

OUTSTANDING NON-SEMINAR PAPER AWARD

LONG LIVE THE NATION: POLITICAL CARTOONIST AND NATIONALISM IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND

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Few things are as innocent as a weekly episode of Charles Shultz's *Peanuts* in the Sunday newspaper. Most often, the sole purpose of the artist is to cause the reader to smile, to momentarily allow melancholia to be replaced by laughter, to entertain. Schultz's work is part of a group of cartoons that can be described as comic art. Another group, the social cartoon, is designed to amuse the reader, but also to provide commentary on some annoying or worrisome aspect of life. A third type of cartoon, however, is rarely innocent and usually deals with loftier issues than life's inconveniences. The political cartoon is a partisan, and often nationalistic, comment made by the artist. Through his or her work, the cartoonist seeks to "influence the viewer to a particular viewpoint and predispose him or her to a particular action." Political cartoons are frequently known for "artistic excellence" and humor, but these characteristics are always secondary to the ideas that the drawings express. Truly excellent political cartoons are symbolic, but simple. They may not be purely representational, but any misrepresentation or exaggeration must be believable. Finally, and most importantly, political cartoons must be rooted in truth and be about a subject which has "lasting importance."¹ Cartoons are, in fact, an important resource for scholars interested in the political climate of nations. The artist's drawings not only reflect prominent issues of a nation, but help shape feelings of nationalism among its citizens.

Unlike comic art, political cartoons rely on the reader's timely knowledge to assist in the interpretation of the artist's symbolism. When used as a tool for historic interpretation, however, the modern reader may encounter problems interpreting the artist's intended meaning outside the original context, even when the cartoons meet all the requirements for excellence.. This is especially true as time passes and the events the cartoon portrays fade into history. Eventually, many occurrences are remembered only by historians, and possibly only by a few specialized historians. Also, imagery used by the artist in an earlier time period may not have the same significance today. For example, artists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries often used classical literary metaphors in their drawings. The viewer who is unfamiliar with these references may not, as a result, correctly interpret the cartoon.²

¹Charles Press, *The Political Cartoon* (Rutherford, NJ): Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981), 13, 18, 23.

²*Ibid.*, 27-30.

Although interpretation of past political cartoons may be difficult, it is nevertheless an important source of information for scholars. It provides a different perspective of history than can be gained through traditional channels of study. As cartoon historian Michael Wynn Jones states:

To view history through the eyes of cartoonists is, at the same time, both a puzzling and an illuminating experience. They are a vivid and first-hand [source of] commentary on . . . political life. While their fellow artists might be composing their massive and impressive allegories or conjuring up their idealistic or romantic vision, cartoonists took the world and its inhabitants as they were, warts and all (the bigger the warts, come to think of it, the better). Of course, there were those who wanted to make the world a better place.³

This desire to make the world, or at least their nation, a better place, was the driving motivation behind most cartoonists in the nineteenth century. The artist's goal was to be an informative link between the leaders of the nation and the people. They provided a venue in which to display the "contrast between reality and the ideal, between aspiration and practice, between what is and what could be."⁴ In the absence of news photographs, political cartoons were substitutes for reality. Unlike photographs, however, cartoons were drawn in any way the artist desired. Consequently, artists could, and did, use their power to express feelings of nationalism toward their countries. In doing so, they formed, altered and influenced the nationalistic feelings of those who viewed their work. There were two ways in which this was accomplished. Artists who disagreed with the controlling government, such as nineteenth century Frenchman Honore' Daumier, used their artwork as a political weapon. The men acted as pictorial iconoclasts in an attempt to bring about changes in government. In contrast to the volatile political establishment in France, Victorian cartoonist Sir John Tenniel was a defender of a relatively stable government. His major accomplishment was to encourage and sustain popular attitudes toward the British monarchy, thereby reaffirming royal authority. While Daumier attacked his government to express and incite nationalism in France, Tenniel defended to do the same in England. By defending the established government, nineteenth century British political cartoonists played an important role in shaping the national identity of a major European nation.

The substance of what political cartoonists were shaping is complex. Scholars continue to debate the exact definition of "national identity" and "nationalism," as well as the exact point in history when nations were "born." Each have varying opinions. Ernest Gellner, in his book, *Nations and Nationalism*, defined the phenomena as "primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent."⁵ According to

³Michael Wynn Jones, *The Cartoon History of Britain* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), 8.

⁴Press, *Political Cartoon*, 11.

⁵ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (London: Cornell University Press, 1983), 1.

Gellner, nationalism is a modern occurrence which took shape as humankind evolved from agrarian to industrial societies. Agrarian people were immersed in a stagnate existence that had an "aura of inevitability, permanence and naturalness," whereas the industrial society is one of movement.⁶ Gellner argues that because modern societies require change and specialization to succeed, universal literacy is necessary to the development of modern industrialism and therefore is also necessary for establishment of a national identity. The assigned niche of agrarian life transformed into pressure to improve, move, and change in the modern world.⁷ As individuals within nations strove for specialty and power, nationalist feelings of political and cultural supremacy surfaced.

The importance of literacy in relation to nationalism is also evident in Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. As the title suggests, the author's thesis is that nations are imagined by the people. The citizens, Anderson maintains, will never meet all the members of their nation. They do, however, realize that other members are there, and this comradeship makes the group into an *imagined* community. Imagined communities occurred when the "old ideas" of religion, dynasty, and a non-historical sense of time declined in stature. Loyalty to the nation, real or imagined, replaced devotion to previously dominant ideas.⁸ The facilitation of this change, and the major force that made imagined communities possible was what Anderson calls print-capitalism. This idea is relatively simple, but, at the same time, profound. Everyday millions of people read newspapers with various stories contained in them. These stories are tied together by the date that they occurred, reinforcing a time continuum through a daily reading ritual. Also, as individual citizens are reading the paper, they are aware that other members of the nation are doing the same. The common experience of reading identical information, including political cartoons, unites the group into an imagined community, which creates a feeling of solidarity and nationalism.⁹

Although scholars may argue over the intricacies and nuances of nationalism, the vast majority agree that the phenomena has had a pervasive influence on the modern world. Gellner notes that in the current political climate, a person without a nation, if such a thing exists, "provokes revulsion." National identity has become so important that it gives the appearance of inherency and necessity.¹⁰ The welfare of the nation, therefore, becomes a vital priority, and those who can incite or influence nationalistic feeling among the people are extremely important in shaping the history of the nation.

One group that influences nationalistic feeling is the defending political cartoonists. Defending cartoonists agree with the present government in their country, do everything

⁶ Ibid., 11, 22.

⁷ Ibid., 26-28.

⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 15-16, 19.

⁹ Ibid., 39.

¹⁰ Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 6.

they can to support that regime, and use their cartoons as a means of influencing the people to do the same. This process facilitates the expression of the cartoonists' sense of nationalism and the development of the nationalistic identity of the masses. One "voice of the establishment" was Sir John Tenniel in Victorian England.¹¹

The reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901), was a relatively stable time in English history. During her majesty's long reign, the government, although it needed acknowledged improvement in some areas, was seen as legitimate. Citizens supported their leaders and the way the positions were filled. In general, they also supported "the way social, economic, and political benefits . . . [were] distributed within the nation." Historian Charles Press concluded several reasons for this sense of legitimacy: 1) ignorance of the people, 2) increased benefits for all, 3) possibility of reform, 4) optimism about the new ruler, and 5) confidence in England, which was at the height of its power. The most advanced democracy in Europe at the time, the British were world leaders in the areas of politics, economics, imperialism, technology, industry, scientific research, and military power.

The confidence that the British felt as a result of their position in the world did not eliminate all problems. There was conflict within the country during the Victorian Era. In fact, the conflict, in many cases, was just as brutal as during the previous Georgian Era. The difference, however, was that "all of this happened within a legal framework accepted by the British citizens." Concerned subjects were looking for reform in government rather than controversy and supported the system more than had previous generations. Cartoonists of the Georgian Era practiced the type of biting satire that was prominent in late nineteenth century France. Until 1830, English caricaturists participated in "mercilessly flaying the political, social, and economic system."¹² During the Victorian Era, however, such "satiric powers were alien to English artists."¹³ Instead, laughing satire that poked fun in a "gentlemanly way" was common. Cartoonists, who were part of the "opinion-formation process of a democracy," displayed their nationalistic support for the government and for England in their cartoons. The message sent to the people was: "this is a system that deserves your support."¹⁴

The vehicle that carried this message to the English people was the cartoon magazine *Punch*, which dominated the genre after 1841.¹⁵ Perhaps not coincidentally, the rise of the journal corresponded with the rise of English literacy rates, which expanded from 50 percent

¹¹ *English Caricature: 1620 to the Present* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), 108.

¹² Press, *Political Cartoon*, 80-84.

¹³ *English Caricature*, 107.

¹⁴ Press, *Political Cartoon*, 80, 83.

¹⁵ Robert J. Goldstein, *Political Censorship of the Arts and Press in Nineteenth Century Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 88.

in the first third of the century to 95 percent by 1900.¹⁶ *Punch* was extremely influential in shaping and reflecting national public opinion. One observer wrote that the popular magazine was “housebroken and never-- well, hardly ever-- made its audience wince.” A Paris citizen stated that Victorian cartoons inspired smiles rather than laughs.¹⁷ *Punch*, then, was the “perfect combination of humour, wisdom, and honour; and yet, in spite of it all, not a bit of a prig.”¹⁸ Its genteel reputation, however, did not prohibit banishment in Austria and France during the 1840s and *Punch* was not always kind, especially to foreigners.¹⁹

Punch, with a circulation after 1849 that averaged over 30,000 per week, was extremely popular among middle class English citizens, and as soon as a new issue appeared the latest cartoon was described and discussed in all the major newspapers, both in England and her colonies.²⁰ The influence of the magazine was tremendous. Prime Minister Winston Churchill remembered reading the magazine as part of his education. It “was a very good way of learning history, or at any rate of learning something,” Churchill recalled. “The responsibility of Sir John Tenniel and other famous cartoonists must be very great. Many is the youthful eye that has rested upon their designs and many is the lifelong impression formed thereby.”²¹

The purpose of *Punch*, therefore, was not to inflame and incite the passions of the dissident members of English society. The policy of the magazine was to print cartoons that represented the opinion of its primarily upper-middle to middle-class readers. These were the citizens who largely determined Victorian political trends.²² *Punch* cartoonists did not seek to cause a revolution among the people; they sought to encourage continued support of the system. Also, when dissident groups threatened the established government, the defending cartoonists of Britain played a significant role in quieting the rising feelings of discontent among the masses, thereby reaffirming royal authority. The importance of *Punch* was not taken for granted; politicians from both parties respected its “power in the state”

¹⁶ David F. Mitch, *The Rise of Popular Literacy in Victorian England: The Influence of Private Choice and Public Policy*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), xvi. The rates are based on a person's ability of sign his/her name on a marriage certificate.

¹⁷ Goldstein, *Political Censorship*, 88.

¹⁸ M.H. Spielmann, *The History of 'Punch,'* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1895), 4.

¹⁹ Goldstein, *Political Censorship*, 88.

²⁰ Spielmann, *History of 'Punch,'* 49; Frankie Morris, “John Tenniel, Cartoonist: A Critical and Sociocultural Study in the Art of the Victorian Political Cartoon” (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1985), 290.

²¹ Morris, “John Tenniel,” 303.

²² Press, *Political Cartoon*, 103.

and "formidable influence."²³ For example, when Lord Derby, in 1867, referred to reform as a "leap in the dark," his metaphor was taken from the title of a Tennial cartoon that appeared the previous week in *Punch*. Tennial characterized Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli as a horse, taking Britannia, the nation, into a thicket of unknown reform (see Cartoon 1).²⁴

Tennial was the leading political cartoonist of the Victorian Era, and from 1851 to 1901, published more than 2300 prints.²⁵ Unlike Honore' Daumier, whose tenure as the most influential cartoonist in France was interrupted by long periods of censorship, Tennial enjoyed continuous freedom of expression throughout his career.²⁶ Upon the cartoonist's retirement in 1901, authorities noted that he was the "exponent of the good sense of the nation," and was who the country looked toward "to keep things straight for us." Tennial used history, art, humor, and light satire in his work. Once an illustrator of children's books, including *Alice in Wonderland* and *Aesop's Fables*, the cartoonist's truthful and simple drawings were a "history school for the young, a guide for their elders, and a source of patriotic imagery." The symbols and portraits the artist used were instantly recognizable so that everyone could understand his work.

His contemporaries had designated Tennial's cartoons as 'one of the great sources' through which 'the trend and character of English thought and life' in the late nineteenth century would be known to future generations. Readers might congratulate themselves that their feelings of national pride, national indomitability, or righteous indignation were confirmed weekly in the pages of *Punch* by no ordinary cartoonist, but by 'that great master Tennial.'

The subject matter of the "master's" work was typical for that of a Victorian defending cartoonist and for *Punch*. His cartoons were of a burlesque mode rather than true satire. Whereas satire is criticism of virtue, burlesque is criticism of style. Satire is obsessive, angry, and demonstrates contempt. Burlesque is flexible and demonstrates humor. It "discovers laughter, not in the objects of its hatred, but rather in the objects of its affection."²⁷ By lightly criticizing or laughing at certain politicians and situations, Tennial demonstrated his affection and nationalistic pride in his country, and his desire to maintain the nation. His gentle cartoons were intended to persuade, instruct, and indoctrinate social viewpoints.

An excellent indicator of the British political climate during the Victorian Era is the way in which royalty and politicians were portrayed. Starting with the work of cartoonist John

²³ Morris, "John Tennial," 3.

²⁴ Jones, *Cartoon History*, 172; Morris, "John Tennial," 306.

²⁵ Morris, "Tennial's Cartoons: 'The Pride of Mr. Punch,'" *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History*, 7 (1991): 64.

²⁶ Morris, "John Tennial," 290.

²⁷ Morris, "Tennial's Cartoons," 64-65; Idem, "John Tennial," 53, 69, 71.

Doyle, royalty in England were characterized as kind and humane. Simplicity was emphasized, for example, by dressing royal figures in clothing similar to bourgeois gentlemen, with only a small decoration designating their status. Tenniel drew the young Queen Victoria as an innocent figure who always intended goodwill for her subjects and who was always encouraging. In later years, the artist tried to demonstrate her majesty's interest in her subjects, which became increasingly difficult as the Queen withdrew into seclusion after her husband's death in 1861. Any criticism against the monarch was respectful, as in the 1865 print in which the Queen, who was hiding behind a curtain from the people, is revealed by Britannia. Victoria's face is turned slightly away, thus demonstrating the artist's disturbance at the lack of attention the Queen has shown her country (see Cartoon 2). Nevertheless, Victoria is seen as someone who should be "properly revered." Similarly, Tenniel's attitude toward politicians suggests that political enemies have more commonalities than differences, and all are a part of the same nation. Political leaders are respected simply because they are part of the established government and those with whom the artist disagrees are shown not as "creatures of Satan, but as misguided and often amusing in their wrongheadedness." They are still, however, fellow Englishmen.²⁸

The way in which John Tenniel used the three symbols of Britain demonstrates his attitude toward the nation and what it stood for. Tenniel's work also reflected public opinion and showed how Englishmen viewed themselves. The first of these symbols was John Bull. Previous cartoonists had sketched John Bull as a "brandy-faced, ruby nosed clod." Under Tenniel and fellow cartoonists John Leech and John Doyle, however, this "foul-mouthed" man that was once a negative symbol of the nation was transformed into something more positive. Like England in the eyes of the cartoonists, John Bull became a man of modest means who had worked hard and prospered as a result. He was honest and persevered in his duties.²⁹ In short, he became more like the common and successful British citizen. John Bull's character was not the only thing that expanded. As the years passed, he gradually grew fatter and fatter. His "increasing rotundness," according to historian Miles Taylor, symbolized Britain's increasing volume of wealth and self-confidence as a nation (see Cartoon 3).³⁰

The beautiful maiden Britannia, the second symbol for Britain, also "came up in the world" during the Victorian Era. In fact, the transformation of a "haggish shrew" to a matronly and "awe-inspiring" woman might be an even greater change than that experienced by John Bull. Britannia, more than any other symbol, could be used by the cartoonists in different ways, depending on the situation. For example, when angry she became "independent and formidable," someone "not to be crossed" (see Cartoon 4). But, at

²⁸ Press, *Political Cartoon*, 85-86, 94-97.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 85, 91-92.

³⁰ Miles Taylor, "John Bull and the Iconography of Public Opinion in England c. 1712-1929," *Past and Present* 134 (1992): 109.

ceremonial occasions she was majestic, regal, and sometimes melodramatic. Britannia is an excellent example of how cartoonists changed a drawing to convey completely different impressions when the occasion warranted.³¹ Although Tenniel used the young and beautiful Britannia for most of his cartoons, he occasionally revised her into "Mrs. Britannia," a "plump and homely" version of the latter. Britannia's helmet and trident were exchanged for a bonnet and umbrella, thus significantly altering the image of the nation with a few strokes of the crayon.³²

"While John Bull and Britannia represent Truth and Justice in the face of their opponent's falsehood," the British Lion "dominates the beasts of other nations."³³ The king of the beasts, symbolizing England's superiority over all others, was developed almost entirely by John Tenniel. In his cartoon, "The British Lion's Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger," which concerned the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the artist left no room for doubt about the dominance of Britain over India, represented by the tiger (see Cartoon 5). It also left no room for doubt about the artist's "recipe for political action."³⁴ The cartoon was a call for revenge against Indian soldiers who, because they perceived a lack of respect for their religion by the British, had revolted against their rule. According to *Punch* historian M.H. Spielmann, Tenniel's cartoon, which "raised a cry of vengeance, . . . alarmed authorities, who feared that they would thereby be forced on a road which both policy and the gentler dictates of civilisation forbade."³⁵ The British Lion symbolized a primitive feeling of national superiority and was used when brute force was needed. Political cartoons such as Tenny's touched a base nationalistic feeling, for "when an Englishman opened to that center spread, a thrill shot through him. This was indeed an image to aspire and live up to."³⁶ Nationalistic feelings such as these, however, if allowed to flourish unchecked, can be dangerous, as in the extreme case of Nazi Germany. The display of brute force by the king of the beasts, therefore, was tempered by the more genteel Britannia and John Bull. The fierceness of the British Lion was not the dominant aspect of English nationalism.

Because John Tenniel and other cartoonists were loyal to Britain and its government, the images that represent England were overwhelmingly positive. When portraying other countries, however, the cartoonists and *Punch* were not always as kind. Tenniel frequently used a fiercer version of satire when depicting nations other than his own. The continual problems between the English and the Irish are a prime example. As Irish terrorist acts

³¹ Press, *Political Cartoon*, 93; Jones, *Cartoon History*, 155.

³² Morris, "Tenniel's Cartoons," 65.

³³ *English Caricature*, 21.

³⁴ Press, *Political Cartoon*, 65.

³⁵ Spielmann, *History of 'Punch'*, 177.

³⁶ Press, *Political Cartoon*, 93-94.

increased, Tenniel's depiction of them began to look more and more apelike, most likely a reference to Charles Darwin's controversial book, *The Origin of the Species*, published in 1859. In contrast, however, is Hibernia, a beautiful Irish counterpart to Britannia. During the nineteenth century, particularly as violence increased in the 1860s, Tenniel and the British population in general began to perceive two separate Irelands. One, represented by Hibernia, was the law abiding citizenry of the country. The other, represented by the "apeish" men, were the violent dissidents. For example, during the Fenian uprising of 1867, a Tenniel cartoon entitled "The Mad-Doctor" depicts John Bull as a reassuring father figure to Hibernia, who is concerned about the fate of her "primitive" countrymen. "Cut his head off? Of course not, my dear. We shall just crop him, and shave him, and take good care that he does no more mischief"³⁷ (see Cartoon 6).

Ireland was not the only country represented by two different caricatures. Just as John Bull and the British Lion demonstrated the more primitive masculine side and Britannia the noble feminine side of England, so were other countries assigned male and female personas. The difference, however, lies in the fact that all three symbols of England are basically good, whereas the noble female characters of other countries were frequently in direct opposition to their "revolting spouses," such as the tobacco chewing Yankee of the United States and the "clinging vine called Columbia." In this way, the English cartoonists were able to criticize other nations with one character, and then extend a hand of friendship and tolerance using another.³⁸ During the American Civil War, *Punch* took aim on the slave trade in the United States, but frequently lampooned both sides of the conflict. In "The American Brothers," on 5 November 1864, an angry Abraham Lincoln and a confused Jefferson Davis are drawn side by side. Both are tied with ropes of debt and cannot free themselves. Tenniel's subtitle reads: "How will they get out of it?"³⁹ (see Cartoon 7) Similarly, the 29 April 1865 cartoon is of American Gladiators, North and South, dueling "before the enthroned and imperial Negroes." South, while desperately trying to free himself, is nevertheless being covered by a large net thrown by the dominant North⁴⁰ (see Cartoon 8). The assassination of President Lincoln, however, revealed a different side to England's relationship with her former colonies. The feminine personas for both countries are used in "Britannia Sympathises With Columbia." A grief-stricken Columbia sits by the bedside of her dead leader while a black man, chains discarded, is crying nearby. Britannia extends a wreath in a gesture of good will toward an inconsolable nation⁴¹ (see Cartoon 9).

³⁷ *Punch*, LII (8 June 1867): 235.

³⁸ *Press, Political Cartoon*, 100-102.

³⁹ *Punch*, XLVII (5 November 1864): 189.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XLVIII (29 April 1865): 173; Spielmann, *History of 'Punch,'* 177.

⁴¹ *Punch*, XLVIII (6 May 1865): 183.

Because criticizing other countries in cartoons was a way to express English nationalism, almost no country was spared from occasional ridicule. Some of Tenniel's most famous personifications were the Prussian Burgher, Madame La Republique, a "pudgy" Turk, the quarreling American twins, North and South, the Russian Cossack, and the "thick-headed" German Dutch boy (see Cartoon 10). Tenniel also lampooned national leaders. Napoleon III of France was "dapper but menacing" and Nicholas of Russia was displayed with "uniformed pomp." President Abraham Lincoln of the United States at times appeared as a squinty-eyed imbecile in short pants and one of Tenniel's cartoons even showed him as a treed coon.⁴² Clearly, in the eyes of the Victorian defending cartoonists, England was a nation far superior to any other.

The defense of this superior nation and its government, therefore, was the primary objective of the loyal cartoonists. This goal was easily achieved in times of domestic tranquillity, but when opposition occurred that threatened to disable the established system it became more difficult. One such situation occurred during the Republican Crisis of 1871-72, when anti-monarchical groups threatened the Queen's authority. Led by republican proponent Charles Bradlaugh, who detested the monarchy and all that it stood for, and fueled by the formation of a French republic, the citizens in favor of revolt relied heavily on economic arguments for republicanism. In fact, the republican movement had grown steadily since the economic depression of 1867-68 and in April, 1871, the *Morning Post* reported that "it is a fact that there is working among the poorest classes of the community a very dangerous spirit, which is being silently, but surely fomented by agitators and enthusiasts and which questions the whole scheme of society." Also aiding their cause, however, was the seclusion of Queen Victoria after 1861.⁴³

The lack of public appearances by the Queen diminished her popularity among the masses. Even *Punch*, which was characteristically sympathetic to the sovereign, was critical of her majesty's lack of interest in her kingdom. In addition, negative feelings were directed at Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, for his bad manners and lack of responsibility in carrying out his duties. This all changed, however, when, on 21 November 1871 Albert Edward contracted typhoid.

According to English caricature historian Frankie Morris, this event motivated the "respectable" pro-monarchical papers, including the political cartoonists, to be "part of an avowed and not very subtle campaign . . . to rouse loyalty to the crown as a check to the budding republican movement." The Prince's illness, it was believed, would cause him to change his attitude toward his monarchical duties. By December, therefore, the *Times* reported that the "manifestation of a national anxiety" would cause other "schemes of

⁴² Morris, "Tenniel's Cartoons," 66; Press, *Political Cartoon*, 100-101.

⁴³ David Tribe, *President Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.* (London: Elek Books, 1971), 121, 123, 131; Frankie Morris, "The Illustrated Press and the Republican Crisis of 1871-72," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 25 (Fall, 1992): 116.

national government" to rescind. John Tenniel and the other members of the illustrated press played an important role in the formation of this national anxiety.⁴⁴

Many engravings were displayed in the illustrated papers between 9 and 23 December 1871, showing scenes such as the Queen visiting her son's bedside and the posting of sickroom bulletins. Because of the fear that the lower classes would become involved in the republican movement, the cartoonists were careful to show that members of that group were gravely concerned about the Prince's condition. For example, in a print entitled "The Public Anxiety About the Prince of Wales," the working men are noticeably drawn at the front of a large crowd straining to read information reports (see Cartoon 11). *Punch* was even prepared in case the Prince did not recover. John Tenniel drew two cartoons for the 23 December issue of the magazine. One print, entitled "Suspense," showed Britannia anxiously waiting outside the sickroom door. In a similar drawing, "In Memoriam," the British goddess was in the same position, but was weeping (see Cartoon 12). Another unpublished drawing by Tenniel contained both Britannia and the British Lion, heads downcast in deep sorrow (see Cartoon 13).⁴⁵

While the timing of the Prince's illness could not have been better for the monarchy, it did not please the republican press. One republican cartoon showed a "feeble monarch with Death standing behind the throne and the figure of Liberty behind Death."⁴⁶ Death, however, did not come for the Prince, who, much to the relief of the nation, started to recover. On 6 January 1872 the *Illustrated London News* reported that history had "never recorded a case in which the emotions of such a vast multitude of people were swayed simultaneously." In addition, the *News* proclaimed, the crisis had "disclosed to the nation, as a nation, a full knowledge of its own heart in regard to the Constitutional form of government under which its public affairs are carried on." Although the republican movement of the early 1870s did not completely dissipate until 1874, the campaign by the pro-monarchical press, with the notable assistance of the illustrated papers, was important because of its open nationalistic goals.⁴⁷ The defending political cartoonists had taken the offensive, used a potentially negative situation to their advantage, and protected their beloved monarchy from those they perceived to be the enemy.

Political cartoons and nationalism go hand in hand. Not only are the pictures a means for cartoonists to express their own nationalistic feelings, but they, in turn, influence the collective nationalism of the people. Cartoons, however, also serve an enlightening purpose to the modern historian. Through the examination of major cartoonists' work in nineteenth century England, scholars obtain insight into the development of nationalism within the country. England, during the reign of Queen Victoria, was a self-assured dominant world

⁴⁴ Morris, "Republican Crisis," 114-116.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 114, 118.

⁴⁶ Tribe, *President Bradlaugh*, 132; Morris, "Republican Crisis," 117.

⁴⁷ Morris, "Republican Crisis," 119, 122-23.

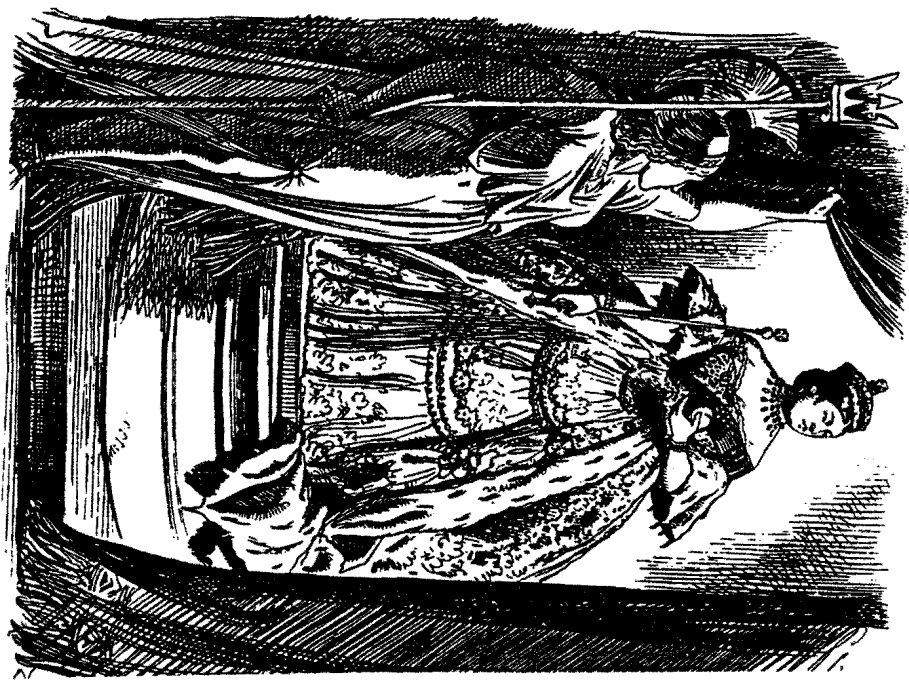
power. The national identity of Britain was strong and citizens knew who they were in regard to the rest of the world. Their place was established. Unlike France, whose political turmoil made her appear as a young and rebelling teenager, Great Britain was much like a middle-aged adult in the prime of life, mature, economically prosperous, and stable. The most influential cartoonist of such a nation, John Tenniel, was likewise strong, consistent, and unwavering. Tenniel's attitude and position as a dominant cartoonist, facilitated by Benedict Anderson's theory of an imagined community, not only influenced major public opinions, but reflected them. Political cartoonists, in a few strokes of the crayon, created images significant both to their contemporaries and to modern scholars. They "transformed the trivial into the epic."⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Oliver W. Larkin, *Daumier: In His Time and Ours* (Northampton, Massachusetts: Smith College, 1962), 7.

**Cartoon 1 : Michael Wynn Jones
The Cartoon History of Britain
Artist: John Tenniel**



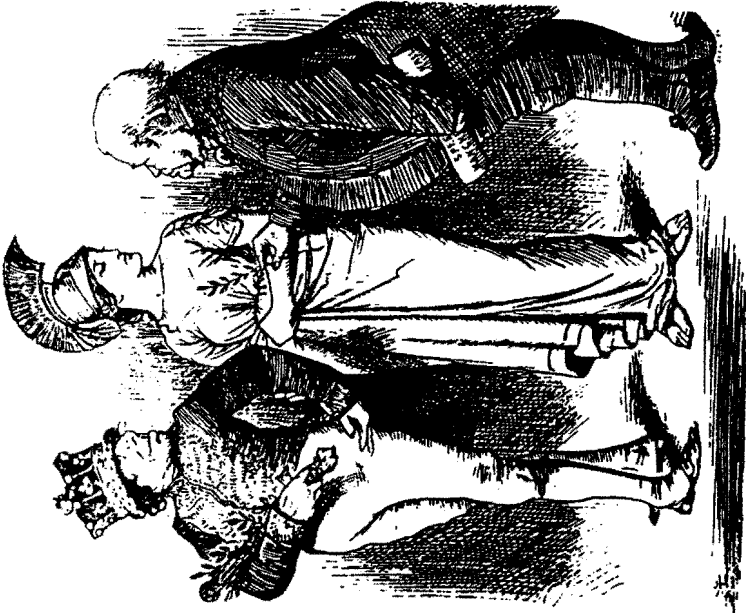
**Cartoon 2: Jones
Cartoon History
Artist: John Tenniel**



Cartoon 3 : Jones
Cartoon History
Artist: John Tenniel



Cartoon 4 ; Frankie Morris
"Tennel's Cartoons"
Artist: John Tenniel



Cartoon 5: "Punch"
Artist: John Tenniel



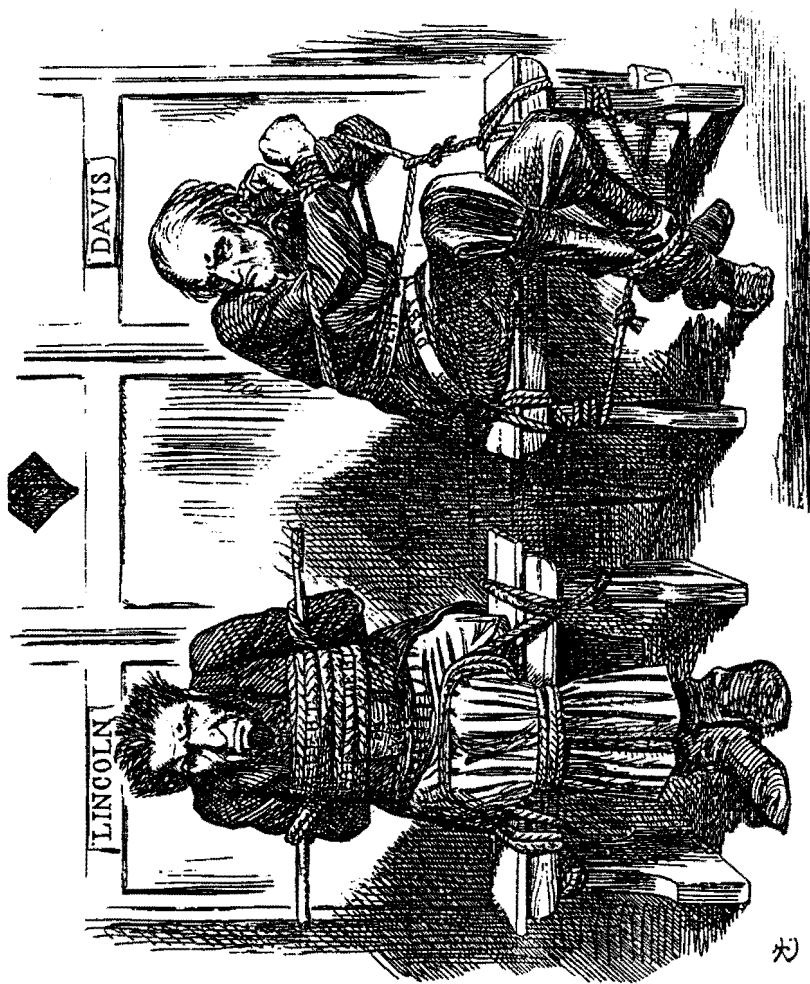
Cartoon 6 ; "Punch"
Artist: John Tenniel



PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—JUNE 8, 1867.

THE MAD-DOCTOR.

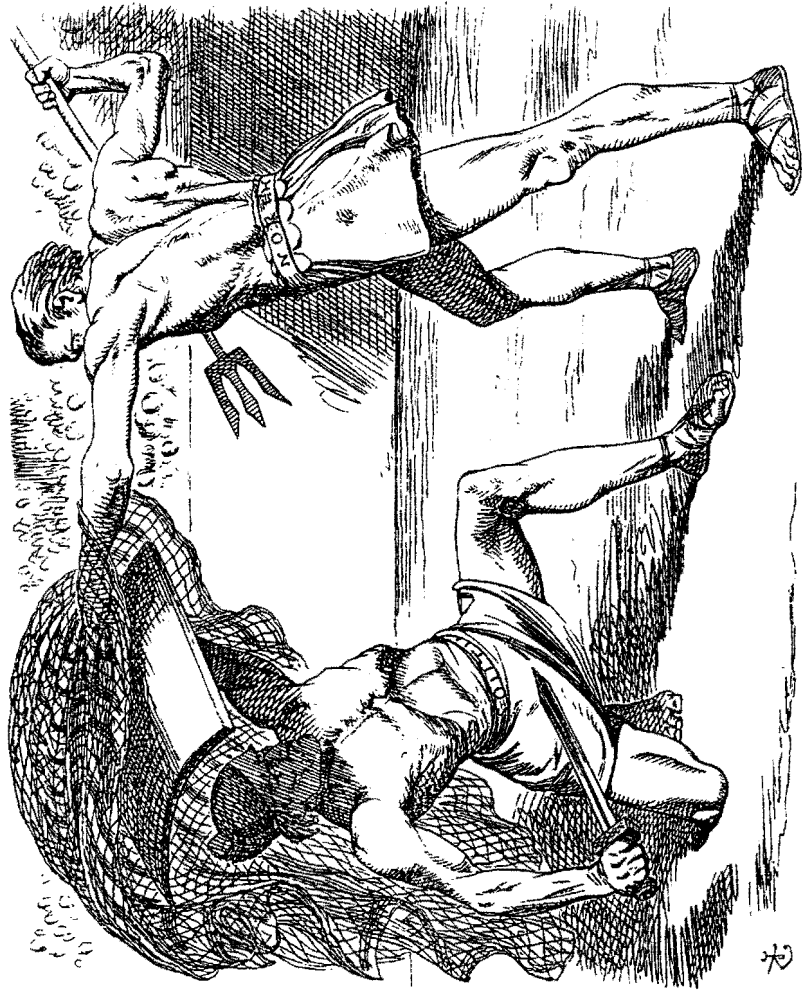
DR. BULL: "CUT HIS HEAD OFF? OF COURSE NOT, MY DEAR. WE SHALL JUST CROP HIM, AND SHAVE HIM, AND TAKE GOOD CARE THAT HE DOES NO MORE MISCHIEF."



Cartoon 7: "Punch"
Artist: John Tenniel

WHEN AMERICAN BROTHERS FIGHT, HOW WILL THEY GET OUT OF IT?"

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—APRIL 29, 1865.



Cartoon 8: "Punch"
Artist: John Tenniel

THE AMERICAN GLADIATORS—HABET!



Cartoon 9: "Punch"
Artist: John Tenniel

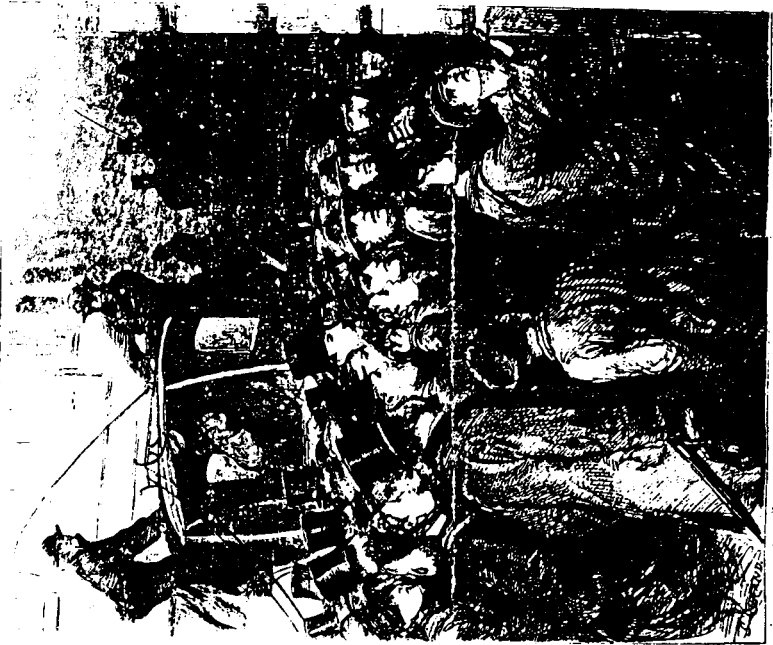
BRITANNIA SYMPATHISES WITH COLUMBIA.

Cartoon 10 Morris
"Tenniel's Cartoons"
Artist: John Tenniel

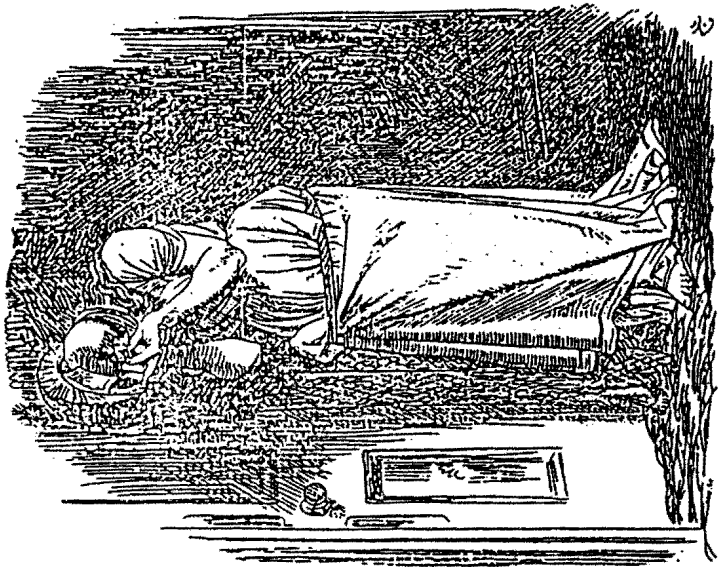


Figure 2. Personifications by Tenniel (1. Prussian Burgher 2. Madame La République 3. Turk 4. American Twins—North and South 5. Russian Cossack 6. Johnny Bull 7. Mrs. Britannia).

Cartoon 1.4; Merris
"The Illustrated Press and the
Republican Crisis of 1871-72"



**Cartoon 12; Morris
"Republican Crisis"
Artist: John Tenniel**



**Cartoon 13: Morris
"Republican Crisis"
Artist: John Tenniel**

