Punch and the Pogroms: Eastern Atrocities in John Tenniel's Political Cartoons, 1876–1896

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Cet article analyse trois caricatures produites pour *Punch*, magazine humoristique de l'époque victorienne, par son caricaturiste en chef, John Tenniel. Elles représentent des despotismes en périphérie de l'Europe opprimant et assassinant des minorités sous leur férule: les atrocités commises en Bulgarie en 1876, les pogroms antisémites en Russie en 1881–1882 et les massacres d'Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman en 1895–1896. Considérées ici comme faisant partie d'une série, ces images sont placées en dialogue notamment avec les textes qui ont paru à leurs côtés et avec les magazines rivaux de *Punch* tels que *Fun* et *Judy*. Alors que les Turcs, les Russes, les Bulgares, les Juifs et les Arméniens sont devenus des figures au moyen desquelles *Punch* a pu réfléchir à lui-même et à sa nation, elles lui ont posé un problème de représentation: c'est particulièrement les figures juives que *Punch* a eu le plus de difficulté à situer dans l'ordre des nations.

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In a series of cartoons produced between 1876 and 1896, John Tenniel, chief cartoonist of the comic journal *Punch*, represented a set of atrocities in which despotisms on the eastern fringe of Europe oppressed and murdered minorities under their rule. From the Bulgarian atrocities of 1876, to the anti-Jewish pogroms in Russia in 1881–82, to the massacres of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in 1895–96, Tenniel adopted almost exactly the same approach, showing a background of confused slaughter behind two figures: a male politician and an allegorical female. This article will consider what this strategy of repetition shows about liberal English attitudes to Europe's east,[1] and about how mid-Victorian print culture, and *Punch* in particular, represented the violence popularly associated with this region.

Launched in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign, the weekly *Punch* (1841–1992, 1996–2002) soon transformed the comic and satirical practices of early nineteenth-century journalism into a much more respectable form.[2] By the 1870s, it had become an institution, its success demonstrated by the emergence of imitators, notably *Fun* (1861–1901) and *Judy* (1867–1907). *Punch* differentiated itself from these magazines by its slightly higher price (3 pence rather than 2 pence an issue)[3] and rather more "respectable" tone, adhering to what its first editor described as "the gentlemanly view of things."[4] It provided an, at most, softly satirical view of London's political, social, and cultural scene, gently poking fun at targets that were in season, whether that be Westminster, the Royal Academy summer exhibition, or hunting. Among parodic prose pieces, verse pastiche, and social cartoons, each week's edition contained a "Big Cut," a full-page cartoon in response to the week's main events. Its subject was decided by the "*Punch* table" (the editorial board) and, between 1864 and 1901, usually drawn by John Tenniel. The majority of Big Cuts were political, mostly expressing a broadly Liberal position, with many of them addressing issues of foreign policy.[5]

Even when discussing international matters, *Punch* situated itself within the domestic space, maintaining a level of respectability to be able to appear unproblematically in the family home. As quite an extensive body of scholarship has shown, *Punch* offered a particular class an image of itself, its nation, and its place in the world. To create this domesticated sense of nationality, it used and blended allegorical (often national) figures, literary and art historical references, stereotypes, and images of prominent (usually political) figures.[6]

1. As a number of scholars have argued, Eastern Europe functioned as an Orient within Europe. Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, updated ed. (Oxford, 2009); Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization in the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, 1994).

2. For the specifically Victorian form of respectability that *Punch* adopted, see Henry J. Miller, "John

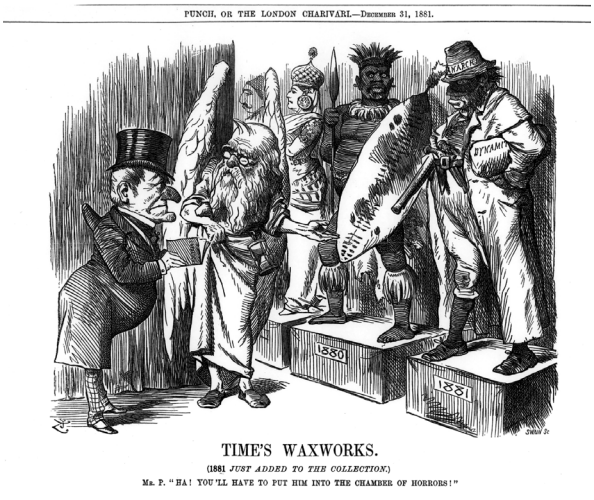

Figure 1. John Tenniel, *Time's Waxworks*, in *Punch*, December 31, 1881. Private collection. Photo: Dominic Williams.

Punch's Victorian brand of respectability should also be associated with a sense of time. *Punch* marked the turning of the seasons through its changing range of interests throughout the year. Politics too was brought into seasonal rhythms: political events were represented with images of hunting in the autumn, or of pantomime in the Christmas season, for example, or included in the almanacs summing up the previous year and looking forward to the next. In so doing, *Punch* presented itself as being as neutral as a calendar.[7]

Its pose of being above the fray of politics stemmed from its addressing more than simply the moment.[8] As Brian Maidment points out, *Punch*, more than any other magazine, found means for readers to consume it over an extended period of time. In addition to the numerous subscribers among its readership, back issues were made available in bound copies, and cartoons republished in collections. "In these ways," Maidment argues, "*Punch* attempted to transcend a central aspect of the satirical image—its topicality."[9] While *Punch* did have a sense of its politics and of acting upon the political scene, therefore, taking a longer-term stance was also an important feature of that action. It needed to leave options open so that it could respond to changes in the political situation. Serialization and repetition offered it the chance to revisit and subtly rework its positions. *Punch* asserted a continuity from issue to issue that encouraged readers to look back at previous numbers. Indeed, this might be seen as one of the pleasures that it offered its readers, not unlike the serialized stories of Victorian periodicals.[10]

In a cartoon of December 31, 1881, for example, Father Time and Mr. Punch survey a Museum of Time in which each year is summed up by a racial/national figure associated with a particular issue that had been resolved in that year. | **fig. 1** | A Turkish man, an Indian woman, a Zulu soldier, and an Irish Land Leaguer are lined up for review. The pedestals of the latter two are dated 1881 (the passing of the Second Irish Land Act) and 1880 (the end of the Zulu War). India is associated with the previous year (the end of the Indian famine of 1878–79), and Turkey with the year before that (the "resolving" of the Eastern Question with the Treaty of Berlin in 1878). Each of these had been

Leech and the Shaping of the Victorian Cartoon: The Context of Respectability," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 42, 3 (Fall 2009): 267–91.

3. David Kunzle, *The History of the Comic Strip: The Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley & LA, 1990), 316; Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, eds., *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (Gent and London, 2009), 237–38, 327–28, 517–19.

4. [Mark Lemon], quoted in Richard Noakes, "*Punch* and Comic Journalism in Mid-Victorian Britain," in *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical: Reading the Magazine of Nature*, ed. Geoffrey Cantor et al. (Cambridge, 2004): 91–122, p. 97.

5. For a detailed discussion of how a number of Big (or Large) Cuts from the 1860s were collectively decided, see Patrick Leary, *The* Punch *Brotherhood* (London, 2010), 35–56. *Punch*'s liberalism was of course the classical liberalism of the nineteenth century, associated with such figures as W.E. Gladstone. However, as Leary points out, political views at the *Punch* table varied, and some members were more conservative in their politics. Identification with a specific party was not part of *Punch*'s political self-image, as the rest of this article will show.

6. See, for example, Richard Scully, "The Other Kaiser: Wilhelm I and British Cartoonists, 1861–1914," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 44, 1 (Spring 2011): 69–98; Tracy J.R. Collins, "Athletic Fashion, *Punch*, and the Creation of the New Woman," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 43, 3 (Fall 2010): 309–35; Roy Douglas, "*Great Nations Still Enchained*": *The Cartoonists'*

documented in previous Big Cuts. *Punch* thus refers back to its own history, producing a continuous image of itself, as well as using the passage of time to manage and contain the different races and nationalities that it represents. Time is also a means to contain "horror;" even though the Irish Land Leaguer might, Mr. Punch muses, be better placed in the "Chamber of Horrors," he nonetheless remains in Father Time's museum.

Tenniel's serial representation of the crimes of Eastern despotism served a similar purpose. It allowed readers to see repeated demonstrations of European civilization and non-European barbarism in a relatively unchallenging way. However, these repetitions not only managed but also created difficulties about where to draw the boundaries of civilizations, "races," and even genders. Much of the best recent scholarship has emphasized that cartoons do not just reflect but actively produce ideological and subject positions.[11] Similarly, Tenniel's cartoons were not simply replications of wider discourses on "race" and geopolitics; they interacted with *Punch*'s own self-positioning: its assumed stance of being above the fray of day-to-day party disputes, its codes of respectability, and the efforts made by its artists and editors to create a continuous *Punch* tradition.

Indeed, while serialization was a way for *Punch* to create a self-image, it was also the mode by which images were rendered meaningful, and ideological discourses created and remade. The cartoons relied upon relationships of reference, repetition, and allusion in order to be legible.[12] Even those aspects that might be considered more inherently physical and visual, such as gestures, physiognomies (racialized to different degrees),[13] and the use of allegory, derive much of their meaning from their serialization. Such features were recognizable because they had been seen before. Repeated variations caused images to take on a status closer to language, their meaning being produced by the similarities and differences with previous versions of the image. Repetition allowed figures to be readable at the same time as it complicated their meanings by making them appear in different contexts.

These serial relationships mean that some nuance must be added to Amelia Rauser's description of the conventions of cartoons and caricature established at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In her account, bodies had to carry the meanings of the cartoon, background was made less significant, and text (or an explanatory key) was minimized. She argues that characters needed to be recognizable from their physiognomies, and that meaning had to be conveyed by their interrelation and stance.[14] Attending to the question of serialization, however, shows that representations of bodies were always in a set of relationships beyond those depicted in the foreground of a single cartoon.

This applies not simply to other bodies in the foreground of other images, but also with the words and backgrounds that framed them. In *Punch*, words were always directly attached to the cartoons and surrounded them in the form of verses and editorials. Words also, as Patrick Leary argues, formed a medium from which and into which Big Cuts were translated: the table talk of the *Punch* Brotherhood as they discussed the topic and means of representing it each week, and the discussions and opinions held by its readers in response (leading articles offered them ready-made opinions to express in their own conversations).[15] Even Rauser's claim that background was less important

Vision of Empire, *1848–1919* (London, 1993).

7. This marking of time is less that of the "homogeneous empty time" that Benedict Anderson associates with print capitalism, than of the cyclical version of time that he sees it as replacing. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1991).

8. On *Punch*'s mythology of itself as a national institution see Henry J. Miller, "The Problem with *Punch*," *Historical Research* 82, 216 (May 2009): 285–302. The extent to which this mythology could be accepted is nicely evidenced by R.W. Seton-Watson's book-length discussion of the Eastern Question, which cites the Big Cuts as the most insightful analyses of the politics of the period. R.W. Seton-Watson [1935], *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question: A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics* (London, 1962), 222.

9. Brian Maidment, ***Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order*** (Manchester, 2013), 11. See also Laurel Brake, *Print in Transition: Studies in Media and Book History* (Basingstoke, 2001), 30–31.

10. Jennifer Hayward, *Consuming Pleasures: Active Audiences and Serial Fictions from Dickens to Soap Opera* (Lexington, KY, 2009).

11. Carmen J. Nielson, "Erotic Attachment, Identity Formation and the Body Politic: The Woman-as-nation in Canadian Graphic Satire, 1867–1914," *Gender & History* 28, 1 (April 2016): 102–26, p. 105; Richard Scully and Marian Quartly, "Using Cartoons as Historical Evidence," in *Drawing the Line: Using Cartoons as Historical Evidence*, ed. Richard Scully and Marian Quartly (Sydney, 2009), p. 1.1–1.12.

12. Cf. Peggy Davis, "Le *Serment des Horaces* face à la satire graphique," *RACAR* 37, 1 (2012): 26–40.

13. The rise in caricature coincides with the interest in physiognomy. Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris* (Chicago, 1982); Alan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (Winter, 1986): 3–64.

14. Amelia F. Rauser, "The Butcher-Kissing Duchess of Devonshire: Between Caricature and Allegory in 1784," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, 1 (Fall 2002), 26.

does not fully apply to this series of cartoons, in which the failure of foregrounded politicians to act upon the background was often the point.

By examining these images as part of a series, and within these other contexts of words and use of background, this article will show how they do not so much express a set of attitudes about the "East," its minorities, and its relationship with Britain, as create and recreate them as part of *Punch*'s system of meaning-making and self-positioning. Turks and Russians, as well as Bulgarians, Jews, and Armenians, became figures through whom *Punch* reflected on itself and its nation, and also, contingently and incidentally, a problem of representability. In particular, it was Jewish figures that *Punch* found it most difficult to fit into the order of nations, even though they were in many ways the closest to home.

Bulgaria 1876

The events of 1875–77 in the Balkans had major repercussions in both regional and European politics. A series of uprisings, reprisals, and wars eventually led to intervention by the Great Powers and to degrees of independence for a number of Balkan states.[16] The Bulgarian atrocities in particular roused a mass movement of protest in Britain, which prompted former Prime Minister W.E. Gladstone's return to the front line of political campaigning and played a major part in introducing mass politics to Britain.[17] The ways in which denunciations of the Conservative government's inaction focused on the person, and especially the Jewishness, of then Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, have been discussed at length.[18] Michael Ragussis and especially Anthony Wohl have examined cartoons of Disraeli during this political crisis in some depth and shown that he was figured as an insincere actor, as essentially non-English, and as a Shylock unconcerned by or actively in favour of the shedding of Christian blood. While they have identified important features of the way Disraeli was presented, both Wohl and Ragussis have tended to conflate the positions of a number of different journals and to leave unexamined the place of Big Cuts within the structure of each issue.[19] It is clear that the pro-Conservative *Judy* adopted a different position than the two other journals, but the difference between *Punch* and the more partisanly Liberal *Fun* has been rather overlooked. A closer examination of the issues in which some of these cartoons appeared, and a comparison of *Punch*'s cartoons and poems with those in *Fun* and *Judy* reveal both the full force of the attacks made by *Fun* and the careful line trodden by *Punch*.

Punch's response to the Bulgarian situation was markedly different from its handling of comparable events a few years earlier: whereas previous references to atrocities in the Ottoman Empire had been simply flippant (making jovial references to Cretan liars to dismiss reports of massacres from Crete in 1867, for example),[20] here it struck a pose of sincerity. *Neutrality under Difficulties*, a famous cartoon of 1876, depicts Disraeli lounging in a wicker chair, eyes fixed on the paperwork on his lap, while an angry Britannia gestures vigorously toward the background, where Ottoman soldiers are shown burning a village and massacring its inhabitants.[21] | **fig. 2** | The contrast between Disraeli's "semitic" features and Britannia's clearly Greek profile emphasizes Disraeli's Jewishness. All his energy, physical presence, and musculature are concentrated in his face, while his flimsy, two-dimensional legs compare badly with the

15. Leary, *The* Punch *Brotherhood*, 35–56; Dallas Liddle, "Who Invented the 'Leading Article'?: Reconstructing the History and Prehistory of a Victorian Newspaper Genre," *Media History* 5 (1999): 5–18; Matthew Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers—Victorian Fiction After the Invention of the News* (New York, 2009), 88–89.

16. R.J. Crampton, *A Concise History of Bulgaria*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2005), 78–81.

17. R.T. Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation, 1876* (London, 1963).

18. Michael Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion: "The Jewish Question" and English National Identity* (Durham, NC, 1995), and David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840–1914* (New Haven, 1994).

19. Ragussis, *Figures of Conversion*, 202–203; Anthony S. Wohl, "Dizzi-Ben-Dizzi: Disraeli as Alien," *Journal of British Studies* 34 (1995): 375–411; Anthony S. Wohl, "'Ben JuJu': Representations of Disraeli's Jewishness in the Victorian Political Cartoon," *Jewish History* 10, 2 (Fall, 1996): 89–134. Wohl's articles are extremely valuable, but he seems to have relied on *One Hundred Cartoons from the Pages of Fun*, which does not give the rest of the context in which each cartoon appeared.

20. *Punch's Essence of Parliament*, *Punch* (June 29, 1867), 265. The reference was to the famous paradox of the ancient Cretan philosopher Epimenides, who stated that all Cretans were liars. See also the flip remarks about violence in Lebanon after the massacres of the summer of 1860 in *A Bull Outroared*, *Punch* (Sept 29, 1860), 122

21. The same Bulgarian background features in two later cartoons. *The Status Quo*, *Punch* (Sept 9, 1876), 104; *No Mistake!*, *Punch* (Nov 25, 1876), 228.

Figure 2 (left). John Tenniel, *Neutrality under Difficulties*, in *Punch*, August 5, 1876. Private collection. Photo: Dominic Williams.

Figure 3 (right). John Gilbert, *England's Pride and Glory*, in *Fun*, September 27, 1876. Private collection. Photo: Dominic Williams.

well-defined musculature of Britannia's upper right arm. The classical features of Britannia (a reworking of Athena), in contrast with Disraeli's physical form, might allow readers to connect her to Bulgaria (which had only recently separated from Greek orthodoxy), and him to the Ottomans. However, placed in the context of the entire issue, the attack on Disraeli becomes rather less pointed. Alongside the Big Cut, *Punch*'s coverage of Bulgaria in that issue was about the *difficulty* of understanding what was taking place: a fairly tame satire on differing reports from correspondents (one claiming violence had occurred, the other that it had not), and a quarter-page cartoon by Linley Sambourne of "the Liar Bird: Recently Observed in Great Numbers at the Seat of War."[22] The title *Neutrality under Difficulties* might also be applied to *Punch*'s own position, or rather the position in which it wanted to be seen: trying to be fair to Disraeli, while feeling that it could not really support his failure to take action.

This was nothing like the vehement denunciations that appeared in *Fun*. In their Big Cut of September 27, *England's Pride and Glory*, "Ben Juju" the "Flunkey" refuses three English types entry to the house of his master Sir Ottoman Porte, who can be seen assaulting a female figure through the window. |**fig.3**| Verses in the same issue were set at the front door of the Earl of Mosesfield (referencing Disraeli's recent elevation to the peerage as the Earl of Beaconsfield). The flunkey Southbreeks confronts the Common British Public, who denounces its master's support for the Ottomans.[23] While the allegorical elements were much less present in the verses, and Mosesfield was not portrayed carrying out the crimes of "Sir Ottoman," the verses and image combined to conflate Disraeli and the Sultan, with both sharing responsibility for the atrocities.

Judy took an entirely different approach. *Not to be Caught* depicted Disraeli as an elegant gentleman who waited for evidence rather than trust the lurid accounts of newspapers, clapped-out Crimean War veterans, or graffiti. |**fig. 4**| Images of a Russian monkey using the cat's paw of Serbia, or the

22. *Punch* (Aug 5, 1876), 53.
23. Wohl notes the Big Cut, but not the verses.

Russian bear eyeing a conflict of knife-wielding equals, suggested the dangers of allowing Russia to intervene in the area.[24]

Punch's position was closer to *Fun*'s but rather more nuanced, as can be seen in a comparison of their verse responses to Disraeli's speech of September 20, 1876.[25] *Punch* addressed him through the persona of John Bull (the national personification of England), man to man, while also acknowledging his newly acquired title:

> British Interests? Beaconsfield, my friend,
> There's your chart, your compass. Can you steer?
> Chilly reticence 'tis time to end,
> Storm may reach e'en your "serener sphere."
> This "commanding sentiment" claims. Are you
> Apt to heed that Sentiment's commands?
> If so, say so. If not, say so, too,
> And—the tiller goes to other hands.[26]

Fun, on the other hand, subjected Disraeli to a stream of antisemitic invective before turning away from him and calling directly upon the English public to act:

> Oh, ancient man of Eastern race
> Avow'd the slave of despots' rule,
> You've brought on England dire disgrace
> And made her but a Turkish tool!
> Say, what to you is England's woe—
> To you the people's passion-flood?
> It brings you but revenge to know
> The plains are red with Christian blood!
> Oh, English men, awake, arise!
> No longer swayed by Judas' jest,
> The cry of Vengeance! rends the skies,
> And Heaven itself the cause has blest.
> Remember England's stedfast [*sic*] way
> Ere cowards robbed her of her fame –
> That he who bars our road to-day
>
> Is English only in his name.
> Rise up, then, England! drive from Christian lands
> These hated monsters with the bloody hands![27]

24. See *The Cat's Paw*, *Judy* (Sept 6, 1876) and *The Situation*, *Judy* (Oct 25, 1876).

25. The speech was reported in *The Times* the following day: "Lord Beaconsfield at Aylesbury," *The Times* (Sep 21, 1876), 6. Both sets of verses used quotations from the speech as epigraphs.

26. "British Interests – And Principles," *Punch* (Sept 30, 1876), 135. The Big Cut of that week shows Disraeli as the manager of a theatre having to come on stage and explain himself while Mr. Punch offers advice.

27. "Natural Sympathy," *Fun* (Sept 27, 1876), 128.

Figure 4. William Boucher, *Not To Be Caught*, in *Judy*, August 9, 1876. Private collection. Photo: Dominic Williams.

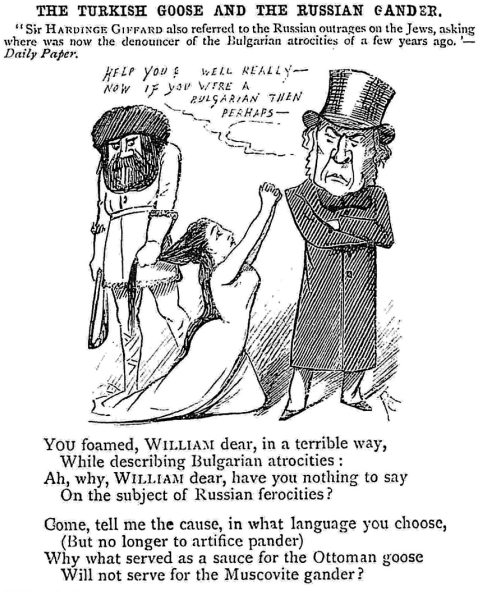

Figure 5 (left). John Gilbert, *Bravo, John!*, in *Fun*, September 6, 1876. Private collection. Photo: Dominic Williams.

Figure 6 (right). *The Turkish Goose and the Russian Gander*, in *Judy*, February 8, 1882. Private collection. Photo: Dominic Williams.

Punch takes up a much more hesitant position, as its stop-start, Browningesque verse itself tries to convey, compared with *Fun*'s rousing, tub-thumping call to arms rounded off with a heroic couplet. *Punch*'s use of the voice of John Bull also enables a more personal, and therefore less aggressive, tone, at the same time as making it more general: this is a "true Englishman" talking, instead of the "*Fun* Office" (the author of the verses), or even a workman at the head of a mob. Nothing more is represented than a conversation: there is never any sense that Mr. Punch or John Bull will do anything to Disraeli. *Fun* deploys the full array of antisemitic accusations against Disraeli: hatred of Christians, sympathy with the Orient, love of despotism, betrayal, cowardice. *Punch* does draw upon certain "semitic" tropes in its uncertainty as to how much Disraeli could be trusted, but in far more circumspect terms.

Equally, rules of taste allowed Tenniel less scope than *Fun*'s John Gilbert or *Judy*'s William Boucher in representing the atrocities themselves. *Punch* veiled its heads on stakes in smoke, gave no features to the baby held up and about to be dashed to the ground, and discreetly included a female figure being carried off by a Turk. In *Fun*'s *Bravo, John!*, a gigantic John Bull is about to place a conical fire extinguisher over a tiny Turk who is swinging a severed woman's head by the hair. | **fig. 5** | *Judy*'s graffito of atrocities in *Not to Be Caught* or the decomposing heads in *The Greenwich Showman* are far more grotesque than anything in Tenniel's drawings. Whereas *Fun* and *Judy* concentrated their output on scoring political points (often rather cheaply), *Punch* tried to stand somewhat further back from the fray. After its torrent of excoriation against Disraeli in the autumn of 1876, *Fun* was grudging at best in its acknowledgement of his achievements at the Congress of Berlin in 1878.[28] *Judy* had Gladstone as a lurid showman talking of atrocities, and then a Greek goddess (Hera, in a reworking of the judgment of Paris, with the Marquis of Granville as Athena, and Peace

28. *Berlin Treaty with Anglo-Turkish Stuffing*, *Fun* (July 24, 1878), 35; *The Dashing Cabby*, *Fun* (July 31, 1878), 45.

as Aphrodite) sulking at Disraeli's diplomatic triumph.[29] *Punch* was on the face of it less consistent: denouncing Disraeli in 1876, then praising him two years later. But this change was presented as standing for a more significant continuity: it was not *Punch* that had changed its mind or its values, but Disraeli who had redeemed himself. Indeed, the cartoons and verses had explicitly given him room to do so. *Punch*'s position on Disraeli and the Eastern Question was not simply a reflection of prevailing attitudes about Jews and the Orient, therefore. Its attempts to maintain an ostensibly politically neutral position and its rules of taste meant that the kinds of antisemitic imagery drawn upon by *Fun* were not appropriate. This is not to say that antisemitic images did not play a part in *Punch*'s repertoire, but they played a different part: consonant with a sense of unease at Disraeli rather than of absolute denunciation, which was the product of *Punch*'s political and social self-positioning as much as of any underlying racial beliefs or practices on the part of its contributors.

Russia 1881–1882

The significance of the April Uprising, the Bulgarian agitation, and the Russo-Turkish war on both domestic and international politics (cartoons on the subject appeared week after week in all three magazines in late 1876, through 1877, and into 1878) clearly set the standard by which other atrocities in "the East" were seen. They also had a major effect on the way that the attacks on Jews in the Russian Empire following the assassination of Alexander II in March 1881 were framed. As David Feldman argues, the "Bulgarian atrocities and agitation provided the point of reference through which events in Russia and the British reaction to them were perceived and interpreted."[30] In fact, the comparison between the pogroms in the Russian Empire and the Bulgarian atrocities was commonplace.[31] But there were difficulties in making it. Although both Russia and Ottoman Turkey stood for despotism (even Eastern Despotism) according to *Punch*, opposition to one often involved support for the other in party and international politics. One of the after-effects of the Bulgarian agitation and Midlothian campaign was the formation of a group of Gladstonian Russophiles who considered Turkish despotism so inimical and unreformable that they began to see a positive role for Russia in South-Eastern Europe.

In 1882, that gave *Judy* a real opportunity: Gladstone was prime minister and could be accused of inconsistency. A Big Cut of February 1, 1882, *A Touch of Fellow-Feeling*,[32] had Gladstone callously equating the plight of the "persecuted Jew" with his own fate at the hands of the electorate, and calculating that agitation against "atrocities" might be a route back into power. A week later, a smaller, dropped-in cartoon, *The Turkish Goose and the Russian Gander*, showed him refusing to respond to the pleas of a woman being dragged off by a Russian peasant. | **fig. 6** |

You foamed, WILLIAM dear, in a terrible way,
While describing Bulgarian atrocities
Ah, why, WILLIAM dear, have you nothing to say
On the subject of Russian ferocities?

Fun, virtually avoiding the matter altogether, gave over one Big Cut to the Jewish situation and only included three churchmen in it, standing "arm in arm" against antisemitic persecutions.

29. *The Greenwich Showman; Or, A New Way of Making Political Capital*, *Judy* (Sept 13, 1876) 218; *There Is No Pleasing Some People*, *Judy* (July 31, 1878), 42.

30. Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, 132. According to Abigail Green the "continuous theme" of public support for international Jewish relief from the 1840s began to weaken "[o]nly with the political sea change that accompanied the Bulgarian atrocities agitation in 1876." Abigail Green, "The British Empire and the Jews: An Imperialism of Human Rights?," *Past and Present* 199 (2008), 190–91.

31. Some examples of this comparison being made in the fortnight between *The Times*'s report and the appearance of the Tenniel cartoon: Editorial, *Liverpool Mercury* (Jan 10, 1882), 5; Editorial, *The Times* (Jan 11, 1882), 9; Editorial, *The Leeds Mercury* (Jan 12, 1882), 4; D.F.S., Letter to the Editor, *The Pall Mall Gazette* (Jan 12, 1882), 2; "Topics of the Week," *The Graphic* (Jan 14, 1882), 26; E.H. Bayley, Letter to the Editor, "The Outrages on the Jews in Russia," *Daily News* (Jan 19, 1882), 6; Editorial, *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* (Jan 19, 1882), 6; Editorial, *The Morning Post* (Jan 20, 1882), 4; Editorial, *The Blackburn Standard, Darwen Observer, and North-East Lancashire Advertiser* (Jan 21, 1882), 4–5; Editorial, *The Belfast News-Letter* (Jan 21, 1882), 5.

32. *Judy*, February 1, 1882, 54–55.

With *Punch*, the political situation was harder to negotiate: better disposed toward Gladstone, and not really willing to denounce him on this issue, the magazine had to find other ways of expressing its disapproval.[33] *Punch*'s first reaction to the pogroms appeared on January 28, 1882, as part of a wave of interest sparked by reports published in *The Times* on January 11 and 13. It was given the title *A Cry from Christendom*, and was accompanied by verses that strongly condemned the atrocities. | **fig. 7** | The female figure, who can probably be identified as Christendom—a variant on the figure of Europa with the addition of a crusader's cross on her banner –, addresses a plea to an unmoved figure, who turns his back on the turmoil.[34] The scene closely adheres to the reports from Russia that *The Times* had published two and a half weeks earlier: "during these scenes of carnage and pillage the local authorities have stood by with folded arms, doing little to prevent their occurrence and recurrence."[35] The "cry" itself may also refer to *The Times*'s editorial plea for the Tsar to act.[36]

This cartoon is a variation of *Neutrality under Difficulties*, with the specific political difficulties of this situation determining many of the changes. While all the elements of the previous cartoon were there, they were rendered in much vaguer terms. In the place of the British figures in the foreground are two that are much less easily identifiable: Europe/Christendom and a Russian authority figure (perhaps even calling to mind the Tsar). Clearly the *Punch* table wanted some kind of connection to be made between Russia and Turkey, despite all the difficulties of denouncing both equally. The cross on Christendom's banner and the castle on her head also call to mind the crusades, which in the context of Bulgaria and the Ottomans would have made considerably more sense: fighting for Christians and against a Muslim power.[37] Against Russia, it is a far less coherent position: Russia was Christian, and crusaders had also carried out pogroms (to which the verses themselves refer by talking of shouts of "Hep! Hep!," the supposed cry of the crusaders while massacring Jews). Christendom is therefore left in a position of not being able to do anything other than plead on the Jews' behalf. This may indicate the relative ease of threatening Turkey as compared to Russia. But it also reflects, and perhaps in part creates, a situation in which the place of Jews in the Christian order of states is very difficult to define.

Compared to the earlier image, the two figures are less disjoined from the background: they are much closer to the action taking place behind them and are encompassed by the shading around it. The cross on Christendom's banner nearly blends into this hatching. The feet of the Jewish body are very close to the female figure, and actually look larger than her own feet. At the same time, the bodies that are close behind them are much harder to read. At least, the Jewish ones are: there is a marked difference between the head of the *muzhik* and the Jewish head partly obscured by, partly "cupped" in, Christendom's hand. The lines defining the victim's head all too easily dissolve into a set of barely readable marks: the outlines of nose and eye are far more crudely realized than for the *muzhik*, and his hair and skullcap are also hard to distinguish. Christendom's pointing to him obscures him as much as reveals him. The shading mixes her hand slightly with the background. The back of the head on the right is also difficult to read: the only facial feature seems to be a strangely prominent nose. It is difficult to attach either head to a specific body. Physical

33. Michael J. Hughes, "British Opinion and Russian Terrorism in the 1880s," *European History Quarterly* 41, 2 (2011), 264.

34. Tenniel's depiction of Europa varied, but he had drawn her in this form in *Europa Carried Off by the (John) Bull* (*Punch* [Dec 19, 1863], 249), and in the *Punch* Almanack for 1877: *PVNCHIVS IMPERATOR A. D. MDCCCLXXVII* (Dec 14, 1876). John Gilbert was to depict her in a very similar way in *Feeling the Pulse of Europe*, in *Fun* (Nov 29, 1876), 221.

35. "The Persecution of the Jews in Russia," *The Times* (Jan 11, 1882), 4.

36. Editorial, *The Times* (Jan 11, 1882), 9.

37. Compare the use of crusader imagery for the Armenian situation in the 1890s, discussed below.

38. Although I am arguing that this is the situation with Jewish figures in particular, this incoherence may actually be a feature of racializing bodies in general. As Kay Dian Kriz argued, "Forging this racial category [of black Africans/West Indians] yielded not a static, closed bodily type, but rather a fluid and fragmented set of bodily attributes; these were held together less by skin and bones than by ideologically charged assumptions concerning the bestial character of the black African and the abjection of the West Indian slave." Kay Dian Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies, 1700–1840* (New Haven and London, 2008), 71.

39. *Punch* (Aug 9, 1890), 66.

40. Mark Levene, "The Balfour Declaration: A Case of Mistaken Identity," *The English Historical Review* 107, 422 (Jan 1992): 54–77; Tom Segev, *One Palestine Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate* (London, 2000). See also James Renton, *The Zionist Masquerade: The Birth of the Anglo-Zionist Alliance* (Basingstoke, 2007).

attributes become a set of racial features which seem to be partly detachable from a body, or at least, not fully integratable with one. In the case of Bulgaria, although there were distinct similarities in the depiction of the atrocity (the feet in the 1876 cartoon reappear slightly more prominently in the 1881 one, for example), there still are more bodies, or body parts, visible: babies held up, heads on bayonets. The Jewish bodies seem nigh-on unimaginable: defined by the violence against them and racialized in a barely coherent way.[38]

Punch and Tenniel's return to the subject of the Russian persecutions of Jews in 1890 did provide some coherence to Jewish bodies. But these bodies' appearance in another sequence, along with all its verbal contexts, created other kinds of complications. In *From the Nile to the Neva*, a Jewish victim is represented as a bearded, feeble man lying at the feet of the Tsar wielding a sword marked "PERSECUTION," but the accompanying verses hint at the possibility of a hidden Jewish strength. | **fig. 8** |

> True the Hebrew who bowed to the lash of the pyramid builders, bows still,
> For a time, to the knout of the Tsar, to the Muscovite's merciless will;
> But four millions of Israel's children are not to be crushed in the path
> Of a Tsar, like the Hittites of old, when tyrant Rameses flamed in his wrath
> Alone through the merciless hosts. No the days of the Titans of Wrong
> Are past, for the Truth is a torch, and the voice of the peoples is strong.
> ... Lo the Pyramids pierce the grey gloom
> Of a desert that is but a waste, by a river that is but a tomb
> Yet the Hebrew abides and is strong...[39]

It is possible to overread these lines, but they do hint at Jews having some kind of secret power, a belief that, Mark Levene and Tom Segev have argued, led to the Balfour Declaration of 1917 in the hope that a putatively powerful world Jewry would back Britain and her wartime allies in return.[40] Indeed,

A CRY FROM CHRISTENDOM.

Figure 7 (left). John Tenniel, *A Cry from Christendom*, in *Punch*, January 28, 1882. Private collection. Photo: Dominic Williams.

FROM THE NILE TO THE NEVA.

SHADE OF PHARAOH. "FORBEAR! THAT WEAPON ALWAYS WOUNDS THE HAND THAT WIELDS IT."

Figure 8 (right). John Tenniel, *From the Nile to the Neva*, in *Punch*, August 9, 1890. Private collection. Photo: Dominic Williams.

tracing the cartoon back to *A Cry from Christendom* and its reworking of representations of the Bulgarian atrocities would have allowed *Punch* readers to make links between the powerless Jew in the picture and the power shown by Disraeli's successful outwitting of Russia in 1878.

Almost exactly the same figure appears in two cartoons from the following year, in which the Tsar attempts to get money from a somewhat more dignified Jewish figure, representing western Jewish money | **fig. 9** | and trembles in fear before a decrepit Jew, representing eastern Jewish powerlessness. | **fig. 10** | Although the latter is more bent and has more blemishes on his head, and somewhat straggler hair and beard, than the former, there is very little to distinguish the two—down to their having a similar mark on their noses. It would be a little unfair to say that the import of these cartoons is that, while seeming weak, the Jews in Russia are actually rich, even though it does come close to making this claim. Tenniel is, rather, dealing with a problem of the representability of Jewishness. The only way he can think of showing that a banker and a victim of pogroms have any kind of kinship is by imposing it on them physically.

This Jewish type is typically, as Sander Gilman has argued, figured as male. The result in this series of cartoons might seem paradoxical: Jewish existence is presented as purely physical. The female figures within these allegorical cartoons are generally abstractions such as *Iustitia* or *Veritas*, or figures representing the spirit of a nation, such as Britannia, Columbia, or Marianne. Even new nations such as Macedonia and peoples without their own territories such as Armenia or Ireland could be so portrayed, the latter in its true, loyal form of Hibernia. This abstract form meant that these peoples could be represented in multiple ways: Britain could be portrayed as John Bull or the British

Figure 9 (left). John Tenniel, *"Blood" versus "Bullion,"* in *Punch*, May 16, 1891. Private collection. Photo: Dominic Williams.

Figure 10 (right). John Tenniel, *The Alarmed Autocrat*, in *Punch*, June 13, 1891. Private collection. Photo: Dominic Williams.

"BLOOD" *VERSUS* "BULLION."

"WELL THEN, IT NOW APPEARS YOU NEED MY HELP:
YOU THAT DID VOID YOUR RHEUM UPON MY BEARD,
AND FOOT ME, AS YOU SPURN A STRANGER CUR
OVER YOUR THRESHOLD; *MONEYS IS YOUR SUIT.*
WHAT SHOULD I SAY TO YOU?"—*Merchant of Venice*, Act I., Sc. 3.

THE ALARMED AUTOCRAT!

CZAR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS. "TAKE HIM AWAY!—TAKE HIM AWAY! HE *FRIGHTENS ME!*"

lion in addition to being Britannia, just as the US could take the form of an eagle or Uncle Sam (or, in an earlier version, Cousin Jonathan) as well as Columbia.[41] Jewish existence, however, was predicated simply on the physical. Of course, the Jews did not form a nation, or certainly not a nation-state, at this time (certainly not in the mind of *Punch* contributors), but that does not explain the exception here. Armenia was also not a state, but was nevertheless represented by Miss Armenia.[42]

This may seem like a contradiction of what this essay has been arguing: that Jewish bodies are *not* present in the representation of pogroms. But the one position (the bodiless Jew) and the other (Jew as nothing but body) are actually two aspects of the same problem. If the only way to represent the Jewish people allegorically is to represent a Jewish body, then that body itself becomes an allegory, becomes not identical with itself, and in its very physicality fails to be fully present, to embody its Jewishness satisfactorily.

And in fact, the model for this figure is not a real body but rather a character: Shylock. Again and again, *Punch* turned to *The Merchant of Venice* as a means for representing the situation of the Jews in the Pale of Settlement. *A Cry from Christendom* refers to "a Portia who pleads for the Jew, since the wronged and the hated is he."[43] *The Russian Wolf and the Hebrew Lamb* (Dec 20, 1890) is accompanied by verse parodying Olga Novikoff (a Tsarist apologist) as "A Portia A La Russe."[44] *Blood versus Bullion* quotes Shylock directly and sympathetically.[45] Shakespeare far outweighs the Bible as a source on Jewish matters (indeed, Spielmann claimed—although this might be disputed—that *From the Nile to the Neva* was one of only two biblically inspired cartoons ever in *Punch*'s history[46]). The effect of this set of references is curious: foreign Jews are domesticated, turned into examples of Englishness as much as of aliens. Jewishness functions as something that is both far from, and close to, Englishness. It becomes hard to place Jews in the regular order of races, places, and times—the framework that *Punch* makes for itself and out of itself. Jews can only be figured through their bodies, which both removes them from the more abstract realm of allegory, reducing them simply to the physical, and also effectively turns the Jewish body itself into an allegory.[47]

The troubled place of Jewish bodies in *A Cry from Christendom* arises, therefore, from the interaction and interference of a number of codes through which *Punch* worked: its political self-positioning, its need to create continuities that spanned from one issue to another, and one year to another, and its own sense of Englishness.

Armenia 1894–1896

The final example of this same scene, *A Strong Appeal!*, was published in September 1896, in response to Gladstone's call for action against attacks on Armenians in the Ottoman Empire.[48] |**fig. 11**| Between 1894 and 1896, a series of uprisings, protests, and civil unrest involving Armenians in different parts of the Ottoman Empire were met by attacks and massacres by soldiers and civilians.[49] The atrocities were denounced repeatedly by Gladstone in 1895–96.[50] *Punch*'s issue of September 26, 1896 gave a good deal of space to the Armenian situation, including a *Design for Proposed Statue to be Erected in Constantinople*. |**fig. 12**| The artist, E.T. Read, portrayed Sultan Abdul Hamid sitting on

41. Anne Helmreich, "Domesticating Britannia: Representations of the Nation in *Punch*: 1870–1880," *Art, Nation and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-Figures*, ed. Tricia Cusack and Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch (Aldershot, 2003), 15–28.

42. Douglas, *Great Nations*, 114.

43. *A Cry from Christendom*, *Punch* (Jan 28, 1882), 42.

44. *The Russian Wolf and the Hebrew Lamb*, *Punch* (Dec 20, 1890), 289. Linda Rozmovits, "The Wolf and the Lamb: An Image and its Afterlife," *Art History* 18,1 (March 1995): 97–111.

45. *Blood versus Bullion*, *Punch* (May 16, 1891), 235.

46. M. H. Spielmann, *The History of "Punch"* (London, 1895), 103n. Some of Tenniel's cartoons of Disraeli might also be said to have biblical references, e.g. to the servitude of the Israelites in Egypt. Thanks to Eitan Bar-Yosef for pointing this out to me.

47. This inability to place the figure of the Jew has been emphasized by Bryan Cheyette and by Zygmunt Bauman. Cheyette, *Constructions of "the Jew" in English Literature and Society* (Cambridge, 1993); Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence* (Cambridge, 1993).

48. *Punch*'s position did not replicate the one taken by *The Times*—which was critical of Armenian revolutionaries and had some hopes for the Sultan—as much as on previous occasions. Editorial, *The Times* (Aug 31, 1896), 7.

49. Vahakn N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus*, sixth revised ed. (New York, 2008), 113–76; Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians* (Oxford, 2005), 51–57.

50. Gladstone's letter to Mr. F.W. Crossley was published in "The Armenian Question," *The Times* (Sep 14, 1896), 5. See also Shannon, Gladstone, 582–83, and "Mr. Gladstone on the Armenian Question," *The Times* (Sep 25, 1896), 5.

a throne clutching a dagger and revolver, an expression of senile insanity on his face. His bare feet rest on a pair of skulls, under which lies a cross. Standing behind him are the figures of "Massacre to Order" (a saluting skeleton in a soldier's uniform complete with fez) and "Homicidal Mania" (what appears to be a gurning caveman, wearing a ragged but skin-tight tunic and carrying a torch and knife). Male and female figures are slumped against the right and left sides of the throne. On the pedestal is the inscription, "Abdul Hamid Assassin, Under the Kind Patronage of the Christian Powers." Gladstone's denunciation of the Sultan as the "Great Assassin" seems to be part of the inspiration.

The issue also included a piece of verse based on Tennyson's "Hands All Round," making reference to both the visit of the newly crowned Tsar Nicholas II to Britain and the atrocities in Anatolia. The reworking of a verse that was written against Napoleon III during the anti-invasion hysteria of 1852 was actually a plea for peace and for working together with the Tsar, but it could not avoid lumping together Muscovites and Turks as oppressors.

"First pledge our Queen!" And so we do!
Her sixty years of splendid reign,
By compact with earth's craven crew
Of despots, we care not to stain.
Even the dumb-dog policy
Of acquiescent silence irks.
Mute conscience cannot bend the knee
To oppressors, Muscovites or Turks.
Hearts all round
Burn at the tale of hearths in hearts' blood drowned
To sate the throned Assassin's murderous hate,
Whilst like poor muzzled curs the Powers crouch round.[51]

Figure 11 (left). John Tenniel, *A Strong Appeal!*, in *Punch*, September 26, 1896. Private collection. Photo: Dominic Williams.

Figure 12 (right). E.T. Read, *Design for Proposed Statue to be Erected in Constantinople*, in *Punch*, September 26, 1896. Private collection. Photo: Dominic Williams.

The use of this format was now becoming a tradition, and there are clear links between *A Strong Appeal!* and *Neutrality under Difficulties* of 1876. Both feature a British politician next to Britannia, in front of "Turks" (Circassians in 1876, Kurds in 1896) in very similar headgear and costume (although more militarized in 1876 than 1896). But it is worth emphasizing how strange it is to apply the arrangement to this particular situation, at least as *Punch* saw it. Showing two figures in front of a background of atrocities and turmoil had previously been used to denounce inaction, and the format did not comfortably adapt to portraying action. The relationship between the two figures had been that the allegorical one called upon the real one to look up or turn round and see what was happening: in the earlier drawings, Britannia or Christendom gestured to the left into the tumult while the politician ostentatiously ignored her. In 1896, Gladstone sees well enough, but he is still doing nothing other than stand in front of the spectacle. His right arm joins awkwardly with his shoulder, and his grip upon his sword is entirely implausible. Gladstone's gesture with the sword makes it a symbol (a crusader's cross) rather than a means by which Armenians can be defended. Indeed, as it cuts across the background scene, it is present simply as an absence, white space erasing both oppressor and oppressed. Combined with the slightly ridiculous look of Gladstone (a man not far off his eighty-seventh birthday) in a suit of armour, the cartoon points to the difficulty of representing convincing action—or capacity to act—and certainly fits well with the political situation in the mid-1890s, in which Salisbury, the Prime Minister, was unable to find allies either in his cabinet or among the Great Powers to make even a threatening gesture against the Porte.

The purpose of using the same schema as in 1876 was not so much to identify a continuity of oppression by the Ottomans (although it of course fitted an ongoing sense of the Ottoman Empire as a despotic power) as to celebrate Gladstone's consistent morality. In a double-page spread of 1895 Tenniel had shown him and the Liberal politician George Campbell, Duke of Argyll, dressed up as the "Old Crusaders" (with the subtitle "Bulgaria 1876. Armenia 1895."). Earlier that same year, the Big Cut *Who Said—"Atrocities"?* was accompanied by verses with the same title and the subtitle, "There's Life in the Old Dog Yet."[52] Gladstone's armour, then, is less an exhortation to military action than a symbol of his moral rectitude. It puts into visual shorthand the relationship between moral passion and physical presence which came together in the archetypally political act of public speaking.[53] Yet while it strengthens and emphasizes that physical presence, it also conceals it.[54]

The atrocity, therefore, is placed in the background in order to remain background, without interaction with the figures in the fore. The awkwardness of both Gladstone's and Disraeli's poses speaks not simply of the speed at which Tenniel had to work, nor of his tendency not to use models. What it indicates is that even when being asked to act, neither politician seems to be physically able to enter (or to act upon) the space that is behind him. It is essentially a spectacle, onto which some work of symbolization might be overlaid (e.g. Gladstone's cruciform sword), rather than an actual sphere for action.

It would be harsh to say that *Punch* had no interest in the situation with the Armenians, but in the end the links with previous cartoons, the contrast of

51. *Punch* (Sept 26, 1896) p. 148. This is a rather self-conscious verse: the last line of this stanza (while sticking to iambic pentameter) echoes with Pope's "needless Alexandrine."

52. *Who Said—"Atrocities"?*, *Punch* (Jan 12, 1895), 18.

53. Kit Good, "'Quit Ye Like Men': Platform Manliness and Electioneering, 1895–1939," *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain*, ed. Matthew McCormack (London, 2007), 143–64; Ruth Clayton Windscheffel, "Politics, Portraiture and Power: Reassessing the Public Image of William Ewart Gladstone," *Public Men*, ed. McCormack, 93–122; Joseph S. Meisel, *Public Speech and the Culture of Public Life in the Age of Gladstone* (New York, 2001), 241–45.

54. Joseph Kestner has noted the frequency of heroes in armour in Victorian art. Joseph A. Kestner, *Masculinities in Victorian Painting* (Aldershot, 1995), 92–140.

Gladstone with Disraeli, and the lack of a clear logic in this image show that it was more interested in showing its own continuities and in appreciating Gladstone's moral fervour than in making any significant political point.

The Contingencies of Representation

As the foregoing analysis indicates, it is not easy to read Tenniel's Big Cuts as representative of *Punch*'s attitudes to Jews and "the East," let alone Victorian ones. It would be more appropriate to identify *Punch*'s own position and the image it projected as its chief concerns. *Punch* had a clear need to stress its own traditions and continuities, not least of them Tenniel himself, its lead cartoonist for almost forty years.[55] By the time of the first cartoon under consideration here, he had been drawing *Punch*'s Big Cuts for twelve years, and he continued to do so for another five years after 1896. Using the same visual vocabulary was not a matter of laziness or hoping that readers would not notice: it was *there to be noticed*, to show that *Punch* maintained the same standpoint over decades, and that while other things might change, Mr. Punch's reasonableness, lack of partisanship, and common sense could continue to speak to events over a long period of time in the same way.

This would fit with the way Jonathan Parry has characterized Liberal attitudes to foreign policy. These, he argues, were not so much based on preconceptions of various national or racial groups, which were actually very malleable (fearing France in 1852, allying with her against Russia in 1853),[56] as on the image of Englishness, against which other groups could occupy the opposite pole. Thus, with English freedom contrasted against foreign oppression, who was oppressing whom was of no particular importance. At the very most, then, the English would identify Russia and the Ottomans as the others against whom Englishness (even such questionably English figures as Disraeli) was defined, with Bulgarians, Russian Jews, and Armenians having little significance in their own right.[57]

However, although it is plausible to see a concern with national self-image as *Punch*'s priority, there are other contingent effects in the cartoons that need to be acknowledged. Note, for example, the absenting of the bodies of female victims. Compared with *Fun*'s display of severed women's heads or *Judy*'s placing of caricatured violence against women in the foreground, the respectable standpoint that *Punch* adopted meant that it had to avoid such imagery. One woman appears in *Neutrality under Difficulties*, being carried by a "Turk," but she is not subject to any explicit or graphic violence, unlike the men: the heads on stakes all seem to have beards. Apart from this woman (and the baby being held up by another "Turk") all the victims are men in Tenniel's representations both of the pogroms and of the Armenian massacres. And yet it was the violence against women on which press reports often focused.[58] For *Punch*, the most appropriate role for a female figure was as not an actual victim, but an allegorical defender of victims: Britannia, or Christendom.

A question that seems to be associated with taste, therefore, has a direct effect on the way in which a national identity can be represented, and so conceptualized: present physically in male form, and only abstractly in female. It is not, therefore, so much a case of deep conceptions of identities or

55. Laurel Brake, *Print in Transition: Studies in Media and Book History* (Basingstoke, 2001), 30–31.

56. Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830–1886* (Cambridge, 2006), 14–15, 20. See also Anthony Cross, "The Crimean War and the Caricature War," *Slavonic and East European Review* 84, 3 (July 2006): 461–80.

57. Aslı Çırakman, *From the "Terror of the World" to the "Sick Man of Europe": European Images of Ottoman Empire and Society from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth* (New York, 2002).

58. John Doyle Klier, *Russians, Jews, and the Pogroms of 1881–1882* (Cambridge, 2011), 236. See: "The Persecution of The Jews In Russia," Part I, *The Times* (Jan 11, 1882), 4; Part II, *The Times* (Jan 13 1882), 4. Compare: "The Moslem Atrocities in Bulgaria," *Daily News* (July 8, 1876), 5–6. "The War," *The Times* (July 8, 1876), 12.

underlying structures of discourse being filtered through these modes of representation, as the modes themselves creating the identities.

Equally, the distinction in Tenniel's Big Cuts between background and foreground was in large part the product of their vertical format; *Punch* kept its Big Cut for the most part to a single page. Figures could be placed in front of a background, but it was much more difficult to have them interact with it or across it than it was in the shallower diagonals of the double-page spreads habitually used by *Judy*. This format enabled very different kinds of cartoons, and *Judy*'s chief cartoonist William Boucher often included much more information, more figures in the foreground, and more complex interplay between foreground and background. Keeping atrocities in the background was therefore a product not only of an ideological position, but also a pictorial constraint.

Finally, there was the difficulty of rendering nationalities legible in pictorial form. While it was relatively straightforward to depict figures that were recognizably English or French, for example, or even Russian or Turkish (an achievement made possible in particular by the fact that they frequently appeared in the news), it was much more difficult to represent more obscure nationalities and groups, such as Armenians and Bulgarians. Christendom in 1881 is clearly a Hellenic figure and therefore has a kind of racial profile, but this is not the kind of racial attribute that can be given to Armenians or Bulgarians: they seem to be Easterners. In *A Strong Appeal!*, oppressor and oppressed are far harder to distinguish. Aside from the fez, the costumes of both seem to be the same. Even in the case of Jews, for whom a complex iconography had been established in Christian art, Tenniel had problems with his visual vocabulary. Jewish figures were less easily abstracted into a national allegory, and appeared on either side of the divide: in the form of Disraeli in 1876 and as the victims of pogroms in 1881. In that sense, Tenniel seemed to find Jewish figures the hardest to represent.

Whether Jewish difference is the cause or effect of the representational strategies deployed in this series is hard to tell. It may be as much the product of contingencies, both of history and of the cartoons' production process, as of any underlying position. Nevertheless, seeing these figures as part of the same series makes the difference readable, and therefore real. ¶

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