The "Art" of Politics
Victorian Canadian Political Cartoonists Look At Canada-U.S. Relations

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In 1988, the Canadian government headed by Progressive Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney fought an election in part on a platform that sought to conclude a free-trade agreement with the United States. To the surprise of many Canadians, Mulroney had reversed a previous stand during his first term in office that had rejected the concept. The move exacerbated serious divisions within Canadian society that had always treated close and intimate relationships with Americans with some doubt, and on occasion with outright suspicion. Meeting halls across the country were witness to fierce and uncompromising debates between supporters of the idea and those who were opposed to it. At the risk of simplification, Canada's business and financial community wholeheartedly backed free trade. But the country's left, spearheaded by the labour movement, stood in solid opposition. Mulroney won the election with a significantly reduced majority, but he had enough seats in the federal parliament to press ahead, and press ahead he did.

In the government's view, the free trade agreement would be an extension of existing integrating structures such as the Canada-United States auto pact and participation in NORAD and NATO. To its opponents, it was just one more surrender of fragile Canadian sovereignty, one that would lead to a monetary union and, if the worst were to be realized, a complete political union. They argued, with foresight, that the pressure to adopt a common currency, namely the American dollar, would be promoted in business communities in the final few years preceding the twenty-first century. These issues remain on the table today, especially in the global war against terrorism in which the United States is the major player and insists its friends and allies follow its agenda.

Throughout the history of the two North American nations issues involving relationships with the United States often ended in defeat for Canadian governments. In 1911, Liberal Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier fought an election on closer trade ties with the United States and lost decisively. At the height of the cold war, Conservative Prime Minister John Diefenbaker conceded to American demands that Canada be a participant in a nuclear protection shield that involved placing U. S. warheads on Canadian soil. He too lost his office although, in fairness, it must be noted that the government's mishandling of a moribund economy also contributed to the return of the Liberal Party to power in the 1960's. President Lyndon Johnson was not pleased with Canadian

objection to the war in Vietnam. The hostility between Richard Nixon and Pierre Trudeau still contributes to discussion whenever the issue of the relationship between the two nations comes under close scrutiny. When informed that Nixon had described him in an anal fashion, Trudeau responded by noting that he had been called worse things by better people.

In spite of the official warmth that emanates from Ottawa and Washington, there remains in contemporary life in Canada a deep suspicion of American social and political values. But on the other hand, there is a long-standing envy of American accomplishments, particularly in the realm of mass culture. It can be argued that most Canadians wish to preserve their existing, collectivist social structures while continuing to spend their hard-earned and devalued dollars at Disney World, make U.S. television shows top-rated programs on Canadian channels, and attempt to lure a National Football League team north of the border. It is a classic "have your cake and eat it too" scenario. Although the Canadian presence was minimal on the field, the World Series victories by the Toronto Blue Jays baseball club in the 1990's are frequently treated as a "we showed you" approach to the first-ever move of baseball's biggest prize outside the continental United States.

There is constant hand-wringing in Canada over the implementation of the free-trade agreement, although most Canadians have reluctantly concluded it is now a fact of life. Closer working relationships on economic and defense priorities, border security, and the decline of the Canadian dollar vis-a-vis the American currency are issues that produce little or no consensus in Canada. But they are hardly new. They have been with us since American revolutionaries took up arms to create the First New Nation, a move that solidly implanted the ideals of liberalism and republicanism in North America, ideals hardly shared by their neighbours to the north.

The study of the role of political cartoonists and the drawings that emanated from their easels has been a recent phenomenon in both Canada and the United States. It has been aided by the founding in 1999 of the International Journal of Comic Art. Its editor, John Lent, has brought a global perspective to the craft, including not only political cartoons from the United States and the world at large but samples of comic art as well, including some of the world's best-known comic strips. In Canada, however, this area of study remains largely untapped. One can count on one hand

the number of publications devoted to the art, the most recent of which has been the work of Carmen Cumming on the nineteenth-century liberal and Liberal John Wilson Bengough. Taking a cue from Cumming, this study attempts to bridge an intellectual border, one that exists between two nations whose past, present, and future are intertwined.

Beginning in 1849, with the emergence of political cartooning in a series of illustrated journals with no direct party affiliations, Canadians witnessed the beginnings of a quasi-independent and critical commentary on seemingly endless social and political issues that the daily Victorian presses pursued from their own ideological perspectives. This is not to suggest that these new journals did not have a political agenda. They certainly did, but their commentary was based more on the issues facing the nation, which represented a small initial step from the blind partisanship characteristic of much of the press that had preceded them.

The relationship with the United States dominated Canadian development in the Victorian Age in many of the same ways it does today. The contemporary issues, those of political and economic union, free trade, protectionist cultural policies, customs, and commercial union, have returned to taunt citizens on both sides of the border. Yet, there is nothing new here, as the reader will soon see. We are just re-living the events that plagued our ancestors more than a century ago. This is the story of two best friends but, as we all know, as much as trust and accommodation has marked has marked the past, no friendly relationship is without its tensions.

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> *Man is the only animal that laughs and weeps, for he is the only animal that is struck by the difference between what things are and what they ought to be.*
>
> William Hazlitt (1778-1830)
> *The English Comic Writers*

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The Beginning

When John Henry Walker delivered the first issue of his *Punch In Canada* to Montreal readers on New Year's Eve, 1849 he launched a new era in Canadian journalism. His short-lived journal of issue-driven cartoons and often-acid commentary preceded America's first illustrated magazine, T. W. Strong's *Illustrated American News*, by some two years.[1] Although shamelessly copying Mark Lemon's *Punch*, its successful British counterpart that had been launched in 1841, the eighteen-year-old Walker took the first of many steps by himself and others throughout the Victorian Age to separate journalism from the rabid political party partisanship that afflicted much of the press in nineteenth-century Canada. In effect, Canada's Victorian political cartoonists were the nation's first independent editorialists.

As some early journalists discovered to their considerable discomfort, taking an independent line was not only unappreciated, it could be dangerous. Shortly after launching his *Colonial Advocate* a young Scottish immigrant named William Lyon Mackenzie ran afoul of the authorities in 1830's Upper Canada. Mackenzie, who held the radical British journalist William Cobbett on an intellectual pedestal above all others, began taking on the pre-Confederation colonial government. He had also been elected as a member of the colonial House of Assembly. Before being forced to flee for his life to the United States as the consequence of an unsuccessful rebellion in 1837, Mackenzie had been expelled from the legislature and burnt in effigy, and his shop raided and presses tossed into Lake Ontario.[2] He would later return to become Toronto's first mayor and grandfather of one of the country's most durable political figures, William Lyon Mackenzie King.

When the rebellions in both Upper and Lower Canada failed to unseat the autocratic regime, the rulers turned their attention to the press, which they felt was becoming unacceptably independent in thought and perspective. Across the colonies, newspaper editors thought to be sympathetic to political reform were rounded up and tossed into jail, their newspapers closed. However, the autocracy was coming to an end in the British colonies, and a softer, more palatable form of administration under a future Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald would soon take its place to shape a new nation.

Although editorial commentary in the partisan press was seldom nakedly obvious, it did not take superlative analytical skills to quickly determine which of Canada's two major political parties any one journal supported. In fact, until near the end of Queen Victoria's long reign, these newspapers depended primarily on the good graces of political patronage for survival. Direct funding, either from political party coffers or with the awarding of government printing contracts, hardly provided an incentive for political perspectives not connected to the agendas of the major parties, the Liberals and/or Conservatives.

With *Punch In Canada*, political commentary moved beyond the narrow definitions determined by the parties. In many ways, Walker and those who followed him were fortunate to be part of the greatest intellectual ferment since the Protestant Reformation and its consequences. It was an age in which matters such as the single tax, prohibition, female suffrage, tariff reform, public ownership, co-operatives, and direct legislation all became forefront in a wide-scale public debate. It was also a day and age in which formal, theological imperatives as a key player in social control and moral definition gave way to the secular science of sociology with the consequent rise of the Social Gospel.[3]

In most every respect, the genesis of political cartooning in Canada was the first, infant step toward a journalistic maturing that resulted in what was to become the pointed and written editorial commentaries of the early twentieth century. However, the cartoonists of yesteryear (as those of today) were expected to reflect the particular beliefs and prejudices of those who paid for their sketches. But until Henri Julien was hired by the *Montreal Star* in 1888 as the nation's first resident newspaper artist, cartoonists were fundamentally free to draw any issue that appealed to them as long as an editor existed who would pay for their work. Most did not fear the wrath of the dissenting city editor. Nearly all those who practiced cartooning in the Victorian period in Canada made their living from other pursuits, mainly in portrait painting and landscape drawings.[4] John Wilson Bengough, the Toronto-based cartoonist who worshiped the work of Thomas Nast, supplemented the income he received from his satirical journal *Grip* by touring the country giving "chalk talks" for which he charged a reasonable admission fee. [5]

Although the nineteenth century was a period in which state formation, with its many vagaries, dominated Canadian political life, one issue eclipsed all others: the always threatening tensions between Canada and the United States. It dominated the press whether or not that press supported one of the major parties, and Canadian cartoonists were basically free to make any kind of comment they wished on the issue. Americans seldom appeared in any positive light in Canadian illustrated journals from mid-century onward. This is hardly surprising. Musing in the *Brooklyn Eagle and Kings County Democrat* on the possible annexation of Mexico in 1846, Walt Whitman reflected the views of many Americans when he asked, "And who shall say how many more years will elapse before Canada will join our noble union."[6]

In every respect, Canadian cartoonists treated the issue of Canadian-American relations as much a moral question as other Victorian issues focusing on social and behavioural reform. In its simplest guise, mid-Victorians regarded their sense of organic collectivism, adherence to formal, theological ritual, devotion to the Crown, and the use of state intervention as morally superior to the rugged individualism, strident secularism, and cut-throat entrepreneurialism that they saw south of the border. In many respects, this devotion to Canadian state formation transcended party politics. Canada to them was not to be a mirrored reflection of what was taking place in what Seymour Martin Lipset described as the First New Nation.

John Henry Walker was the first to give to Canadians the a-moral, sinister, thin, conspiratorial portrayal of the quintessential American icon known as Brother Jonathan, a.k.a., Uncle Sam. Walker, in much the same fashion as those who followed him, was convinced that the power of the press could shape attitudes and perspectives in a colony on its way to an uncertain nationhood. As the number of newspapers grew, as partisanship waned and as distribution methods became more sophisticated, Canadians came to rely on the press as a forum for political discussion. They were moving away from the day and age when publishers used the medium to promote their own specific brand of politics.

Cartoonists became major players in shaping that interaction. Nonetheless, in the 19th century, in particular when visions of America appeared, they often acted as arbitrators between vari-

ous elites and their non-elitist constituencies, many of whom were either recent British immigrants seeking new lives in a thinly populated land or persons descended from royalists exiled in Canada as a consequence of the American Revolution. What they shared by the 1850's was a common concession that Britain's remaining North American colonies could no longer maintain the status quo and that the United States should play no role in their future.

Moral messages only succeed when there is an audience that, on one hand, is ready to consume the message and, on the other, accessible to journalists. Walker and his successors in illustrated journalism were to be the key beneficiaries of mid-century technological advances, innovations that would spur a visual and content revolution that would change the look of journalism. It should come as no surprise that political cartoonists were to become one of the greatest beneficiaries of the move to non-partisanship.

The whole century gave witness to the creative energies of the human mind. As well as becoming worldly, journalism was becoming visual, although it took the daily press more than a half-century to come to grips with the impact of pictures and sketches. In all fairness, daily deadlines combined with effective but time-consuming reproduction technologies delayed the entry of the visual into the daily press until the closing decades of the century. However, visuals were no strangers to the periodical press prior to the rise of the illustrated magazine. The introduction of lithography in 1822 provided a technically feasible but still cumbersome method of reproducing drawings on separate sheets of paper.[7] It took only the combination of the written word and the placement of appropriate drawings to make the telling of current events a visual as well as scripted reality.

Until the *Illustrated London News* combined news and extensive graphics in its first issue, on May 14, 1842, reproduction of visuals was largely an add-on in specialized journals such as the Boston-based *Universalist and Ladies' Repository* and similar, highly focused publications directed primarily to educated, female readers. However, when the art of transferring photographs and sketches to woodcarvings became more widespread in the 1850's, illustrated magazines were to be found in ever-increasing numbers on street corner newsstands. In France and Germany, *L'Illustration* and

Illustrirte Zeitung followed closely on the release of the *Illustrated London News*. The expatriate Englishman Frank Leslie launched his first in a series of successful journals on December 15, 1855, in New York City with *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.* The Harper Brothers new *Weekly* appeared in 1857. *Vanity Fair* followed in 1859. [8] These new entrants into the world of journalism took the first steps in combining word and picture to communicate the news of the week accompanied by food columns, fashion news, travel information, and other forms of non-time-bound information. Until the dawn of the twentieth century, these publications provided nearly all the space used by political cartoonists in both the United States and Canada.

The Victorian Age was in every respect the golden age of the issue-oriented periodical. With a much larger market than Canada, the United States watched this segment of the media community grow from 700 journals in 1865 to 3,300 by 1885.[9] Unfortunately, no official records were kept in Canada. However, a number of journals both political and literary that followed *Punch in Canada* were launched in the second half of the 19th century with names such as *Nonsense, The Jester, Le Farceur, Le Monde Illustré, Le Canard, La Scie, Le Vrai Canard, The Wasp, Diogenes, Stadacona, The Gridiron, The Sprite, The Free Lance, The Bee, The Dagger, Paul Pry, The Poker, Grinchuckle, The Dominion Illustrated News (Hamilton), The Dominion Illustrated News (Montreal), L'Opinion Publique, Grip, The Moon, The Canadian Illustrated News* and *Saturday Night.*

Although John Henry Walker claimed a weekly circulation of some 3,000 readers when he moved his journal from Montreal to Toronto in 1850, he was probably the victim of wishful thinking. By 1852 *Punch in Canada* no longer existed. The most successful Canadian illustrated periodicals were the combined English and French journals the *Canadian Illustrated News-L'Opinion Publique* and the successor journal the *Dominion Illustrated News* published by the Desbarats Company of Montreal. Launched in 1869, these illustrated journals under various mastheads continued to publish until the death of the owner Georges Edouard Desbarats in 1893. In 1873 the company invaded the New York market with the launch of the *New York Daily Graphic.*

Who read these illustrated political journals? Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, certainly did. So did Liberal Party leader Edward Blake. When John Wilson Bengough's

Grip assumed a pro- free-trade stance while the Prime Minister was actively drafting protectionist legislation in the late 1870's, the governing Conservative Party attempted to buy out their adversary's Toronto-based magazine. Both pro- and anti- free-trade cartoons appeared in abundance during the period. Ironically, they shared a common theme, suspicion of American intentions. Free traders felt an alliance with the American empire would enhance the ability of Canada to survive economically while bordering on a much stronger neighbour. Protectionists argued that their approach was the only way to achieve a similar ending. When Bengough refused the Prime Minister's overtures, Macdonald thought seriously of launching a competitive journal. Eventually, he turned to loyalists in Montreal to sponsor a Desbarats' publication, *The Jester,* and its French language counterpart, *Le Farceur.* With the passing of his successful 1879 protectionist legislation, both journals ceased publication.[10]

In Ontario, John Wilson Bengough grew increasingly concerned with the inability of the Liberal Party to unseat Macdonald's governing Conservatives. Although sympathetic to the federal Liberals, Bengough reluctantly came to the conclusion that leader Edward Blake was incapable of leading the party to victory. History would prove him correct. Bengough began drawing Blake in anything but a flattering light after he lost the 1882 election. As the attacks became more vicious and the cartoons more raunchy, Blake, the second most influential politician in the country, canceled his subscription to *Grip.* [11] Losing Blake as a target, Bengough continued to plague Macdonald until the Prime Minister died in office in 1891. The Toronto newspaper *The Globe* published a photograph of Macdonald's empty chair the day after his death. Just a few months earlier the scene would have been sketched by an artist such as Henri Julien. The photograph was about to become a journalistic staple, and the political cartoon was on its way to the daily newspaper.

The fact that elites probably read illustrated journals is not meant to suggest that they did not reach audiences in the lower classes as well. Although the degree of schooling during the Victorian Age in Canada was nowhere as extensive as it was at the turn of the century, compulsory schooling had begun in earnest in the most populated provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick as early as the 1830's. [12] The rise of the golden age of

the press, including periodicals, daily newspapers, adventure magazines, action serials and books coincided directly with the ability of Canadians to read and write.[13] In spite of the increasing ability of Canada's citizens to communicate through the written word, the visual content of the newspaper at the turn of the century was to be a permanent fixture.

In the introduction to the ***Labor Reform Songster***, Toronto Victorian radical journalist Phillips Thompson observed that "songs will reach thousands to whom arguments would be at first be addressed in vain, and even veterans in the movement will listen to an argument in a better mood for having drank *[sic]* some familiar truth in the setting of a well-remembered air."[14] Labour war tunes such as *Solidarity Forever* continue to be trotted out in modern times. If the argument of familiarity can be made for music, it can certainly be extended to the visual and, in particular, to comics and caricatures, the backbone of political cartooning. In one punch, the cartoon can capture the moment of an historical event, the crime of the century and the rise and/or fall of the mighty. As Thomas Kemnitz has noted, "Cartoons are frequently fascinating, but their value to historians lies in what they reveal about societies that produced and circulated them."[15] In other words

> The cartoon has much to offer the historian concerned with public opinion and popular attitudes. It provides little insight into the intellectual bases of opinion-for which the historian usually has better sources—but it can illuminate underlying attitudes. Not only can cartoons provide insight into the depth of emotion surrounding attitudes, but also into the assumptions and illusions on which opinions are formed.[16]

Victorian Canada's cartoonists have given us a legacy that allows us to reach back and focus once again on the issues that were foremost in public debates in the nineteenth century. It was an age of nation building, and the country's political cartoonists were determined to have a say in how it was to be shaped. They presented a virtual kaleidoscope of often-conflicting concepts. But they all shared in common a deep concern about American intentions toward the lands and peoples to the north. Canada's Victorian political cartoonists tapped into an often-defensive Canadian psyche that emerged from the British conquest of New France in 1759 and a disturbing sense of loss that was freely attributed to the American Revolution of 1776. For Canadians to present day, the specter

of a designing, untrustworthy, and manipulative Uncle Sam, a character that began with John Henry Walker in 1849, remains the symbol of external dominance and questionable moral influence. In most respects, Canadian nationhood has been defined, not as much by actions in the national capital at Ottawa , but by events in the City of Washington, D.C.

The Tory and The Republican

Pillorying the very symbol of American liberalism and republicanism was as natural to a true and very blue early Victorian Canadian as breathing. Although a significant number of Canadians, at least those with English as a mother tongue, shared a heritage in the same European soil as their American counterparts, the border between Canada and the United States was one of ideology as much as geography. What an American called a Tory, a Canadian called a United Empire Loyalist, and Toryism and Loyalist sentiment had nothing in common with American values. As political scientist Gad Horowitz wrote thirty years ago:

> (*In true Toryism)* The good of the individual is not conceivable apart for the good of the whole, determined by a 'natural' elite consulting a sacred tradition. Canadian conservatives have something British about them ... It is not simply their emphasis on loyalty to the crown and to the British connection, but a touch of the authentic tory aura—traditionalism, elitism, the strong state and so on.[17]

The attitude is perhaps best expressed in this 1865 commentary by C. E. Holiwell, a book seller, stationer, printer, and bookbinder commissioned to the British garrison at Quebec City. Writing in his short-lived humour journal *Sprite,* Holiwell wrote

> Lastly, the *Sprite* is a Canadian Sprite; but British in thought, British in feeling, and will endeavour to be British in expression. He is a lineal descendant of the Sprites of Shakespeare and Milton, and Burns and Moore, and he will not discredit his illustrious ancestry. He leaves his American cousins, their modes and manners with a consuming affection, but he loves the land of his fathers and her old world ways a little more; he will here on British soil inculcate the one, discourage the other. Above all, he will seek to preserve our mother tongue in all its purity. To those who would Yankeefy our spelling and our style (and there are quite a number of barbarians among our public writers who write American English), he gives due notice that further persistence in their misdeeds will bring down condign punishment upon their silly heads. To these and all other malefactors, imposters, cheats and shams, the last words of the *Sprite* are—Read, Tremble and Amend.[18]

Although Uncle Sam does not appear in this cartoon first published in *Sprite* on July 5, 1865, the message is more than representative of the warnings about American intentions. In this early sketch, a generous John Bull, representing the British crown, warns a couple of young Canadian roosters that

> There's a big old fox—they call him Jonathan—who has long had his eyes fixed on you, and if it was not for me he'd gobble both you and your hobbies up before you had time to say, *Nap.* You're very small fish, to be sure, but that chap's net will take anything; and as the sailors say of the sea and the gallows, nothing comes amiss to him. **(See Figure 1)**[19]

It wasn't enough to draw degrading parodies of American institutions. Canadian journals long after the end of the War of Independence continued to publish articles questioning some of the most familiar symbols of American life. At the turn of the twentieth century, this was still in vogue. The magazine *North American Notes and Queries* published a tract in which it was stated that the popular American rhyme *Yankee Doodle* was, in fact, not American at all but British. The anonymous author argued that the original rhyme was known as *Fisher's Jig*. It was a popular English pastime to add new verses to already popular tunes, some of which were composed by unmarried, close female companions of Charles I.

THE SPRITE.—JULY 5, 1865.

Le Jeune Canada ou l'Union Nationale.

YOUNG CANADA.—"Monsieur Johnny Bull, we've had quite enough of you! We are able to take care of ourselves; and we don't want your money, (the snow here was pitched in the *fisherie*) we don't want your protection, we don't want your trade; so please pack up and be off, or we'll——."

MR. BULL.—"Ye stupid young lunatics, for all your cock-a-doodle-doo, ye haven't wing enough to fly over a gooseberry bush. I have a tarnation good mind to take you at your word, and leave you to shift for yourselves;—and what then? Look there!—You don't see him, but I do. There's a big old fox—they call him Jonathan—who has long had his eye fixed on you, and if it was not for me he'd gobble both you and your hobbies up before you had time to say, *Nap.* You're very small fish, to be sure, but that chap's net will take anything; and as the sailors say of the sea and the gallows, nothing comes amiss to him!"

Figure 1

Two apparently lent their names to a four-line nursery rhyme that was still being sung in 1900 to the tune of *Yankee Doodle*:

"Lucy Locket lost her pocket,
Kitty Fisher found it.
Nothing in it, nothing on it,
But the binding round it."[20]

Compared to Charles, it could be contended that Lucy Locket's loss was insignificant.

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Current History in Caricature

MR. W. T. STEAD

In the Review of Reviews (English) for October, under the above heading, reproduces five cartoons from THE MOON, and has this to say:

"I AM delighted to introduce my readers to some of the cartoons this month from the *Moon*, a comic weekly published in Toronto, in whose artist (Mr. C. W. Jefferys) we welcome a valuable addition to those who with pen and pencil illustrate the contemporary history of mankind. The first of the *Moon* cartoons calls attention to a grievance of which the British publishers have good reason to complain. It is to be hoped Mr. Austin Chamberlain will bring a fresh mind to bear upon the great question of according to periodicals the same postal

A Quiet Evening in a Canadian Home.

advantages which are enjoyed by the heaviest of circulars and advertising sheets which appear under the semblance of trade organs. The *American Review of Reviews* can go anywhere by post in the American continent for about one-fifth the price that the British *Review of Reviews* has to pay if it is sent by post from London to the Dominion of Canada. The natural result follows: the publications of the United States simply monopolise the Canadian market. Here is another of the cartoons from Mr. Jefferys' pencil, which gives an entirely new and Canadian impression of our Jingo Colonial Secretary. Mr. Jefferys is not the only artist on the *Moon*. He has a colleague in Mr. N. McConnell, whose caricature of Sir Wilfred Laurier would seem to indicate considerable skill in exaggerating the salient feature of his victim."

Figure 2

In many respects, little has changed in the attitude that Canadians express about their American neighbours. But Americans can come only so close to the fibre that Canadian author Robertson Davies once described as a "socialist monarchy,"[21] a system created by what Canadian political scientist Philip Resnick attributes to

> ... the absence of a revolutionary tradition, the relative weakness of democratic values, a subservience to things British and imperialist (*which)* go hand in hand with the economic needs of a staples-based, capital short, semi peripheral political economy like Canada's. What results is an amalgam of Tory ideology and a strong centralizing impulse, the grounding of a potentially powerful state structure on counter-revolutionary premises, something I am tempted to call Tory Jacobinism.[22]

Clearly, this has no resemblance to the America of Alexis de Tocqueville, an America born in a bloody revolution that produced ideas that Seymour Martin Lipset coined as "Whig and classically liberal or libertarian—doctrines that emphasize distrust of the state, egalitarianism and popu-

lism—reinforced by a voluntaristic and congregational religious tradition."[23]

There is little doubt that many of the idiosyncracies discussed above were on the mind of C. W. Jeffreys as he drew a cartoon for the Toronto humour journal *The Moon* on November 15, 1902. **(See Figure 2)** The commentary was provided by William T. Stead, who re-printed some of Jeffrey's cartoons in his *American Review of Reviews*. Stead wrote the commentary for the drawing, in which he noted

> The first edition of the *Moon* cartoons calls attention to a grievance of which the British publishers have good reason to complain. It is to be hoped Mr. Austin Chamberlain (British Colonial Secretary) will bring a fresh mind to bear upon the great question of according to the periodicals the same postal advantages which are enjoyed by the heaviest of circulars and advertising sheets which appear under the semblance of trade organs. The *American Review of Reviews* can go anywhere by post in the American continent for about one fifth the price that the *British Review of Reviews* has to pay if it is sent by post from London to the Dominion of Canada. The natural result follows; the publications of the United States simply monopolize the Canadian market.

A decade later, Stead would give his life to save others in the sinking of the *Titanic*.

The hypocrisy of what is obviously a family of means is hard to miss. The library wall is adorned with portraits of Edward VII and Queen Alexandra, each garnished with the Union Jack in proper and reverent British fashion. Yet the family is lost in a world of American publications such as *Jolliers' Weekly*, *Sadie's Home Journal* and the *New York Sunday World*. All the headlines in these papers, in one way or another, point to supposed American arrogance and disputable claims of moral superiority. Yet, our readers seem in no hurry to read any British or Canadian journals. In fact, not one appears anywhere in the cartoon.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Charles Jeffreys, like many others, was well aware that Canadian-American relations during the nineteenth century had been anything but harmonious. In fact, at certain times, they were so strained that parties on both sides of the border feared that warfare would break out. In all, the century was marred by a number of disputes, including a battle over possession of the Northwest Territories, disagreements on U.S. involvement in cross border raids by Irish Fenian nationalists, arguments over fishing rights, copyright enforcement, criminal

extradition, reciprocity and free trade issues, aboriginal rights, and boundary disputes. Some, such as Lipset, believe that the Canadian Confederation of 1867 was the direct result of a well-entrenched fear in Upper and Lower Canada that the United States would turn its massive battle hardened army northward once it had subdued the rebellious American South.[24] It came close, but after the War of 1812 the only American military person who has ever stepped onto Canadian soil has been an invited and, for the most part, a friendly one. Yet concerns about the United States and its intentions in North America were deeply entrenched in the popular culture of the Victorian age.

What can journalism and in particular cartoons tell us about the phenomenon? In the first issue of *Journalism History*, James Carey observed that

> When we study the history of journalism we are principally studying a way in which men in the past have grasped reality. ... We are trying to root out a portion of the history of consciousness. Journalism as a cultural form is not fixed and unchanging. Journalism has changed as it has reflected and reconstituted human consciousness. Journalism not only reveals the structure of feeling of previous eras, it is the structure of feeling of past eras or at least significant portions of it.[25]

This is a study of how Canadians in the past grasped their realities, real or imagined, in particular as they peered across the border to the growing industrial and commercial giant to their south. It was their consciousness that was on display in the various illustrated magazines and journals that rose and fell during the Victorian period. Through the pens of John Henry Walker, Edward Jump, Henri Julien, James Mackay, John Wilson Bengough, C. W. Jeffreys, and Arthur Racey, we will examine one of the dominant political and cultural values of Victorian Canada, namely anti-Americanism. There is no pretense that these views were shared by all of the people all of the time. In a young, artificial nation such as nineteenth-century Canada, a country with a severe identity crisis, those ideas were, as we shall see, largely of a defensive and negative nature.

In every respect, the study of political cartooning focuses on the differences between the way things are and the way one wishes they might be. Nothing has changed in this regard since the word “cartoon” was first used in London’s *Punch* in 1843. The magazine was just two years old when its first set of cartoons appeared, setting the premise that was to last nearly a half-century, namely that political cartoons and the emergence of illustrated journals on both sides of the Atlantic

Ocean were a synonymous event.

Uncle Sam a.k.a. Brother Jonathan/Cousin Jonathan
An Issue of Morality

With few exceptions, Canadian Victorian cartoonists focused on what would prove to be a fairly common interpretation of American designs on Canada through their portrayal of Uncle Sam, also known as Brother Jonathan and sometimes as Cousin Jonathan. One need not read any of the accompanying text in most of the cartoons drawn by the nineteenth century's major artists to get the intended message. Their Uncle Sam was usually quite slender in contrast to the bloated figure of John Bull who represented Great Britain. The symbol of American power and greatness was also a person of questionable morals. More often than not, he was portrayed smoking in public, a "sin" commonly associated with low-lifes who spent their time loafing and drinking. When not smoking, he was regularly pictured with a pen-knife and a stick of wood, leaning against a building whittling away the time. In caricature, he became a sinister, cafty conspirator with designs not only on Canada but the world. In the mind of the cartoonist who drew this set, Uncle Sam awakens from his imperialistic dreams to realize that he has become the laughing stock of the international community. **(See Figure 3)**

This set of drawings, which appeared in the Toronto-based comic journal *The Moon* on October 4, 1902, is unusual in two respects. First, the artist has signed the work with a pen name, "chic," a procedure that was fairly common with newspaper columnists but not as prevalent among editorial cartoonists, who seemed to have little reluctance to reveal their identities. Those who did prefer to remain anonymous were often employed in more than one situation, a fact they wished to hide from all their bosses. One such employer was *The Moon*, co-founded in 1901 by Charles Jeffreys, a magazine that became the home for a number of cartoonists employed by other journals.

The work signed "chic" has an unusual artistic resemblance to the later works of Arthur George Racey, a cartoonist for the *Montreal Star*. Racey was born in Quebec City in 1870. It was at Montreal's English language McGill University that the young student developed a skill for visual

Pipe Dreams

1: A respectable old party was one day seen to enter a disreputable joint and to indulge freely.

2: He first sees himself as the greatest nation on the face of the earth.

3: Now he thinks he owns the largest, most powerful and finest navy that has been.

4: He next dreams that he controls the world's money and other markets.

commentary. Like many of his colleagues, Racey depended on the freelance market to make a living. In 1899 he offered his first cartoons to Hugh Graham's *Montreal Star*. When Henri Julien

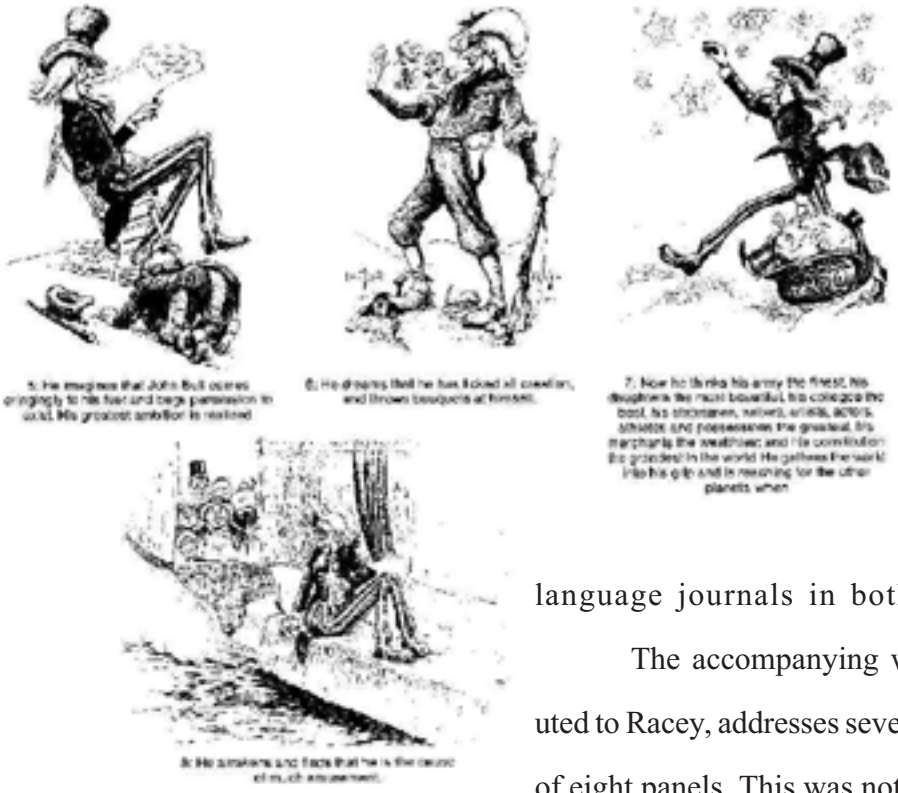


Figure 3

died in 1908, Racey began what was to be a forty-year career with the newspaper. Throughout his workinglife, his drawings appeared in English language journals in Canada, Great Britain and the United States and French-language journals in bothCanada and France.[26]

The accompanying work, which I have attributed to Racey, addresses several subjects through the use of eight panels. This was not at all common in editorial cartooning in Canada at the time but was more likely to be found in comic strips, had begun to appear just before the turn of the century, thanks to artists such as Richard Outcault, who introduced the Yellow Kid into the volatile world of New York City journalism in 1895.

Of all the innuendo that appears in the eight panels, the first by far is the most critical. Both Canada and the United States were involved durin in an acrimonious debate about Chinese labour. Not only were the Chinese accused of robbing jobs from strong, young white males, which earned them the enmity of organized labour, they faced accusations of turning their restaurants, laundries, and social clubs into dens of iniquity in which a morally debased Caucasian population could partake of pleasures of the flesh and consume intoxicating opiates – as Uncle Sam does in this panel.

In the 1880's, the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor had included Chinese exclusion clauses in its platform in Canada.[27] In the United States, the issue was no less furiously debated. Organized labour campaigned against the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 in which China and

the United States agreed to recognize the right of citizens of both nations to emigrate to the other.[28] As a consequence, any association that Uncle Sam may or may not have had with the Chinese, even in pictures, would have been treated as an act of extreme hostility by Americans. As a result, the eight panels of *Pipe Dreams* have a double meaning for the immoral Uncle Sam who is featured in this set. The very moral fibre of the American state is being ridiculed in these drawings.

Uncle Sam's purported treachery provided Canadian cartoonists with seemingly endless themes to explore in the many weekly and monthly journals that dotted the country's newsstands in the Victorian era. Although not all of these journals published editorial cartoons, many did although their appearances were sometimes sporadic. However, they did point to the prevalent political concerns. It was an event in 1849 when Canada had yet to achieve nationhood that gave a political cartoonist his first major issue.

J. H. Walker And The American Nightmare

When a group of prominent Montrealers (and, by the way, primarily English-speaking citizens) decided to advocate Canadian-U.S. political and economic union, John Henry Walker seized the opportunity to become the country's first political cartoonist. Walker had emigrated with his physician father from Antrim County, in what is now Northern Ireland, to Montreal in 1842. Although there is no evidence to suggest that the young artist had any partisan political affiliations in Canada, his cartoon work certainly suggests he was a Protestant Ulsterman and therefore devoted to the British Crown, its elitism and its imperial objectives and thus a dedicated Tory. At the tender age of eighteen, he launched

THE EAGLE AND THE FAWN.

Figure 4

the satirical political journal *Punch in Canada,* specifically it would appear, to give voice to his not-so-charitable view of Americans as well as his particular view of the future of Canada. However, journalism was not Walker's primary pursuit. He was a landscape and portrait painter as well as a card and seal engraver. He constantly advertised himself as a wood carver and for a short time was a stakeholder in an art firm known as Walker, Pallascio, and Company.[29] Although Walker could never be depicted as a Canadian nationalist, he certainly wasn't an annexationist, which the accompanying cartoon demonstrates. [30] **(See Figure 4)**

The cartoon presents the viewer with two potential levels of analysis. First, the choice of an eagle and a fawn as the combatants carries with it the knowledge that one, namely the eagle, is a natural predator and of course the fawn is a natural victim. It is interesting to note that in this cartoon the fawn is not yet fully grown, thus making the attack upon it that much more reprehensible than it would normally be if the victim were an adult. The issue is no longer one of nature but becomes clothed in a moral perspective. On the second level, although Punch appears to be doing rather well in his attempt to corner the voracious eagle, let us not lose sight of the fact that John Bull, in all his imperial presence, is also rushing to the rescue in the background. It would not be the first or last time that Great Britain interfered in Canadian affairs.

Nearly all of Walker's cartoons on the annexation issue portray American interest in the British provinces as an imbalance of power. In yet another cartoon published in 1849, and titled "The Annexation Engine," a railway train engineered by Uncle Sam is seen running over the rights and privileges of language (French), legal code (Napoleonic) and religion (Catholic), which were granted French-speaking colonists who remained loyal to the British Crown during the turbulence of the American War of Independence and subsequently in 1812-1814. The drawing suggests the inevitability of damaging losses in gains made in language, law, and religion should annexation take place. For Walker, it is a desperate appeal to a group of people he held in contempt in other works in his pro-imperial jingoism.

It must be remembered that in 1849 Canada was a British dependency. Nonetheless, a debate had emerged in the colonies regarding its political future. In fact, its prospects for nationhood

dimmed when an English-speaking mob attacked the Houses of Parliament in Montreal on the night of the 25th of April. The rioters were objecting to a law that would compensate French-speaking settlers for losses incurred in 1837 when William Lyon Mackenzie and Louis-Joseph Papineau led ill-fated and poorly planned uprisings against the colonial regimes in what are now Ontario and Quebec. In a cartoon titled "Rebellion Losses," Walker heaps contempt on a portly "habitant" who got a bag of money for the loss of his wife, whom, as the widower claims, he could have and would have sold for two dollars had she remained alive.

The Montreal riot and ensuing arson pointed to the deep divisions between Britain's North American inhabitants that occurred along linguistic and cultural lines, cleavages that exist to some degree to this day. The inability of the English and French to develop a common approach to nation building left the colonies vulnerable to American ambitions at the mid-point of the Victorian age. In reality, the colonists were faced with concrete choices. They could remain a colonial dependency of Great Britain, campaign for independence or join the United States. There was no national consensus on any of the options. But, the prospect of becoming an American state was appealing to only a limited class of merchants, bankers, and brewers who saw themselves as the movers and shakers in the English speaking business community in Montreal.

In all respects, the annexationist movement did not exist beyond Montreal. Reaction to it in Ontario (then Upper Canada) led to the formation of The British American League, which fought a formidable and successful fight against the annexationists.[31] Annexationist sentiment declined considerably for over a decade with the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 between Britain and the United States. To the Americans, the British and the Canadians were one and the same. A treaty with one state would impact on the other.

With the outbreak of the American Civil War, Great Britain found herself on the wrong side of the hostilities. When Captain Charles Wilkes of the U.S.S. *San Jacinto* boarded the British mail ship *Trent* and removed two officials of the Confederacy by force, Britain realized that she could be dragged unwillingly into an armed conflict with the United States.[32] Neither side wanted to fight the other, but the ensuing diplomatic fallout revealed that the British had lost their enthusiasm for

colonial activities in North America. As a former Victorian Canadian federal cabinet member Sir Richard Cartwright recalls

> But in 1865, and before that date, I have excellent reason for believing that the leaders on both sides, Gladstone and Disraeli included, would have been still more pleased if we had asked for our independence at once, as indeed the *Times* suggested we should do in so many words.[33]

For Walker who had returned to visual journalism with the launching of *Diogenes* in 1868 with his partner George Murray, the federal union of Canada's first four provinces in 1867 was the antidote that would counter American ambitions in North America. It was the combined efforts of Walker and Murray that produced a stable cast of characters who continued to appear in cartoons speaking to Canadian-American relations well past the turn of the twentieth century. It was the immoral and villainous Uncle Sam, a.k.a Brother Jonathan, a.k.a Cousin Jonathan, who flirted with an unspoiled, virginal, white-clad Miss Canada while a matronly and protective Mrs. Britannia looked on in this cartoon, which appeared on June 18t, 1869. **(See Figure 5)**

Figure 5

By the midpoint of the nineteenth century, both Canada and the United States were involved in westward expansion. The Americans faced both hostile natives and Spanish colonists in their attempts to build a nation from Atlantic to Pacific. In Canada, the obstacle was just as formidable. It was the Hudson's Bay Company. The company, which had been chartered by the British crown in 1670, held exclusive rights to fur and other

natural resources in the largest tract of land in North America. Its holdings stretched from what is now the border between the United States and Canada from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains, northward to the North Pole including all the Arctic Islands as well as what is now the northern half of both present-day Ontario and Quebec.

By the late 1860's, the company announced its intention to surrender the territory it called Rupert's Land. The beaver had been severely depleted, causing a serious shortage of fur and inflated prices in the continental market. Europeans chose not to pay the higher prices, opting instead for silk bonnets to cover their heads. There was no incentive, other than obtaining a good sale price, to keep the territory. In the transactions that followed, Canada's worst nightmares were to come true. As *The Canadian Illustrated News* reported, "Indeed it has been no secret that many of the stockholders of the Company have looked forward for years to the day when the United States would step in and buy them out."[34]

It was the Canadian Government that stepped in. The new nation sent a delegation to Britain to argue that the rights to Rupert's Land should be transferred to the Dominion of Canada. As *The Canadian Illustrated News* reported, "Though it is utterly preposterous to believe that the Imperial Government would permit the transaction, *(sale to the United States)* yet, there was a time when the prevalence of anti-colonial ideas gave room for trusting to the adoption of a different policy."[35] The Imperial Government at Westminster approved the sale of the lands to the Dominion for a price of 300,000 pounds.

Although this cartoon is not signed, considering that it appeared in *Diogenes* on April 16[t], 1869*,* it is either Walker's work or he commissioned it. It is somewhat unusual in the Walker vein in that the drawing does not anchor itself in conflict but does predict that the Territories could become troublesome. Walker's premonition proved accurate. Métis, under the leadership of Louis Riel, a member of the Canadian Parliament, took up arms in late 1869 and again in 1885. The rebellions ended when Riel was captured, convicted of treason, and hanged.[36]

It is not accidental that the Territories are symbolized by a bear, a beast whose temperament is unpredictable. It is also surprising, considering that the United States made serious overtures to

the British Government to obtain Rupert's Land, that Walker missed the opportunity to gore his old opponents. In this drawing, one of the delegation who participated in the negotiations in Britain, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald's Quebec lieutenant Sir Georges Etienne Cartier delivers the bear and its pedigree to a cautious Miss Canada. **(See Figure 6**)

Figure 6

Walker took his sketching talents to yet another Montreal-based journal *Grinchuckle* later that same year. Here he added one more character, Young Canada, and redefined another, John Bull. Although Young Canada, in all his virility and purity, did not become a fixture in Canadian political cartooning, the images of the bulbous, over-fed and rotund John Bull remained well into the twentieth century.

In this cartoon, once again there is a morality play under way. Walker's pen reveals that the question of American influence in Canada is still a serious concern for some. The removal of the unkempt Sam dressed from head to toe in his stars and stripes "finery" from the Dominion of Canada by a straight-laced protector of the realm is the only righteous and moral outcome when faced with the potential damage that the foreigner can inflict on Canadian national ambitions. **(See Figure 7)**

The following year, *Diogenes* turned its attention to one of the most serious conflicts that emerged between the United States and Great Britain, which threatened to involve Canada in a war. The 900-ton battleship *Alabama*, a Confederate man-o-war built at Birkenhead, England, had avoided a detention order issued by the British Government in 1862 by slipping out to sea before it could be

Figure 7

enforced. Before the U.S. warship *Kearsarge* sank the *Alabama* off the coast of France on June 19, 1864, it had captured and/or sank more than sixty Union vessels.

The United States accused the British of being sympathetic to the Confederate cause by allowing the construction and launching of ships destined for the Confederate South. As a consequence, the United States asked for damages of nearly $15.5 million. A tribunal at Geneva, Switzerland, meeting in 1871-1872 agreed, although final payment did not come until 1885.[37]

The cartoon that appeared in *Diogenes* on February 3, 1870, followed what was initially reported to be a successful set of negotiations between American and British representatives in 1869. Unfortunately for both parties, the American Senate rejected the settlement, which had been negotiated by a close friend of President Andrew Johnson, one Mr. Reverdy Johnson of Baltimore, Maryland. On Tuesday April 13, 1869, the Honourable Charles Sumner rose in the Senate chamber to speak to the treaty. He was in no mood for compromise.

> Three times is this liability fixed: first by the concession of ocean belligerency, opening to the rebels ship-yards, foundries and manufactories, and giving to them a flag on the ocean; secondly by the organization of hostile expeditions, which, by admissions in Parliament, were nothing less than piratical war on the United States with England as the naval base; and thirdly, by welcome, hospitality and supplies extended to these pirates ships in ports of the British Empire. Show either of these and the liability of England is complete. Show the three and this power is found by a triple cord.[38]

The final vote was 54 to 1 in favour of Sumner's position. As a consequence, the threat of war between the United States and Great Britain escalated. As in conflicts to follow, such as the Boer War and World War One, Britain demanded that its Dominions fight on its behalf. For the first time since the War of 1812-1814, Canadians faced the prospect of having blood shed on their soil.

In the cartoon, it is interesting to note that the United States and Britain are both represented by two characters. The innocent bystanders, Mother Britannia and Mrs. Columbia, are consoling each other over the failure of the *Alabama* negotiations in the Senate, while John Bull and Brother Jonathan keep staring at each other. The caption reads "Come Now, This Mess Will Never Get Settled As Long As You Allow That Boy Jonathan To Keep Stirring It Up." **(See Figure 8)** As in previous cartoons, Walker places the sole blame for the failure on the meddling Brother Jonathan.

Figure 8

The character bears a striking resemblance to the strident Sumner.

While the *Alabama* was creating havoc on the high seas, a group of Confederate soldiers who had been hiding out in Quebec crossed the border and raided banks in the Vermont town of St. Albans. They returned to their sanctuary in Canada, feeling they would be safe from American retaliation. Their actions and that of the Canadian judicial system only further convinced the United States that Great Britain and as a consequence her colony north of the 49th parallel were Confederate sympathizers. When the United States requested that the perpetrators be extradited, the Canadian judge hearing the case ruled that he had no jurisdiction in the matter and freed the raiders. The Americans were furious. They announced that they would not renew the Rush-Bagot Treaty of 1817, which restricted the number of combat vessels on the Great Lakes. They tightened border crossings between Canada and the United States. The tension in the air was so high that Britain deployed troops along the border to thwart any attempts at an invasion from the south. In spite of the huffing and puffing coming out of official Washington, the Americans did not retaliate militarily. [39]

1870 marked the end of the public presence of Walker in Montreal's journalistic world. By the end of that year, *Diogenes* and *Grinchuckle* no longer published. However, Walker continued to work in Montreal, where he became renowned, not only for his paintings, but his illustrations for the Montreal City Directory and numerous school texts. Some of his art hangs today in Montreal's McCord Museum. When a deadly smallpox plague ripped through Montreal in the 1870's and 1880's, Walker was hired to draw sketches for *L'Ami Du Peuple*, a broadsheet newspaper supporting municipal vaccination efforts.[40] He died in Montreal in 1899.

Walker's satirical magazines were about to be replaced by a new form of journal, *The Canadian Illustrated News/L'Opinion Publique,* which made its first appearance just before Christmas 1869. Its pages would be the home for two of Canada's most prominent Victorian artists, Edward Jump and the first cartoonist born in Canada, Henri Julien.

Edward Jump, Henri Julien, and the Quest for Nationhood

In many respects, Georges Edouard Desbarats' Montreal-based *Canadian Illustrated News* resembled publications from New York City under the direction of the Englishman named Henry Carter, who preferred to be known as Frank Leslie. It was Leslie who launched the career of Thomas Nast. Desbarats himself entered the American market when he launched the *New York Daily Graphic* in 1873. Both the *Canadian Illustrated News* and its French-language version, *L'Opinion Publique,* were 11-by-17-inch weekly journals. Although these magazines consisted primarily of pictures of buildings, landscapes, and appealing town and city venues, there was no absence of the written word to explain the various political and social aspects of Desbarats' view of the world. It was pure Tory, pro-Imperial and pro-British. His journals were the first to publish successfully halftone photographs. It was within this climate that he decided to include political cartoons. Many demonstrated the deeply lingering suspicions of the intentions of Canada's neighbour to the south that had plagued Walker. Although the journal was published before data were collected on readership, it is apparent that the magazines were intended to appeal to a literate, self-sufficient class of people with a clear stake in the country's future, one that excluded the United States. Desbarats must have enjoyed a certain success, publishing not only in the United States but in Canada's largest cities, Montreal and Toronto.

Until 1871, the cartoons in the *Canadian Illustrated News*/*L'Opinion Publique* were anonymous. The arrival of Edward Jump would change that. Although his name would indicate otherwise, Edward Jump was a Frenchman. Born in 1831, he emigrated to the United States in 1856. He lived for a while in San Francisco, where he designed labels for whisky bottles. While in the west coast city, he drew a sketch of a devastating earthquake titled "Earth Quakey Times," which was to give an indication of his unique ability to combine humour with tragedy. He was also a renowned landscape painter. Today, some of his work remains in art galleries in San Francisco and New Orleans.

In 1868, he worked in Washington, D.C., where he shared a rooming house with Mark Twain. There, he met and married a touring opera star. Following his marriage, he became an established and well-known portrait painter in the American capital. For reasons unknown, but

perhaps at the urging of his French-speaking wife, he moved to Montreal in 1871. For the next two years, he worked for Georges Edouard Desbarats, drawing cartoons for both his publications, in English and in French. He left Montreal in 1873, eventually turning up in New York, where he drew for Frank Leslie. He died in St. Louis some years later, a rumoured suicide.[41]

Although this cartoon is not signed, it was drawn in the period in which Jump found himself in Montreal at the *Canadian Illustrated News/L'Opinion Publique.* **(See Figure 9)** The caricature of Britannia and Uncle Sam are identical to later Jump cartoons featuring the same characters, so it is relatively safe to assume that Jump drew it. The cartoon comments on the Treaty of Washington of 1871. On the fundamental question of fishing rights, the Americans were granted nearly everything that they demanded in return for limited compensation for the right to work in Canadian waters. [42] In this battle, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald stood alone. Although Canada was supposedly an independent nation, at that point in time Britain retained power over the foreign affairs of all its Dominions, a power that it did not surrender to Canada until 1931.

Figure 9

Macdonald had the dubious chore of attempting to explain why his three fellow British negotiators wilted under American pressure. In spite of the complexity of the issue, Jump reduced it to one basic theme. In the cartoon, Britannia, acting on behalf of the infant Canada, who is in tears over the issue, gives Uncle Sam the Treaty of Washington in return for an olive branch signifying peace between the

two nations. It is somewhat unclear if the surrender is meant to maintain peace between Britain and the United States or Canada and the United States or both since it was Canadian water space that was at stake in the negotiations. However, the threat of war is real, as shown in Uncle Sam's left hand, which carries a rather ominous cat-o-nine tails. It is also interesting to note than in the accompanying dialogue, Uncle Sam speaks in an American slang, which he does often in Canadian cartoons, while Britannia is perfectly literate. The vision of a crude, underdeveloped, and unpolished and violence-prone Uncle Sam that began with Walker had not changed by the time Edward Jump came to Montreal. It was an image reinforced in the drawings of Henri Julien.

In 1869, Henri Julien was working as an apprentice engraver at the Desbarats publishing house in Montreal. He had lived with his family in Toronto in 1854 at the age of two, Quebec City in 1860, and then Ottawa in 1867. His like-named father had been a foreman in the Desbarats printing empire, which had been founded in the previous century by Pierre-Edouard Desbarats. Young Julien's travels had made him a functionally bilingual French Canadian, a rarity in post-Confederation Canada.

His interest in cartooning was a direct result of watching his neighbour in Quebec City, one Jean-Baptiste Côté, who drew for the French-language satirical journal *La Scie.* Desbarats was impressed by the detailed, creative engravings his young apprentice was producing while Jump was still working for the journal. Julien's cartoons began to appear in the *Canadian Illustrated News/L'Opinion Publique* in 1873 after Edward Jump had left Montreal. In 1874, the young Henri accompanied a troop of 275 men of the Northwest Mounted Police to the vast prairies of Western Canada. The federal government had set up posts to consolidate its authority after annexing Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company and to stamp out a growing and illicit liquor trade. His fame grew and eventually his work appeared in other journals, including *The Canadian Magazine* and *Grip*, both published in Toronto, and U.S. publications such as *Harper's* and *Century Illustrated Magazine* in New York along with *L'llustration* and *Le Monde* in Paris and *The Graphic* in London. In 1888, he joined Hugh Graham's *Montreal Star* where he remained for the rest of his working life. [43] Graham employed Julien as the first cartoonist to work full-time for a newspaper. After

joining the daily, Julien spent most of his time in the nation's capital of Ottawa drawing caricatures of leading political figures. Julien regularly sketched prominent members of the federal government in black face, portraying them as a group of uneducated, traveling minstrels. Following his death in 1908, the *Montreal Star* re-issued the cartoons under the now politically incorrect title of *The By-Town Coons*. By-town referred to the twin cities of Ottawa-Hull. Today, Julien is better known for his work in water colours and cultural sketches of life in French Canada. Many of his works can be seen in Montreal's McCord Museum.

During the 1870's a number of serious issues dominated the public agenda, one of which was the quest to conclude a free-trade agreement with the United States. Since Canada could not legally negotiate agreements beyond its borders, the British assumed responsibility for discussing reciprocity with the United States prior to Confederation in 1867 and thereafter until Canada gained full independence in foreign affairs in 1931. In 1854, the efforts were successful although the treaty did not address all the commercial concerns that were pre-eminent in cross border transactions. As well, it did not bring happiness to all parties on both sides of the border.

The agreement defined fishing rights and permitted free trade in perishable products. The winners were livestock breeders, produce farmers, and lumber merchants. [44] Manufacturers on both sides of the border resisted the pull to free trade insisting that tariff protection was needed to offset what many believed to be unfair trade advantages practiced on the opposite side of the border from which a complaint was being issued. [45] Ardent nationalists and protectionists such as Hamilton, Ontario, industrialist and solid Conservative Party Tory Isaac Buchanan saw more than trade problems in these relationships. Commenting on the failure to renew the agreement in 1864, Buchanan mused to himself, and breathed a sigh of relief at the collapse of the treaty.

> We must remember the strong party in the States, who had only political objects in view, and consented to the Treaty, only because they hoped it would be the means of Americanizing Canada, and leading her to seek annexation as a boon; these make no secret of their disappointment, and because their hopes have been thwarted, refuse any longer to support it. [46]

For the successful Conservatives, free trade was not an economic issue but a political and

moral one. In a sentence, it meant the surrender of Canada's political and economic independence to the giant south of the border. [47]

The two cartoons shown here best represent Julien's view on the matter of free trade. In the first cartoon, drawn shortly after the collapse of yet one more set of negotiations in 1875, a Canadian manufacturer is accusing the cigar-puffing Brother Jonathan of dumping surplus goods into the Canadian market. The manufacturer appeals to the symbol of Americana by asking him to re-examine his conscience since his actions are destroying Canadian manufacturing and trade. Of course, as one may suspect, Brother Jonathan is hardly impressed. Replying in his typical Victorian slang, he notes that it is not Canada that he is after but British trade. By dealing through Canada, of course, Jonathan gains access to the lucrative Imperial market. In the end analysis, the Canadian manufacturer warns Jonathan that some hardcore protectionists such as Montreal *Gazette* publisher Thomas White (noted in the text as T.W.) are on their way to being elected to the Canadian Parliament with thoughts of restrictive tariffs on their minds. **(See Figure 10)**

Figure 10

Julien's second comment on trade relations is a gloomy, morose drawing composed in the

Figure 11

spirit of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, although a keen eye will be able to identify only three riders and two horses. **(See Figure 11)** In this drawing, the artist and commentator clearly bares his nationalist feelings. In the period in which the cartoon was drawn, the battle lines had been formed between the pro-tariff manufacturers and pro-free trade Manchester liberals. In many respects, the cleavage helped define Canada's future political alignments, with tariff sponsors lining up behind John A. Macdonald and the Conservative Party and free traders with George Brown at the helm joining forces with the federal Liberal Party. Julien saw the lifeblood of the country flowing across the border to enrich the United States. Just two years later, Macdonald's National Policy, a package of strict tariffs designed to protect Canadian manufacturers became law.

It was not only the trade and tariff issue that Julien used to lampoon American values. Although Britain and the United States had concluded a three-way agreement concerning recognition of North American borders, suppression of the slave trade and provisions for the extradition of criminals in 1842 [48] under the signature of Daniel Webster, by the mid-1870's Canada was still

being plagued by an eclectic collection of the United States' less desirable citizens. In this cartoon issued on August 26, 1876, Julien makes a plea for tighter extradition laws to force the United States to take back its unwanted elements. **(See Figure 12**)

Those unable to gain entry to Canada sit on the bank of a river under the U.S. Stars and Stripes. They represent every element of the lower and immoral side of American life. Although the inclusion of the tramp, cutthroat, financial profiteer, industrial robber baron and lady of the evening offer few surprises, the appearance of an African-American seems curiously out of sync even for late Victorian Canada. In pre-civil war days, Canada was a haven for escaped slaves who set up communities in particular in border counties in South Western Ontario. It was just such a sanctuary that provided a haven for Mary Ann Shadd Cary, a crusading journalist and later only the second black female attorney in the United States. [49] Canadians, while mistrusting those of colour, refused to close her doors to those in distress. It was a famous refugee that caught Julien's attention just as autumn was arriving in 1877.

In the spring of that year, tired of running from the U.S. Army and native adversaries, Sitting Bull, one of the architects of George Custer's massive defeat at the Little Big Horn River, crossed into Manitoba to seek what he called the protection of the Grandmother, Queen Victoria.[50] The exile would not prove to be a happy one, and Sitting Bull negotiated a return to the United States where he was assassinated by one of his own in late 1890. Julien, who had traveled and sketched the west, brought the plight of the native warrior to the attention of the readers of the *Canadian Illustrated News* on Septem-

Figure 12

Figure 13

ber 22, 1877. **(See Figure 13)**

The dialogue between a Northwest Mounted Policeman and an American soldier is hardly friendly. The Canadian informs the American that the chief is entitled to sanctuary in Canada as long as he behaves himself. In this respect, Sitting Bull holds equal rights to any citizen seeking refuge and the protection of the Queen. It is, in the mind of the artist, the only moral alternative to an uncertain future at the hands of the Americans. Yet, Julien portrays Sitting Bull not as the victorious and proud conqueror of the arrogant Custer, but a detached, seemingly helpless victim in need of a paternal pat on the back. Once again, regardless of any other complications, it is the American, not the Canadian policeman and certainly not Sitting Bull, who brings villainy to the piece.

This would not be the last visual commentary on American treatment of its aboriginal citizens In late December 1890, U.S. Cavalry troops massacred approximately three hundred of three hundred and fifty natives near Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Although questionable, Canadians still regarded their conquest of the west as virtually bloodless. As Canadian economic historian Arthur Ray has noted, natives in Canada's west and European fur traders often formed long-lasting partnerships to exploit this natural resource.[51] The killing and mayhem that characterized America's

march westward did not exist to any extent in Canada. As a consequence, the savagery of Wounded Knee was bound to solicit a comment in Canada's political press. **(See Figure 14)**

In this cartoon, which appeared in Desbarats' *Dominion Illustrated* on January 24t, 1891, the revulsion of the cartoonist to the massacre is apparent. The picture in itself is simple enough: Unprotected natives are being gunned downed by a well-armed unit of U.S. soldiers. The cartoonist, whose name appears to be Patterson,

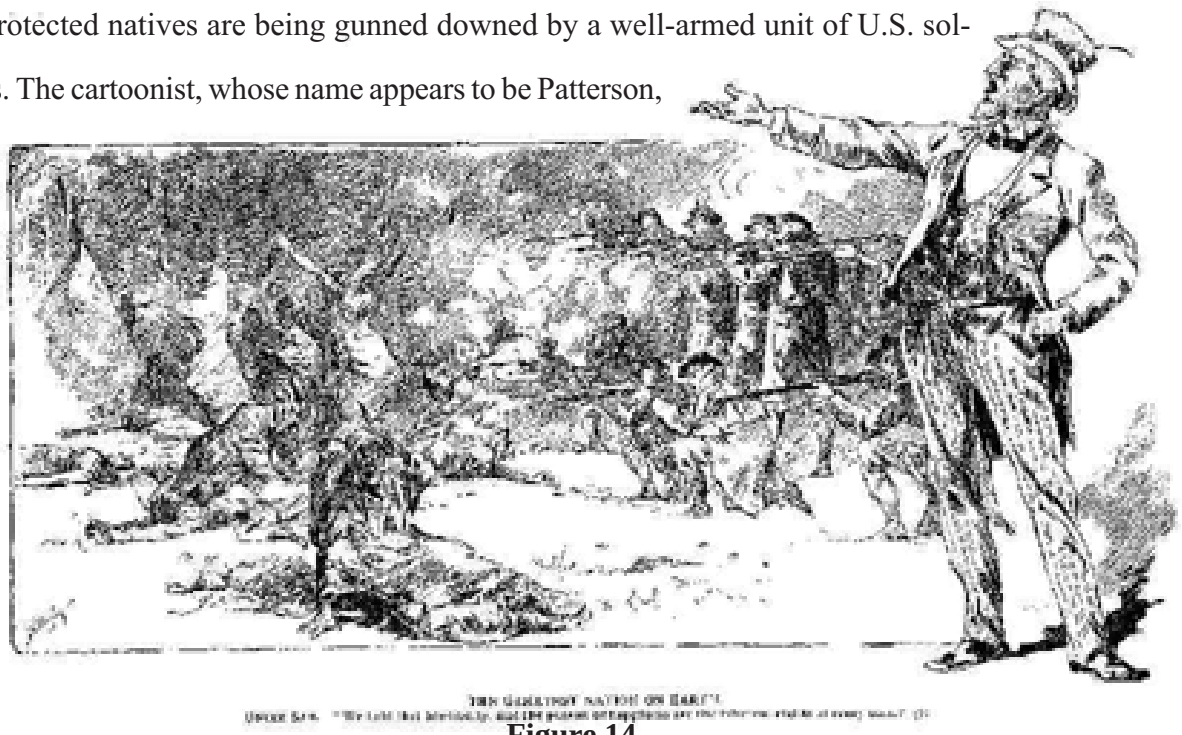


Figure 14

overlays his work while challenging the American illusion that it is indeed the "Greatest Nation On Earth" by citing one of the best-known passages in liberal democratic republicanism: "We hold that life-liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are the inherent rights of every man!"

Julien also took the time to poke fun at Uncle Sam on the occasion of the massive Halifax Award. The award was just another irritation in a series of disputes that began in 1783 over fishing rights in border waters and continues to this day. The British Government, acting on behalf of Canada, had accused the Americans of under valuing compensation to the Government of Canada as provided for in the 1871 Treaty of Washington. Naturally, the United States disagreed. However, two of the three members who heard the complaint, the chair Belgian Maurice Delfosse and Canadian Alexander Galt, awarded Canada $5.5 million in gold. [52] **(See Figure 15)**

The portrayal of Canada by Johnny Canuck was unusual. Julien normally preferred female

characterizations or those of strong, muscle-bound virile young men. In this cartoon, Johnny Canuck has a French Canadian peasant look about him. He is almost defiant in claiming the prize from a very unhappy and reluctant Uncle Sam, who for the first time in many a time, is not chewing on a cigar or spitting out a version of American slang. He looks resigned to his defeat, a pose he will soon lose under the talented pen of John Wilson Bengough.

Figure 15

John Wilson Bengough and the Politics of Scandal

In every respect, when Canadians think of the rise of political cartooning in Canada, they more often than not think of John Wilson Bengough. Bengough was born into a political family of seven children in Toronto, Ontario, on April 7, 1851. His father was deeply involved in Ontario politics as a worker and supporter of the provincial Liberal Party. In 1853 his father, a skilled wood craftsman, moved the family to Whitby, Ontario, on the eastern outskirts of the City of Toronto. It was there that the younger Bengough took a position on the *Whitby Gazette* after two unsuccessful stints as a law clerk and a photographer. It was in the *Gazette* newsroom that Bengough picked up a copy of *Harper's Weekly*, opened the journal, and cast his eyes on Thomas Nast's vilification of New York political leader Boss Tweed. He became determined to become the Canadian Nast.

In 1870, Bengough drew a cartoon in the Nast style showing Boss Tweed bent before the cartoonist paying homage. He sent the work off to Nast and was surprised when the cartoonist responded with encouraging words. As he noted, "I was among the thousands who studied with profound admiration [Nast's] elaborate full-page cartoons in that great journal of civilization against Boss Tweed and the Tammany ring of New York." [53] He resigned from the *Gazette* and took a position with George Brown's *The Globe* in Toronto.

Brown, one of the founders of the Canadian Confederation of 1867 and of the Liberal Party, was well-known as a political reformer and an advocate of liberal trade rules. His Manchesterian views greatly influenced the federal Liberal Party in which the publisher was a dominant force throughout his life. Brown and other members of the Liberal Party, while deeply suspicious of American intentions in North America, were convinced that survival of the Canadian nation depended on free trade with the United States. Without free trade, they felt that declining British interest in supporting her former colony would result in annexation. In fact, Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie commissioned Brown to go to Washington in 1875 with the express purpose of negotiating a free-trade deal with the Americans, which is the subject of this three-panel drawing in the *Canadian Illustrated News*. **(See Figure 16)** The question of free trade versus the clamour for protectionist legislation directed at the United States would prove excellent cannon fodder for John

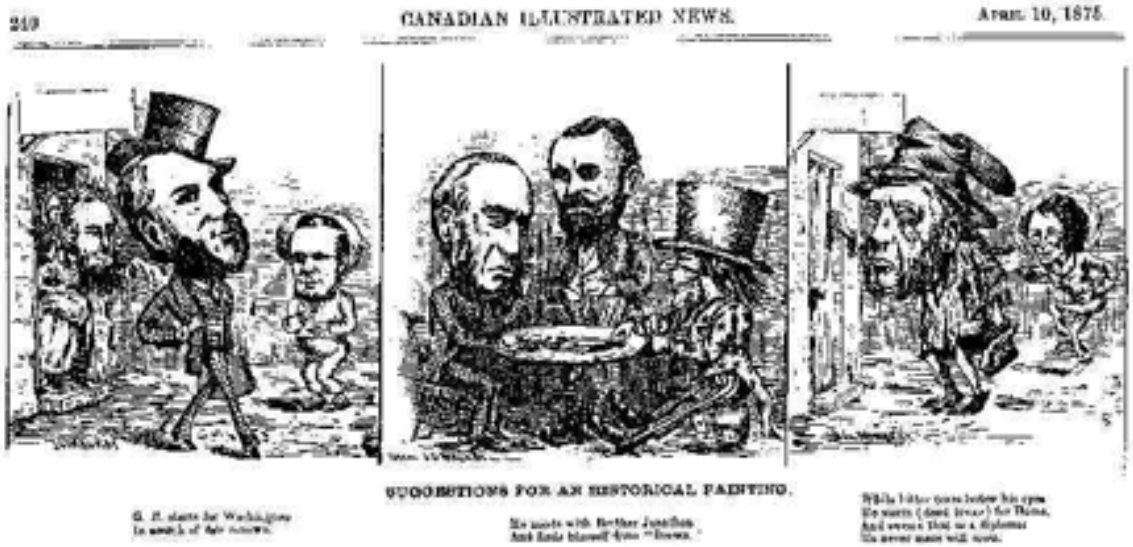


Figure 16

Wilson Bengough.

In the first panel, Brown is sent on his way by the Prime Minister and his chief lieutenant Edward Blake. The publisher's optimism is painted across his face. However, in the second panel, he is less than thrilled, having confronted American President Ulysses S. Grant and a Brother Jonathan who looks like a nymph out of a performance of *A Mid Summer Night's Dream* or any one of a number of Greek tragedies. In the final panel, a beaten, tattered, and dejected Brown returns home to a mocking Opposition Leader John A. Macdonald vowing as he knocks on Mackenzie's door that he will never perform the role of a diplomat again. He did not.

Bengough became a magazine publisher on May 24, 1873, just two years before Brown's fateful Washington trip. His journal *Grip* was named after the raven in Charles Dickens' novel *Barnaby Rudge*. Thomas Nast was not the only candidate for Bengough's hero worship. Dickens was the other. Like Nast, who had the shady Tammany Hall chieftain Boss Tweed for a character, Bengough had the good fortune to have Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald to parody. Macdonald more than anyone else helped launch *Grip*. He was tall and gaunt with a pronounced nose. He was known widely for his love affair with Scotch whiskey. Bengough's drawings, which took place over a nineteen-year period, would play on both the Prime Minister's physical and moral weaknesses.

Macdonald had been caught red-handed awarding contracts to build the trans-continental railway Canadian Pacific to those who could fill his political party's coffers for the next federal election. The ensuing scandal cost Macdonald his premiership for five years and placed *Grip* at the forefront of political commentary in Canada. [54]

When Macdonald returned to the Prime Minister's office in 1878, he did not attempt to revive discussions about a free-trade pact with the United States. Macdonald was staring at more than a century of failure to arrive at political and economic agreements with the Americans, beginning with the inability to negotiate fishing rights in the Treaty of Paris in 1783 and the collapse of the Brown talks in Washington in 1875. According to Sir Richard Cartwright, the Minister of Finance in the Mackenzie Government of 1873 to 1878, Macdonald gave strong hints in the parlia-

mentary sessions of 1876 that he was about to adopt a protectionist course for his Conservative Party. In 1877, he confirmed it.[55] By 1879, when Macdonald returned to power, a package of restrictive tariffs known as the National Policy aimed at the United States was in place ostensibly to protect Canadian manufacturers from American economic might.

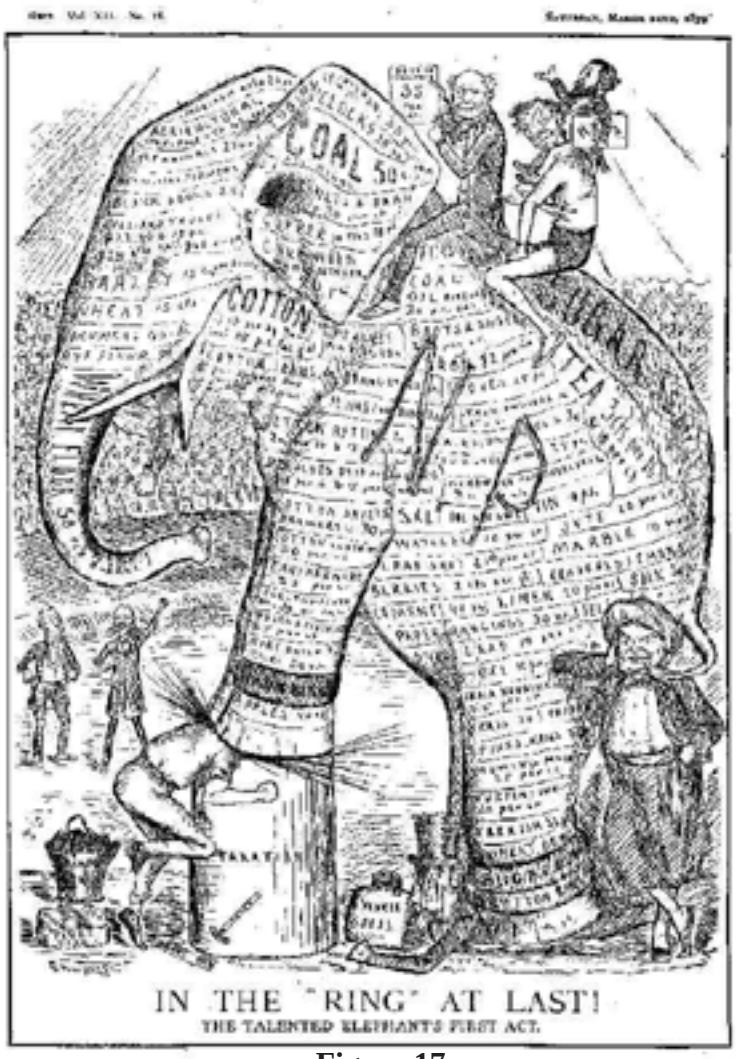


Figure 17

In the March 22, 1879, issue of *Grip*, Bengough gave his pictorial response to Macdonald's legislation. **(See Figure 17)** The National Policy, represented by a large circus elephant, is crushing the life out of Uncle Sam, who is holding a package marked "Yankee Goods." The very use of the elephant, which Nast used to characterize the American Republican Party, shows the influence that the American commentator had on Bengough. Bengough, however, was far less successful in his attempt to use animals as political party mascots in Canada.

In this cartoon, Bengough lays to rest the notion that the policy is designed to protect only manufacturers. Prominent in large letters on the elephant's skin are the tariffs on coal, sugar, cotton, barley, and wheat flour. True to his liberal heritage, Bengough notes that the real loser is not Uncle Sam but the Canadian consumer, seen here with his head firmly under the elephant's large foot on the block marked "taxation."

A month after Bengough drew what was to become one of his best-known illustrations, he responded with another attack on the United States. **(See Figure 18)** Bengough returned to the oft-

repeated view that emerged out of the Annexation debates of 1849, that somehow, once one traded with the terrible Yankees, some assimilation in the social and political realm was certain to follow. As an ardent free trader, Benough could not accept that position. In the cartoon, he is especially critical of the Prime Minister, whom he believes is doing nothing to prevent the "infection" of questionable American ideologies, which he treats as moral questions as well. Yet, the Prime Minister is quick to block American products from the Canadian market. To Benough, this represents the ultimate irony. He presents three major characters in the dialogue: Miss Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald, and, of course, Uncle Sam. However, the caricatures of the Rag Baby and that of Dennis Kearney represent the true tone of the parody.

Figure 18

Kearney, a west coast labour leader, was born in Ireland before settling in San Francisco in 1868. He was caught in the turmoil of the economic depression that took its toll on life across North America in the 1870's. And like Canadian labour and political leaders, such as the mercurial British Columbia politician Amor de Cosmos (a.k.a. William Smith) he took out his spite on immigrant Chinese workers. To achieve his goals, he founded the Workingman's Party of California but failed to attract any following beyond its borders. By 1884, Kearney was no longer in politics. [56]

He is, however, in this cartoon, which appeared on April 26, 1879. It is also here that

Bengough's liberal views on race begin to conflict with reality. In spite of the fact that the graffiti on the wall behind Miss Canada and Macdonald declare without reservation that Canada offered equal rights to all regardless of colour, in practice attitudes were more in keeping with those of Kearney. In this respect, Bengough was directly challenging U.S. ideas on the treatment of African Americans during Reconstruction and thereafter. At this time, Chinese workers, especially in British Columbia, were being used to break unions in the province's mining country, an action that alienated them from organized labour and led to calls for their expulsion from Canada.[57] It is more than likely that Bengough was quite isolated in his condemnation of Kearney's ideas. On this issue he would have no support from the so-called little man in organized labour.

Bengough was on more solid ground in his concerns about the printing of excess paper money to break the depression, an action he notes here was promoted in the Canadian Parliament as the implementation of rag money. The concept had been tried in the United States prior to the Civil War with the consequence that the federal debt ballooned and the federal bureaucracy became the nation's largest employer, a point Bengough addresses in the document in Uncle Sam's right hand. Although the error of their ways was apparent, monetary reformers appeared on the scene once again during the depression years of the 1870's. The movement known as the Greenbackers, which eventually crossed into Canada, had its origins in rural America. It demanded, among other reforms, that the federal treasury print paper money not tied to the gold standard in order to break the back of the depression. [58] Although the movement did not succeed in obtaining power, in Bengough's 1879 it represented a serious threat to his non-interventionist, liberal economic beliefs, a concern duly noted in this drawing. Of course, the only person in the cartoon with any sense of moral persuasion is once again, the young and virginal Miss Canada.

In spite of its defeat in 1849, annexationist sentiment did not die out until well into the twentieth century. In fact, in a cartoon published in *Grip* on March 31, 1883, Macdonald is participating in a mind-reading act being conducted by one Mr. Stuart Cumberland. He is accused of acquiring Cumberland's powers in order to accuse Liberal politician Edward Blake of being an annexationist. In modern parlance, in some circles, this would be the contemporary equivalent of

Figure 19

being accused of racism. However, as much as Bengough treated the annexationist movement with contempt, he refused to embrace some of the strong, pro-imperial sentiment in vogue at the time.

In this cartoon, a defiant Uncle Sam is being challenged by Toronto's City Magistrate Colonel George Taylor Denison. **(See Figure 19)** Denison belonged to a group of rabid imperialists who saw Canada as an extension of the British Empire in North America. While other Canadians were debating the country's other alternatives, Denison was dividing the country into his friends and his enemies. Denison sincerely believed in the superiority of the British way of doing things and could not accept those who did not. There was no middle ground with the magistrate who regularly called out his policemen to break up pro-annexationist rallies.[59] It is difficult to determine which one looks more ridiculous, Denison or his adversary.

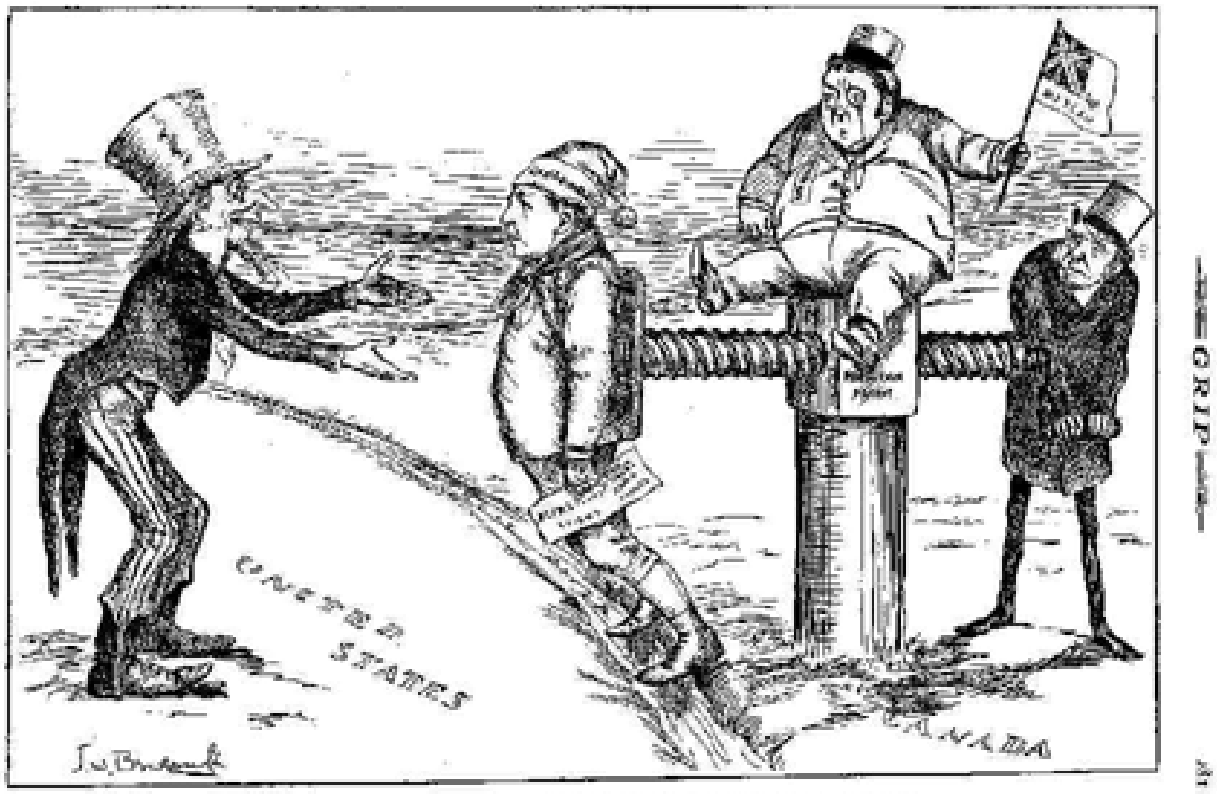
Two years after the publication of his view of Denison, Bengough returned to the annexationist movement. In *Grip* on January 25, 1890, **(See Figure 20)** he virtually accuses the editor of the Toronto Conservative newspaper *The Mail* of treason. Martin J. Griffin acting as the chief of some form of fifth column, cannot resist revealing his identity to Uncle Sam. As the cartoon demonstrates, the issue of free trade with the United States has once again arisen in the public forum. However, the sinister journalist is not concerned with reciprocity. He is attempting to cajole the evil

Uncle Sam into using manipulative forms of deception to achieve annexation. Once again the caricature of Uncle Sam shows his less desirable side. The eyes are deep and virtually hidden. The beard is ragged and unkempt. The body is thin, covered with the stars and strips pants that he had worn in Canadian cartoons since the days of John Henry Walker. The only missing elements are the cigar and whittling knife.

Figure 20

Grip was near the end of its life in 1891 when a pessimistic Bengough once again addressed the annexation movement. **(See Figure 21).** However, this cartoon is quite different than others that Bengough drew on the subject. Yes, he blames the usual suspects in particular the industrial leaders whom he dubbed as the red parlour set, a reference to the decorative tastes that dominated their offices, homes and social establishments. He also blamed the National Policy, which in this cartoon forms part of the apparatus pushing the young Canadian toward the arms of Uncle Sam. But also in the picture are high taxes and economic depression. The British flag is not powerful enough at this point in history to save the new country. The young Canadian stepping across the Detroit River, seems beyond the ability to control his own fate. This is Bengough at his most forlorn about the state of nationalism in Canada.

The same year that this cartoon appeared John A. Macdonald died. The politician who made *Grip* was no longer. The magazine would be gone within two years and John Wilson Bengough would launch a successful freelance career that would take him to the four corners of the earth.



THE CAUSE OF THE ANNEXATION "MOVEMENT."

Figure 21

Ironically, one of those places was Chicago, where he sketched on municipal politics for *The Public*, predecessor to *The New Republic,* in a city central to the nation whose designs he despised for more than three decades.

Conclusions

Are pictures worth a thousand words? Political cartooning grew and matured in an age when the daily press was still attempting to emerge from the shadow of strident partisanship, favoritism and hyperbole. In the cartoons of the late Victorian Age, one can capture the essence of the political debates of the period, anything from the prospect of annexation by the United States to the many attempts to conclude a free-trade agreement and the surrender to protectionist policies. In every respect, the cartoon and its artist escaped the furious debates in the world of the ever-growing daily press over objectivity, professionalism, and commercialization that took place in the nineteenth century. As long as cartoonists remained with illustrated magazines, they could claim a

certain degree of non-partisanship. By focusing on Canadian relationships with Americans, they could successfully transcend even the most rigid of party lines. However, when they gravitated to the daily press, professional issues were to be left to the reporters and editorial writers and, of course, the press barons. In many ways, the cartoonist became just an add-on, someone through whom newspapers could be sold.

The Victorians used their cartoons to synthesize otherwise complex issues into a visual interpretation. Over the final five decades of the Victorian Age, Canadian political cartoonists shared, along with those who published their works, a deep concern over the future of the country. When it came to Canadian-American relationships, their drawings were universally coloured by a deeply moral tone, one which persistently invoked the superiority of British ideals on government and society over those found in the individualistic and growing secularism of the nation to the south.

As Thomas Kemnitz has observed, the cartoon can offer the historian an insightful glimpse the underlying attitudes of any given historical period by a specific group of observers. This study has delved into areas that have been previously studied by scholars such as Seymour Martin Lipset but differs in the significant respect that it has been based on the insight of several Victorian cartoonists. In this respect, the reader can examine the visions that these Victorian artists created in the development of their nation, an attempt that has yet to be tried in the study of Canadian-American relationships. The cartoonists have provided a solid foundation for the understanding and contemplation of contemporary issues affecting each of these North American nations.

The twentieth century would produce a new generation of cartoonists, most of whom abandoned the illustrated magazine for fame and potential fortune in Canada's daily newspaper industry. In spite of the passage of the years, even to this day one major theme keeps re-appearing. As much as Canadians love their neighbours to the south, this intimacy has yet to create a significant volume of trust. As things were shall they ever be.

(Author's Note: The letters CIHM stand for Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions. The collection is a series of microfiche reproductions of documents pertaining to Canadian history that are not included in conventional university or library catalogues. Often these materials are odd pieces of subjects such as speeches, special advertisements, pamphlets, flyers, and such articles. Canadian libraries are encouraged to participate in this program to preserve rare collections.)

Notes

[1] Michael Carlebach, The Origins of Photojournalism In America (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), p. 63

[2] Douglas Fetherling, The Rise of The Canadian Newspaper (Toronto, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 11

[3] Ramsay Cook The Regenerators: Social Criticism In Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto, Ontario: The University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 3-4

[4] The biographies of the major Victorian cartoonists are contained in J. Russell Harper Early Painters and Engravers In Canada, (Toronto, Ontario: The University of Toronto Press, 1970).

[5] Cook, pp. 123-124: Bengough was active on the lecture circuit in Victorian Canada. He appeared on stage with a large drawing board upon which he drew caricatures of prominent political figures while lampooning them in his spoken presentations. The chalk talk was as much visual as it was oral.

[6] Gay Wilson Allen and Sculley Bradley, The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman: The Journalism Volume 1: 1834-1846 (New York, N.Y.: Peter Lang, 1998), p. 380

[7] Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1979), p. 30

[8] Robert Craig, "The Rise of the Visual," in Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt Picturing The Past (Urbana and Champagne, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press, 1999).

[9] Sidney Kobre, The Yellow Press and Gilded Age Journalism, (Tallahassee, Fla.: The Florida State University Press, 1952), pp. 314-15.

[10] Carmen Cumming, Sketches From A Young Country (Toronto, Buffalo and London: The University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 41.

[11] Cumming, pp. 88-91

[12] In 1865, Nova Scotia passed Canada's first compulsory education act followed closely by Ontario in 1871. By 1901, only 14.4 percent of all Canadians could not read and 17.1 percent could not write. Ontario was the most literate of all Canadian provinces with an illiteracy rate in reading of 8.7 percent in 1901 and in writing of 10.2 percent.

[13] Paul Rutherford, A Victorian Authority (Toronto, Buffalo and London: The University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 26-27.

[14] Philip S. Foner, American Labor Songs Of The Nineteenth Century (Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1975), p. xv.

[15] Thomas Milton Kemnitz *The Cartoon As A Historical Source* in Journal of Interdisciplinary History IV: 1 (Summer 1973), p. 81.

[16] Kemnitz, p. 86

[17] Gad Horowitz, *Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada, An Interpretation,* in Hugh Thorburn (ed.), Party Politics In Canada, (Toronto, Ontario: Prentice Hall, 1985), p. 48.

[18] Quebec City, P.Q, The Sprite, Volume 1, No. 1, June 7, 1865: It is also useful to note that with the Confederation act of 1867, the nation's capital shifted to a location on the Ottawa River which incorporated both the contemporary city of Ottawa in Ontario and Hull in Quebec.

[19] Quebec City, P.Q., The Sprite, Volume 1, No. 5, July 5, 1865

[20] E.T.D Chambers and Raoul Renault (eds.), North American Notes and Queries, (Toronto, Ontario), Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1900, p. 53.

[21] Seymour Martin Lipset Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada (Toronto and Washington: C.D. Howe Institute and National Planning Association, 1990), p. 212.

[22] Philip Resnick The Masks of Proteus (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), p. 39.

[23] Lipset, p. 2

[24] Lipset, p. 43

[25] James Carey, *The Problem of Journalism History* in Journalism History, 1, 1974, p. 5.

[26] Desbarats and Mosher, pp. 78, 248.

[27] Brian D. Palmer Working Class Experience (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart, 1992),

pp. 124-125.

[28] Philip S. Foner The Labor Movement In The United States (Volume 1) New York, N.Y., International Publishers, 1947), pp. 488-489.

[29] Harper, p. 320, and E.Z. Massicotte, "L'Artiste Walker," in Bulletin Recherche Historique, Levis, P.Q., December 1943, pp. 363-365.

[30] Desbarats and Mosher, p. 40.

[31] Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions (CIHM) 63124, British American League, Montreal Branch, To the Inhabitants of Canada, Montreal, 1849, p. 5.

[32] Donald Creighton *The 1860's* in J.M.S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (eds.) The Canadians 1867-1967 (Toronto, Ontario: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1968), pp. 10-11.

[33] Richard J. Cartwright, Reminiscences (Toronto, Ontario: William Briggs, 1912), p. 55.

[34] Montreal, P.Q. The Canadian Illustrated News, V. 1, No. 29, p. 194.

[35] Montreal, P.Q. The Canadian Illustrated News, V. 1, No. 29, p. 194.

[36] The Metis were the offspring of one French Canadian parent and one aboriginal parent. In recent times, the term has been applied to anyone of mixed parentage as long as one parent was of aboriginal origin.

[37] George Bemis, The Alabama Negotiations And Their Just Repudiation By the Senate of The United States (New York, Baker and Godwin, 1869), p. 7, and The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia (New York, N.Y., 1995).

[38] CIHM 49103, Sumner, Charles, The Alabama Claims...speech of the Honourable Charles Sumner, London, England, 1869.

[39] J.M.S. Careless, Brown Of The Globe: Volume Two (Toronto, Ontario: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1963), pp. 174-181.

[40] Michael Bliss, Plague: A Story of Smallpox in Montreal (Toronto, Ontario: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991), p. 222.

[41] Desbarats and Mosher, p. 44.

[42] CIHM, 10010, Documents and Proceedings of the Halifax Commission, 1877, Volume 1, under the Treaty of Washington, May 8, 1871, p. 1.

[43] Desbarats and Mosher, pp. 61-66.

[44] Reciprocity Treaty Between Great Britain and The United States Together with The Canadian Tariffs for 1854 and 1863, (Montreal, P.Q., J. Starke and Co, Printers, 1864, Article lll, pp. 5-6.

[45] J.M.S. Careless, p. 105.

[46] CIHM 50194, A.A.B., The Reciprocity Treaty, 1864.

[47] Roger Graham *Through The First World War* in J.M.S. Careless and Craig Brown (eds.) The Canadians 1867-1967 (Toronto, Ontario: Macmillan of Canada, 1968), p. 176.

[48] CIHM 49873, Treaty Between Her Majesty and the United States of America, Washington, August 9, 1842, p. 1-2.

[49] See Jane Rhodes Mary Ann Shadd Cary (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998) for the story of Shadd's life and her role in the development of Canada.

[50] Dee Brown Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee (New York, N.Y.: Bantam Books, 1971), p. 290.

[51] Arthur J. Ray Indians In The Fur Trade (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. xi.

[52] CIHM 10010, Documents and Proceedings of the Halifax Commission, 1877, p. ix

[53] Dennis Edward Blake J. W. Bengough and Grip: The Canadian Cartoon Comes of Age (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University, Unpublished M.A. thesis, 1985), pp. 14-15.

[54] David R. Spencer, *Bringing Down Giants*, in American Journalism, Vol. 15. No. 3, Summer 1998, pp. 61-88.

[55] Cartwright, p. 153.

[56] Foner, pp. 490-92.

[57] Bryan D. Palmer, Working Class Experience, 2nd edition (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1992), pp. 124-25.

[58] Herbert G. Gutman, Who Built America (New York, N.Y.: Pantheon Books, 1989), pp. 442, 552-3.

[59] Cumming, p. 185.