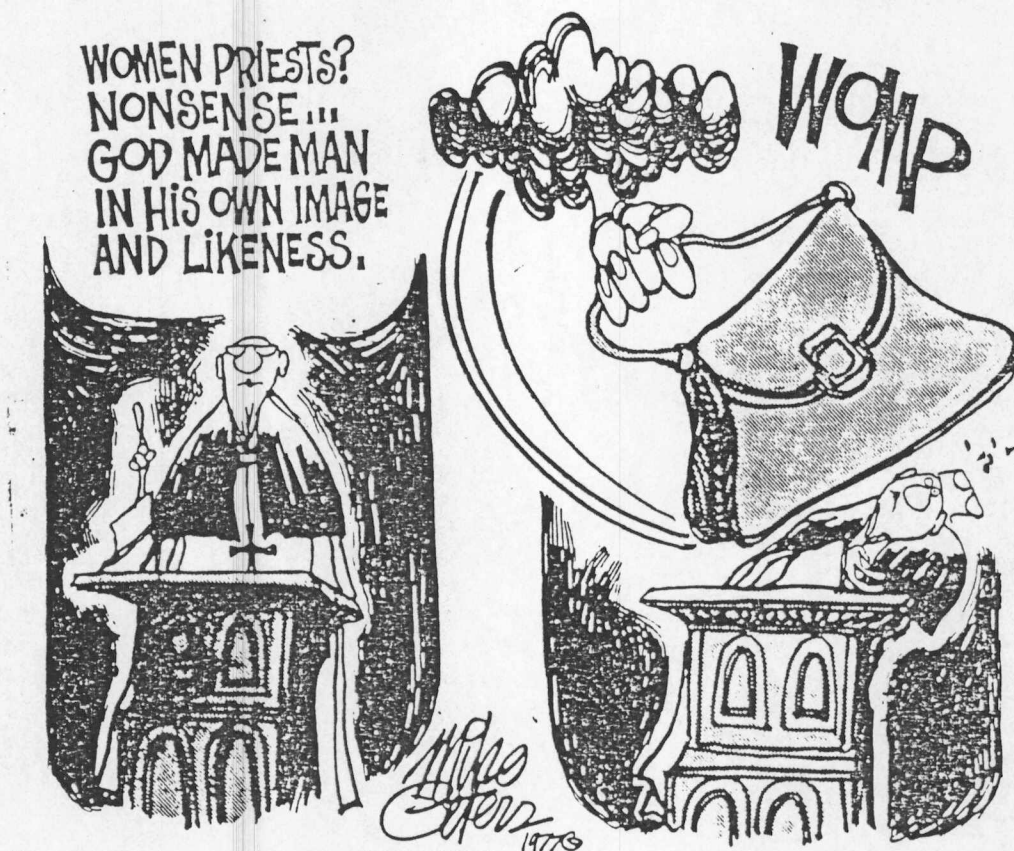


Figure 38. Women Priests? Peters admits going back to many of the same themes over and over. In Figure 38 and Figure 39, he chides the Catholic Church's stand on women priests.

Source: Mike Peters, Win One for the Geezer (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), p. 36.



Figure 39. No Priests Allowed. This drawing makes the same statement as Figure 38 but does so in a different way.

Source: Mike Peters, Win One for the Geezer (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), p. 44.

not interview people, and there are no assignments. There is just one cartoonist at a newspaper. If an editorial cartoonist has trouble getting an idea, or with the direction of an idea, he goes to another cartoonist. Peters said his best friends are other editorial cartoonists, like Doug Marlette, Jeff MacNelly and Tony Auth.

I talk to Doug (Marlette) about every other day. If I'm having trouble on a line, I call him up and say, "How can this be better? Does this sound okay?" And he does the same thing with me. It's good because we always think differently about how to approach the subject. And you never talk to a cartoonist if you don't have an idea and if he doesn't have an idea. If you don't have an idea and somebody says, "I'm doing a cartoon on 'so and so'!" You think maybe I should do a cartoon on "so and so." If we talk, I say, "Are you working on something" and he says, "No," and I say, "Okay, I'll call back." You don't talk to a cartoonist unless you already have an idea. (Peters, 1983)

The profession gives the cartoonist the control to do what he likes, but all that is dependent on the freedom he gets from his editor. Peters gets the freedom to do what he pleases. He stressed the importance of it.

The control thing is wonderful . . . you, the cartoonist, have control over what you do. You may not have control over the way it looks in the paper. A lot of cartoonists don't have control over what they say.

I wouldn't have stayed at this paper if I had a bad situation. I've been to other papers, and I know I've got a real good situation. I do whatever I want to do. It doesn't mean they're going to print it, and that's their prerogative. I still get paid and that's fine. I'm syndicated, so I can send those cartoons out. . . . A lot of guys make a lot more money than I do. It would be nice to be making lots more money, but a paper like the Dayton Daily News just can't afford to pay you lots of money.

I've been very lucky. The editor I had when I was first starting out was extremely graphic, so I could explain to him what I had in mind and halfway through he's say "fine," because he would be ahead of me. . . . Now Cap (editorial

page editor Cap Hawood), who is real close friend, will say "yes." I'll draw it up and leave it on his desk. Even if he doesn't necessarily understand it or think it's in all that good of taste or whatever, he'll trust me. (Peters, 1983)

The editor has veto power over the cartoon. If his editor does not like the cartoon for whatever the reason, syndication gives him and his cartoons a way out. Peters learned he should take the editor's refusal as a sign before sending it out to the other newspapers.

I did a cartoon on (former Secretary of Interior) James Watt being hung on a tree, and my boss didn't think it was a good idea and he said, "I can't run that." I was kind of upset, but I sent it out. A couple of papers ran it and then dropped me after they ran it. And so it turned out that the guy (the editor) was kind of right, yet I thought hanging was too good for Watt, boiling him in water. . . . (Peters, 1983)

Peters' cartoons became syndicated by United Features in the early 1970s. His work appears in between 250 and 300 newspapers throughout the country. He said contracts are signed for three months at a time and the benefits are split 50-50 with the syndicate and himself (Peters, 1983); generally, this is worth \$5 per week to both the syndicate and himself per paper. Syndication earns him about \$50 thousand a year. His base salary is about the same.

Former Secretary of Interior James Watt was a frequent subject of editorial cartoons. "We all have done James Watt 50 million times (Fig. 40) because he was seen as evil," he said (Peters, 1983). Other public figures have different perceptions.

(Ronald) Reagan doesn't come across in the public as (evil), so it doesn't ring true when you draw him as sinister because he's not. His public image is not as sinister. I've found the easiest way to hit Reagan is

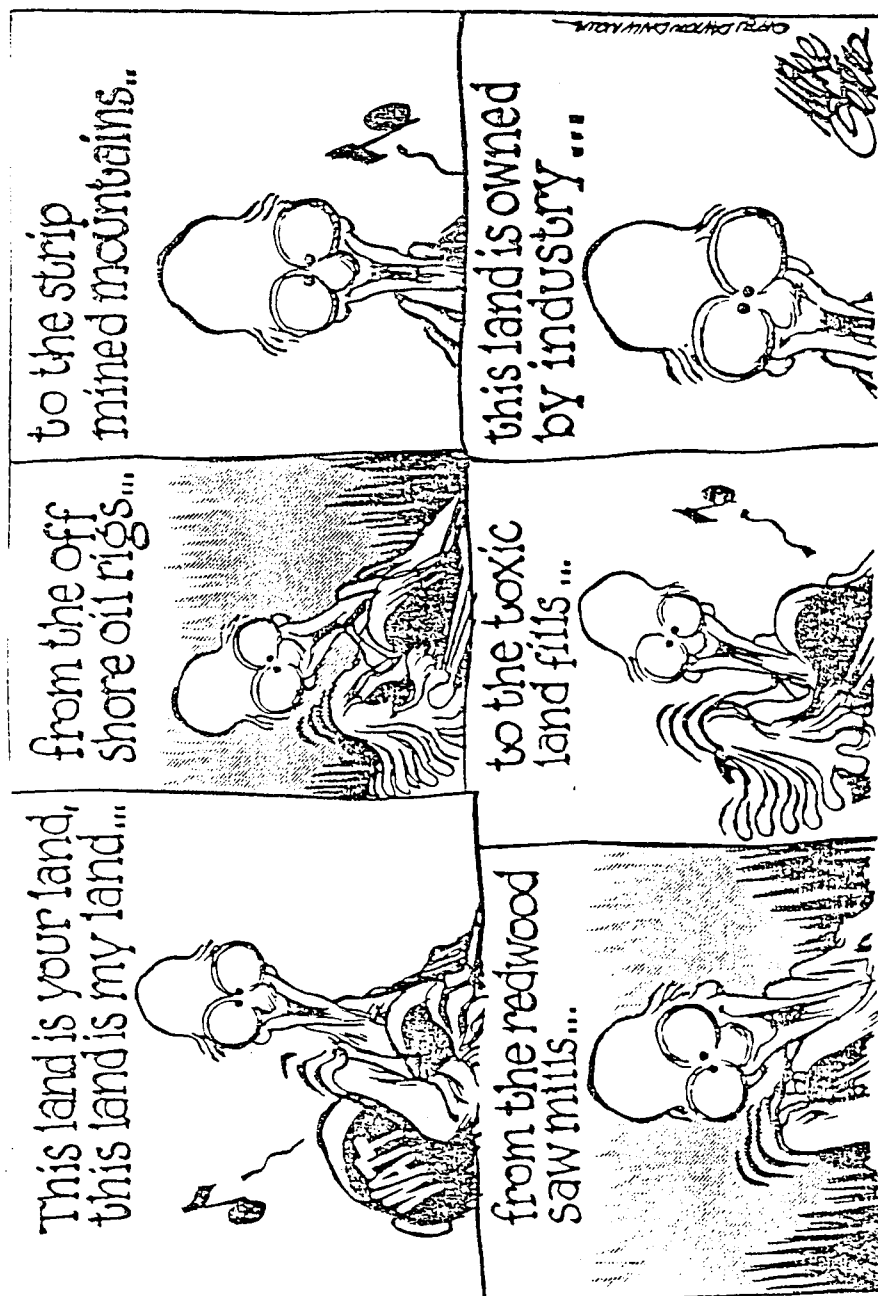


Figure 40. "This Land Is Your Land." Former Secretary of the Interior James Watt was a frequent subject of Peters and other cartoonists.

Source. Mike Peters, Win One for the Geezer (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), p. 73.

is to hit his apathy to the poor (Fig. 41) to the problems of anyone outside the country club set. And that apathy I try to draw about him a lot. (Peters, 1983)

There are many stories of political cartoonists who after striking a prey and feeling satisfied with the result get a letter from him requesting the original of the cartoon. "It happens all the time," Peters said (Peters, 1983), who rarely gives away originals.

I had done a picture of a couple of people standing on a hill, and the hill is half-eaten by a big bulldozer, and then one of the people standing on the hill is saying, "When the pressure gets too much for James Watt at the Interior Department, he always likes to come and spend an afternoon at the park." One of his aides called me up and asked for the original. I was not going to send it to them. . . . But what's so great about sending cartoons to these (people) is that you can write something at the bottom and you know they will read it, so at the bottom I wrote, "Dear Mr. Watt: Since it's for sale, can I have Colorado?" I never heard anything back. (Peters, 1983)

Peters said President Reagan has not requested an original, but he did get requests from President Carter. One of his most memorable and most reproduced cartoons involved Carter--a smiling White House that resembled the president (Fig. 42).

That was probably the quickest cartoon I ever drew. I had another cartoon about to go in the paper that day, but my boss said, "Can't you do something positive about the election." I had Jerry Ford saying, "You won't have Jerry Ford to kick himself around anymore" (Fig. 43). I did up this cartoon in about a half-hour, and it was by far the most reproduced cartoon I'd ever drawn. (Peters, 1983)

The Carter cartoon went against the Peters' norm: that buildings are not people; that people are people and should be drawn as such. In a profession where symbols have historically played a large part, much of Thomas Nast's legacy lies in the symbols he left behind: the Republican Party elephant, the Democratic Party donkey and the Tammany tiger



Figure 41. A Remedy For The Poor. Peters said when he criticizes President Reagan, he often directs his criticism at Reagan's apathy.

Source: Mike Peters, Win One for the Geezer (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), p. 68.

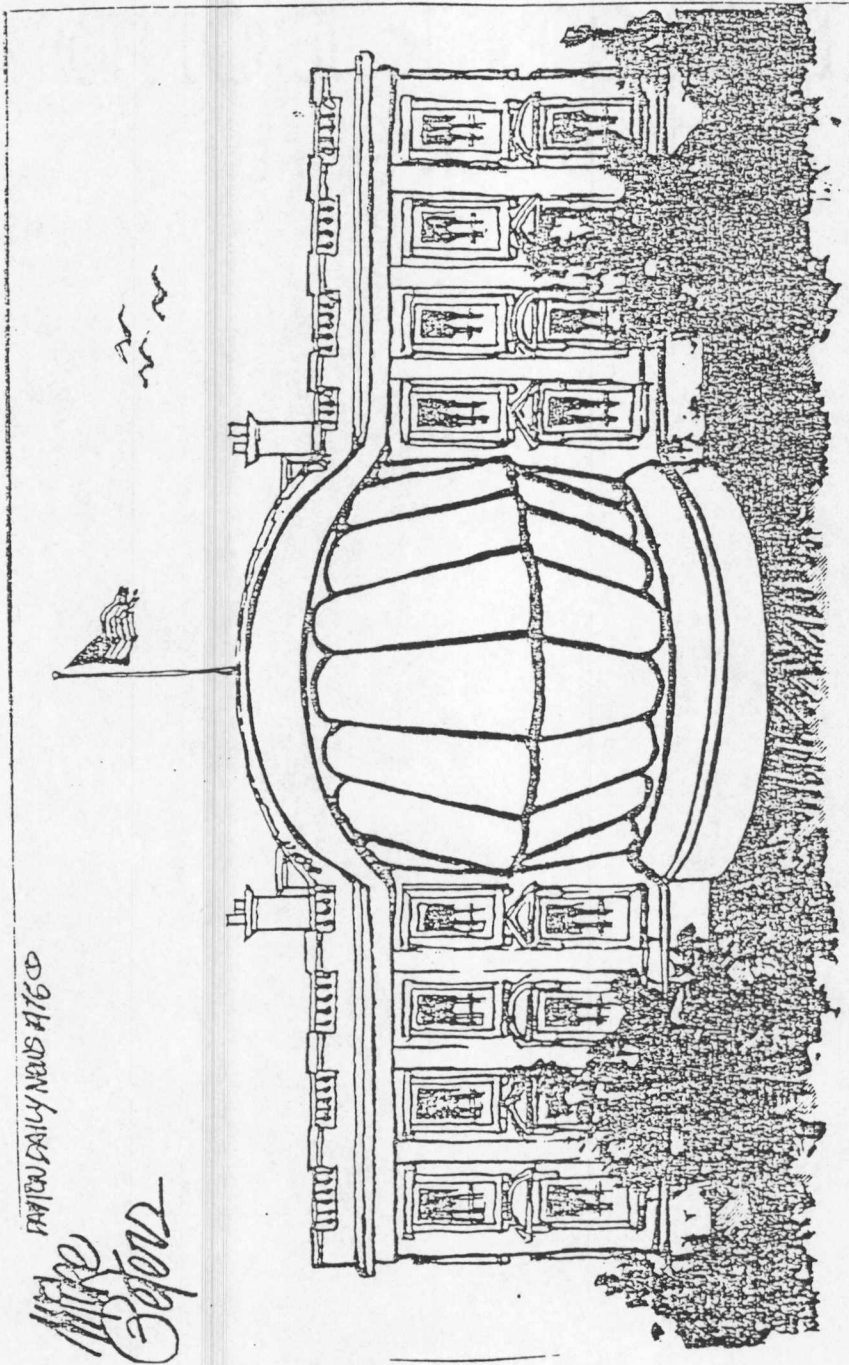


Figure 42. The Carter White House. Peters drew this cartoon in about a half-hour, yet it is his most reproduced cartoon.

Source: Mike Peters, Win One for the Geezer (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), p. 55.

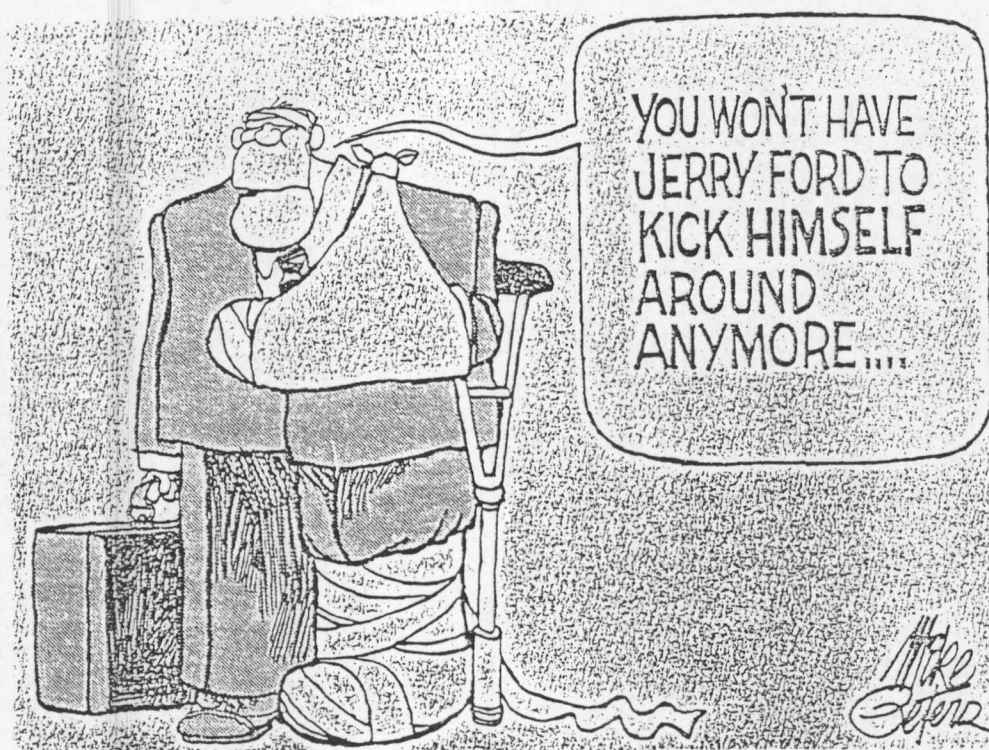


Figure 43. "You Won't Have Jerry Ford To Kick Himself Around Anymore." This cartoon was substituted by the Carter White House cartoon, then was published two weeks later.

Source: Mike Peters, Clones, You Idiot . . . I Said Clones (Dayton: Ohio Printing Co., 1978), p. 31

Peters prefers to ignore them. "I don't like doing trucks labeled something. I like drawing situational cartoons or I like drawing about people, but I don't like drawing symbolic cartoons (cartoons)" (Peters, 1983).

The main mission of the editorial cartoonist, he said, is to be like the little boy who stands on the side of the street during the parade and says, "Hey, the Emperor has no clothes" (U.S. News and World Report, June 22, 1981, p. 56).

Our biggest strength is that we have the chance to implant a visualization in people's mind that they will not easily forget. Not many people can remember editorials about Lyndon Johnson and the Vietnam War, but they can remember the David Levine drawing of LBJ lifting up his shirt--and underneath is the scar of Vietnam on his chest (Fig. 44). If visuals are good, they'll be remembered. (p. 56)

On October 13, 1980, three weeks before the presidential election, Newsweek magazine did its cover story on political cartoonists. Peters was among the cartoonists the article featured; the focus was on Jeff MacNelly, a two-time Pulitzer Prize winner, who commented

political cartoonists violate every rule of ethical journalism--they misquote, trifle with the truth, make science fiction out of politics and sometimes should be held for personal libel. But when the smoke clears, the political cartoonist has been getting closer to the truth than the guys who write political opinion. (p. 74)

Peters said it's true most of the time, and that it was especially true during Watergate. "It is chilling to see how close most of our cartoons were to reality," he said (Peters, 1983).

A cartoon is an exaggeration of the truth. They are lies, but they are intended lies. A good way to relate what a cartoon is is if you think about the definition of a caricature and a portrait. A portrait is a picture that looks just like you. A caricature takes you most outstanding features and exaggerates them. But there's still a grain

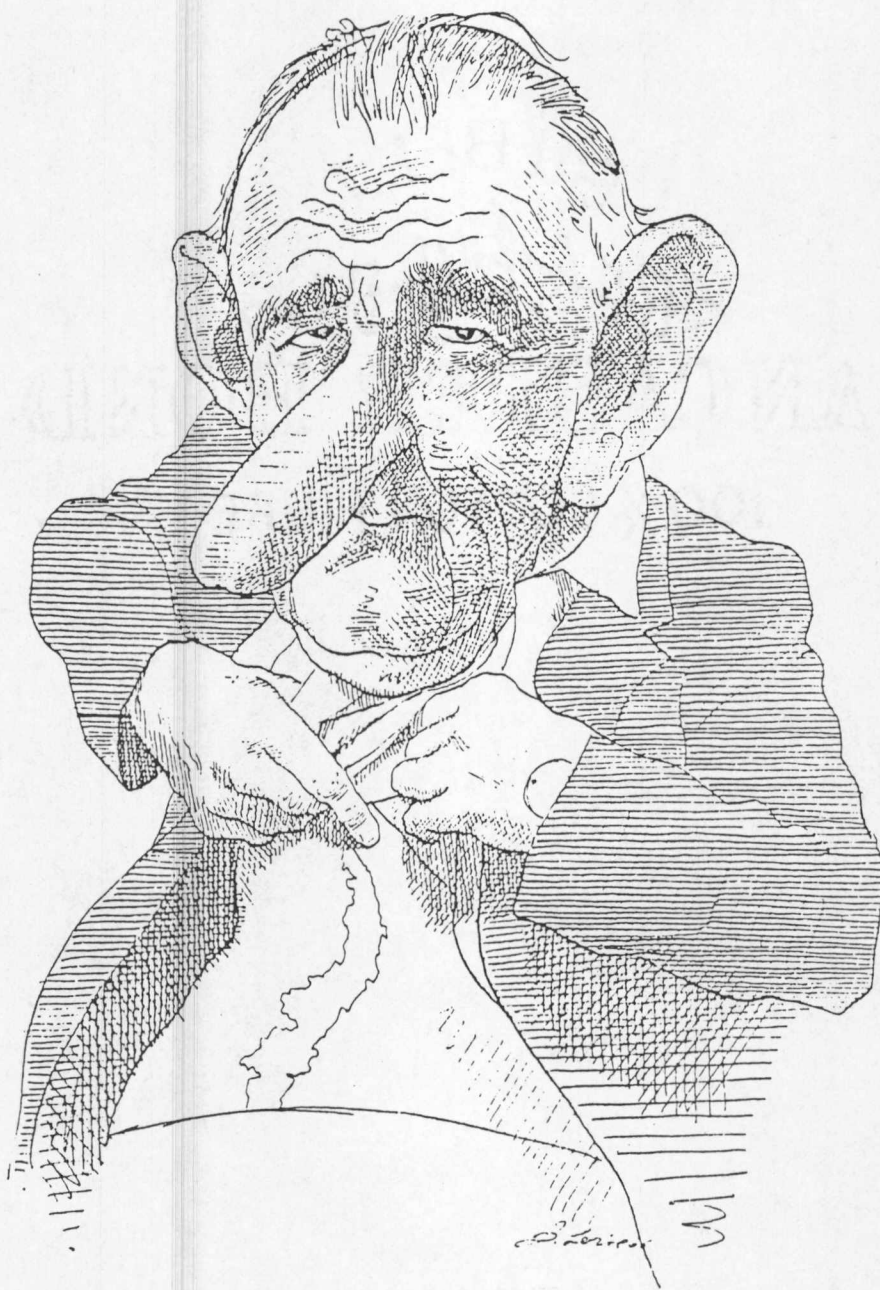


Figure 44. LBJ Showing Off His Scar. David Levine's cartoon shows President Lyndon Johnson's Achilles heel.

Source: Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, The Ungentlemanly Art (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), p. 166.

of truth there in what you're exaggerating. Often a caricature is more truthful than a portrait because of what reality really is. . . .

If Ronald Reagan is cutting back on social funds or is cutting back on school lunches from kids. . . . Now if I did a picture of him stealing candy from a baby . . . he's never stolen candy from a baby; but in the context of the school funds, that cartoon is accurate because he's taking food away from kids.

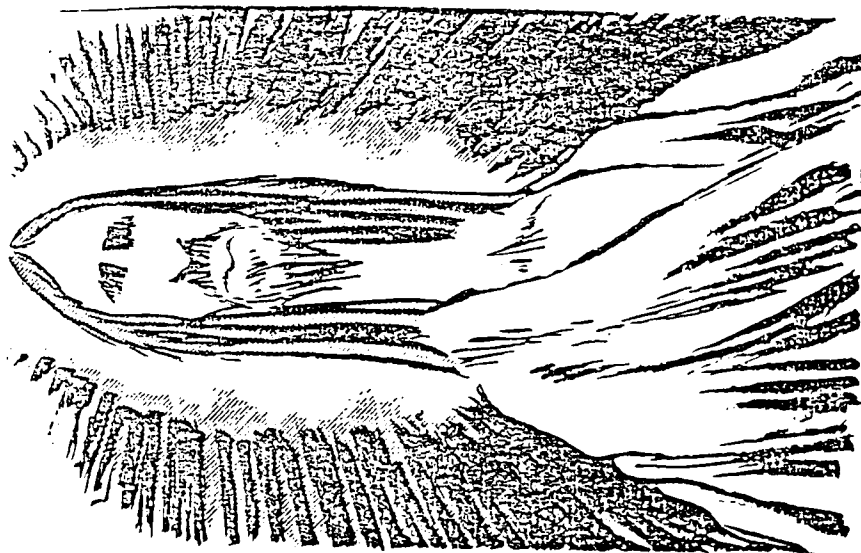
If I had him trying to rape Mother Teresa or something, that has no grain of truth to it. There's not even a seed of truth to it. There's not even a seed there. I could probably be sued, and the guy would probably win. So we do exaggerate, we do lie, but there has to be that grain of truth there and usually that grain of truth is more truthful that if you put it across in a very unbiased, very kind and benevolent fashion. (Peters, 1983)

A 1968 study by LeRoy Carl concluded that a communication gap existed between the editorial cartoonist and his audience, that the message intended by the cartoonist often differed markedly from the one received; somewhere in between the message is obscured (p. 534). Peters said he was aware of this gap and that this confusion can frustrate him.

I did a cartoon (once). It wasn't a wonderful cartoon, but it wasn't bad. I liked it because it was so simple. It was Reagan's answer to the problems of U.S. schools. I just drew praying hands. I thought this was wonderful. He doesn't want to give money to the schools, he just wants to put prayer in school. So we started receiving letters in the editorial page saying, "Thank God, the Moral Majority has a spokesman. They absolutely misread it. Isn't that ironic? Isn't that crazy? (Peters, 1983)

Religion is one of the topics he goes back to repeatedly. One concerned Jesus Christ as an antithesis of what the Moral Majority was endorsing (Fig. 45). The cartoon was then critiqued by an eighth-grade class.

As a candidate ... this man
would be against capital
punishment, for social
reforms, opposed to the
arms race, in favor of
the ERA and therefore
unacceptable to the
Moral Majority . . .



Mike Peters

© 1980 PHYLIP/FAH/US

Figure 45. Unacceptable To The Moral Majority. Peters' cartoon criticizing the hypocrisy of the Moral Majority was critiqued by an eighth-grade class.

Source: Mike Peters, Win One for the Geezer (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), p. 63.

One of the things that has given me the most fun or the most satisfaction out of doing editorial cartoons is the number of high school kids who read the editorial pages. It's fabulous because they actually know what you're saying.

Some teacher sent me a packet and they were all little essays written by all of her class, and she said she showed that cartoon--the Jesus cartoon--to her class and asked them what it meant, and they all had it. It made me so happy because it meant I touched them in just the way I wanted to touch them. They understood what I was trying to say, and they saw the irony in it, too. (Peters, 1983)

He said he gets about 15 letters a week. Sometimes when the intended message is read incorrectly, he will then respond to the letter-writer, usually by phone (Peters, 1983).

Peters joined the profession at a time when cartoonists were directing personal invective toward public officials in a manner that had not been witnessed since Thomas Nast took on the Tweed Ring (Dennis & Dennis, 1981, p. 6). Cartoonists had no shortage of issues to chide--in the middle of which was President Richard Nixon. "He was our Camelot," Peters said (Newsweek, 1980, p. 183).

Not only is Nixon enjoyable to draw. He's a wonderful character. He's like a cartoon character because he's got all these problems that everyone knows about. He's just like Charlie Brown. You know Charlie Brown is a loser and that nobody likes him and this kind of stuff, the same with Nixon. You know that he cheats on his taxes and that he was the first president to do this or do that. You know all these things about him, so it's fun to draw him (Fig. 46), putting your mind into his mind and saying, "What would Nixon say to something like that?"

I write Richard Nixon's name in every election year. I want him back, not as a citizen but as a cartoonist. That was the greatest time of our life. He made it fun to be a cartoonist. And then there are people like Jerry Ford, who seems like a very nice guy and probably a much better president than anyone else because he's the only one who didn't want to be president. All these guys are megalomaniacs. Do you know anyone who has wanted to be president

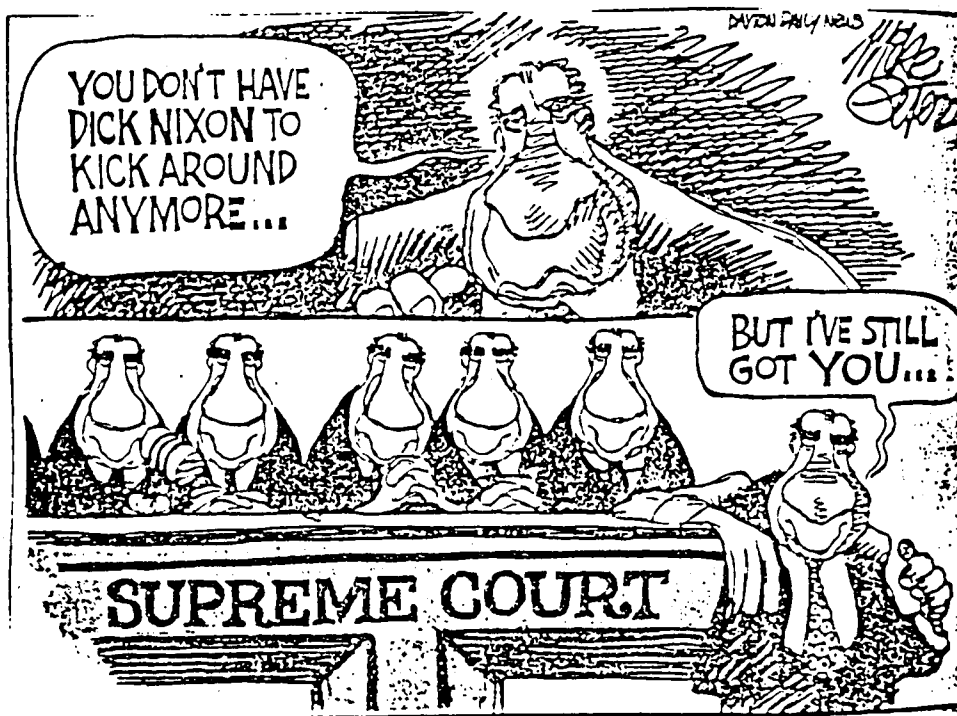


Figure 46. "I've Still Got You." Richard Nixon has been the subject of a Peters cartoon more than anyone else.

Source: Mike Peters, Win One for the Geezer (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), p. 38.

all their life? Most of these guys are very driven, but there's some insanity in being driven.

As a cartoonist I'd much rather prefer a Nixon to a Jerry Ford (Fig. 47). Jerry Ford wasn't much fun to do. And Nixon was so much fun to do. Reagan seems like he has a whole bunch of wonderful things for a cartoonist to deal with. His movie background (Fig. 48), which I always kick myself for not doing--"God, why don't you do something?" It's important that you have to constantly know it's always there, that there's this movie star in the White House, always reading Variety and stuff like that. I don't do that. I think that certain people are going to be much more enjoyable for you. (Peters, 1983)

Vietnam and Watergate ran its course as an issue, and political cartooning has not had the material it had in the late 1960s and 1970s. Peters said he began at a time when cartoonists were more passionate than they are now.

I think the biggest change between the people who started out when I started out and the people I see now is that they don't seem to feel. I don't think they have a great commitment to what they're doing. (Peters, 1983)

Winning the Pulitzer Prize in 1981 had dual meaning; not only did it single him out as the best cartoonist of the year but in doing so singled out the Dayton Daily News.

Any kind of award is always kind of the icing on the cake because I'm doing something I really enjoy. The Pulitzer has a lot of mystique to it. I think what it probably does is, perhaps, puts me in people's mind as a little bit better cartoonist. I really respect most of the people who have won Pulitzer Prizes, and that it's really an honor.

I see the names of guys who won and I say, "God, I think they're terrific!" I kind of feel honored. It's almost like going into the hall of fame or something. . . . It never changes your mind about your work. I'm still doing the same stuff I was doing beforehand.

I think the biggest joy that comes from a Pulitzer Prize is not necessarily the joy of being picked, of you winning an award, it is what happens to the newspaper. The whole paper's emotional level went way up, and it was up and everyone around here was feeling that they were a part of a Pulitzer Prize-winning newspaper. (Peters, 1983)

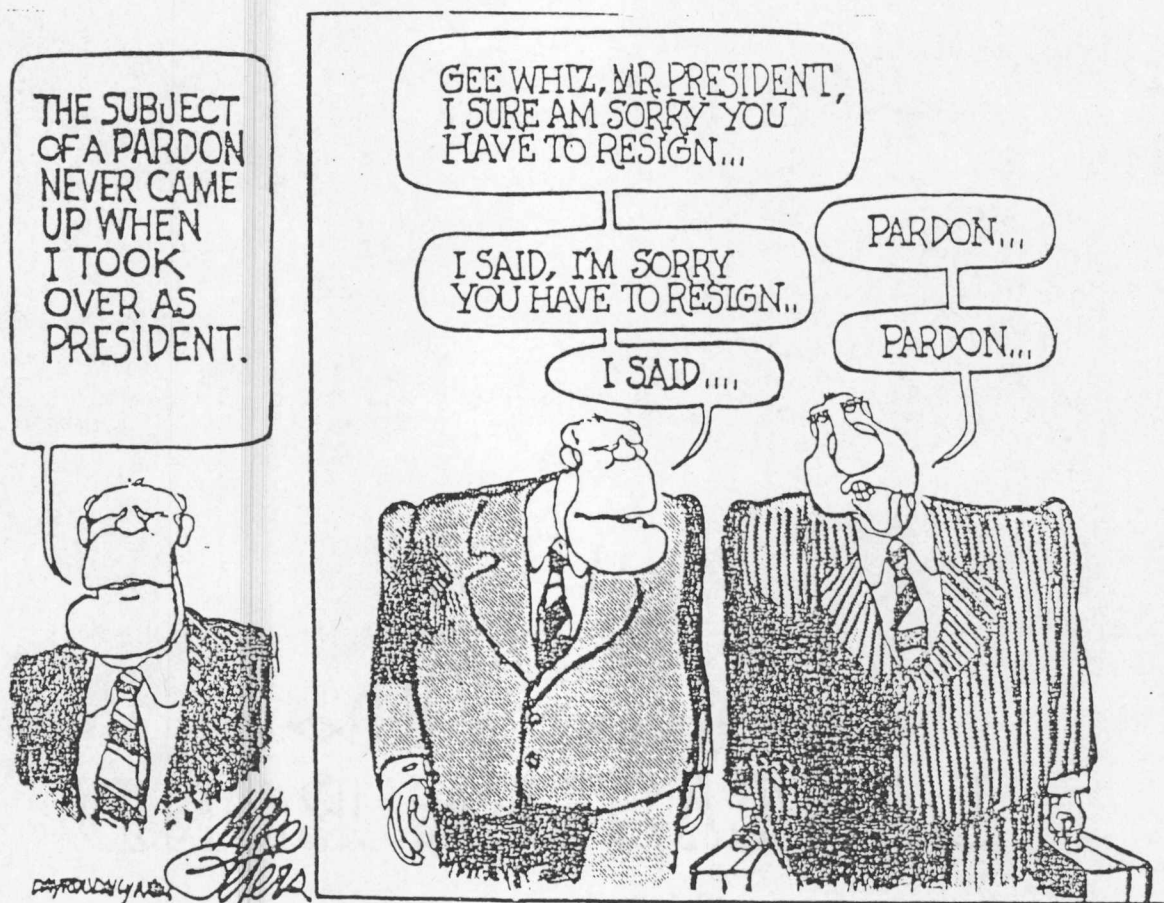


Figure 47. "Pardon Me." In this cartoon, Peters tied in Presidents Ford and Nixon by using irony.

Source: Mike Peters, Win One for the Geezer (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), p. 35.

we knew him as
a glamorous
movie star . . .
but there was a
side of him we
never knew . . .

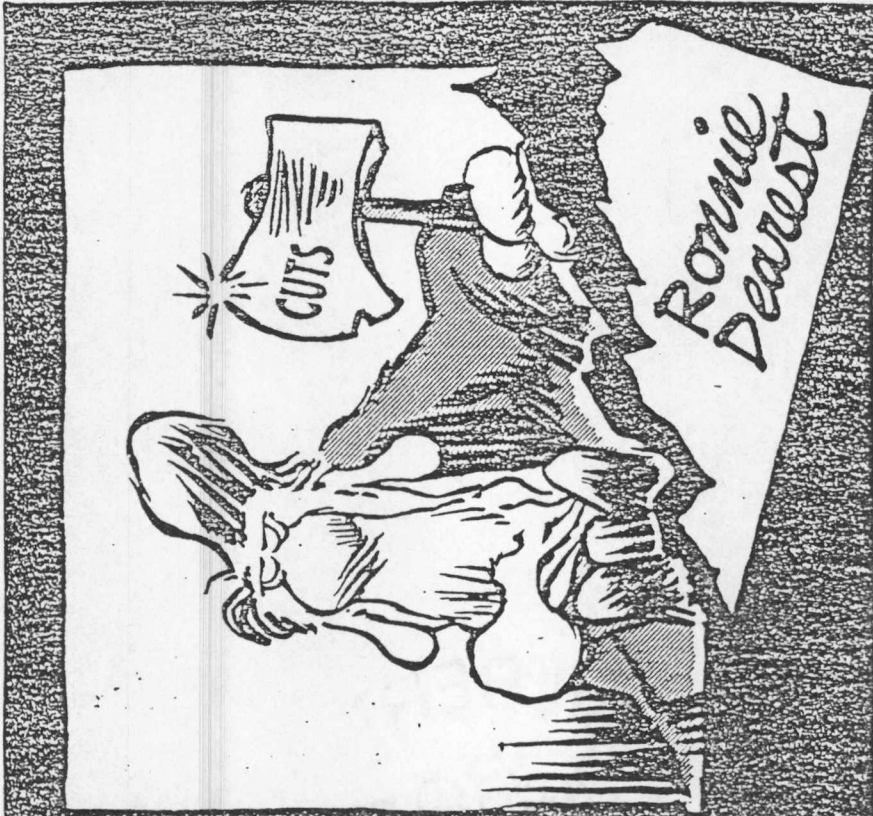


Figure 48. Ronnie Dearest. Ronald Reagan's acting career gives a cartoonist the potential for a lot of material.

Source: Mike Peters, Win One for the Geezer (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), p. 65.

Fig. 49 was one of the cartoons that led, specifically, to his selection. The award gave him national exposure and made him more in demand. Then Peters said he found himself stretched to the point where there was very little of him left for himself; in the meantime he was neglecting his job, his wife and his three children, and was not enjoying the attention.

It's one thing if you've got this crazy thing about horses, and you're spending all your time at the track, forsaking your job and your family, at least you're having fun. But I wasn't having fun.

. . . It has to do with pressure. It's why so many people commit suicide or take dope or whatever because their life is not their own. I had one little sliver of that, and I tried to enjoy it as it was coming because I knew it wasn't going to last for one reason or another. I tried to enjoy it because I'd like to look back at it in ten years and say, "Wasn't that kind of interesting?" But it wasn't the way I wanted to live because you don't have time to enjoy it. (Peters, 1983).

It is common for cartoonists to work into their 70s and 80s, for their work to span a half-century. Peters said this is because there is a love of one's work within the profession (1983); however, at the same time, doing five cartoons a week and working under deadline pressure has its consequences. There is a risk of burnout--a danger in which he must be aware of at all times.

I think there's a point that you can (tell if you're burning out). If you're not enjoying what you're doing or if you look at your stuff and say this stuff is (bad), then you've got to do something to change your situation. I think there's burnout and if you let it just stay, then it takes hold because when you do a job, especially something like this--or writing or anything creative--you are always gauging yourself in relationship to the best of your work and the worst of your work. Often you just look at the comic page and you look at the editorial page, and you see people doing things, and you say, "God, why would they do something like that?" That's because they've lowered

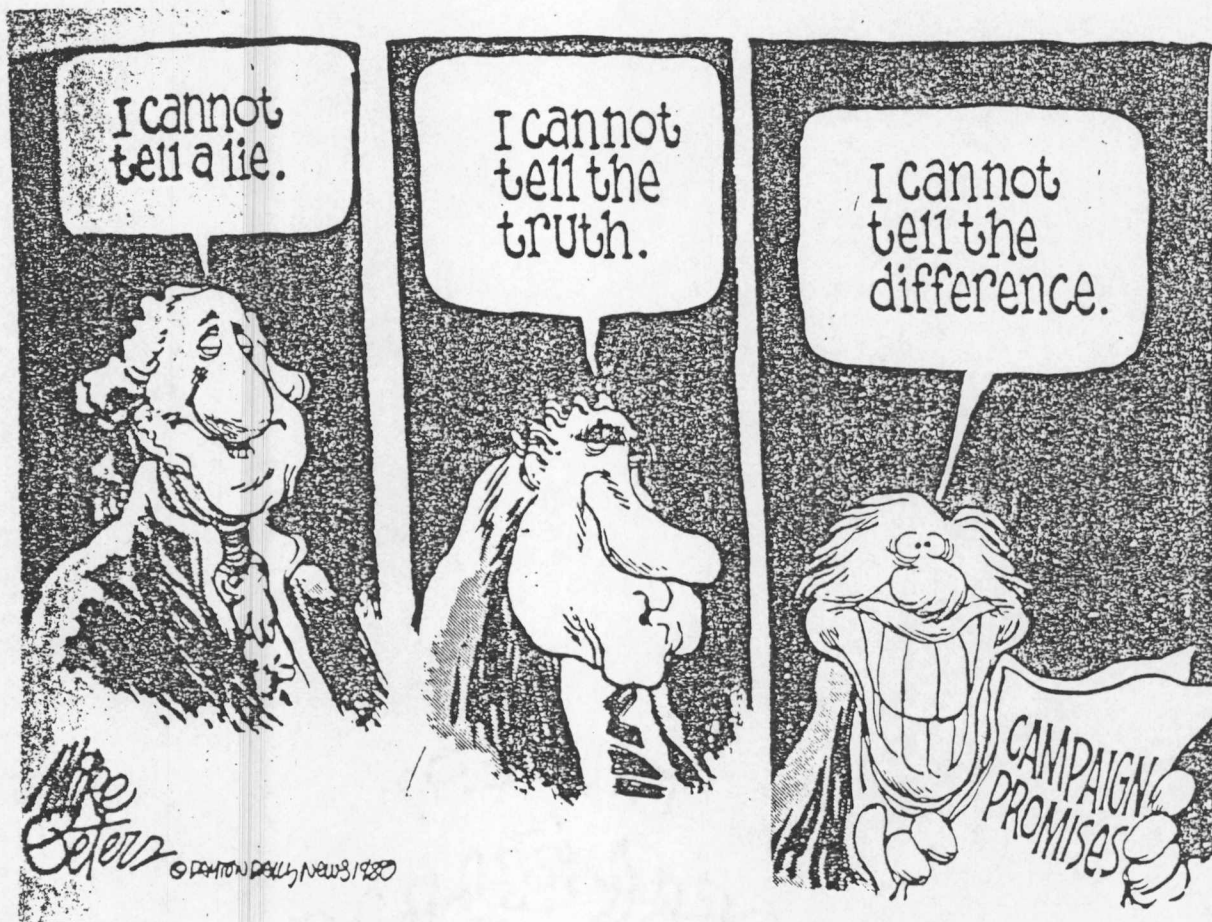


Figure 49. Carter's Campaign Promises. This cartoon won Peters the 1981 Pulitzer Prize for Cartooning.

Source: Mike Peters, Win One for the Geezer (New York: Bantam Books, 1983), p. 53.

their standards or never had standards to begin with. That can happen. It's very, very easy for you to say, "I've done something like this. Sure, it's not very good but it's not the worst that can happen." Your standards just keep getting lower and lower.

I've seen it happen to people. The thing I've tried to do is fight against it is to use that gauge, "Does it affect me?" "Will it make someone mad?" "Will it upset anyone?" If it doesn't, then I can sit here and try to do something better. If the last hour comes and you don't, fine, you have tomorrow. Start all over again. "Is this funny?" "Is this strong?" If it's not, I'll sit here until I do have something. (Peters, 1983)

If Peters could do anything, anywhere, he said he would be an editorial cartoonist at the Dayton Daily News. He does what he wants and gets paid for it.

The craft is one of those great secrets. Where else can you be paid to stand up and spout off about anything you want? I used to get thrown out of high school for drawing cartoons about my principal in the school paper; now I do vicious cartoons about the President and they give me an award! (U.S. News and World Report, 1981, p. 57)

II. A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MIKE PETERS' CARTOONS

A biography of Mike Peters was crucial to this study in singling out the workings and judgments of one cartoonist to gain further insight into what topics and themes he uses most often. Both the biography and the forthcoming content analysis can be put against the backdrop of the history of cartooning to produce a three-dimensional effect. The purpose of the content analysis was to gain insight into the works of an editorial cartoonist--Mike Peters.

The coding scheme was created through original and published means to establish a thorough survey of cartoons. Paul Ashdown's dissertation (1975) gave the author a basis to define his categories.

Medhurst and Desousa (1981) categorized cartoons into four topics: political commonplaces, literary/cultural allusions, personal character traits and situational themes. The nine content categories, generally, were formed through original means. This process included a pre-test sample of a few hundred cartoons, followed then by an integration of relating groups; therefore, the final sample included relatively few categories as clearly distinguishable as possible.

The sample began in January, 1969, and continued every 15 days through December, 1982. If a Mike Peters cartoon did not appear on the fifteenth day (n^1), the sample proceeded to an adjacent day (n^2) and to the next (n^3); if by that time, a cartoon had not appeared, the sample was continued 15 days from n^1 , and that cartoon was so analyzed, and the next sample followed it by 15 days and so on. Generally, Peters' cartoons were published five days a week, with Saturday and Monday being the days they were not published.

Following the above approach, 14 years would have yielded a total of 336 cartoons; however, 24 were negated from the total possible sample for whatever reason a cartoon was not published during the time (three days) sampled. Reasons for this included a month-long strike involving the Dayton Daily News in the fall of 1969, Peters vacationing and other unspecified reasons. In all, there were 312 cartoons sampled; all were designated into each of the nine content categories: themes, sources, number of subjects, subjects, proximity, technique, panels, labels and metaphor.

1. Themes: The purpose of this designation was to see what themes the cartoonist referred to most often; the theme was

designated as the focus of the cartoon. There were 13 theme categories. There were 11 distinct theme categories; the two remaining groups (miscellaneous and ambiguous) could not be so clearly identified into a particular group. Table 3.1 has the results of the theme sampling.

TABLE 3.1
THEMES PORTRAYED IN EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Theme Categories	Number of Sample	Percent of Total Sample
1. Politics	112	39.9
2. Foreign involvement	79	25.3
3. Social issues	39	13.0
4. Transportation	16	5.1
5. Court action	12	3.9
6. Sex	12	3.9
7. Business	5	1.6
8. Religion	5	1.6
9. Sports	4	1.2
10. Media	4	1.2
11. Science	4	1.2
12. Miscellaneous	5	1.6
13. Ambiguous	<u>15</u>	<u>4.8</u>
Total	312	100.0

The following define the different theme categories:

- A. The theme of politics: included anything in which politics was the focus of the cartoon (i.e., politicians, campaigns, speeches, legislation).
- B. The theme of foreign involvement: included anything in which foreign involvement was the focus of the cartoon (i.e., foreign affairs, war related to foreign lands).

- C. The theme of social issues: included anything in which social issues were the focus of the cartoon (i.e., racial discrimination, busing, pollution, environment).
- D. The theme of transportation: included anything in which transportation was the focus of the cartoon (space travel, air travel, automobiles).
- E. The theme of court action: included anything in which court action was the focus of the cartoon (i.e., courts, police action, crime).
- F. The theme of sex: included anything in which sex was the focus of the cartoon (i.e., equal rights, sexual discrimination).
- G. The theme of business: included anything in which business was the focus of the cartoon (i.e., Wall Street, economics).
- H. The theme of religion: included anything in which religion was the focus of the cartoon (i.e., church and state, prayer in schools, Moral Majority).
- I. The theme of science: included anything in which science was the focus of the cartoon (i.e., laboratory work, technology, experiments).
- J. The theme of sports: included anything in which sports was the focus of the cartoon (i.e., football strike, Olympics).
- K. The theme of media: included anything in which the media were the focus of the cartoon (i.e., newspaper, television, motion pictures).

2. Subject matter: The purpose of this designation was to see what subject matter the cartoonist referred to most often; the subject matter was designated as the medium where the cartoonist got his idea. There were 11 subject matter categories. This illustrated 10 distinct subject matter categories; the one remaining group (ambiguous) could not be so clearly identified into a particular subject matter.
- Table 3.2 has the results of the subject matter sampling.

TABLE 3.2
SUBJECT MATTER PORTRAYED IN EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Subject Matter Categories	Number of Sample	Percent of Total Sample
1. Current events	61	19.6
2. Common sights	54	17.3
3. Play on words	50	16.0
4. Entertainment	47	15.1
5. Subject's past action	26	8.3
6. History	25	8.0
7. Symbols	14	4.5
8. Religion	12	3.9
9. Media	7	2.2
10. Sports	7	2.2
11. Ambiguous	9	2.9
Total	312	

The following define the different subject matter categories:

- A. The subject of current events (original): included anything in which current events were the source of the cartoon (i.e., directly related to the events one might

read about in the newspaper or hear/see from the broadcast media prior to construction of the cartoon).

- B. The subject of common sights: included anything in which common sights were the source of the cartoon (i.e., living rooms, everyday sights, American living).
- C. The subject of play on words: included anything in which a play on words was the source of the cartoon (i.e., double entendres, common phrases used in another context).
- D. The subject of entertainment: included anything in which entertainment was the source of the cartoon (i.e., movies, television, books, songs).
- E. The subject of a subject's past actions/quirks: included anything in which a subject's past action or quirk was the source of the cartoon (i.e., past speeches or idiosyncracies).
- F. The subject of history: included anything in which history was the source of the cartoon (i.e., George Washington, cavemen, Abraham Lincoln, FDR).
- G. The subject of symbols: included anything in which symbols were the source of the cartoon (i.e., Santa Claus, Uncle Sam, the Republican elephant).
- H. The subject of religion: included anything in which religion was the source of the cartoon (i.e., Biblical events, Jesus Christ).
- I. The subject of media: included anything in which the

media were the source of the cartoon (i.e., newsmen, television events).

J. The subject of sports: included anything in which sports was the source of the cartoon (i.e., Olympics, football huddles, sports terminology).

3. Number of subjects: The purpose of this designation was to see if the cartoonist preferred fewer or more subjects to make his point. The number of subjects appearing with each cartoon has been designated in one of five categories: no subjects (0); one subject (1); two subjects (2); three subjects (3); or more than three subjects (more than 3). Table 3.3 has the results of the number of subjects sampled.

TABLE 3.3
NUMBER OF SUBJECTS PORTRAYED IN EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Number of Subjects Per Category	Number of Sample	Percent of Total Sample
1. 0	17	5.4
2. 1	96	30.8
3. 2	97	31.1
4. 3	37	11.9
5. More than 3	65	20.8

4. Subjects: The purpose of this designation was to see what subjects appeared the most frequently. Any subject who appeared in any cartoon was designated with the number of times they appeared. Because every subject was counted,

this was the only category where the total sample did not total 312 or the specific sample percentages exceeded 100 percent. In the results, if a group (politician, police, military) appeared in five or more cartoons, then it was designated in Table 3.4; also if a single subject appeared in three or more cartoons, then it was designated in Table 3.4.

TABLE 3.4
OCCUPATIONS AND SUBJECTS PORTRAYED IN EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Subjects		Number of Sample	Percent of Total Sample
Occupations:	1. Politicians	165	53.0
	2. Average man/woman	35	11.2
	3. Policemen	11	3.5
	4. Servicemen	8	2.9
	5. Press	7	2.2
	6. FBI-CIA	5	1.6
Individuals:	1. Richard Nixon	57	18.3
	2. Jimmy Carter	30	9.6
	3. Gerald Ford	21	6.7
	4. Ronald Reagan	11	3.5
	5. Henry Kissinger	9	2.9
	6. Ayottollah Khoemini	7	2.2
	7. Ted Kennedy	6	1.9
	8. Leonid Breznev	5	1.6
	9. George McGovern	4	1.3
	10. George Washington	4	1.3
	11. Mickey Mouse	4	1.3
	12. Pat Nixon	4	1.3
	13. Nelson Rockefeller	3	1.0
	14. James Rhodes	3	1.0

5. Proximity: The purpose of this designation was to see where the locale of the cartoons was. The proximity of the cartoons was grouped into one of four categories, by locale. The cartoonist sampled (Mike Peters) is employed by the Dayton Daily News; therefore, any cartoon with a local or Ohio bent was categorized as local/state. Any cartoon with a national locale was categorized as national. Any cartoon with an international locale was categorized as international. The final category was reserved for any cartoon where the proximity was unspecified or "ambiguous." Table 3.5 has the results of the proximity sample.

TABLE 3.5
PROXIMITY USED IN EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Proximity	Number of Sample	Percent of Total Sample
1. Local/state	33	10.6
2. National	190	60.9
3. International	57	18.3
4. Ambiguous	<u>32</u>	<u>10.2</u>
Total	312	100.0

6. Technique: The purpose of this designation was to see what medium the cartoonist used to articulate his message. There were three technique categories: balloon, cut line and within the cartoon. A cartoon was designated as balloon if

the subject's words were placed in a circular balloon. The cartoon was designated as cut line if the words were placed in a straight line either above or below the cartoon. The cartoon was marked "within the cartoon" if the entire message appeared within the cartoon (as a label or newspaper headline . . .) and not in a balloon or in a cut line. See Table 3.6 for results of the technique sample.

TABLE 3.6
TECHNIQUE OF VERBALIZATION USED IN EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Technique	Number of Sample	Percent of Total Sample
1. Balloon	75	24.1
2. Cut line	152	48.7
3. Within the cartoon	<u>85</u>	<u>27.2</u>
Total	312	100.0

7. Panels: The purpose of this designation was to see how the cartoonist preferred to get his message across. The number of panels appearing with each cartoon was designated into one of three categories: whether the cartoonist used one panel, two panels, or preferred more than two panels, like that of a comic-strip cartoonist. See Table 3.7 for the panel sample.
8. Lables: The purpose of this designation was to see if the cartoonist felt more identification was necessary to convey

TABLE 3.7
NUMBER OF PANELS USED IN EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Panels	Number of Sample	Percent of Total Sample
1. 1	253	81.1
2. 2	21	6.7
3. More than 2	<u>38</u>	<u>12.2</u>
Total	312	100.0

his message. The labeling of subjects/objects inside the cartoon was designated on an affirmative/negative basis; if the subject/object was marked in some way, then the cartoon was marked with an affirmative; on the other hand, if the cartoon had no labeling then it was marked with a negative. See Table 3.8 for the results of the label sample.

TABLE 3.8
IDENTIFICATION LABELS USED IN EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Labels	Number of Sample	Percent of Total Sample
1. Yes	209	67.0
2. No	<u>103</u>	<u>33.0</u>
Total	312	100.0

9. Symbols: The purpose of this designation was to see if the cartoonist applied the use of symbols (Uncle Sam, Santa

Claus, common symbols) to convey his message. The use of symbols was designated on an affirmative/negative basis. If a subject/object was used with symbolic implication, the cartoon was marked with an affirmative; if not, the cartoon was marked with a negative. If it was not clear, then it was marked ambiguous. See Table 3.9 for the results of the metaphor sample.

TABLE 3.9
SYMBOLS USED IN EDITORIAL CARTOONS

Metaphor	Number of Sample	Percent of Total Sample
1. Yes	28	9.0
2. No	276	89.0
3. Ambiguous	<u>8</u>	<u>3.0</u>
Total	312	100.0

III. RESULTS

The results of the content analysis demonstrate that editorial cartoons are reflections of their times. Often, by using familiarity, the biggest stories of the day are transformed into apparently simple pictures without loss of meaning. The intent is often criticism, and the medium is usually satire or irony; in only one of the 312 cartoons sampled did a cartoon not include either satire or irony.

Because there has never been any distinctive difference made

between the terms editorial cartoons and political cartoons, the terms have been used interchangeably throughout this thesis. The cartoonist uses art to make editorial commentary and often his focus is channeled through the theme of politics, perhaps because it is a topic which includes such seemingly boundless ideological differences and so many subjects to direct that opinion. The sample revealed that politics (references to elective or legislative issues) comprised 35.9 percent of the cartoons. This was followed by foreign involvement (25.3 percent) and social issues (13.0 percent); all are issues that elicit newsworthiness and conflict. It was not accidental that the two single events given responsibility for the regeneration of the profession, as forementioned in this thesis, Watergate and the Vietnam War, represented each of the leading categories in Table 3.1, page 120. It is useful to note the opinion of Medhurst and Dehorst:

Political commonplaces form the *raison d'etre* of political cartoons in the sense that one cannot create a political cartoon without focusing reader attention, at least momentarily on some agreed upon component of politics. (p. 200)

Because a cartoonist must sometimes put a difficult idea into a caricature, and he is restricted by space and time, estimated by cartoonist Paul Conrad to be eight seconds (Time, 1960, p. 58), he therefore must utilize familiar sources to enhance reader comprehension. The results of Table 3.2, page 122, support this. The leading source of the cartoonist's statement was current events (19.6 percent of the time), followed by common sights (17.3 percent of the time), plays on words (16.0 percent of the time) and entertainment (15.1 percent of the time). The results of Table 3.3, page 124, demonstrate that cartoonist

Mike Peters preferred to use fewer subjects in his cartoons; generally, this meant either one subject (30.8 percent) or two subjects (31.1 percent) per cartoon.

Table 3.4, page 125, demonstrates the frequency of subjects. Because every subject was counted and there was often more than one subject in a cartoon, this was the only category where the total sample exceeded the number of cartoons sampled (312). Fifty-three percent of all the cartoons sampled included a politician of some sort. The four leading subjects appearing in cartoons were U.S. presidents, they being at the fore of the American news scene. Peters admitted a professional bias toward Nixon (Peters, 1983). This surfaced in the content analysis. Nixon appeared 57 times in Peters' cartoons, twice more than any other subject. Jimmy Carter was second (30 times), Gerald Ford third (21 times), and Ronald Reagan was fourth (11 times). When the time the subject served as president was put against the time examined in the sample, Nixon was still the leading character but by a lesser percentage. The years 1969-1982 were analyzed; during that time, Nixon was president until August, 1974; Ford was president from then until January, 1977; Carter from then until January, 1981; and Reagan from then until the completion of the time sampled. Broken down by months in office, Nixon was president 67 months during the time sampled and appeared 49 times during that time, or .73 times per month. Ford was president 29 months during the time sampled and appeared 20 times during that time, or .69 times per month. Carter was president four years (48 months) during the time sampled and appeared 26 times, or .54 times per month. Reagan was president 24 months during the time

sampled and appeared six times, or .25 times per month. Put in another light--when the president was not in the White House, Nixon again illustrated his popularity as a caricature. He appeared eight times, compared with five for Reagan, four for Carter and one for Ford.

Table 3.5, page 126, gives the results of the proximity of the focus of the cartoonist's samples. Because he is syndicated, it would follow that he would have a high percentage of cartoons with either a national or an international focus. This proved correct: 60.9 percent of the cartoons in the sample had a national proximity, another 18.3 percent had an international proximity. Excluding the cartoons termed ambiguous, 88 percent of the cartoons were either national or international. Peters, during an interview (1983), estimated that 90 percent of his cartoons were either nationally or internationally related.

Judging by the technique used (Table 3.6, page 127) to get his message across, the cartoonist preferred to use the cut line rather than the balloon or the approach where the entire message is within the cartoon itself. The latter limits the cartoonist in that it doesn't include dialogue. Perhaps noteworthy is that the first cartoon found which Peters used a balloon was in 1975, in the seventh year of the survey.

The editorial cartoonist--unlike the comic strip artist--normally restricts his message to one panel. There have been a few exceptions of editorial cartoonists who were also comic strip artists (primarily Garry Trudeau and Walt Kelly), but generally the cartoonist must convey the message at a single glance. Table 3.7, page 128,

illustrates that 81.1 percent of all the cartoons sampled had just one panel; in 12.2 percent of the cartoons, Peters apparently felt he needed more than two panels to properly convey his message.

Carl (1968) and others have criticized cartoonists for being too ambiguous with their message, so that the intended message is often misread. Messages received by the people ran the gamut of meanings; and interpretations often differed markedly from meanings intended by the cartoonists, Carl concluded (p. 534). During interviews, Peters admitted an awareness of this communication void. One way of rectifying this, it seems, would be to label the objects inside the cartoon for the benefit of the reader. Two-thirds of the sample used a label of some kind (Table 3.8, page 128).

Symbolism has been called the heartbeat of caricature (Medhurst & Desousa, 1981, p. 198). Thomas Nast, the so-called father of political cartooning, was responsible for giving the profession the Republican elephant, the Democratic donkey and Santa Claus, among others, which became mainstays of the profession and are still used today. Peters used a symbol or metaphor 9 percent of the time; that is different to judge as significant or not because it is difficult to put it against any valid relative context; however, Peters (1983) said he rarely uses symbolism.

Intercoder reliability, which included two cartoons per year during the 14 years (28 cartoons), ranged from 75 percent to 100 percent agreement on the nine categories. Seven of the categories (Tables 3.2, page 124; 3.4-3.9, pages 125-129 respectively) employed largely clear-cut definitions, therefore, the results of the coder

yielded 100 percent reliability. The theme category (Table 3.1, page 120) was slightly more subjective; however, there was a 93 percent agreement in this category. The least agreement (75 percent) was found in the source category. One reason to explain this is because of the large number of groups within this category; in some cases, there was apparently very little leeway separating the definition of one group from another, this creating an occasional ambiguity.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to accomplish three things: to study the history of editorial cartooning; to survey a cartoonist, Mike Peters; and to analyze the content of Peters' cartoons. Upon completion of the preceding, it is necessary to therefore make a concluding statement.

Editorial cartoonists have enjoyed an exclusive position in U.S. journalism. Since Thomas Nast they have directed their opinions at politicians and other opinion leaders with varying degrees of intensity and varying impact. They have perhaps the most effect--and are perhaps at their best--when they are most in discord. Nast's antipathy toward the South during the War Between the States made him, in Abraham Lincoln's words, the North's "best recruiting sergeant." His vitriol toward presidential candidate James Blaine was at least partially responsible for the election of Grover Cleveland. In that same campaign, Walt McDougall's portrayal of Blaine and his cronies feasting while the poor starved was plastered all eight columns across the front page of Joseph Pulitzer's New York World; this made the cartoonist a necessary component on the staff of many newspapers and was also given credit for the defeat of Blaine. Homer Davenport's savage portrayal of Sen. Mark Hanna drove the senator to tears on the Senate floor. And Herbert Block, in the 1960s, gave Richard Nixon a five o'clock beard he couldn't shave off. Rollin Kirby's series on the futility of Prohibition in the 1920s led in some part to its repeal. Herblock was

the first cartoonist to refer to the political hysteria of the 1950s as "McCarthyism." Bill Mauldin became associated with foxholes in the 1940s and the civil rights movement in the 1960s. The list goes on. It was in the late 1960s and early 1970s when cartoonists regained their form with more potency than they had had in many decades. First Vietnam and then Watergate gave them the instrument they needed to pique the societal subconscious with some of the best cartoons since the First World War.

What gives the cartoonist the encouragement he needs to go beyond illustrated headlines has been the degree of freedom allowed by editors. The best cartoonists have been the ones free to do as they pleased, the way they pleased. Nast, Davenport, Mauldin, Herblock and others representative of the cartoonists associated with the art at its best tolerated little or no interference; the art--as an editorial and artistic form--suffers when smothered. It therefore should not be surprising to assert that the tradition lies stronger at some newspapers than at others; specifically, the newspapers that give its cartoonist the freedom he demands for him to make his statement, which is generally critical of one thing or another.

Criticism, in fact, is implied in the profession. The cartoonist is not supposed to praise. He has no obligation to be objective or fair. Satire is his best defense and it is through that--and through imagery--he is able to go beyond his writing colleagues without a real fear of libel. It should again be noted that no cartoonist in this country has ever lost a libel suit. This implies the existence of a tolerance, perhaps, an all-or-nothing condition. Either the cartoonist

has freedom or he does not, and freedom is preferable to the artist, newspaper and society. The history of cartooning reveals certain trends that surface frequently enough to make a conclusion; it is that freedom that breeds the cartoonists' best work. Also, the cartoonist works best when society is in conflict. Nast's Civil War cartoons are among the best ever, as are the cartoons of the socialist magazine The Masses during World War I; this again surfaces during the final stages of the Vietnam War. Generally, though, wars bring patriotism, and patriotism brings poor inspiration to the cartoonist. Cheerleading and satire do not mix. Generally, there are few cartoonists who have the courage to say what they feel, or who have the editor with the courage to let them say it. Also, there are few cartoonists with the talent and ability, period. There have always been a limited number of cartoonists; therefore, in every generation there are just a handful whose cartoons deserve to be remembered by the next generation. Currently, there are more cartoonists than there have been at one time in nearly 100 years. The field is in good condition, and there is good reason to conclude that this can continue--as long as social conflict and political demagogues are with society so will effective political cartoons.

While there are many, many writers on a newspaper, there is often just one cartoonist, if that many, and that cartoonist will begin as a cartoonist and retire as a cartoonist. Promotion is rare; the logical progression from being a young cartoonist is to become an old cartoonist. Because cartoonists are unique in the media, they deserve--or demand--analysis as separate entities. This was one of the reasons

for the study; to go beyond the field to a selected single cartoonist, in hopes of gaining a particular insight.

Mike Peters of the Dayton Daily News was chosen as the subject for several reasons, but largely because he was representative of the kind of cartoonist the study wanted to isolate. He had been nationally recognized by the media and by his colleagues as one of the best political cartoonists in the country; this is apparent in that he was selected as the 1981 winner of the Pulitzer Prize for Cartooning. Peters is syndicated and was one of the cartoonists who came to the fore in the 1960s during the profession's regeneration--effected by Watergate and Vietnam. Peters also had another feature that warranted his selection as the focus of the study. A native of St. Louis (the St. Louis Post-Dispatch has one of the finest traditions of political cartooning in the country), he grew up observing the works of D. R. Fitzpatrick and Bill Mauldin; one of the best known of all editorial cartoonists, Mauldin was Peters' inspiration and then his mentor.

The Peters biography was compatible with the historical analysis. The good cartoonists need freedom to comment without editorial censorship. Peters demands--and gets--total autonomy. If he likes something, he can praise it, which he rarely does; if he does not like something, he can criticize it, which is what he usually does. His ideas are his ideas. If he had interference, he said he would not have stayed in Dayton. The editor does have the authority to refuse publication of a cartoon; he does not, however, have the authority to force an idea or concept on Peters. Peters relishes satire, the password that gives him the freedom to say--or imply--things that others in the

field, namely writers, cannot. There is a simplicity implied in the understanding of a cartoon. It is true, as Boss Tweed said more than a century ago--that a person doesn't even need to be able to read to understand what a cartoon is saying. To assume simplicity is dangerous. Oftentimes an intended message is lost between the cartoonist and the reader, and what results is a misread message. Peters said he was aware of that but did not say whether he took this into account when constructing a cartoon. It would be beneficial to the profession if all were aware of this communications void. There is a mystique to the job. Peters said he pokes fun at people and they request the original; he excoriates people and he gets awards. This segment of the thesis provides insight--some common to all cartoonists, some peculiar to Peters--into the workings of an editorial cartoonist, and by doing so shed light on editorial cartooning as a profession. The profession needs more individual analysis such as this.

A content analysis of Peters's cartoons over a 14-year period found if he did not work consciously with the idea that many cartoons are misread, then his cartoons demonstrate a coincidental awareness. The words editorial cartoonist and political cartoonist should be used interchangeably because the cartoonist, in this case Peters, addresses political issues editorially; politics and politicians were the subjects he addressed most often. Familiarity was the overwhelming source of his commentary; he used familiar things (news makers, common sights, common phrases and entertainment) to draw from that would be readily identifiable. This would lead one to conclude that the cartoonist takes those things his audience finds familiar with which to make his

point. He is, therefore, a product of his environment, and his work is clearly a product of his own biases.

Being at the forefront of the news scene, it was not surprising to find that presidents were the most prevalent subject in a Peters' cartoon. What is significant is the degree (53 percent of all cartoons included a president) and how one president was used more frequently than another. Richard Nixon was noticeably Peters' favorite target. Because Nixon idiosyncrasies were common, a content analysis of another national cartoonist might yield similar results.

Peters preferred labeling figures and using dialogue to carrying the message rather than having the cartoon carry itself. This alleviated the vagueness that so often obscures the message of a cartoon. Nearly all of his cartoons were clearly articulated. Being nationally syndicated, it would be assumed that his cartoons would deal more with national issues. They did. It would be beneficial--for the basis of comparison--to see what locales a nonsyndicated cartoonist emphasizes. It would also be beneficial to use the same coding scheme and compare it with another cartoonist to see if further insight can be made into the themes a cartoonist would more likely stress, be it politics or foreign involvement, or social issues.

In conclusion this thesis has provided insight into the history of editorial cartooning and the workings of one cartoonist. Both areas have lacked sufficient analysis in the past; there needs to be more analysis in the future. The editorial cartoonist has had a unique function in U.S. society, and a better understanding of him is necessary.

I. DISCUSSION

This thesis was written, in part, to give scholarly attention to editorial cartooning, a profession which has been neglected in theses and dissertations in the past. Such studies have been restricted both in number and breadth of material; one purpose of this was to not just give long-deserved attention to the profession but to urge further research. This can be done by isolating the cartoonist and further analyzing his work against his society; for instance to see how a cartoonist reflects his society, and if his work becomes more opinionated at times of social crises. A coding format can measure this. It has been said that a cartoonist can, in a sense, say what a writer cannot--through imagery. This should be further investigated. This, too, can be measured by an appropriate coding scheme. Past research has concluded that merely because a cartoonist uses pictures does not mean his message is any easier to understand; in fact, that message is frequently obscured. This warrants further research. There have been just a handful of works examining cartoonists. Bender and Stuart studied several cartoonists. This was the first to investigate a single U.S. cartoonist. More of this is necessary in the future to better understand the workings and problems of just one cartoonist. This thesis provided a thorough inquiry of editorial cartoonists from three dimensions (historical, biographical and content analysis); it has provided a springboard for further research; it is important to the understanding of editorial cartooning that more research is done.

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VITA

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