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The British Lion against the Russian Bear:

Depictions of Nicholas I in the *Punch* Magazine during the Crimean War

Bachelor Thesis

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Introduction

What made *Homo Sapiens* the dominant species of the planet was their ability to believe in shared fictions, such as state or nation, that made large-scale cooperation between strangers possible.[1] State as a way of organising human society came to exist through cycles of conflict with the outside that forced lone human particles to effectively cooperate in ever larger groups, and complex institutions to survive. In this process, they inevitably formed 'we/they' partition which is strongest when the conflict with the outside is at its peak. Nation and nationalism are means through which this process takes place.[2] That is why nation, or the ingroup is formed in opposition to the outgroup or as Ofer Zur put it: "enmity among groups promotes group cohesion and group identity."[3]

Orlando Figes argues that it was the Crimean War that made Britain "great": "this was the first "modern" war in the age of mass communications […] and it shaped [British] national consciousness."[4] According to him, this war against Russia marked the emergence of some of the most important aspects of British character, including the ideal of "moral interventionism", an idea of Britons fighting righteous wars, protecting the weak against tyrants and defending the liberty of people.[5] That makes Britain, at the time of Crimean War, for a great case study of ingroup-outgroup formation.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse how Russia, and especially the Russian Emperor Nicholas I, was depicted in the cartoons of the British satire magazine *Punch, or The London Charivari* in light of the Crimean War, and how the image of Russia as the Enemy was constructed. As the other side of the coin, I look into what conclusions about the British society and Englishness could be drawn from the way they portray their enemy; how the English viewed the Other and consequently the Self. To that end, I researched a primary source, the *Punch* magazine.[6]

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[1] Yuval Noah Harari, *Sapiens: A brief history of humankind* (Random House, 2014), Kindle edition, 27-45.

[2] Richard Baum, "The origin of polities: a preliminary inquiry into the evolution of command and control in human collectivities," *Social Evolution and History* 3, no. 2 (2004): 78.

[3] Ofer Zur, "The Love of Hating: The Psychology of Enmity," *History of European Ideas*. Vol 13. No 4. (1991), minor revision, accessed May 4, 2017. http://www.zurinstitute.com/enmity.html

[4] Orlando Figes, "The Crimean War: The war that made Britain 'great'," *Telegraph*, October 2, 2010.

[5] *Ibid*.

[6] "*Punch*," The Online Books Page, University of Pennsylvania Libraries, accessed May 2, 2017, http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=*Punch*

Study of national characterisations belongs to the field of imagology and I will keep in mind the methodological approaches of Joep Leerssen in general: analysing stereotypes, auto-images and hetero-images, the Self and the Other.[7] But they primarily work with literary representations, so I will also consider some theorists of caricature (Streicher, Coupe, Kemnitz)[8] for my specific purposes. Ofer Zur's essay helps to understand how the Enemy is constructed.[9]

Nationalities might be imagined, according to constructivist imagological theory, [10] but actions, taken by people in power, that are based on these images, are not. Winston Churchill confessed that his attitudes towards France and Germany were strongly influenced by the cartoons he saw in *Punch* magazine in his teens.[11] This affirms the importance of studying political cartoons and their portrayal of a specific group of people or nationalities.

The inspiration for this work has been drawn from different studies on cartoons. John Richard Moores wrote his PhD thesis on the representation of France and French in English satirical prints.[12] He maintained that even though English or British national identity formed largely in conjunction with formulating the French "Other" through enmity and conflict, the relationship was complex: the English animosity was mostly directed towards the leaders and not the people; and the satirical depictions that seemed, at first, Francophobic contained evidence of cultural admiration and intimate kinship with France. Magdalena Żakowska wrote a paper on the depiction of Russia in German caricatures of 1848-1914, in a sort of *Punch* counterpart *Kladderadatsch*.[13] The main symbols of Russia, she observed, were Russian Bear and Cossacks. Prussia/Germany is an interesting comparison, as its relations with Russia were much more ambiguous than the English ones.

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[7] Joep Leerssen, "Imagology: History and method," *Imagology: The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters* (2007): 26-30.

[8] Lawrence H. Streicher, "On a theory of political caricature." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 9, no. 04 (1967): 427-445; William A. Coupe, "Observations on a theory of political caricature." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11, no. 01 (1969): 79-95; Thomas Milton Kemnitz, "The cartoon as a historical source." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4, no. 1 (1973): 81-93.

[9] Ofer Zur, "The Love of Hating: The Psychology of Enmity."

[10] Joep Leerssen, "Imagology: History and method," 25-26.

[11] Richard Scully, "The Other Kaiser: Wilhelm I and British Cartoonists, 1861-1914," *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Volume 44, Number 1 (Spring 2011): 83-84.

[12] John Richard Moores, "Representations of France and the French in English satirical prints, c. 1740-1832" (PhD diss., University of York, 2011).

[13] Magdalena Żakowska, „Bear in the European Salons: Russia in German Caricature, 1848–1914," *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe*. (Warsaw: Institute of Archeology and Ethnology Polish Academy of Sciences, 2010).

Some case studies on how the German emperors Wilhelm I[14] and Wilhelm II[15] were depicted in British cartoons, especially *Punch*, have been done by Richard Scully. None have been conducted on any of the czars, yet. Nor has there been an extensive study on how Russia was portrayed in political cartoons of the time, except for the Anthony Cross' "The Crimean war and the caricature war." His topic seems very similar to mine, but his article deals with the caricature cross-fire between English and Russian publications, and I scrutinise the image of Russia and the role that the czar played in it.

Punch was a weekly publication containing both satirical texts and illustrations, but mostly known for the latter. The period scrutinised for this thesis starts with the first cartoon depicting Nicholas I in light of the nearing conflict on June 25, 1853 and ends on March 10, 1855 with the cartoon portraying his death. The average length of an issue, at the time, was about 10 pages, which makes for the total of about 900 pages for the studied 90-week period. At first, I performed a quantitative analysis, by counting the illustrations depicting Russia in relation to all of the illustrations in *Punch*. Secondly, I determined which symbols were most often associated with Russia and their prevalence in doing that. Lastly, I made a qualitative analysis by looking at those symbols; putting them in context of the accompanying text and comparing them to the findings from the other studies on cartoons.

The first chapter is introductory to my research. The first two subchapters introduce cartoons as a historical source, in general, and *Punch*, in particular. They give an overview of the importance of studying cartoons and explains why *Punch* was selected as the main source. The third subchapter looks into how Russia became the Other for Europe and for England; for which I mostly used Iver B. Neumann's[16] and Martin Malia's[17] studies on Russia's otherness. The fourth subchapter gives a chronological bird's-eye view on Punch's cartoons during the period studied. A quantitative analysis of cartoons that concern Russia is also included there. Orlando Figes[18] study on Crimean War was helpful for background information. Second chapter makes up the main bulk of my thesis, as it tackles with the main research topic of Nicholas I: what he was like and how he was portrayed in *Punch*. It is divided into subchapters that introduce the

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[14] Richard Scully, "The Other Kaiser," 69-98.

[15] Richard Scully, "'A pettish little emperor': Images of Kaiser Wilhelm II in '*Punch*', 1888-1901," *Drawing the Line: Using Cartoons as Historical Evidence* (Monash University ePress, 2009): 4.1-4.28.

[16] Iver B. Neumann, "Russia as Europe's other," *Journal of Area Studies*, 6:12. (1998): 26-73.

[17] Martin Malia*, Russia under Western Eyes: From the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum* (Belknap Press, May 7, 2000).

[18] Orlando Figes, *The Crimean War: A History* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2010).

main themes used to denigrate the czar: showing him as the tyrant and the liar, a madman, a religious hypocrite and a criminal. The last chapter gives an overview of the other symbols that were associated with Russia – the double-headed eagle and the bear – and also the issue of how the Russian nation as a whole was portrayed in *Punch*.

1 Cartoons and the Crimean War

1.1 Cartoon as a historical source

"Cartoon" acquired its popular meaning of "pictorial parody, […] which by the devices of caricature, analogy, and ludicrous juxtaposition sharpens the public view of a contemporary event, folkway, or political or social trend,"[19] or in looser terms: "almost any drawing which refers to the social or political situation,"[20] in England, in the middle of the 19th century, largely thanks to the *Punch* magazine. "Caricature" is "the distorted presentation of a person, type, or action,"[21] and therefore one of the methods used in cartoons.

George Townshend, James Gillray and some others created "what we know as political caricature" by merging together the Italian portrait caricature and symbolical print (brought to England by the Dutch), in the 18th century England.[22] They laid foundation to what was to become the rich tradition of English cartoon-making, of which *Punch* magazine grew out in 1841.

Thomas Milton Kemnitz argued that even though cartoons have been studied, the studies have mostly been descriptive in nature. They have used cartoons as an illustration to something else and not to answer wider questions. He asserts that a cartoon's "value to historians lies in what they reveal about the societies that produced and circulated them."[23] The cartoon is, therefore, an excellent medium for researching the creation of hetero-images and auto-images, or how a society creates its identity though creating the Other.

Various historians and social scientists have studied cartoons sporadically but no uniform theory or methodology for approaching them has been formed yet. Taking a cue from the earlier analysis into theory of cartoon research,[24] I will, first, examine the magazine *Punch*, its editorial

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[19] Winslow Ames, *Caricature and cartoon*. (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.), accessed May 10, 2017.
https://www.britannica.com/art/caricature-and-cartoon
[20] William A. Coupe, "Observations on a theory of political caricature," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11, no. 01 (1969): 84.
[21] Winslow Ames, *Caricature and cartoon*.
[22] William A. Coupe, "Observations on a theory of political caricature," 84-85.
[23] Thomas Milton Kemnitz, "The Cartoon as a Historical Source," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4, no. 1 (1973): 81-82
[24] Lawrence H. Streicher, "On a theory of political caricature," 429-430; and Thomas Milton Kemnitz, "The Cartoon as a Historical Source," 86.

policies and staff, the artists and the audience, the historical background, and then finally analyse, in depth, the cartoons themselves.

1.2 *Punch, or The London Charivari*

The official website of the *Punch* Magazine Cartoon Archive describes *Punch* as magazine of humour and satire, that ran from 1841-2002 during which it produced half a million cartoons.[25] When *Punch* started in the beginning of the 1840s, it struggled to reach the weekly circulation of 10,000 which was necessary for the magazine to be profitable at the time. By 1849, 30,000 exemplars per average were bought weekly[26] and a steady 50,000-60,000 copies sold per week was achieved by the mid-Victorian period.[27] The actual readership surpassed the selling numbers, as *Punch* was perused by visitors to communal spaces, such as libraries, gentlemen's clubs, lawyers' offices etc.[28] By the beginning of the Crimean War, *Punch* magazine had established itself as a successful periodical with a stable following.

Punch represented a new generation in political satire, as it distinguished itself for its "absence of grossness, partisanship, profanity, indelicacy, and malice from its pages."[29] Whereas its predecessors of political caricature would have made a polite member of the society blush, *Punch* was completely family-friendly and therefore reached a whole new public: (mostly middle class) women and children.[30] This meant a much greater societal effect, as whole generations grew up reading and being influenced by the pictures and texts of the journal; being formed by the ideas of Self and Other that the magazine portrayed. Martha Banta asserted that 19th century *Punch* very much tapped into the question of what it meant to be English.[31] One of the prevailing archetypes of Englishness, John Bull was widely accepted thanks to *Punch*.[32]

At the same time, the milder tone meant self-censorship and restraint. The staff of *Punch* in the first half of 1850s, under the printer William Bradbury, made up of about 10 people: two

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[25] "About *PUNCH* Magazine Cartoon Archive," *PUNCH* Magazine Cartoon Archive, accessed April 27, 2017. http://www.punch.co.uk/about/

[26] Marion Harry Spielmann. *The history of Punch* (Gale Research Company, 1895): 31; 49.

[27] Henry J. Miller, "John Leech and the Shaping of the Victorian Cartoon: The Context of Respectability," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 42, no. 3 (2009): 267.

[28] Richard Scully, "The Other Kaiser: Wilhelm I and British Cartoonists, 1861-1914," 70.

[29] Marion Harry Spielmann. *The history of Punch*, 30.

[30] Henry J. Miller, "John Leech and the Shaping of the Victorian Cartoon: The Context of Respectability," 268-272; Richard Scully, "The Other Kaiser: Wilhelm I and British Cartoonists, *1861-1914*, 70; 72.

[31] Martha Banta, *Barbaric Intercourse: Caricature and the Culture of Conduct, 1841-1936*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003): 23.

[32] Thomas Milton Kemnitz, "The Cartoon as a Historical Source," 84.

eminent cartoonists were John Tenniel and John Leech, the other members were mostly concerned with writing and editing, including the writers Douglas Jerrold, William Makepeace Thackeray, Tom Taylor, Shirley Brooks and the founding editor Mark Lemon.[33] Mark Lemon and William Bradbury made sure that nothing too offensive would make it to the print.[34] The staff of Punch held a weekly dinner on Wednesdays – it was a mixture of pleasure and business – but the end goal was to choose the "big cut" for the next week – the central cartoon of one or two images that would be the centrepiece of the issue.[35] As the decision was reached collectively, the end product was a "highly-complex and broadly-based impression of current affairs."[36] *Punch* was thus seen as more neutral, nonpartisan compared to its partisan counterparts,[37] although taking much of its inspiration from *The Times*.[38]

Punch's main circulation was in the London area, but it made it far beyond and it was "circulated widely throughout the British Empire -- appearing on the newsstands from Montreal to Melbourne" where it spawned its own local versions.[39] The magazine's influence did not stop in the English speaking world: there are accounts that it was also read in the German court and Emperor Wilhelm II himself was very concerned with how he was depicted on the pages.[40] Same goes with the Russian Empire in the 19th century, but by the time it reached its readership there, it was already heavily censored.[41]

1.3 Russia as the Other

Ottoman Empire was the main Other that lead to the formation of European identify as a community of Christian civilized nations in the 16th century. The former was an existential threat to the latter until the end of 17th century when it started losing territories to Christians instead of gaining them.[42] Before Peter the Great thrust Russia into the arena of European

[33] Marion Harry Spielmann. *The history of Punch*, 65.
[34] Thomas Milton Kemnitz, "The Cartoon as a Historical Source," 88.
[35] Marion Harry Spielmann. *The history of Punch*, 54-55; 71-73; 78-80; 82.
[36] Richard Scully, "'A pettish little emperor'," 4.3.
[37] Henry J. Miller, "John Leech and the Shaping of the Victorian Cartoon: The Context of Respectability," 283; Richard Scully, "The Other Kaiser: Wilhelm I and British Cartoonists, 1861-1914," 70.
[38] Anthony Cross, "The Crimean war and the caricature war," *The Slavonic and East European Review,* Vol. 84, No. 3 (2006): 468; Richard Scully, "'A pettish little emperor'," 4.3-4.4.
[39] Richard Scully, "A Comic Empire: The Global Expansion of *Punch* as a Model Publication, 1841-1936" International Journal of Comic Art, Volume 15, No.2, 2013, 8.
[40] Richard Scully, "'A pettish little emperor'," 1888-1901," 4.8.
[41] Anthony Cross, "The Crimean war and the caricature war," 471; Marion Harry Spielmann. *The history of Punch,* 194-195.
[42] Pärtel Piirimäe, "Russia, The Turks and Europe: Legitimations of War and the Formation of European Identity in the Early Modern Period," *Journal of Early Modern History* 11, no. 1 (2007): 74-75.

political powers, Muscovy was seen in the West as exotic as Turkey: a barbarous backwater that was largely ignored or looked down upon.[43] As Russia was victorious against Sweden at the start of the 18th century in the Northern War, and gained landmasses in Europe, the West became aware of it for the first time and began to recognise it as a new Great Power of Europe, in addition to England, France, Prussia and Austria.

As Russia had become more powerful, it also evolved into an existential threat to its neighbours; Livonia and Poland were some of the first to construct narratives of the tyrannical and barbarous Muscovy.[44] In time, Russia evolved into the new Other for Europe and "the most important feature that set Muscovy apart from Europe and into the league with the Asian states was its form of government."[45]

Martin Malia divided the period from Peter the Great to the Crimean War into two distinct phases[46]: from 1700 to 1815 Russia was seen as relishing enlightened despotism but from 1815 to 1855 she was viewed as having the more reactionary and dangerous oriental despotism. During the first period, Europe became slowly acquainted to their new member and was blinded by hopes set for her, thinking that Russia might become European. The second period was a phase of disappointment and disillusionment, when they realized Russia was Asiatic rather than European.

The end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century was a time of great conflict between the two dominant powers of Europe, England and France. It was a period of active English nation formation in opposition to the French Other.[47] The height of Russian prestige in Europe came with the 1815 Congress of Vienna when she was viewed as "the liberator of oppressed Europe from the "despotism" of Bonaparte and the champion of international law, peace, and stability."[48] France as England's main competitor for power was dethroned by Russia.

Napoleonic wars brought about clever French war propaganda to turn England against her then ally Russia. This is especially exemplified by "The 'Testament' of Peter the Great," from 1812. It was a supposed secret will that Peter I left for his descendants containing guidelines for world domination through pitting European powers against each other, expanding southward along

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[43] Martin Malia, *Russia under Western Eyes,* 17, 20.
[44] Pärtel Piirimäe, "Russia, The Turks and Europe," 78.
[45] *Ibid.*, 77.
[46] Martin Malia, *Russia under Western Eyes*, 9.
[47] John Richard Moores, "Representations of France and the French in English satirical prints," 1; 6-8.
[48] Martin Malia, *Russia under Western Eyes*, 87.

Black Sea coast, expelling the Turks from Europe, and, ultimately, conquering Constantinople and India. The fake document made it to England and remained in the subconscious to resurface at the times of Russophobia.[49] The idea of the czars having an intergenerational plan to take over the world must have played into the conniving, clever and greedy image Nicholas I was branded by the *Punch* magazine.

"The great parallel" was drawn between the decline of the Roman empire by conquest of barbarian tribes and a possible Russian takeover of Europe. A portrayal was created of strong Oriental nomadic barbarians who might, at any time, take over the weakened Europe by force. Russia became seen, in 19th century Europe, as a barbarian at the gate, an Asiatic despotism on the border of Europe and not part of its civilized community.[50]

Alexander Lyon Macfie traced the origins of widespread British Russophobia to David Urquhart, who after becoming an avid Turcophile and proponent of Turco-British trade, in the 1830s, took on a mission to sway the public opinion against Russia by securing editorial positions in many influential English publications.[51] He was able to inspire others and a strong narrative, that was already familiar from "The Testament", resurfaced: Russia, having taken a hold of Black Sea, aspired to control the Mediterranean and the world seas by conquering Constantinople – a threat to Britain, whose riches stemmed largely from its trade route to India. It was a danger that could only be averted by not letting Russia expand to the south; to protect itself and Europe, England (and France) had to make sure that the Ottoman empire stay intact.[52]

This was only one school of thought and "conservative journals and newspapers were generally much more relaxed about Russia's strategic intentions than were texts in liberal publication."[53] Whig newspapers largely agreed with Urquhart's notion of the danger of Russia in the Mediterranean, whereas Tory ones saw Russia more as a mighty power but not a real threat to England. *The Times* oscillated between fearing further Russian conquest after Poland and Turkey, and reassuring that Russia was not a threat.[54]

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[49] Albert Resis, "Russophobia and the" Testament" of Peter the Great, 1812-1980," *Slavic Review* 44, no. 4 (1985): 681-688.

[50] Iver B. Neumann, "Russia as Europe's other," 40-42.

[51] Alexander Lyon Macfie, "Opinions of the European Press on the Eastern Question, 1836," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Jan., 1991): 131.

[52] *Ibid.*, 132-138.

[53] Iver B. Neumann, "Russia as Europe's other," 44.

[54] *Ibid.*, 37-38.

By 1850s, England had seen Russia raise a strong military force, beat British main rival, and the main Other, France in a war, expand its territories Westwards and Southwards and rapidly become one of the Great Powers of Europe. It is no wonder then that: "despite the fact that the threat of Russia to British interests was minimal, and trade and diplomatic relations between the two countries were not bad at all in the years leading up to the Crimean War, Russophobia (even more than Francophobia) was arguably the most important element in Britain's outlook on the world abroad."[55]

1.4 Crimean War and Russia in *Punch*

Although, the political fermentation leading up to the Crimean War had lasted for decades, the conflict started in 1853. Nicholas I had worked for years to assure that, when the "Sick man of Europe" would die, he would have the necessary arrangements made to be in control of the situation. The czar thought he had an understanding with his German friends, Austria and Prussia, and with England, but he was gravely mistaken[56].

1853 started with a lengthy negotiation process over the right of protectorate over Orthodox Christians on the Ottoman territory, between the Menshikov mission and the Turkish government. It ended with Turkey not yielding and Russia closing its embassy in Constantinople and sailing off to Odessa on May 21.[57] In July, Russian troops crossed the Pruth river to invade Moldova and Wallachia.[58] Turkey declared war on Russia in October, and was able to successfully drive off the Russian assaults on Oltenitza.[59] For the first half of November, it seemed that Russia was not off to a good start, a notion which was reflected in *Punch*'s cartoons that month, notably "A Bear with a sore head" (see appendix 1),[60] which depicted the Russian bear crying over a defeat. The year 1853 did not see that many cartoons in *Punch* depicting Russia: only nine in the studied period, even though there were two big cuts[61] preceding that.

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[55] Orlando Figes, *The Crimean War: A History*, 70.

[56] W. Bruce Lincoln, *Nicholas I: Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias* (Indiana University Press, 1978): 326-333.

[57] *Ibid.*, 338.

[58] John Sweetman, *Crimean War, Essential Histories* (Great Britain: Osprey Publishing, 2001): 7.

[59] *Ibid.*, 20.

[60] "A Bear with a sore head," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 25 (November 11, 1853): 219.

[61] "Turkey in Danger," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 24 (April 9, 1853): 145; John Leech, "Unceremonious Treatment of the Russian Ultimatum," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 24 (June 11, 1853): 235

A major change came after November 30, when a Turkish naval squadron was destroyed at Sinope. The news of the events reached London on 11 December[62] and the battle was branded "the Massacre of Sinope" in the British press causing a storm of emotions and strong anti-Russian sentiment in the public. This later became the *casus belli* for France and the Great Britain.[63] Interestingly, *Punch* did not react with anti-Russian cartoons right away, but rather with criticism over domestic politics. The Tory Prime Minister Lord Aberdeen became the regular scapegoat of *Punch* for being passive and trying to pacify Russia. One big cut depicts him smoking a peace pipe while sitting on a gun powder barrel,[64] another one portrays him as a policeman observing a war going on in the streets but refusing to interfere.[65]
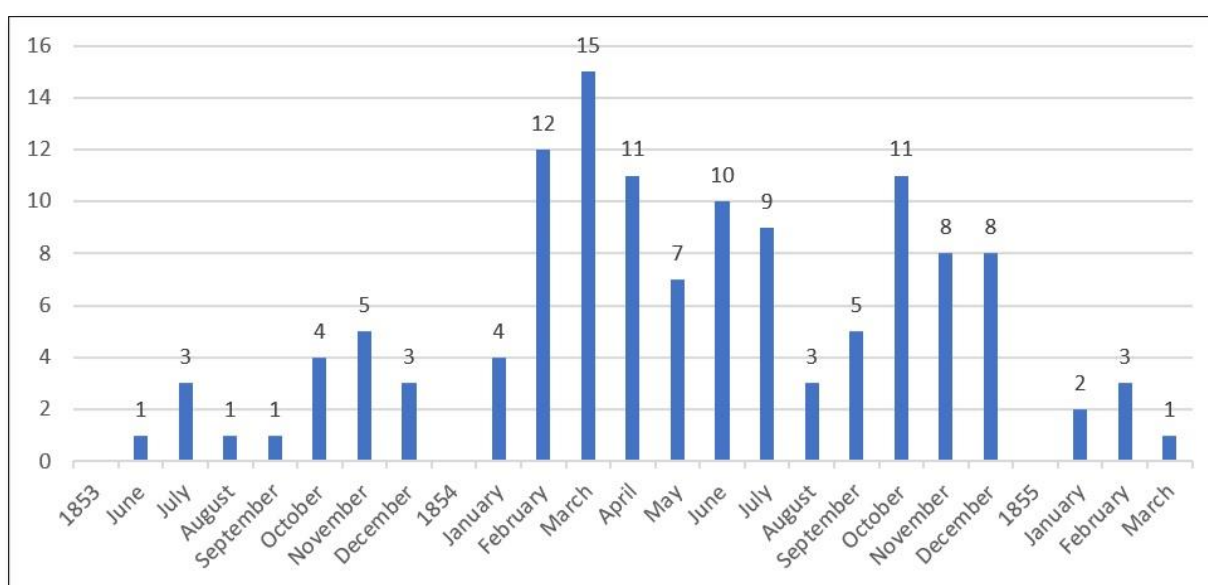

Table 1 Depictions of Russia in Punch from 25 June, 1853 to 10 March, 1855.

The beginning of the new year brought about a flood of Russophobic cartoons, especially those demonising the czar. 103 illustrations of Russia were published in *Punch* in 1854, making up 18% of the total 566 cartoons printed that year and approximately 9 cartoons of Russia on average per month. The main symbols through which Russia was presented were the Czar, the Bear, the Cossacks and the Double-headed eagle. An overwhelming majority of the cartoons depicted the czar, the other symbols were present in about 13-15% of the illustrations. This is also the reason why the paper focuses on Nicholas I.

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[62] Orlando Figes, *The Crimean War: A History,* 144.
[63] John Sweetman, *Crimean War,* 20.
[64] "Aberdeen smoking the Pipe of Peace," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 25 (December 17, 1853): 249.
[65] "Aberdeen on Duty," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 25 (December 24, 1853): 249.

Months preceding the British declaration of war against Russia on 28 March were the most active in agitating Russophobia in *Punch*: a total of 27 cartoons about Russia were published in February and March, 18 of which depicted the czar. It was a campaign with an aim to rouse the public opinion against Russia and to force the government out of its inactivity and into the war. The beginning of 1854 was most aggressive in *Punch* in creating the image of the Enemy and the Other that had to be confronted. The means by which the Enemy was created will be analysed later.

After England and France entered the war, feelings of patriotism ran high, and the characterisation of the Enemy as the evil to be vanquished continued to keep the morale high. But as the allied European forces gained the upper hand and Russia started losing her ground, the tone of the cartoons changed. The enemy was not perceived as menacing anymore, and was rather depicted as ridiculous and losing to raise the spirits of domestic public.

The idea of the enemy losing control was well illustrated in the cartoon "The Russian Frankenstein and his Monster,"[66] where Nicholas I was fearfully looking at the monster that he has created (the war) and was afraid that it would destroy him. As Russians had evacuated the Principalities, lost the Battle of Alma and part of their fleet, a big cut entitled "Bursting of the Russian bubble," (see appendix 6)[67] was published in Punch in October 1854. It depicted the czar blowing up like a bomb, losing grip of his gloves with "irresistible power" and "unlimited means" written on them and dropping his knout (symbol of despotic power).

The domestic criticism against Lord Aberdeen continued to soar, which finally forced him out of the office. With the new government in the beginning of 1855, *Punch* was expecting a quick end to the war, pitting the fresh and strongly anti-Russian Prime Minister Lord Palmerston directly against the czar.[68] The two were depicted as wrestlers "Pam, the downing street pet", and "the Russian spider," the former looking confident and the latter frightened. The war did not end for another year, but one of the main actors, the czar Nicholas I died in March, for much rejoice from the British public.

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[66] John Leech "The Russian Frankenstein and his Monster," cartoon *Punch* vol. 27 (July 15, 1854): 15.

[67] John Leech "Bursting of the Russian bubble," cartoon *Punch* vol. 27 (October 14, 1854): 149.

[68] John Leech and Mark Lemon, *Later pencillings from Punch* (London: Bradbury, Evans & Company, 1865): 128; "Now for it!" cartoon *Punch* vol. 28, February 17, 1855, 65.

2 Nicholas I

The Emperor of Russia, Nicholas I appeared on approximately 72 illustrations; a bulk which forms approximately 8% of all of the 948 illustrations published in the studied period and about 57% of the illustrations of Russia. The prevalence is more remarkable when it comes to the big cuts: the czar was portrayed on 25% of all of the big cuts and on 68% of those depicting Russia. These statistics clearly indicate the importance of the role that the czar's person played in representing Russia and Russianness in the *Punch* magazine. It was almost as if his person was equated with the Russian Empire itself, overshadowing the other representations of the country and its culture.

Why might that be? Perhaps, because it was easy to direct anger towards a real person (unlike the abstract bear or the double-headed eagle) and he was personally deemed responsible for the decisions of his state (unlike the Cossacks who were just following orders). He was the autocrat, something the English found despicable, because of their own constitutional monarchy. Interestingly, Queen Victoria was very rarely portrayed in the cartoons of the period: the main domestic political characters portrayed, in connection with the Crimean War, were the prime ministers Lord Aberdeen and John Palmerston; England as a whole was mainly pictured as the Lion or Lady Britannia, and English people as John Bull.

Magdalena Żakowska has pointed out that "neither Alexander I, nor Nicholas I, nor Alexander II, nor Alexander III could find portraits of themselves in the pages of [German] satirical magazines"[69] even though Nicholas I, for example, had warm personal relations with Prussia; his mother was a German princess, he was married to one of the daughters of the Prussian royal family and he enjoyed visiting his German family.[70] Instead, the main symbols of Russia in *Kladderadatsch*, at the time of Crimean war, were the Russian Bear and the Cossacks.[71]

2.1 What was he like?

To understand how much of a caricature there is in a specific cartoon, one should take a look at how the depicted compares to the real life. There are numerous drawings, paintings and impressions by the contemporaries of Nicholas I. He was praised for his physical beauty and

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[69] Magdalena Żakowska, „Bear in the European Salons: Russia in German Caricature, 1848–1914," 17.
[70] Nicholas Valentine Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825-1855* (University of California Press; 5th edition, 1974): 28.
[71] Magdalena Żakowska, „Bear in the European Salons: Russia in German Caricature, 1848–1914," 1; 6-10.

his majestic bearing by friends and foes alike[72]. United States diplomat Andrew Dickson White branded him "the most perfect specimen of a human being, physically speaking, in all Europe."[73] 20th century historian Constantin de Grunwald described him thus:[74]

> *"With his height of more than six feet, his head always held high, a slightly aquiline nose, a firm and well-formed mouth under a light moustache, a square chin, an imposing, domineering, set face, noble rather than tender, monumental rather than human, he had something of Apollo and of Jupiter . . . Nicholas was unquestionably the most handsome man in Europe."*

Nicholas I was no stranger to London, as he had visited England once in 1817 before ascending to the throne and for the second time in the summer of 1844 to foster closer ties with the British and to discuss the Eastern Question. During the latter, he met the Queen, Prince Albert, the Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (and the Prime Minister in the beginning of the Crimean War) Lord Aberdeen, as well as the leaders of the opposition Lord Palmerston (who would topple Lord Aberdeen and become the Prime Minister in 1855).[75] Apparently, he left quite an impression on the elite: "Nicholas' British hosts had generally found him far more civil and charming than they had expected."[76] In letters to her uncle Leopold I of Belgium, Queen Victoria characterized Nicholas I as good looking, dignified, sincere, kind, graceful and polite, on the one hand,[77] and stern, severe, too frank and with an uncivilized mind on the other.[78]

2.2 *Punch*'s depiction of Nicholas I

Punch was never fond of the Emperor and even during his peace-time 1844 visit to United Kingdom, *Punch* would mock how "he was received with open arms by English noblemen,"[79] reminding the public how Nicholas I had sanctioned many atrocities domestically and abroad from repressing his own people, censoring the press to persecuting the Poles, the Jews and

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[72] Nicholas Valentine Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia,* 1-3.
[73] Andrew Dickson White, *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White* (New York, 1906. Vol. I.): 451.
[74] Nicholas Valentine Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia,* 1-2.
[75] W. Bruce Lincoln, *Nicholas I: Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias,* 220-222.
[76] *Ibid.*, 223.
[77] "Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians. Windsor Castle, 4th June 1844," *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection from her Majesty's correspondence between the years 1837 and 1861*, Volume 2, 1844-1853. (Kindle edition): paragraph 1.103.
[78] "Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians. Buckingham Palace, 11th June 1844," *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, paragraph 1.111.
[79] "Nicholas and the Jews," *Punch* vol. 7 (1844): 166.

Catholics.[80] Three illustrations of Nicholas I were published in *Punch* that summer. "Brother, brother, we're both in the wrong!"[81] contained minimal caricaturizing: he was depicted as tall, handsome and wearing a military uniform. The other pictures depicted him as a bear better to be locked away in the zoo[82] and as a frightening skeletal figure holding a cat o' nine tails (a sort of whip)[83] – both images that would re-emerge during the Crimean War.

Richard Scully's research into how the German emperors Wilhelm I and Wilhelm II were depicted in the British cartoons reveals much more complex image: even though they were both described as autocrats, they had redeeming qualities and, during the peace-time, they enjoyed periods of positive portrayal.[84] The best that the Russian czar would receive from *Punch* was the non-caricaturised image from 1844.

Even though "The Emperor's Cup for 1853"[85] was not the first published image of the czar in *Punch*, it was first in the series of events leading up to the Crimean War, and it portrayed the characteristics that would become stereotypical for him.[86] There were a few constant physical characteristics through the 72 Crimean War cartoons: he was mostly depicted with a waxed moustache (59/72), in a military uniform (52/72), tall (50/72), with jackboots on (47/72), head covered with either a spiked military helmet (30/72) or the imperial crown (13/72). These are all, more or less, neutral features that would be played upon in the studied period. At the first glance, the Nicholas I from 1853 looked the same as the one from 1844 cartoon, but this time, the emperor was more caricaturized: the way he sat looked ridiculous and his face reflected anxiety.

2.3 The Tyrant and the Liar

> *"Sinope —appeared stripped to its Sin. Liberty was reduced to Lie! Moderation became merely military, as—Ration. Despot was a harmless Pot. Tyrant, nothing but a Rant. Whilst of your Justice there remained nothing in Russia but mere Ice."*[87]

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[80] "The Emperor of Russia in England," *Punch* vol. 6 (1844): 130; "Toasts and sentiments to the Emperor of Russia," *Punch* vol. 6 (1844): "Russia and Russia's bear," *Punch* vol. 6 (1844): 254.

[81] "Brother, brother, we're both in the wrong!" cartoon. *Punch* vol. 6 (1844): 255.

[82] "The Latest Arrival at the Zoological Gardens," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 6 (1844): 245.

[83] "The Emperor's Cup," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 6 (1844): 259.

[84] Richard Scully, "The Other Kaiser," 70; 84; 89; Richard Scully, "'A pettish little emperor'," 4.1; 4.18-4.19.

[85] "The Emperor's Cup for 1853," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 24 (June 25, 1853): 255.

[86] Anthony Cross, "The Crimean war and the caricature war," 462.

[87] "Pranks of Pumice-Stone at St. Petersburgh," *Punch* vol. 26 (April 1, 1854): 127.

The big cut cartoon "Pet of the Manchester School"[88] from April 1854 paints Nicholas as an angry child, a spoiled brat throwing a tantrum and demanding a toy Turk to destroy. It is very similar to the way in which Linley Sambourne would 20 years later draw German Emperor Wilhelm I[89] and John Tenniel 35 years later Wilhelm II.[90] As Richard Scully put it: "the child as a representative figure is by nature autocratic, expecting the world to revolve around his or her every whim and desire[91]" That is how the English viewed Nicholas I or any autocrat for that matter – demanding and uncompromising. For the English, autocracy represented the opposite of the mature British constitutional monarchy where political decisions were reached through discussions and diplomatic behaviour. At the same time, the cartoon was a criticism of the domestic appeasement politics and a warning against giving in to the demands of the tyrant.

For a tyrant to keep his power, he needs to lie to his people and control the press. In a cartoon from November 1854 "The Emperor (with the Mild Eyes) Objects to the Naked Truth,"[92] Nicholas is depicted covering up anxious looking bare-footed maiden (the truth) with pages of the *Journal de St. Peterbourg* and the *Invalide Russe* – newspapers published in Russia – with "LIES" written on them, and putting a cap on her head. The czar became synonymous to a liar, as *Punch* suggested using a phrase, "that's a Nicholas," in the sense of "that's a lie".[93] The Russian censorship laws and the discrepancies between the Russian news and its Western counterparts became a recurrent theme in *Punch*.[94] In another cartoon, the czar is portrayed as an imp changing the content of *Punch*, accompanied with a text: "between cutting and scratching, poor *Punch* arrives in an awful condition among his St. Petersburgh readers."[95]

Indeed, the cartoon and caricature art was not as potent in Russia, as it was in England. Russian caricature was born during the Napoleonic wars, but was rather short lived, as the censorship laws restrained its development. Crimean war brought about a new blossoming of the genre, but only in the end of 1854.[96] Offensive *Punch*'s cartoons were censored out, but others were adapted for their own ends by Russians. Out of all the parties of war, the English were most

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[88] 1854 04 15 155

[89] Richard Scully, "The Other Kaiser," 88.

[90] Richard Scully, "'A pettish little emperor'," 4.5; 4.10.

[91] *Ibid*., 4.5, 4.10.

[92] "The Emperor (with the Mild Eyes) Objects to the Naked Truth," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (November 11, 1854): 191.

[93] "Manners for the Million," *Punch* vol. 26 (May 6, 1854): 182.

[94] "The "Cazette de St. Petersbourg," *Punch* vol. 26 (April 15, 1854): 160; "Another Russian Victory!!!" cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (July 8, 1854): 5; "The Real "Invalide Russe,"" cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (July 22, 1854): 25.

[95] "Pranks of Pumice-Stone At St. Petersburgh," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (April 1, 1854): 127.

[96] Anthony Cross, "The Crimean war and the caricature war," 460-462.

depicted in Russian cartoon, for example as bulldog, and a recurring theme was the instability of Anglo-French alliance. From people, the anti-Russian prime minister Palmerston and the admiral of the English fleet in the Baltic Sea Sir Charles Napier were most represented. Like *Punch*, the Russian counterparts criticised the opponent's domestic politics: English democracy was shown as constant quarrelling between different sides.[97] Even though the censorship laws constrained the press in Russia, the battle for caricatures was fought on both fronts.

2.4 The Mad Czar

"Learn, by the case of that old brute, the Czar, with pride gone mad, the monarchy that's absolute is absolutely bad."[98]

Jamie Agland claims that the Regency Crisis of 1788-89 was the origin of using the symbolism of madness in English caricature, of which there was two kinds: the "raving madness" that connoted power-lust and tyranny, and the melancholic madness of despondence and despair that was associated with political failure and loss of fortune[99]. Even though his article mainly dealt with domestic politics, I believe that his ideas of madness could be applied in foreign politics as well.

Depicting Nicholas I as a madman was a common practice during the Crimean War *Punch*. A poem "The Mad Czar's Song" from March 1854 read: "I 'd swallow Turkey—that may be— And I 'd wash it down with the whole Black Sea, […] A hornet's nest is in my brain! And that might make a man insane.[100]" It was accompanied by an illustration depicting the emperor in a sort of frenzy; he had gone crazy in his greed to conquer the world. Another poem describes how one powerful man's folly had turned the whole world upside down, and how Nicholas I was a threat to the whole Europe.[101]

If not completely mad, the czar was portrayed oblivious or under illusion of being in control whereas, in reality, power was slipping from him. In one part of a double-piece central cut, a self-assured Nicholas I was reclining on a toboggan labelled "despotism" as he was hurtling

[97] Anthony Cross, "The Crimean war and the caricature war," 471-479.
[98] "A Cracked Head in a Crown," *Punch* vol. 26 (March 11, 1853): 103.
[99] Jamie Agland, "Madness and masculinity in the caricatures of the Regency Crisis, 1788–89", *Drawing the Line: Using Cartoons as Historical Evidence* (Monash University ePress, 2009): 2.1; 2.18-2.20.
[100] "The Mad Czar's Song," *Punch* vol. 26 (March 4, 1854): 93.
[101] "A Cracked Head in a Crown," *Punch* vol. 26 (March 11, 1853): 103.

towards the abyss.[102] The other part of the cut was also telling; entitled "Right against Wrong," (see appendix 5) it depicted Lady Britannia (Queen Victoria?) and the British Lion angered by the dangerous game that Nicholas I was playing and determined to stop him.[103] It was symbolism for the calm rationality of the United Kingdom and its leaders vs the hot-headed foolishness of Russia and its autocrat.

In a similar manner, the czar is depicted as Don Quijote fighting against the windmills, with individual blades entitled England, France, Austria and Prussia.[104] It shows the arrogance and stupidity of Nicholas I to defy the great four European powers and also the futility of his actions; just like there was no hope of a victory for Don Quijote, Nicholas I would never achieve anything with his venture. In another illustration, the Emperor is depicted looking in a mirror determined "to sink his ships and blow up his cities—in other words, to cut off his Nose to spite his Face,"[105] another testament to his irrationality and counter-productivity of his operations.

In many of the cartoons, Nicholas I looked worried, confused or despairing, especially in the later depictions[106]. In the big cut "The Four Points (and plenty more to follow)," [107] Nicholas I was surrounded by Britain, France, Turkey and Sardinia, looking powerless, trapped and desperate, face expressing misery, almost as if he might start crying at any moment. That was the more melancholic madness, resignation that depicted the czar's political failure to get any of the great powers of Europe, even his old German friends – Austria and Prussia - whom he counted on, firmly on his side. Everybody knew who was in the wrong and who was in the right.

First used to discredit domestic politicians, the metaphor of madness is a strong one and was used throughout the Crimean War to portray Nicholas I as an unpredictable force grasping for domination of neighbouring territories at first, and then as someone who has lost the touch of reality, living in his illusions of being powerful, whereas all control over the events was slipping from him.

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[102] John Leech, "The "Montagne Russe." – A Very Dangerous Game," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (April 8, 1854): 142.
[103] John Leech, "Right against Wrong," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (April 8, 1854): 143.
[104] "The Don and the Windmills," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (March 18, 1854): 110.
[105] "The Emperor (with the mild eyes) Determines to sink his Ships and blow up his Cities—in other words, to cut off his Nose to spite his Face," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (November 4, 1854): 177.
[106] "Scene From "The Russian Gentleman," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (June 24, 1854): 258; "Austria At Length Defies Russia," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (October 14, 1854): 153.
[107] John Leech, "The Four Points (and plenty more to follow)," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 28 (January 20, 1855): 25.

2.5 Saint Nicholas of Russia

> *"Czar Nicholas is so devout, they say, His Majesty does nothing else than prey."*[108]

As the origins of war or the official *casus belli* for Russia was religious: to protect the Orthodox believers in the Ottoman Empire, one would expect the symbolism to be used in the cartoons. One of the most remarkable examples of this is the big cut by John Tenniel from March 1854, "Saint Nicholas of Russia," (see appendix 4)[109] on which Nicholas I is depicted as a saint with a self-righteous or falsely pious expression on his face, sitting on a pile of cannon balls, a spear in his right a cannon plunger in his left hand and a halo formed of spike bayonets around his head.

Nicholas I and his soldiers were depicted as the modern crusaders in cartoons[110] and in writing: "Nicholas pretends that he is fighting the battle of the Cross against the Crescent."[111] Nicholas I was on numerous occasions referred to as the God of the Russians[112] and the "holders of the orthodox faith" were equated with the "believers in Nicholas."[113] The message of these images and texts is clear: the czar was a hypocrite, only pretending to be a good Christian and using the question of Orthodox pilgrims as a pretext for his self-aggrandizing belligerent ambitions, thinking himself to be the God.

The religious imagery took on a darker turn, when Nicholas I was depicted as demonic or evil and otherworldly. In a big cut cartoon from September 1853, "A consultation about the state of Turkey,"[114] France and England were sitting in the foreground and presumably discussing a cure for the sick man Turkey. The latter was lying in bed in the background, while a frightening death-like figure with demonic wings, knout in one hand, was reaching for him with the other. This skeletal form of depiction of the Russian leader was already familiar from 1844, but was

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[108] "Imperial Devotion," *Punch* vol. 26 (March 18, 1854): 115.

[109] John Tenniel "Saint Nicholas of Russia," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (March 18, 1854): 111.

[110] „The Last Proclamation," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 25 (November 19, 1853): 207; Cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (March 18, 1854): 115; Cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (July 1, 1854): 8.

[111] "The Modern Crusader." *Punch* vol. 26 (March 18, 1854): 110.

[112] "The God of the Russians," *Punch* vol. 25 (October 29, 1853): 175; "God of the Russia," *Punch* vol. 25 (November 19, 1853), 211.

[113] "The Autocrat and his Altar," *Punch* vol. 26 (February 11, 1854), 50.

[114] John Leech, "A consultation about the state of Turkey," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 25 (September 17, 1853): 119.

now symbolising Russia as wanting to kill the Sick man of Europe (Turkey) and take over his possessions (land) as opposed to the European forces that wanted to cure the sick.

Not only was Nicholas I malicious and conniving, but he tried to include European powers in his evil plans. The big cut, "The Old 'un and the Young 'un"[115] depicts the czar sitting by the table with the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I, who was 23 at the time. Nicholas I was depicted as larger in form, dominating, with a sly look and horns forming from his hair, pushing a bottle of port wine (Sublime Porte as symbolism for the Turkish government) towards the Austrian and saying: "Now then, Austria, just help me to finish the Porte!" Emperor Franz Joseph I, on his end of the table, looked small and uncomfortable with the situation. In another illustration,[116] Nicholas I is pictured as flying over the globe, casting a skull-shaped shadow on the ground, about to cover the whole of Europe – an implication to the czar's scheme to dominate Europe.

In another big cut (see appendix 2),[117] the czar was depicted playing "*Te Deum*!" – a hymn to praise God – on an organ, in reference to the fact that Nicholas I commanded it to be sung in all the churches for the celebration of the Battle of Sinope, or what the Brits branded "the Slaughter at Sinope" because of the substantial casualties on the Turkish side.[118] Two demonic wings extended from the emperors back, cloven hoofs had replaced his feet and horns had grown out of his head: the czar was clearly a monster, a demon or the Devil himself for rejoicing about something as horrible as a massive loss of life. As he already was the "God of the Russians" in *Punch*'s eyes, him playing a hymn to God would be praising himself for killing the Turks.

Punch took the religious *casus belli* of Nicholas I and turned it upside down: he was not the devout Christian he wanted people to think he was, but rather obsessed with himself and power, a petty man with god-complex trying to conquer the world, at best, or the Devil incarnate, at worst. Interestingly, in the big cut from March 1854, "God Defend the Right,"[119] praising the foreign minister Lord John Russel for proposing war with Russia, the admired Brit himself is portrayed as a crusader ready to take on the Russian false god. In another big cut from May, 1854, "England's War Vigil,"[120] Lady Britannia is clothed in a crusader's uniform.

[115] "The Old 'un and the Young 'un," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 25 (October 1, 1853): 139.
[116] Cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (April 29, 1854): 170.
[117] John Leech, "Te Deum!" cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (January 28, 1854): 35.
[118] John Leech and Mark Lemon, *Later pencillings from Punch* (London: Bradbury, Evans & Company, 1865): 96.
[119] John Leech, "God Defend the Right," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (March 4, 1854): 88.
[120] "England's War Vigil," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (May 6, 1854): 185.

Accompanying poem describes England as a knight going to battle for a godly cause as "heaven will hear her prayer and aid her hand."[121] England was therefore portrayed as the true knight, protected by heaven, and destined to fight the devilish power of Russia.

2.6 The Outlaw of Europe

> *"If we had Nicholas safe, indeed, it might be the best security for himself in the end— security from the fate of besotted tyrants, the consequences of whose ambition become intolerable to their slaves."*[122]

At the height of anger, ten days before the Great Britain and France declared war on Russia, *Punch* wrote how the Courts of Europe proclaimed Nicholas Romanov, the outlaw of Europe, for having defied the "Law of Nations" by having "wilfully, feloniously, and maliciously" invaded Turkey, "killed, slain, and murdered" his subjects and continuing to "keep possession of the said dominions, and to slaughter and massacre the said subjects." The article went on to suggest that Nicholas Romanov should be given to the custody of Her Majesty Victoria.[123] The story was illustrated by a somewhat theatrical and menacing, but otherwise unremarkable, image of Nicholas I a week later.[124] By using the name Nicholas Romanov, *Punch* was delegitimising the czar's power and depicting him as a common citizen, tried, by Queen Victoria, as one, for his horrendous crimes.

It was not simply a crime against one country and its subjects, *Punch* went on to suggest, developing the topic, but "a very aggravated assault" against the entire Civilisation as such, and that the friends of Civilisation, Britannia and France, should "endeavour to protect poor suffering Civilisation by force".[125] One of the few illustrations pitting Queen Victoria directly against Nicholas I,[126] portrayed an otherwise civil living room, where a spider, with the czar's head and boots, had woven his web. The Queen looked a bit worried but was holding a Turk-shaped duster and ready to wipe away the disturbing creature. Nicholas I had caused a disturbance in the civilized world, and had to be punished for it by the bearers of civilisation.

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[121] "England's War Vigil," *Punch* vol. 26 (May 6, 1854): 184.
[122] "Proclamation of Outlawry," *Punch* vol. 26 (March 18, 1854): 108.
[123] "Proclamation of Outlawry," *Punch* vol. 26 (March 18, 1854): 108.
[124] "*Punch*'s Theatrical Portrait Gallery," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (March 25, 1854): 117.
[125] "A Very Aggravated Assault," *Punch* vol. 26 (March 25, 1854): 120.
[126] Cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (April 8, 1854): 137.

In *Punch*'s narrative, Russia is obviously not part of Europe and not part of civilization, but a threat to them both.

One of those weapons, by which the czar committed his crimes, was the Paixhans gun, new type of naval artillery, developed by the French, but first put to action by the Russians in the Battle of Sinope to destroy the Turkish squadron and the batteries ashore. It was branded the 'Massacre of Sinope' in the British media and brought about a strong emotional response of anti-Russian sentiment[127]. Because of that, the cannonball became a recurring symbol in *Punch* cartoons. Nicholas I was depicted as an arsonist blowing things up, [128] or as a bomb itself about to explode[129] - a destructive force enabled by his power and access to military technology.

2.7 The Death

The news of the death of the czar Nicholas I on 2 March 1855 travelled to Great Britain within hours via the telegraph lines[130] and a great part of the next day's *The Times* was dedicated to him: "At least one terrible presence, one active mischief; *vultus instantis tyranni*, is mercifully withdrawn from us, and nations are permitted once more to breathe free."[131]

It did not take long for the *Punch* to follow suit; the issue of 10 March featured John Leech's "*General Fevrier Turned Traitor*".[132] The cartoon makes light of the fact that just months before the czar had boasted in a speech how there are two generals that would deliver, General Janvier and General Fevrier – a symbolism for the cold winter of Russia. He was hoping that the climate would damage the allied positions of France and Great Britain, instead he himself caught a sickness that lead to his death.[133]

In the picture, having just read about "*defeat of the Russians*" from a newspaper, the emperor has given up and succumbed to the Death in the uniform of a Russian general (General Fevrier). There is no sign of the formal vitality and grandiosity of the character; Nicholas I looks famished, weak and sorry. The atmosphere could only be described as bleak: the cold of the winter has taken over the czar's bedroom as the skeletal figure has rested his hand on Nicholas'

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127 John Sweetman, 20; Orlando Figes, *The Crimean War,* 144.
128 "Imperial Criminal Discipline," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (January 7, 1854): 8.
129 "A Very Aggravated Assault," *Punch* vol. 26 (March 25, 1854): 120.
130 *The Times*, (03.03.1855): 5.
131 *Ibid.*, 8.
132 John Leech, "General Fevrier Turned Traitor," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (March 10, 1855): 95.
133 Arthur Bartlett Maurice, *The History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature* (London: Forgotten Books. Original work published in 1904): 130-132.

chest. In a way, in his death Nicholas I has regained his humanity to *Punch* – he was no longer ridiculed or demonized, but portrayed as all the other mortals, who would eventually find their end.

3 Other symbols of Russia

3.1 Double-headed eagle

Double-headed eagle is a straightforward reference to the coat of arms of the Russian Empire and in about 13% of the cartoons about Russia, she was symbolized as such. In most cases, the double-headed eagle was depicted in an undignified manner; either trapped or stuck;[134] fleeing and being hunted.[135] A cartoon from February, 1854, "The Split Crow in Difficulties. – A Fable for the day" (see appendix 3)[136] is a good example of the former, where the depicted bird (Russia) has gotten stuck in the fleece of a sheep (Turkey) and would soon be destroyed by the shepherds (England and France).

The eagle was sometimes used in cartoons, where the central topic (either domestic or foreign) was not about Russia but its relation to Russia had to be demonstrated.[137] In the cartoon, "Shooting Season," from August 1854[138], the main theme is the inactivity of the Allied forces in the Crimean War[139], but hunting the double-headed eagle makes for a good metaphor.

Occasionally, the eagle formed a sort of hybrid between the czar and the bird,[140] and then it looked frightening and menacing, usually put into a context of some fable, demonstrating the unbelievable brutality of the czar. Another good symbolism, that the eagle would have permitted, is the double-faced nature of the symbol: A characteristic that was often associated with the czar in *Punch*. As far as I could find, it was not used in drawings, but it was suggested

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[134] "A Caution to Imperial Birds of Prey," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 25 (November 5, 1853): 189; "The Split Crow in Difficulties. – A Fable for the Day," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (February 11, 1854): 55; "Trapped," Cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (April 29, 1854): 180.

[135] "Where are the Russians?" cartoon. *Punch* vol. 24 (November 26, 1853): 218; cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (April 8, 1854): 140; "The Shooting Season," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (August 19, 1854): 67; Cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (October 21, 1854): 158.

[136] "The Split Crow in Difficulties. – A Fable for the day," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (February 11, 1854): 55.

[137] "Aberdeen as his unpopular act of the Courier of St. Petersburg," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 25 (December 10, 1853): 239; "Salute to the Rooshians? Aye, aye, sir," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (February 4, 1854): 45; "The Shooting Season," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (August 19, 1854): 67; "A Water Party," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27, (August 19, 1854): 87.

[138] "The Shooting Season," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (August 19, 1854): 67.

[139] John Leech and Mark Lemon, *Later pencillings from Punch* (London: Bradbury, Evans & Company, 1865): 111.

[140] "The Wicked Giant with the two Heads," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (February 11, 1854): 50; "The Lion, the Eagle, and the Bat," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (May 20, 1854): 204.

in writing at least once.[141] Thus Russia was the embodiment of a duplicitous nation, unable to decide if it was European or Asian.

Whether the bird was a marginal symbol on a cartoon, or its central image, it was mostly depicted as being in trouble. With that, *Punch* demonstrated how Russia was not in control of the situation, and did not know what to do.

3.2 Bear

The first associations of the wild, dangerous and exotic bear with the unknown regions of Russia can be found in European literature and maps in the 17th century, and the Bear later became to symbolize the Russian Empire.[142] The feelings that the Russian Bear evoke, in the Western observer, are those of "his own superiority, fear, respect for enormous power, and apprehension of awakening a ferocious predator, a desire to tame it or even chain it up."[143] One of the first caricatures to depict a leader of Russian Empire, as a bear, was published in April 1791 and called, "The Russian Bear and Her Invincible Rider Encountering the British Legion". It would later become a tradition in British (and other) cartoons to "portray Russian leaders as human-bear hybrids or as bears dressed in human clothing and standing erect."[144]

About 15% of the *Punch* cartoons, depicting Russia, in the period from June 1653 till April 1855, portrayed a bear. The first cartoon hinting at the approaching Crimean conflict, from April 1853, depicted Russia as a big strong bear holding the frightened Turkey in its embrace.[145] The next bear, from July 1853,[146] looked quite similar – powerful and frightening, but was already distressed by the swarm of (Turkish) bees attacking it for trying to steal their honey. These were both big cuts with a message that Russia was a greedy and dangerous force to be reckoned with.

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[141] "Expressive doublefacedness," *Punch* vol. 27 (October 28, 1854): 167.
[142] Anne M. Platoff, "The "Forward Russia" Flag: Examining the Changing Use of the Bear as a Symbol of Russia," *Raven: A Journal of Vexillology* 19 (2012): 104-105; Oleg Riabov, and Andrzej de Lazari, "Misha and the Bear: The Bear Metaphor for Russia in Representations of the" Five-Day War"," *Russian Politics & Law* 47, no. 5 (2009): 27.
[143] Oleg Riabov, and Andrzej de Lazari, "Misha and the Bear: The Bear Metaphor for Russia in Representations of the" Five-Day War"," *Russian Politics & Law* 47, no. 5 (2009): 28.
[144] Anne M. Platoff, "The "Forward Russia" Flag: Examining the Changing Use of the Bear as a Symbol of Russia," *Raven: A Journal of Vexillology* 19 (2012): 106.
[145] Anthony Cross, "The Crimean war and the caricature war," *The Slavonic and East European Review,* Vol. 84, No. 3 (2006): 462; "Turkey in Danger," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 24 (April 9, 1853): 145.
[146] "The bear and the bees. – A new version of an old story," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 25 (July 16, 1853): 25.

In two cartoons, the British Bull was pitted against the Russian Bear: once in a military surrounding in the context of Russian loss at Inkerman[147] and once in an economic setting (possibly the stock market), where the affluent Bulls look on as the impoverished Bear has lost its money by "over speculating in Turkey."[148] In neither of the instances, do the two animals look equal: the frightened Bears are fleeing from the strong Bull and the ruined Bear has lost control of its finances, while the Bulls have made the right economic decisions.

In other instances, the Russian Bear was set against the British Lion.[149] Before the Allies had declared war on Russia, the texts in *Punch* urged the Lion to stand up to the Bear and chain it up,[150] or for England and France, to cut its claws[151] in sake of everybody's safety. It was an unfair competition as even though the Bear was "looked upon by the unhappy and ignorant natives as the King of Beasts" and was characterized as gigantic, bulky, cunning, patient, malicious, voracious, treacherous, cruel, vindictive and barbarous, the true King, the British Lion was magnanimous, generous and a noble animal.[152] The Bear represented the wild barbaric brutality, whereas the Lion was civilized and dignified, the true king of the animal kingdom.

In tradition with portraying the Russian leaders as the Bear, Nicholas I was depicted as such on several occasions,[153] as were the princes.[154] The big cut, "The Russian Bear's un-licked cubs, Nicholas and Michael," from November 1854, as well as "The Czar to his Cubs," from December 1854, made fun of how Nicholas I sent his sons to the forefront of the war, only to return defeated from the battle of Inkerman. The czar himself was not pictured in a more dignified manner: in the illustration for "The Bear in the Boat," from March 1854, the Bear ("Old nick so holy") would storm off to the sea with his boat (the war), but would soon lose control over it.[155]

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[147] "Bulls and Bears," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (November 18, 1854): 197.

[148] "Bulls and Bears," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (June 24, 1854): 266.

[149] "The Bear in Mr. *Punch*'s Menagerie," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (March 25, 1854): 123; "What it has come to," *Punch* vol. 26 (February 18, 1854): 66.

[150] "A Few Words to the British Lion," *Punch* vol. 26 (February 25, 1854): 82.

[151] "Who'll cut his nails," *Punch* vol. 26 (January 28, 1854): 37.

[152] "The Bear in Mr. *Punch*'s Menagerie," *Punch* vol. 26 (March 25, 1854): 123.

[153] "A Bear with a sore head," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 25 (November 11, 1853): 219; "St. Valentine redivivus," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (February 18, 1854): 62; "The Bear in the Boat," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (March 18, 1854): 114.

[154] John Leech, "The Russian Bear's un-licked cubs, Nicholas and Michael," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (November 25, 1854): 212; "The Czar to his Cubs," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (December 2, 1854): 222.

[155] "The Bear in the Boat," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (March 18, 1854): 114.

The Russian Bear was a terrifying creature that endangered its neighbours and frightened its natives, but was not a match for the noble British Lion or the strong Bull, which were in all ways superior. As the true King, the Lion had to put the Bear in its place and force him to back down. The pretending King was out of its place and out of control of the events.

3.3 Where were the people of Russia?

Lawrence H. Streicher, asserted that the "theory of caricature must take both the presence and the absence of a given image into consideration."[156] What I found notably lacking in the *Punch* cartoons of Russia from June 1653 till April 1855 were its people. Besides Nicholas I, there were a few other persons depicted, such as the Russian diplomat in London Philipp von Brunnow[157], the Russian military leader Alexander Sergeyevich Menshikov who was sent on a mission to Istanbul[158] and the princes of Russia, sons of Nicholas I.[159] These government officials therefore become the personification of Russia.

Other than that, there was the very straightforward image of a Cossack, the symbol of a savage warrior that became infamous with Napoleonic wars and played a central theme in German caricature of Russia.[160] However, it was only pictured on 14% of the *Punch* illustrations of Russia, one of which was a central cut.[161] These always looked similar: a Cossack was with heavy, untamed and ruffled growth of hair on both the face and the head, menacing and angry in expression and with very foreign-looking, Asiatic facial features. Everything about those images was telling us how barbaric the brute military force from the East was in contrast to the civilized society of the United Kingdom.

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[156] Lawrence H. Streicher, "On a theory of political caricature." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 9, no. 04 (1967): 429.

[157] John Leech, "Black Monday. – Brunow Departing for his School in the North," Cartoon. *Punch vol. 26* (February 18, 1854): 66.

[158] John Leech, "Unceremonious Treatment of the Russian Ultimatum," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 24 (June 11, 1853): 235; "Mad Dog! Mad Dog!!" cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (March 11, 1854): 101.

[159] "Another Russian Success!" cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (June 24, 1854): 263; John Leech, "The Russian Bear's un-licked Cubs, Nicholas And Michael," Cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27, November 25, 1854, 212.

[160] Magdalena Żakowska, „Bear in the European Salons: Russia in German Caricature, 1848–1914," *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. D. Demski, K. Baraniecka-Olszewska (Warsaw: Institute of Archeology and Ethnology Polish Academy of Sciences, 2010): 1; 3; 7-10; 16.

[161] "A Good Joke," Cartoon. *Punch* vol. 25, July 23, 1853, 35.

There were the occasional cartoons where one could get a glimpse of a regular Russian soldier,[162] but they were never very clearly drawn out and looked like a uniform mass or background noise, rather than anything specific. In an article, from March 1854, proclaiming Nicholas I the outlaw of Europe, there is a sentence: "Why destroy an unnecessary number of Russians? They are not the enemy; they are only his tools."[163] That might explain why *Punch* had not deemed it necessary to ridicule the common Russian people, or even the soldiers: they were not considered independent actors, rather slaves under the autocratic system. Whereas English people had their own John Bull who depicted the voice of people and French were formerly represented by a skinny Frenchman,[164] there was no Ivan Bear: Russians were an invisible mass, overshadowed by the person of their emperor.

Then there was the cartoon, "Cruel treatment of Russian prisoners in England,"[165] from October 1854, that depicted Russian soldiers partying and enjoying themselves in captivity. The print was meant to mock *Invalide Russe*, a Russian newspaper spreading lies on how the prisoners were treated by the English.[166] At the same time, the picture succeeded in humanizing the Russian people for the first time in *Punch* during the Crimean War, to the English public. A short snippet from September 1854, "The Czar's Worst Fear,"[167] accompanied by an illustration of happy dancing Cossacks reads: "We may pitch shot and shell into Sebastopol, and throw French and English troops upon the town and fortress: but what is that to turning loose some thousands of heads, primed and loaded with liberal notions, on the Russian soil?" It insinuates how Russians, who have experienced the English ways and been taught the liberal political ideas, would inevitably want to change their domestic system and rebel against the autocracy.

The underlying feeling towards the regular Russians seems to be that of sympathy: the staff of *Punch* felt sorry for the mass of people living under the rule of Nicholas I. They did not made fun of or ridicule the common Russians because they were not viewed as independent agents with a will of their own, but were brutally controlled by their autocratic czar. Similar notion could be detected in British caricatures of France in 1740-1832: "French leaders were attacked

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[162] John Leech, "The Russian Bear's un-licked cubs, Nicholas and Michael," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (November 25, 1854): 212; "How the Holy Men of Russia Inspire their Soldiers," Cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (December 12, 1854): 232; "What our Navvies are likely to do," Cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (December 16, 1854): 242.
[163] "Proclamation of Outlawry," *Punch* vol. 26 (March 18, 1854): 108.
[164] John Richard Moores, "Representations of France and the French in English satirical prints, c. 1740-1832" (PhD diss., University of York, 2011): 19.
[165] "Cruel treatment of Russian prisoners in England," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 27 (October 7, 1854): 137.
[166] John Tenniel, *Cartoons (From Punch): 1st Series 1853-1862* (London: Bradbury, Evans & Company, 1868): 5.
[167] "The Czar's Worst Fear," *Punch* vol. 27 (September 30, 1854): 130.

for the suffering endured by their subjects, suffering which such leaders were shown to be directly enacting, sanctioning, or failing to prevent," which brought about similar sympathy for the French people.[168]

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[168] John Richard Moores, "Representations of France and the French in English satirical prints, c. 1740-1832" (PhD diss., University of York, 2011): 281-282.

Conclusions

Keeping with the tradition of extreme dualism of the Self and the Other, that appears in societies in times of conflict, *Punch* was an effective medium for the creation of an enemy. Through satire it tapped into pre-existing notions of barbarity and tyranny of Russia and developed them further to create a completely demonized image of the Emperor of Russia, Nicholas I. The overwhelming majority of the portrayals of Russia were the portrayals of the czar, he represented the idea of *l'état, c'est moi*. He was the antithesis to everything that the English held dear in themselves: the honesty and straightforwardness of John Bull, the magnanimity and honour of the British Lion, and the love for liberty and righteousness of Lady Britannia. Nicholas I was an imperial hypocrite, a raving madman, a tyrant who, on his whim, stirred up trouble in Europe and threatened the whole civilization.

The only images of him, that were free of caricature and of distortions, were the ones from times that he did not pose a direct threat to England: one from the state visit of 1844 and the other from 1855, post-mortem; only then he was somewhat human. But he would never have the privilege to be portrayed anything but an Asiatic despot, unlike the Prussian Emperors Wilhelm I and Wilhelm II who had closer relationships with Britain. They were all autocrats in English eyes, but at least the Prussians had some redeeming qualities, while the czar was portrayed as entirely malicious, even during the peace time. It would be helpful to have more studies on individual czars and for longer periods of time, not just during the war, to know which depictions were common to all of them and which were individually tailored.

The enemy that *Punch* created in Russia was not its people. There was one stereotype of Russian people, that of the Cossacks – symbol of a barbarian force – but it only made up 13% of the total depictions of Russia. And it represented a group within Russia and not all of the Russian people. The few examples of portraying actual Russian people, besides the representatives of power, were marginal. The double-headed eagle was almost always a symbol for the Russian imperial power, and not the people. The bear was the symbol of the barbarism and indication of the fear that Russia as an 'uncivilized' force evoked in English people, but again it was not about the Russian people, *per se*. It was not the Russian people, that the English were fighting, but their ruler, Nicholas I. Everyone else in Russia was a slave to his will and therefore an unnecessary casualty. Feeling sorry for the subjects of the czar, *Punch* hoped that they would one day topple their autocrat and build up a fairer, more civilized system, like that of Britain.

The English patriotism during the Crimean War manifested in contrasting the two opposite types of societies and institutions. English were proud of their freedom of press and speech, their civil liberties and the institutions that protected them. They felt that they were privileged to have the most advanced political system and an understanding of right and wrong, and were therefore destined to be the leader of Europe: the British Lion was the true king of animals. With that position came the responsibility to defend the weak, to enforce the law of nations and punish those that had violated it: it was England's responsibility to cut the Russian Bear's claws, to lock it up in a zoo, to try the czar as a criminal or put a check on the barbaric madman, who was a danger to the whole civilization. It was up to Britain to go to a holy war against a hypocritical and evil power. These images of the Russian Other and the British Self in *Punch* were seen by a large audience and generations of young people grew up being influenced by them. *Punch* both portrayed what it meant to be British and constructed the image at the same time.

Losing the Crimean War meant "bursting of the Russian bubble" in terms of Russia losing its image as a powerful military force, able to conquer new territories at will and defeat the Great Powers. He was put into his place by the other European powers, who showed unity in face of the threat of barbarian takeover. Old enemies, England and France, were able to work out their personal differences and defend Europe against the Other.

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Resümee (summary in Estonian)

Briti lõvi vastamisi Vene karuga: tsaar Nikolai I kujutamine ajakirjas *Punch* Krimmi sõja ajal

Otomani impeeriumi järel oli Venemaa teine tähtsaim vaenlane, kellele vastandudes kujundati Euroopa identiteeti. 19. sajandi teiseks pooleks oli Venemaa end tõestanud arvestatava jõuna: ta oli vallutanud alasid Euroopas ja Musta mere ääres ning võitnud Prantsusmaad Napoleoni sõdades. Mida tugevamaks ja seeläbi ähvardavamaks Venemaa muutus, seda rohkem hakati talle vastanduma ning temas nägema Asiaatlikku despootiat ja barbaarset ääremaad. 1850ndateks oli Inglismaal seetõttu varem domineerinud frankofoobia asendunud russofoobiaga ja just Venemaas nähti eksistentsiaalset ohtu, mistõttu pole ka ime, et kaks varasemat konkurenti, Inglismaa ja Prantsusmaa, jõud ühendasid ja Krimmi sõjas Türgi poolel Venemaa vastu 1854. aastal sõtta asusid.

Just konfliktide ajal tuleb kõige tugevamalt esile rahvuslik identiteet, kuna vastandutakse Vaenlasele ehk siis rahvuslik minapilt kujuneb läbi selle, mis „mina" ei ole. Minu töö eesmärgiks on jälgida Venemaa ja eriti Vene tsaari Nikolai I kui vaenlase kujutamist Briti satiiriajakirjas *Punch, or The London Charivari* ilmunud poliitilistes karikatuurides Krimmi sõja ajal. Mündi teise küljena vaatan, mida näitab vaenlase kuvand inglaste enesekuvandi kohta ehk siis kuidas nad näevad ennast vaenlasele vastandudes.

Poliitilist karikatuuri on ajaloolise allikana praeguseks veel vähe uuritud. Karikatuuride ja satiiri analüüsimine võimaldab lahata ühiskonnas valdavaid tundmusi, sest kohati võtab just karikatuur kokku ühiskonnas valdava arusaama komplekssest probleemist. *Punch* hakkas iganädalaselt ilmuma 1841. aastal ja oli 1850ndate keskpaigaks omandanud prominentse koha Briti ühiskonnas. Selle lugejaskond oli valdavalt Londoni ja ümbruskonna keskklass, kuid mõju ulatus nii geograafiliselt kui ka sotsiaalselt kaugemale. Mitmed põlvkonnad inglasi kasvasid üles seda lugedes ja olid mõjutatud inglase ja võõraste kuvanditest, mille *Punch* lõi.

Perioodiks valisin 25.06.1853-10.03.1855 ehk siis esimesest Nikolai I läheneva konflikti valguses kujutavast karikatuurist kuni viimase ehk tema surma kujutava karikatuurini. Esiteks teostasin ma kvantitatiivse analüüsi ehk loendasin Venemaad kujutavad karikatuurid perioodil, mida oli 127 ehk 13% kõigist karikatuuridest, vaid 1854. a arvesse võttes lausa 18%. Seejärel tegin kindlaks, et neli peamist sümbolit, millega Venemaale viidati olid tsaar, karu, kahepealine kotkas ja kasakad. Kuna tsaari kujutamine ületas teiste oma nelja- kuni viiekordselt, siis valisin

täpsemaks uurimisteemaks tsaari kujutamise karikatuurides. Ülejäänud kolm sümbolit olid esindatud 13-15% karikatuuridest, mis kujutasid Venemaad. Sellest lähtuvalt võib järeldada, et Venemaad on paljuski võrdsustatud tsaariga ja neid nähti teineteisest lahutamatu ühtse tervikuna.

Vaenlase kuvand loodi paljuski tsaari näol: tema pandi vastutama kõige negatiivse eest ja just temale vastandati ennast rahvusena. Tsaar muutus türannia ja kahepalgelisuse võrdkujuks, tema pani toime kuriteo Euroopa ja kogu tsivilisatsiooni vastu, kui alustas sõda valedel alustel ehk põhinedes võimujanule ja ahnusele. Teda kujutati hullumeelse ja võimuahne autokraadina, kes on kaotanud arusaama reaalsusest ning on kaotamas kontrolli sündmuste üle. Nikolai I oli inglaste silmis ainuisikulisena süüdi Krimmi sõja puhkemises, venelasi kui rahvust selles ei süüdistatud.

Ainus sümbol, mida võib pidada venelase stereotüübiks, oli *Punch*is kasakas – barbaarne ja hirmuäratav sõdalane, kuid tegelikkuses ei vaadeldud teda kui venelase võrdkuju. Tavalisi venelasi *Punch*i karikatuuridel peaaegu et ei kujutatud, venelasele polnud samasugust vastet nagu inglise rahval oli John Bull või sakslasel oli Saksa Michael. Põhjus peitus paljuski selles, et vene rahvast ei nähtud iseseisva tegutsejana vaid üldise orjamassina, kes oli sunnitud elama türanni võimu all. Lähenemine, et suuremal osal venelastel pole kontrolli selle üle, mis toimub nende riigis, tähendas, et nad polnud ka süüdi Krimmi sõjas, kuhu oli neid sundinud võimuahne tsaar. Vene rahvale tundi kaasa ja loodeti, et nad võivad kord hakata vastu enda türannist juhile, ta kukutada ja luua parema, st Inglismaale sarnasema, süsteemi.

Vastandudes kõigele negatiivsele, mida endast kujutas tsaar, loodi kuvand endast kui ausast, otsekohesest, üllast ja vabadust armastavast Inglise rahvast. Briti lõvi vastandus Vene karule: esimene neist oli tõeline loomade kuningas ja teine teeskleja, kes üritas ennast kehtestada, tallates seejuures jalge alla endast nõrgemad. Briti lõvi kui loomade kuninga ülesanne ja püha kohus oli hoida korda ja kaitsta nõrgemaid: sellega loodi alus sekkumiskohustuseks juhul, kui Euroopas toimub midagi, mis võiks ohustada tsivilisatsiooni, pandi alus interventsiooni moraalile, mis jäi Suurbritanniat ka hilisemas ajaloos saatma.

Appendices

Appendix 1. "A Bear with a sore head," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 25 (November 11, 1853): 219.

Appendix 2. John Leech, "Te Deum!" cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (January 28, 1854): 35.

"A BEAR WITH A SORE HEAD."

TE DEUM!
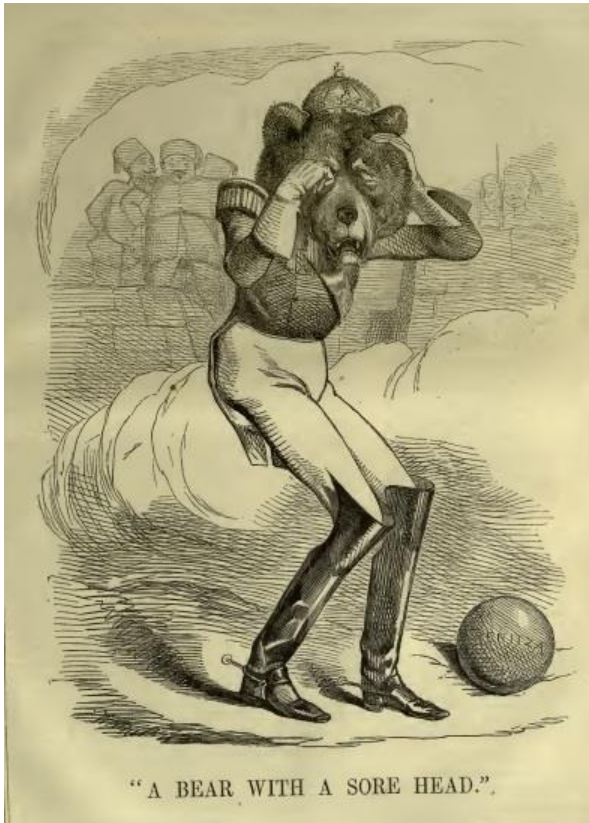
Appendix 3. "The Split Crow in Difficulties. – A Fable for the day," cartoon. *Punch* vol. 26 (February 11, 1854): 55.

THE SPLIT CROW IN DIFFICULTIES.—A FABLE FOR THE DAY.

"A SPLIT CROW FANCYING HIMSELF AN EAGLE, FIXED HIS TALONS IN THE FLEECE OF A SHEEP—BUT, NEITHER ABLE TO MOVE HIS PREY, NOR TO DISENTANGLE HIS FEET, HE WAS DESTROYED BY THE SHEPHERDS."

Appendix 4. John Tenniel "Saint Nicholas of Russia," cartoon. Punch vol. 26 (March 18, 1854): 111.

Appendix 5. John Leech, "Right against Wrong," cartoon. Punch vol. 26 (April 8, 1854): 143.

SAINT NICHOLAS OF RUSSIA.

"RIGHT AGAINST WRONG."

Appendix 6. John Leech "Bursting of the Russian bubble," cartoon *Punch* vol. 27 (October 14, 1854): 149.

BURSTING OF THE RUSSIAN BUBBLE.

Lihtlitsents lõputöö reprodutseerimiseks ja lõputöö üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemiseks

Mina, Maarja Mets (sünnikuupäev: 05.04.1991)

1. annan Tartu Ülikoolile tasuta loa (lihtlitsentsi) enda loodud teose, bakalaureusetöö „The British Lion against the Russian Bear: Depictions of Nicholas I in the Punch Magazine during the Crimean War,“ mille juhendaja on Pärtel Piirimäe, *PhD*,

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