"WIFE, MOTHER, AND QUEEN...": IMAGES OF QUEEN VICTORIA IN THE ILLUSTRATED PRESS, 1841-1861

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Abstract

Is the "body politic" of the British sovereign subverted, enhanced or affected in any way by the fact that its corresponding "body natural" is female? Hundreds of images of Queen Victoria appeared in two popular British periodicals over two decades that roughly coincided with the period of marriage and motherhood preceding the death of Prince Albert and the Queen's subsequent withdrawal from the public eye. A comparison of royal imagery from two middle-class weeklies shows the extent to which the expanding economic power of the middle classes dictated the contents of their media, and how the "truths" constructed there were rarely fixed. Queen Victoria's femininity both restricted and extended the range of possible representations of royal power within the context of a constantly shifting cultural discourse on "woman," a discourse that provided the material and psychic contours of a middle-class ideology founded on definitions of "family".

Taxonomies of the imagery in the *Illustrated London News* (*ILN*) and *Punch* show how royal imagery changed over the years to reflect both changes in the fortunes of the Royal Family and in the wider social and historical context. Queen Victoria's femininity both restricted and extended the range of possible representations of royal power within the context of a constantly shifting cultural discourse on "woman." The icon of maternity worshipped in the *ILN* could be lambasted by *Punch* on the very same grounds of sovereignty and femininity, but a deeper analysis illuminates gender as the conceptual ground shared by these otherwise ideologically antithetical weeklies. Images of the Queen during the early years of her reign illustrate the centrality of gender to Victorian middle-class cultural hegemony, as well as the representational strategies that served to re-invigorate popular acceptance of an ailing British monarchy.

Dedication

To the memory of dear Franck, who shared his love of learning with me.

Acknowledgments

Many people helped to bring this thesis to fruition. My supervisor, Mary Lynn Stewart, has been an inspiration and a mentor throughout my undergraduate and graduate studies, and I am grateful for such a skilled and generous introduction to the life of the mind. I owe much to Andrea Lebowitz for her close and careful readings of earlier versions of the thesis, and to Veronica Strong-Boag, Kathryn McPherson and Karlene Faith, all wonderful undergraduate teachers who urged me to continue on to do graduate work. For giving me the material and psychic space to think of myself as a scholar, I wish to thank Cath and John Moody. Jane Dyson and Jacqueline Holler have been intensely supportive colleagues, as have my sister Rachael McKendry and brother Brian Mckendry—our shared university experiences endeared us to one another. Despite the distances between us, my sister Michelle McKendry-Robbers kept careful watch over me, while my parents Lorraine and Jim McKendry lent financial support and endless encouragement to see me through this endeavour. Throughout the process, Bill Scherk took the time to ask after my progress and to reassure me when my resolve or my powers of expression seemed to disappear. Finally, this thesis would not have been possible without the support of the graduate students, administrative staff and faculty of the Women's Studies Department at Simon Fraser University. Working with these women in a supportive atmosphere of rigorous feminist research has enriched me professionally and personally, and I want here to wish them well in all future pursuits.

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Introduction

Problems and Objectives

Is the "body politic" of the British sovereign subverted, enhanced, or affected in any way by the fact that its corresponding "body natural" is female?[1] This question can only be answered by mounting an historically specific inquiry into cultural expressions of royal power.[2] This thesis undertakes a feminist analysis of images of Queen Victoria which appeared between 1841 and 1861 in two popular British middle-class periodicals—the *Illustrated London News* and *Punch.* Their respective inaugural publication dates of 1841 and 1842 roughly coincide with the period of marriage and motherhood that preceded the death of Prince Albert in 1861 and Victoria's subsequent withdrawal from the public eye. A concentration on images that circulated in the homes of the middle classes shows the extent to which the expanding economic power of this nebulous group would have dictated the contents of periodicals purchased chiefly for pleasure, and that even within a cultural discourse produced by and for this readership, "truths" were rarely fixed. The irreverence of *Punch* often served to destabilize the "reality" presented so confidently and normatively in the more conservative pages of the *ILN.*

At issue are representations of the sexual, procreative body of the young Queen Victoria and the means by which her imagery was constructed and negotiated within the context of contemporary gender codes. This representational emphasis on the Queen's gender played a role in the stability of the English Crown during a time of political and economic upheaval and

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[1] For an extensive analysis of the two bodies of the sovereign, see Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957).

[2] Two analyses of images of Elizabeth I have illuminated a representational reliance on an older tradition of Petrarchan chivalry and shown that signs of chastity and contained female sexuality were central to that monarch's claim to absolute power. See Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989); and, Elizabeth Pomeroy, *Reading the Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1989).

contributed to the transformation of the British monarchy, a pre-industrial locus of sovereign power that came to perform an increasingly symbolic function as it relinquished reluctantly its political voice. Queen Victoria's femininity both restricted and extended the range of possible representations of royal power within the context of a constantly shifting cultural discourse on "woman."

Literature Review and Epistemological Considerations

Beyond the countless descriptive efforts that line the walls of modern libraries and bookstores, few writers have submitted the role of the monarchy in nineteenth-century British history to critical scrutiny.[3] One exception is David Cannadine's study of the concerted attempts by diverse interested parties to establish and promote the monarchy's symbolic function as its real political power continued to dwindle.[4] Cannadine historicizes the institution of the British monarchy, but does not take into account the significance of gender in the Victorian "re-invention of tradition," and thereby underestimates the ideological power of the Throne. Dorothy Thompson addresses this issue directly, arguing that the Queen's gender played a critical role in the stability of the British power structure throughout an era of political and social turbulence.[5] Thompson succeeds in illuminating Victoria's rule by contextualizing its initial success in terms of both a traditional sympathy for female royalty and a backlash

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[3]Biographies of the Queen, her family and members of the Court abound. For some of the most recent see Monica Charlot, *Victoria: The Young Queen* (Oxford and Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1991); Giles St. Aubyn, *Queen Victoria: A Portrait* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1991); Stanley Weintraub, *Victoria: An Intimate Biography* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1967); and, Elizabeth Longford, *Queen Victoria: Born to Succeed* (New York; Evanston: Harper and Row, 1964). These are laudatory efforts, but one notable and entirely more acerbic exception is Lytton Strachey's *Queen Victoria* (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1921). Although it is difficult to be clear on the actual numbers of extant biographical accounts of the Queen, an educated guess would be that well over one hundred have been published since her coronation.

[4] David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition'," in E. Hobsbawm's and T. Ranger's, (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 101-164. For other critical works on the institution of monarchy, see Geoffrey Dennis, *Coronation Commentary* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1937); Ilse Hayden, *Symbol and Privilege: The Ritual Context of British Royalty* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987); and,Tom Nairn, *The Enchanted Glass: Britain and its Monarchy* (London: Radius, 1988);

[5] Thompson, *Queen Victoria*, Introduction.

against the questionable morality of her male predecessors, although she tends to give much shorter shrift to the historical construction of gender. That is, even as she exposes a widespread political rhetoric founded on the sex of the Queen, she most often equates "femaleness" with gender, a slip of language in which gender is assumed to be derivative of natural and trans-historical sex differences.

Thompson's essentialist use of the term "gender" assumes that the experience of femininity could be the same for the nineteenth-century Victoria as it was for the sixteenth-century Elizabeth, and that the monarch's life reflected the experiential reality of all nineteenth-century women. "Gender" in Thompson's text relies on the concept of experiential difference that assumes pre-existing social definitions of masculinity and femininity.[6] This makes it possible for her to position this particular female monarch in a long line of sovereign women, focusing on their sex while skirting the issue of historical specificity. Seen in this light, the meaning of Victoria's reign as a female sovereign remains relatively unproblematic in that Thompson does not consider the impact that Victoria, in her seemingly contradictory roles as woman and sovereign, may have had in the articulation of the "separate spheres" ideology so central to the Victorian middle-class consciousness. Especially in the early years of her reign, images of the Queen served to reinforce both the stereotype of the "angel in the house" as well as attributions of moral power to middle-class women within the private sphere.

Even in 1841, near the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, domestic representations of the monarchy were not new. George III was the first British monarch to combine parade and pageantry with a good show of domestic bliss and responsibility. This generation of royal imagery appeared at a time when new technologies and distribution channels made possible

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[6] Michèle Barret outlines three basic concepts of sexual difference—experiential difference, positional difference in discourse, and sexual difference as psychoanalysis accounts for it—in her essay, "The Concept of Difference," *Feminist Review* 26 (Summer 1987). Lisa Tickner develops these three concepts from a feminist art historical context in her essay, "Feminism, Art History, and Sexual Difference," *Genders* , vol. 3, Nov. 1988, pp. 92-129.

their mass-dissemination.[7] The influence of women readers contributed to the emergence of images of the monarchy as the Royal Family, for, as Linda Colley argues, "a general rise in female politicization in this period also contributed to the remarkable investment in his reign."[8] This supports Thompson's assessment of Britons' disgust for George III's male heirs. Their philandering and lack of thrift marked a throwback to the days of absolute royal power and dereliction of marital duty to their legitimate wives and children. Simon Schama has remarked that "in so far as the survival of monarchy into the twentieth century has depended on its success at embodying a patriotic mystique, it came to be important that the institution should be seen to be the family of families, at once dynastic and domestic, remote and accessible, magic and mundane."[9]

The theme of domesticity recurs frequently in representations of Queen Victoria, a fact which calls into question Thompson's assertion that her success as a monarch depended largely on her association in the minds of her subjects with the great, powerful, and autonomous queens, Elizabeth and Boadicaea.[10] Rather it seems that images of the Queen functioned to disassociate her entirely from those symbols of absolute monarch and warrior queen. The *ILN* would continue to present Elizabeth I as Victoria's historical antithesis over the years. For one thing, the Macauleyan view of English history—a national past that began in 1688 with establishment of a constitutional monarchy—held enormous sway in 1851. Macauley's distaste for the absolute power of the Tudors had been heavily influenced by Walter Scott's portrayal of Queen Elizabeth I in his historical novel *Kenilworth* (1821). In the young Disraeli's political

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[7] See Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 17: "In the late eighteenth century Thomas Bewick's popularization of the process of wood-engraving, together with early nineteenth-century advances in mechanized printing, made illustration increasingly available to a widening public."

[8] Linda Colley, "The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty, and the British Nation," *Past and Present* , vol. 102 (1984), pp. 94-129, p. 125.

[9] Simon Schama, "The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture, 1500-1850," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 24, no. 1 (Summer 1986), pp. 155-183, p. 161.

[10] Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power* (London: Virago, 1990), p. xix.

novel *Sybil* (1845), Queen Victoria's accession to the throne was characterized as "[p]urity and youth break[ing] like morning the intrigue and the violence of the past."[11] To Victorians, Queen Elizabeth's reign would have exemplified these latter qualities. Seen by Victorians as somehow inhuman and certainly morally suspect, her chaste and autonomous body tended to be characterized not as a source of divine power but rather as evidence of her sterility and lack of femininity. The femininity so admired in the young Queen Victoria had little to do with the feminine attributes most prized in the Elizabethan context. The Victorians preferred to read about the more appealing, more human, and more recognizably womanly historical characters of Mary, Queen of Scots and Lady Jane Grey.[12]

The mutability of gender roles demands that we dispense with essentialist notions of femininity and masculinity and look at how these categories of experience are being debated and negotiated within specific historical contexts. While I do not discount the lived experience of gender roles, I follow Lisa Tickner in an interdisciplinary approach to history that posits a post-structuralist conceptualization of gender—that of positional difference:

> Positional difference is opposed to the concept of human subjectivity and the realist epistemology on which experiential difference is based. It assumes that gender is fixed in part by representations; that gender is, among other things, a semiotic category. Cultural practices come to be understood as *producing* femininities — "woman" becomes a relational term in a system of difference — rather than as reflecting biological or social femininities produced elsewhere. Patriarchy ceases to refer to the static, oppressive domination by one sex over another and is analyzed as a web of psycho-social relationships which institute a socially significant difference on the axis of sex which is so deeply located in our very sense of lived, sexual identity that it appears to us as natural and unalterable.[13]

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[11] Quoted in Leonée Ormond, ""The spacious times of great Elizabeth"; The Victorian Vision of the Elizabethans,"*Victorian Poetry* , Vol. 25, no.3-4, 1987, pp. 29-34, p. 29. The information on Macauley is also taken from this article.

[12] ibid., p. 31. When appearing in the guise of historical monarchs at costume balls, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert chose always to assume the identity of royal couples whose marriages were remembered for their resemblance to more plebeian unions founded on heterosexual love rather than the amalgamation of political power. See Schama, p. 183.

[13] Tickner, "Feminism, Art History, and Sexual Difference," p. 106.

If we accept the notion of gender/femininity as one of positional difference—that is, as the ever-shifting construction of a category in a differential relationship to masculinity—then an analysis of images of Queen Victoria becomes critical to an understanding of how, and to what effect, these representations contributed both to the popular support of the monarchy and to changing and unstable definitions of femininity. This study focuses on the extent to which the popular success of her reign depended on an elasticity of gender definitions by which the press framed its reports and representations of monarchy.

The Primary Sources

The mid-nineteenth century witnessed cultural as well as industrial expansion, and a particularly lasting innovation, the mass-printed image, appealed in its ability to reach large numbers of people from diverse backgrounds and geographical locations at regular intervals. With the advent of illustrated newspapers, never before had so many people had access to so many shared images and ideas.[14] Two publications in particular—*Punch* and the *Illustrated London News*—stand out in this era. They were the first illustrated weeklies to be successfully aimed at the middle-classes and they both inspired numerous attempts to emulate that success. Although their audiences overlapped, each took vastly different approaches to monarchy. We shall see, however, that their ideological differences evaporate at the more basic conceptual level of gender. Images from their first twenty-year runs serve as the primary documents of this thesis, insofar as an overview of a relatively lengthy time period better captures how these periodicals represented the Queen to a growing middle-class readership within a changing social context.

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[14]The success of the illustrated periodical was first established with *Penny Magazine* (1832-1845) a publication aimed at the working classes with civilizing practices in mind. As Patricia Anderson has pointed out, this was an affordable form of entertainment that could be enjoyed by the learned and the illiterate. See her recent book, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

Both *Punch* and the *ILN* enjoyed high circulation figures in relation to their competitors and served as models for entrepreneurs attempting to profit by the ever-expanding market for illustrated and humorous magazines.[15] Furthermore, both sought to satisfy and to direct the expectations and desires of a middle class that was willing to spend money in exchange for the pleasure of looking and laughing at the topicalities of the day. Each periodical in its own way occupied the journalistic and political vacuum that lay between the "respectable" press of the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Edinburgh Review,* and the cheaper working-class magazines.[16] According to Richard Altick,

> [t]he proliferation of newspapers in Victorian days bonded readers, now a mass rather than a small select audience, by providing them with a common base of information, a shared vocabulary centering on topicalities that novelists, among other writers, could rely on as they chose their allusions....They responded most readily, spontaneously, and knowledgeably to intimations of the present moment. Indeed, it was exclusive concentration on topics of the day that made *Punch* and the *Illustrated London News*, whose first issues appeared within a year of each other (17 July 1841 and 14 May 1842), the most characteristic periodicals of their time.[17]

Beyond this sharing of a discursive "middle-ground," however, these publications took vastly different approaches. The *ILN* tended to present itself as a gallery of represented visual truth, taking a sober moral tone and refraining from any critique of the early Victorian social relations that privileged the few at the expense of the many. *Punch,* on the other hand, poked fun at upper-class Victorian pomposity and pretentiousness. On the subject of the monarchy, the *ILN* portrayed the Royal Family in ways that featured sovereignty in the foreground while blurring class lines and rendering gender divisions as unproblematic and natural. *Punch* sought to provide a humorous corrective to its more staid competitor, aiming its irreverence at the

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[15]For more specific data on circulation figures and prices, see chapter 2 of this thesis.

[16]For an investigation of the discursive power relations of the working-class illustrated penny press see Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture.*

[17]Richard Altick, *The Presence of the Present: Topics of the Day in the Victorian Novel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1991), p. 21.

eccentricities of an archaic, redundant monarchy in which "natural" gender roles were turned upside down.

These periodicals should not be accepted as mirror reflections of mainstream Victorian consciousness and experience, nor as coercive organs of class propaganda. A much more complex process was in motion, as James Mill noted as early as 1824:

> Periodical literature depends upon *immediate* success. It must, therefore, patronise the opinions which are now in vogue, the opinions of those who are now in power. It will obtain applause, and will receive reward, in proportion as it is successful in finding plausible reasons for the maintenance of the favourite opinions of the powerful classes and plausible reasons for the discountenance and rejection of the opinions which tend to rescue the interests of the greater number from the subjection under which they must lie to the interests of the smaller number.[18]

Mill was not speaking of the radical press or the uncontrolled distribution of broadsheet literature in this early deconstruction of the power relations hidden in the "signs" and language of "respectable" periodical discourse.[19] This is not to say that the voices of "the many" were not heard, for it was in the nature of the medium to provide a mechanism in which "ideological hegemony [was]...sustained by a kind of repressive tolerance, by means of which gaps are left for oppositional voices and oppositional discourse."[20] Mill's critique of the nineteenth-century periodical press is echoed in this century by Antonio Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony.[21] Social and cultural dominance depends on a group's ability to articulate ruling definitions of the "natural" to distinguish itself from other classes, and then to create a basis of consensus among itself and competing groups.

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[18]James Mill, "Periodical Literature," *Westminster Review* , 1824, vol. 1 , p. 209.

[19]It could be argued, however, that even in the diversity of radical discourse the interests of the many (women workers, children, and those unskilled or otherwise marginalized male labourers) were sublimated to those of the powerful few (white working men with their own interests to protect).

[20]Lyn Pyckett, "Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context," *Victorian Periodicals Review*, vol. 22, no. 3, (Fall 1989), p. 106.

[21]Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith [ed. & tr.], (London, 1971; reprinted, 1986).

Punch and the *ILN* should be seen as important sites of nineteenth-century consensus-building, as cultural spaces in which England's dominant social classes negotiated the terms and conditions of reality and "common-sense."[22] They should be seen, and I am following Foucault here, as one aspect of a dispersed apparatus of modern social control that functions not through physical force or conspiracy by elite groups but through the dominant discourse of an age.[23] In the nineteenth-century, the press acted as a mass-conduit for the many competing notions about gender, race, and class that were being worked out elsewhere in the seemingly unrelated discourses of popular fiction, "high" literature, and the pure and human sciences.[24] One effect of each of these cultural forms was to shape the foundations of human identity according to middle-class definitions of gender—these in turn could be used as a measure of the relative deviance of other classes and races of people.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the reduction of taxes on paper and newspaper stamps, the repeal of the window tax (admitting more light for longer in homes not yet supplied with electricity), wider access to literacy by women and the lower classes, access to roads and railroads, and the invention of the telegraph and mechanized printing presses shaped the content and availability of new cultural forms like the illustrated press.[25] For the first time, the middle-class could gain access to a form of entertainment and commentary that had been reserved for the well-born, and the power of the penny dictated that, to a certain extent, the contents of these more expensive periodicals address themselves to a new set of expectations, concerns, and desires. Queen Victoria, as icon of British power and femininity, provided the press with a

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[22]For the ideological role of such cultural artefacts as *Punch* and the *ILN*, see Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse* (Baltimore; London: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp. 3-4.

[23]Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality: Vol. 1* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980) Introduction, *passim.*

[24]For a tightly-argued account of the relationship between nineteenth-century fiction and the emerging human sciences see the introduction in: Anita Levy, *Other Women: The Writing of Class, Race, and Gender, 1832-1898* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

[25]See Richard Altick's *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1957) for an overview of the complex politics and structural aspects of the rise of the publishing industry in nineteenth-century England.

highly charismatic figure in which the interests of the newly-powerful middle-classes were reinforced by the symbolic power of dynastic sovereignty.

These publications will be treated as primary documents suited to readings that link the images and their accompanying texts to the cultural milieu in which they participated and by which they were in turn constructed. Other contemporary sources will be referred to in order to show how these images of the Queen were presented to an audience that would have been conscious of and participated in a widespread debate on the pressing and conflictual question of gender. Representations of Victoria were part of a larger cultural project of the transformation of the monarchy and, in turn, the reading public's perception of royalty. These early illustrated periodicals brought the spectacle of royalty into the homes of British subjects, showing a growing middle-class readership what they could expect from, and how they should respond to, the real and representational presence of their Queen.

Methodologies:

The thesis develops three levels of analysis. In the next chapter I identify and compare taxonomies of the imagery appearing in the *ILN* and *Punch*. An overview of the changes, patterns and anomalies in images of Queen Victoria during this period shows the emphasis on maternity and familial ties that provided both the press and the monarchy with a particularly utile and flexible mode of royal representation. The foremost ideological effect of this imagery was to render "natural" the relegation of women to the home and the private sphere as well as their exclusion from the masculine spaces of the marketplace and the political arena. Images in both the *ILN* and *Punch* helped to ensure the middle-class reading public that even the most powerful woman in the world was a woman first, anxious to balance her dual role as national sovereign and marital subordinate.

The meaning of an image depends on where and to whom it is shown. The third chapter submits these empirical findings to a more critical analysis, in terms of the historical context in

which the images appeared. Roland Barthes' analytic approach is useful, insofar as it differentiates between the literal or "denotative" meaning of an image and its historically-specific or "connotative" meaning.[26] Elements of Freud's study on the mechanisms of "joke-work" have also been appropriated for use in this chapter. His insights into how jokes use the material of the dominant culture for their effect shows how the seemingly disparate ideologies contained in the *ILN* and *Punch* could appeal to similar readerships.[27] *Punch* relied heavily on the tradition of *carnival*, that glorification of the collectivity of humanity and bodily functions that defies the rationalizing and critical practices of the censor.[28] In the England of the 1840s, *Punch* appears to have been welcomed by a sizable middle-class readership as a humorous corrective to the self-consciousness and the artificial hierarchies represented in the serious, realist publications like the *ILN*. One type of royal imagery in *Punch*, however, exuded the same respect for the monarch as did the *ILN*. The final chapter consists of a thematic analysis of their shared representational focus on Queen Victoria's role as both literal and symbolic mother.

Queen Victoria's sovereign body conflated those mutually-exclusive terms—nineteenth-century femininity and power. This thesis uncovers some of the connections between royalty and gender in the representational construction of Queen Victoria and demonstrates how royal imagery changed according to the needs of Britain's dominant classes. Ultimately, the larger project of this study is to dislodge the idea of gender as a stable category of analysis and to hold up the category "sovereignty" to the same historical scrutiny. The point is not so much to tell the truth about Victoria as it is to show how the "truth" about her was manufactured according to the available cultural materials and categories of the day.

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[26]Roland Barthes, *Image/Music/Text*, Stephen Heath [trans.], (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), pp. 13-51.

[27]Freud, Sigmund. *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious*, James Strachey [ed. & tr.] (New York: W.W. Norton, 1960).

[28]In order to epistemologically ground *Punch* within the tradition of *carnival* and the grotesque, I have relied chiefly on the reworking of Mikhail Bahktin's writings in Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, (London; New York: 1986).

Chapter II

Taxonomies of Royal Imagery, 1841-1861

Victoria's coronation in 1837 proved forgettable and altogether disorderly, for it had been some time since the Crown had undertaken pageantry on such a grand scale. Her grandfather, George III exhibited none of the charisma associated with kings, and his sons George IV and William IV had in no way endeared themselves to their subjects. Early nineteenth-century court life, insular and aristocratic, did not resonate with the middle-class values of thrift, hard work and moderation. By the time of Victoria's accession, however, it seemed unclear whether the social, economic and cultural shifts that had occurred increasingly since the beginning of the eighteenth century would result in the victory of the middle classes.[1] The first Reform Bill had passed in 1832, but the lower classes and republican sentiment threatened the social hierarchy in the Rebecca and Chartist riots. Poverty, sickness and starvation were rife in Ireland and in the cities. Changes in technologies of travel, communication and manufacture severely disrupted and altered the working lives and standard of living of many Britons over the first part of the century, and the rise of the scientific method as the instrument of ultimate truth contributed to a crisis of faith for many Victorians. Others embraced the utilitarian and progress-oriented tenets of Evangelism and Methodism, even as Catholics were grudgingly admitted to the House of Commons. Women's lives did not escape the throes of industrialization and shifts in the economic and social strata, and the "woman question" stirred debate as hearty as that surrounding the "condition of England" question.[2]

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[1]Throughout this thesis I refer to the "middle-classes" and not the "bourgeoisie" even though I employ some Gramscian concepts later in my analysis. Although class labels must be used gingerly, we can isolate certain principles dear to the middle-class sensibility, including free competition, individual effort, and, I would add, passive and subordinate femininity. This delineation of class is taken from Trevor May, *An Economic and Social History of Britain 1760-1970* (New York: Longman, 1987), pp. 42-47.

[2]ibid. May notes that "[w]hen Queen Victoria came to the throne all women, of whatever class, were subject to laws which put them on a par with male criminals, lunatics and minors." p. 257.

The middle-class ideal of womanhood precluded women's participation in the public sphere. Cultural artefacts of the period are rife with imagery that characterizes "woman" as benign, inert, yet transcendental, but, above all, the middle-class "angel in the house" existed always in the spirit of self-abnegation. Ruskin's description of feminine virtue will suffice as a description of the traits against which the worth of all mid-nineteenth century women, including Queen Victoria, could be measured:

> ...the woman's power is for rule, not for battle — and her intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement and decision....Her great function is Praise; she enters into no contest, but infallibly adjudges the crown of contest. By her office, and place, she is protected from all danger and temptation....She must be enduringly, incorruptibly good; instinctively, infallibly wise—wise not for self-development , but for self-renunciation; wise, not that she may set herself above her husband, but that she may never fall from his side...[3]

Man as creator, woman as his support. This was the the separate spheres ideology so central to the articulation of middle-class sensibilities—it was a sign of arrival to the leisured classes if a man could say that his wife did not have to work to support the family. Increasingly, the terms lady and work became mutually exclusive. Not only did the Queen accede to public expectations of a "softer, gentler" ruler than her male Hanoverian predecessors, but she also had to be seen to rule in such a way that did not upset a code of femininity to which the wielding of real political power was antithetical. This would be difficult to achieve while being seen to refute republican claims of the monarchy's uselessness, and the conflicts of gender and power would only increase upon her marriage to a foreign prince. An early letter from Albert to a male relative summarizes the domestic difficulties that the Queen, as head of the Royal Family, faced: "In my home life I am very happy and contented; but the difficulty in filling my place with the proper dignity is, that I am only the husband, and not the master in the house."[4] The English people grew to love the Prince only after his premature death in 1861, although his popularity

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[3]John Ruskin, "Of Queen's Gardens," *Sesame and Lilies,* 1865. Quoted in May, p. 258.

[4]See *Letters of the Prince Consort,* [ed. Kurt Jagow, tr. E.T.S. Dugdale] (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1938), p. 69.

increased considerably during the twenty-years he spent as Consort to Queen Victoria. Undoubtedly, many factors, including four foiled assassination attempts, contributed to the prestige and popularity of the Royal family, but not least of all was the power of the new and far-reaching middle-class press in representing the monarchy as a family first and political institution second.[5]

Two representative weeklies seemed to feature contrasting and contesting images of the Queen. What follows is an empirical inquiry into the specificity of the *ILN*'s and *Punch's* representations of the Queen and her family over the early years of her reign. What we have come to take for granted as an unshakeable popular British faith in the Monarchy and the Royal Family was by no means so prevalent in the early to middle years of Victoria's reign. Although it was only during the latter part of the nineteenth-century—the years of Empire and Royal Jubilee—that the Monarchy became entrenched in the British *mentalité*, these early images will show how media steeped in middle-class values participated in the creation of the romance between the English Queen and her subjects. How this was accomplished remains largely undocumented, and this gap in the literature requires that we know more about the role of middle-class Victorian periodicals in the "re-invention" of a monarchy that republicans and royalists alike could embrace. This chapter illuminates the kinds of royal imagery that appeared in the *ILN* and in *Punch*, and illustrates how they both relied on the conceptual axes of gender and power in their representations of the Queen. The difference between these taxonomies of images lies not so much in their content, but in the degree of reverence they hold for her femininity and sovereignty. This depends on the type of textual universe—serious or humourous—from which the images emerged.

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[5]See Elisabeth Darby and Nicola Smith, *The Cult of the Prince Consort* (New Haven and New York; Yale University Press, 1983).

"Firm Friend of the Queen": Royal Imagery in the ILN

In the preface to its second volume, the editor stated the *ILN*'s mandate and its unique place in the expanding market of periodical literature:

> "[T]he elevated nature of [our] purpose...consists in the maintenance, at the end of two volumes of hard but pleasurable labour, of that peculiar isolation of position which this Journal assumed for itself in the outset, and which it has, in spite of competition, rigidly preserved....we originated what we are bold enough to denominate a new branch of civilization, and of that branch—now fertilizing and spreading into many channels—as head and leader, we have stood alone. It must speak volumes for the energy, perseverance, and enterprise of the the Proprietors of the **Illustrated London News**, that, with a host of such imitations as ever spring up upon the success of a new and popular discovery, it has maintained a superiority that has kept it without a single rival.[6]

Despite the Darwinian overtones of these self-laudatory sentences and their salutation of the invention of a new phylum of cultural life in the face of cut-throat competition, what stands out are the proprietors' claims to both superiority and uniqueness. Contradictory as these pseudo-scientific claims may be, they are overshadowed by the value-laden language that follows on the next page:

> We hope we may honourably attribute much of the pride and value of this position to the tone of high morality in every branch of public discussion, which it has been the glory of this Journal to preserve. For the sake of our real, faithful, and influential patrons—the RESPECTABLE FAMILIES OF ENGLAND,—we have kept the purity of our columns inviolate and supreme. The Clergy have given us their distinct and expressed approval; and there is no class of dissentients that has not supported, upon the broad principle of public virtue, our adherence to those undisputed maxims of morals and Christianity upon which all good men are agreed. Truth—the beautiful eternal Truth—has been our guide in all things; and, by her aided in our humbled industry, we have sought for intellectual progress, social happiness, and political justice and civilization.[7]

Exactly who these respectable families were or what qualities public virtue was meant to encompass is not made clear in this typically purple editorial exclamation, but such rhetoric flattered both old and new readers and targeted those who aspired to respectability. To whom

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[6] *ILN*, Preface, vol.2, July 1843.

[7] ibid.

did the editors address themselves with such a utopian rhetoric? According to the prefatory remarks in the very next volume, *ILN* readers were "young, vigorous, full of present intelligence and wisely curious about the progress of events."[8]

The *ILN* offered their version of the monarch to a diverse readership eager for an up-to-date, non-partisan record of current events, and there is evidence to show that its editors also consciously considered it to be a repository of historical fact. In the final issue of its first volume, the *ILN* claimed for itself a place in the history books of the future as it compared its relationship with the monarchy to that of Walter Scott and the court of Elizabeth I:

> Scott might carry Elizabeth back to Kenilworth through the regions of his fine imagination, backed and supported by books, and we may take *cum grano salis* the Antiquarian's and the Poet's word, but the year two thousand will be ten times better assured of all the splendid realities of our own Victoria's visit to the native land of the Northern Magician who enshrined in fiction the glories of Queen Bess.[9]

ILN readers were promised much in these early years, including extensive and ongoing coverage of their Sovereign that could be bound and installed on the library shelves as an authoritative historical reference for the generations to come. It was with this unbounded confidence that the *ILN* maintained the largest market share among periodicals of its ilk, proclaiming itself loudly as "firm friend of the Queen, and fixed favourite of the people...!!!."[10]

The *ILN* portrayed the monarchy in a way that blurred class-lines, by presenting the Royals as both "ordinary" family members and dynastic symbols of nationhood. As Simon Schama has stated:

> For once the means of mass production and distribution of such images was available, allegiance (or least the sentimental bond forged between monarch and subjects) depended on a steady flow of appealing images. Beside the continuing importance of military uniform and coronation robe portraits, the genre of nursery album pictures and conjugal portraits became the stock-in-trade of the

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[8]*ILN*, Preface, vol. 3, January 1844.

[9]ibid., December 1842. Quoted in Mason Jackson, *The Pictorial Press: Its Origins and Progress* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1885), p. 299.

[10]ibid.

> monarch-mongering business. Along with the traditional celebration of the monarch's birthday, a whole calendar of domestic events—births, christenings, betrothals, weddings, and comings-of-age—was transferred to the public domain.[11]

The appeal to domesticity meant that readers from varied strata and regions of English society could identify with and find common ground in images of the monarch. While it is clear that the *ILN* editors pitched the magazine to the at least marginally monied and educated classes, the plethora of high-quality images it offered each week would have made it attractive even to those who could not regularly afford its price of 6 shillings per week. An analysis of the types of Royal images that appeared in the *ILN* between 1841 and 1861 will reveal an approach that relied on the central maternal figure of the Queen, wife and mother of the "families of families".

The *ILN* became a pictorial magnet for readers ravenous for visual coverage of current events and cultural topicalities. Following its initial success in the early years of the decade, its circulation figures soared in 1848 as revolution swept Europe and then again in 1851 as it represented the goings-on in Hyde Park to Londoners and British readers farther afield. Although there are no figures specifically for 1851, circulation figures for ILN rose from 67,000 in 1850 to 123,000 in 1854-55.[12] It is without a doubt the subordination of text to images, and a relatively low price that ensured the weekly's appeal to a diverse mass-market.[13] Its founder, Herbert Ingram, embodied the Victorian ideal of the self-made man, and it was his long experience as a Nottingham printer and news-vendor that convinced him of the commercial viability of a weekly "family" magazine centred around a mixture of up-to-the-minute news

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[11]See Simon Schama,"The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture, 1500-1850,"*Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 24, no. 1 (Summer 1986), pp. 155-183, p. 157.

[12]Mason Jackson, *The Pictorial Press*, pp. 302-303: Jackson does not give specific figures, however: "[t]o great was the interest felt in the exciting year 1848, that the sale of the *Illustrated London News* was more than doubled in three months....But...the year of the Great Exhibition was yet more fruitful." Very little documentation exists concerning the history of the *Illustrated London News* and what we do have tends to be laudatory, not critical. I have found, however, the above volume useful for basic data otherwise difficult to locate.

[13]Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader*, p. 343, 349. Altick remains an excellent source for a comparative survey of a range of types of publications and their readership in nineteenth-century England.

items and high-quality engravings.[14] Its studied non-partisan focus on spectacle, English history,[15] the monarchy,[16] current events, and French fashions served the tastes of an increasingly democratic and increasingly female readership whose numbers swelled to their highest peak in 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition.[17]

From its inception in 1842, the *ILN* regularly associated itself with the charismatic aura of the young Queen Victoria. The frontispiece of the inaugural issue featured a lush still life of crown and sceptre artfully arranged, as if to promise by these accoutrements of royalty that the new magazine and the monarchy were bound together as solid and progressive English traditions. This section explores the many ways the *ILN* found to put its Queen's image to work in the name of family values that in turn sold more magazines. As self-appointed illustrated news magazine and visual purveyor of contemporary culture and events, the *ILN* played a central role in the creation of the myth of modern monarchy, or what David Cannadine has dubbed the "re-invention of tradition." The following taxonomy of the *ILN*'s royal imagery illustrates how the representations of Queen Victoria were used in very specific ways to bolster both sales of the magazine and the image of the monarchy.

It is possible to group *ILN* representations of the Queen during this time period into two broad categories. The first configures the Queen as a sovereign body, that over-arching symbol of British nationhood that binds its disparate members together within one political identity. The second category encompasses those images of Queen Victoria that focus not on the

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[14]Jackson, *The Pictorial Press*, 284.

[15]See Christina Crosby, *The Ends of History: Victorians and "the woman question"* (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 1-3: "Whether novels or journalism, philosophy or history or theology, these texts actively produce history as an object of knowledge and as a way of knowing....History is indeed self-consciously embraced over the course of the century, from the early and great popularity of Sir Walter Scott's historical novels, to the introduction of "modern history" as a discipline in the universities...massive historical narratives such as Macauley's *History of England* are published to popular acclaim. This fascination with history is itself much-observed and discussed, not least of all by Victorians themselves."

[16]Jackson, *The Pictorial Press*, 257-265. Before the *ILN* began publication, other magazines such as the *Observer*, the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Englishman*, and *Bell's Life* would from time to time publish engravings of Royal events, despite the fact that these did not usually follow a format that included illustrations.

[17] ibid., 303.

charisma of royalty but instead upon her "ordinariness", that is, upon her femininity. These categories are not always distinct and sometimes overlap, but for now I want to keep them separate in order to look at how the twin English myths of monarchy and "family values" were constructed one in terms of the other. At no time during the period of this study was one mode of imagery privileged over the other, but instead they were presented together in such a way as to present the institution of a Royal Family in such a way that it could be both exalted and spoken of in almost intimate terms.[18]

The Queen is always a sovereign body, but unless surrounded and bedecked by the material emblems of royalty (such as Crown, Sceptre, etc.), she tends to be figured as a woman, or female body, first.[19] All imagery that falls into the category of the "Queen as Sovereign" refers back to an imaginary feudal tradition of pomp, solemnity and a "Gothic" sensibility, or to what historian Dorothy Thompson referred to as a folk tradition centred around strong, independent female monarchs.[20] This is Cannadine's "re-invention of tradition." [21] One sub-set of these images of sovereignty can be referred to as representations of "the ubiquitous Queen". These images chart the almost yearly royal tours to various regions within the United Kingdom, often those with a republican or otherwise anti-royalist tradition. These can be differentiated from other images of the Queen as Sovereign in that they form a bridge between that major category and the category of images that figure the Queen as an ordinary wife and mother, on which I have conferred the label of the "Queen as 'Woman'." The reinvigoration of the monarchy depended absolutely on a royal "ordinariness" with which members of the middle-

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[18]For a highly entertaining and most critical analysis of the British Monarchy that recognizes the centrality of the perceived "ordinariness" of individual members of the Royal Family , see Tom Nairn, *The Enchanted Glass: Britain and its Monarchy* (London: Radius, 1988).

[19]For the history and theory that underlies the English Sovereign's "two bodies" see Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957).

[20]Dorothy Thompson. *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power* (London: Virago Press, 1990), p. xix

[21]David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition,' 1820-1977," *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger [eds.], (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 101-164.

classes could identify, and the early years of Queen Victoria's reign yielded many such opportunities for constructing the ruling dynasty of England as a virtuous family almost indistinguishable from the "respectable" families of England.

From the outset, the *ILN* included images which figured the Queen as Sovereign. The first issue included visual coverage of 1842's Royal *bal masqué*, a botched public-relations event put on by the Queen and her Court in May of 1842 (fig. 1).[22] The grand ball had been meant to stimulate depressed trade relations in London by mounting a massive living tableau of Plantagenet era costume—Queen Victoria's robe alone had over 60,000 pounds worth of precious gems sewn into its stomacher.[23] This offered an irresistible media opportunity to Ingram, who prided himself on the aesthetic merits of his magazine's engravings and whose experience had convinced him of the public's willingness to pay for visual encounters with Royal opulence. In an apology for the expense and luxuriousness of this display of sartorial splendour during a time of national want and unrest, the *ILN* assured readers of the Queen's "charity and beneficence to suffering traders and artisans which her Majesty's *fête* combines with courtly enjoyment." Victoria could certainly not be faulted for extravagance when the fact that Queen Elizabeth I wore a new dress each day of the year was taken into consideration.[24] Furthermore:

> The purpose of this splendid gathering of the brave and beautiful, it is known, was to give a stimulus to trade in all the various departments that could be affected by the enormous outlay it would necessarily involve; and we have no doubt that many thousands are this day grateful for the temporary aid which this right royal entertainment has been the means of affording them.[25]

The poor of England, most of whom would not have had access to these images, nor been able to read this text, were logically to be grateful for and supportive of such lavish historical

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[22]*ILN*, May 14, 1842, p. 7-10.

[23]Monica Charlot, *Victoria: The Young Queen* (Oxford and Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 229.

[24]*ILN*, May 14, 1842, p. 7.

[25]ibid..

pageantry. Here was royal justification for a social hierarchy that privileged only the very few at the expense of most of the Queen's subjects: "The [Premier] taxes us to relieve our commonalty [sic]; our gracious and lovely Sovereign, who combines exquisite feminine diplomacy with more serious statesmanship, amerces her nobles through their pleasures, and the gay magnates, *en s'amusant*, spend 100,000 [pounds] to revive languishing trade."[26] Attacks against the government were part and parcel of the manly art of politics, but to target the Queen showed only cowardice and paranoia.

According to the text, Queen Victoria "was emphatically the sun from which the glorious constellations of the evening drew light, and life, and brightness."[27] In a self-representational move that would become characteristic of her reign, the Queen had chosen to present herself not as an absolute power, but as Queen Philippa, the consort of Edward III. That she would attempt to sublimate her celebrity to that of Prince Albert could only add to her popularity in a culture in which feminine modesty and the use of moral influence rather than overt power were so highly valued. The theme for the *bal masqué* focused not on glorious battles of the past or on the Crown's claim to divinity, but instead on a claim of British supremacy as represented in the beauty of its women, in their role as objects of praise:

> Never did England maintain its supremacy in female beauty more decidedly that on Thursday night, when a galaxy of lovely women, attired in the most gorgeous and becoming costumes, met to do honour to their fair and youthful Sovereign. Anxious to evidence their respect towards her Majesty, no expense was spared in the dresses of her honoured guests; and when one considers the vast treasures of jewels descending, as heirlooms in hereditary line , from our proud and ancient aristocratic houses, brought forth on this occasion , we cannot wonder that this *fête* was acknowledged by all present to surpass those of every other country.[28]

In a double rhetorical movement, the proprietors of the *ILN* were able to entertain their readers with royal spectacle, while retaining a political stance that privileged the values of modesty and

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[26]*ILN*, May 14, 1842, p. 8.

[27]ibid.

[28]ibid., p. 7.

respectability associated with the class of readers they needed to attract.[29] How better to defuse political detractors and to flatter a potential subscription base of middle-class families than to locate the power of the throne in the gendered identity of its representative, while at the same breath locating the essence of "Englishness" in England's aristocratic women?

The first issue of the *ILN*, although somewhat ungainly and unfocused, proved sufficiently successful that its basic content and layout changed very little over the next twenty years. Although the coverage of the Queen's Drawing Room in 1843 (fig. 2) was perhaps less technically sophisticated than a similar undertaking in 1858 (fig. 3), the basic artistic approach and ideological content was the same.[30] Images of Sovereignty predominated in the *ILN*'s mutually nourishing relationship with the Crown in the year of the Great Exhibition, and it was not until the first Royal Jubilee in 1887 that an opportunity for such blatant consumption and ostentatious display again presented itself in terms of "the good of the nation." By allowing the previously excluded populace visual entry into the apolitical fairyland of modern monarchy, the *ILN* could take advantage of the popular taste for spectacle while supporting an institution that could always be counted on to sell newspapers.

The first volume proved to be a great financial success, and it seemed that the concept and contents presented in the summer needed to be modified only slightly to ensure the continued growth and success of the *ILN*. Part of this process of modification meant constructing the journal's contents around the official roster of royal functions. In the event of an uneventful week, readers could still satisfy their appetite for Royal goings-on by turning to the section called "Court and Haut Ton". This weekly report of the more banal movements of members and friends of the Royal Family functioned only as a textual stop-gap and could not but fail to assuage the reading public's apparent craving for visual evidence of "Royalness".

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[29]See May, *Economic and Social History of Britain 1760-1970*, p. 44. May notes that "respectability was a quality particularly associated with the middle class."

[30]*ILN*, July 8, 1843, p. 24-25; March 31, 1860, p. 301.

The proprietors of the *ILN* therefore needed to be prepared with an army of artists and engravers should the dailiness of the Queen's progress suddenly erupt into a sumptuous ocular feast for her subjects' consumption—and ready they were.

Each January *ILN* artists and engravers dug deep into their repertoire in an attempt to convey the solemnity and pomp of the annual Opening of Parliament. The chief aesthetic problem lay in the difficulty of portraying the grandeur and charisma of these refurbished ceremonies to an unseen audience using only line drawings and one colour of ink. The desired effect was to persuade *ILN* readers that by looking at these images they had in some way come into contact with the aura emanating from the sacred body of the Monarch. Although difficult to visually convey a collective emotion, it was possible to transmit these feelings via the depiction of the spaces, commodities, and physiognomies that signify the presence of sovereignty. In these images the Queen functions as the embodiment of State—it is her presence that lends authority to the proceedings of the government. Without the Queen's body in attendance, any proceedings could conceivably be deemed unconstitutional. This type of imagery proved a dependable source of *ILN* imagery throughout Queen Victoria's reign, except for the five year hiatus following Prince Albert's death during which she withdrew entirely from the public eye.

These images of sovereignty became the bread and butter of a weekly journal eager to cater to the tastes and desires of a broad array of readers whose differences melted away in their collectivity as subjects of an ostensibly non-partisan Queen. The popularity of the monarchy was not a foregone conclusion in 1842,[31] and it was not until the latter part of her reign that it became a moot point. By then the Royal Family had become not only a national symbol but also a cultural commodity for both national and international consumption. In the early part of her

[31] As Thompson points out, the welcome with which the new Queen was greeted by her subjects was an ambivalent one, and became further diminished upon her marriage to the Coburg prince, Albert. The popularity of the throne after that point depended upon Albert's role in the staging of the Great Exhibition, on scattered attempts on the Queen's life, and on partisan appeals to her femininity. See Thompson, *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power*, pp. 23-27.

reign, however, Queen Victoria faced both republicans and middle-class subjects angry with the excesses and seeming redundancy of the Royal Household as maintained by her much-despised uncles. Although the Coronation aroused a flood of rhetoric focused on her youth and feminine virtue, the reinvigoration of the monarchy required that the young Queen show that even a modernizing, progressive Britain needed a monarch at its head.

The extent to which the *ILN* took part in this on-going and ever more streamlined display of the Queen as Sovereign can be seen in the sheer number of images of this type that graced its pages year after year. A random sampling shows that in 1843, its first complete year of publication, over twenty such images were included as *ILN* artists and journalists followed the Royal Retinue through its paces as honoured theatre-goers, as gracious hosts of State Balls and as functionaries at various ceremonies around London and throughout the nation and abroad. As the Queen's family grew larger and older, and as the expansion of Britain as an imperial power occurred, there were increasing opportunities for the *ILN* to sell the trappings of monarchy to its readers. Royal Christenings and Birthdays, the reception of foreign dignitaries and aristocracy, and state visits to local cultural venues were all perfect for the purposes of representing the monarchy and increasing circulation figures. In no other publication of the period could so many representations of royalty be found, and it is no coincidence that illustrated histories of the nineteenth-century monarchy feature so many *ILN* images. These images of sovereignty reached their apex in 1851, when the *ILN*'s artist's powers of illusion were almost exhausted in the whirlwind of illustrative opportunities that presented themselves that year. It was typical, however, of both the Queen and the *ILN* to differentiate the British monarchy from the opulence and *hauteur* of other European Royal Houses. Barring the occasional highly-visible state occasion, representations of which were included as "free" supplements to subscribers, this type of imagery increasingly took second place to images of the "Ubiquitous Queen".

Representations of the Ubiquitous Queen, or the Queen in transit, came to play a major role in the pictorial and textual content of the *ILN*. Its attempts to capture the speed and breadth of the Royal itinerary had the effect of placing the Sovereign's body in many different geographical and temporal spaces at once. Although a rather secular sort of divinity, this kind of media coverage of the Queen's movements documented the dusting of Britain and neighbouring countries with that Royal aura which, according to the *ILN* at least, could dissolve political, regional and class differences and unite enemies in common service to the English Monarch. Late in October of 1843, the Royal Family paid an official visit to Cambridge University, and the *ILN* took a moment from its coverage to opine on this new royal practice:[32]

> We have repeatedly had occasion to express our highest approval of those royal excursions among the people by their Queen, which stimulate the loyalty of the one and freshen the love of the other, and cement between them, with beautiful links of harmony, the chain of happiness and the bonds of peace. The Sovereign who does not confine the gaieties of her court within a single palace, nor prison her pleasures within the selfish sphere of mere personal enjoyment...is sure to make her throne ubiquitous, by building it upon the firm foundation of the affections of those she rules—is sure to live in a kingdom of love, and earn a popularity of which it is both wise and virtuous in a monarch to be nobly ambitious and proud.[33]

One direct effect of the coverage of Royal Visits was to bring visual representations of the countryside and far-away corners of the realm into the common cache of popular knowledge. The cost of travel being prohibitive to most Britons, these pictorials were meant to further reinforce the ambience of nationhood that was so prevalent in the rhetoric of the accompanying text. Whatever else might occur during the year, the autumn months promised an annual Royal Progress through her Majesty's domains, and the *ILN* devoted special numbers to their coverage. In 1851 the Royal Family returned from Balmoral, stopping in at Liverpool and

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[32]Of course, the implicit critique of earlier monarchs who did not make their presence felt throughout the land did not take into consideration the ease of travel that was now possible with the advent of an efficient railway system.

[33]*ILN*, October 28, 1843, p. 278.

Manchester.(fig. 4).[34] The *ILN* likened these modern "progresses" to those of the age of Elizabeth I, noting that modern royal practice included the common man:

> It was not merely to lordly halls and nobles of high birth that, on this occasion, the visit of a Queen and her illustrious Consort were directed; it was to the merchant princes...; it was to nobility which had taken commerce by the hand and led her from the ocean, smiling into the bosom of the land; it was to a city whose men, by a singular union of solid character with genius, had given a vital soul and life-like energy to inanimate matter, and, by their well-directed industry, had raised the working power of England from three millions of men to three hundred million.[35]

Here, too, images of the Queen were invoked in the name of national "togetherness," individual cities playing children to the Queen's just and undiscriminating maternal influence: "And if fortune smiled on one more than another—if the sun shone more on Manchester which was clouded at Liverpool, there can be no jealousy between them as regards the sunshine of Royal favour, which beamed with equal brightness on both..."[36]

The Queen's actual, material body was not always available for artistic renderings of its sovereignty. Official Royal activity seems to have followed a rough pattern from year to year—the opening of Parliament in January, followed by the fallow months of late winter and spring, a flurry of official engagements during the late summer months and into autumn—that matched to some extent the ebb and flow of the London "season." The *ILN* proprietors, however, were anxious to let their readers in on Royal doings the year round or in the offering of another type of Sovereign imagery, such as the drawing that accompanied the reportage on the State Visit to France—that of the "imaginary Queen"(fig. 5).[37] Closely related to another variety, the "re-represented Queen" (fig. 6),[38] this kind of imagery mitigated the dependence of the journal on

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[34]*ILN*, October 18, 1851, p. 472.

[35]ibid.

[36]ibid.

[37]ibid., September 16, 1843, p. 177.

[38]ibid., January 14, 1843, p. 21.

accessibility to the corporeal body of the Queen, for it could in a pinch be used in the absence of a Royal Occasion. Instances of these images occurred most frequently during and immediately following the Queen's invisible pregnancies,[39] and ranged from engraved reproductions of official royal portraits and monuments to self-authored mini-portraits which served as a decorative framing device for more extensive textual coverage of royal events (figs. 7, 8).[40]

A primary method of representing the Queen in ways that would appeal to the middle classes was to focus on the Queen's femininity as the trait that bound her to her subjects, whatever their class, race, or regional identity. Such an appeal to the personal attributes of the monarch provided the press with a Queen that could be loved by all levels of a stratified society, but especially those whose economic and cultural interests were being served in the *ILN*. To have the effect of binding the disparate peoples of the United Kingdom beneath the rubric of one national identity, the imagery of monarchy needed to appeal equally to all strata and ilk of Victorian society. Images that constructed the icon of the British national identity as an apolitical, non-partisan wife and mother accomplished this far more effectively than a strict diet of pure sovereignty.

"Royal Visit to Astley's" (fig. 9)[41] typifies this genre, except that it atypically contains a hidden irony—the fact that the Queen is seven months pregnant in this image is most deftly and absolutely elided by the artist and the editors. Although it would have been most unseemly and disrespectful to draw readers' attention to the Queen's state of *grossesse,* other elements in the image reiterate the theme of the Royal Family as ordinary family. The Queen, the Prince Consort and their children are presented in "plain-clothes" free of any insignia of Royalty. Their

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[39]Although Queen Victoria gave birth seven times in the 1840s and twice in the 1850s, none of the *ILN* images acknowledge this fact. Additions to the Royal Family were celebrated as if they descended from the heavens, however, this avoidance of biological fact was typical of any respectable woman's pregnancy in the mid-nineteenth century.

[40]*ILN*, May 8, 1847, p. 300; June 4, 1859, p. 540.

[41]ibid., 1846, vol. 1, p. 217.

bodies, at least, are human, and in this image are arranged in such a manner as to mimic the patriarchal dimensions of the nineteenth-century family. Queen Victoria's uncrowned head has the effect of positioning Prince Albert as husband and father as head of the domestic and unofficial version of the Royal Household. Whether or not this was actually the case mattered less than readers' belief that it was so.[42] Even in 1846, the memory of the chaotic and un-Christian behaviour of William IV and the wronged Queen Adelaide was fresh enough to provide a contrast to the water-tight family unit of Victoria and Albert.[43]

Domestic images of the Queen and her family were popular and frequent components of the *ILN's* weekly fare. The birth, if not the gestation, of each Royal baby provided an illustrative opportunity. The image "Her Majesty and the Infant Prince Arthur" (fig. 10)[44] was copied from a painting commissioned by the Queen, and again, it is the stripping of all signs of politics, history, and sovereignty on which the message and effect of this image relies. But for the recognizable visage and accompanying text, this could well be a mere representation of generic motherhood, documenting (albeit in an idealized fashion) a universalizable and common female experience. "Christmas Tree and Windsor Castle" and "Presenting a Bouquet to the Prince of Wales" (figs. 11, 12) both make visual statements about the class-levelling effect of familial affections and the unification of a stratified society through its children. This and other images of domesticity naturalized the "otherness" of a ruling family unit whose first language

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[42]Indisputably, Victoria's rapture with marriage and motherhood was progressive, not instant, and it is clear by many of her extant diary entries and the memories of many other commentators that Queen Victoria did not at first easily bend to the will of her husband. Throughout her reign, Victoria's attitude toward power was stated with ambivalence, but in practice she worked tirelessly and had great difficulty in relinquishing power to her husband, and later, her son. See Giles St. Aubyn, *Queen Victoria: A Portrait* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1991), pp. 150-152. Also, see Charlot, *Victoria: the Young Queen,* pp. 231-233 for more on the Queen's disinclination to obey.

[43]Lytton Strachey's account of Victoria's detested uncle is particularly barbed: "A bursting, bubbling old gentleman, with quarter-deck gestures, round rolling eyes, and a head like a pineapple, whose sudden elevation to the throne after fifty-six years of utter insignificance had almost sent him crazy." His reactionary politics (he strenuously opposed the 1832 Reform Bill, for instance) and his uncontained behaviour made him unpopular with both his republican and loyalist subjects. See Lytton Strachey, *Queen Victoria* (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1921), pp. 53-54.

[44]*ILN*, 1852, vol. 2, p. 172.

was German, and at the same time sent a visual message of correct and respectable family deportment.

The popularity of the Queen depended on many things, but not least of all on her being seen as a devoted wife and mother by her subjects. The *ILN* acted as an organ of "family values" throughout these years, selling the Royal Family to a largely middle-class readership in ways with which it could identify with the monarchy while at the same time continuing to hold it in the highest esteem. In another appropriation of an image initially commissioned by the Queen, these two seemingly incompatible principles of the sublime and the ordinary co-exist in an elaborate composition containing both national and family values. "The First of May, 1851" (fig. 13),[45] as the *ILN* explained, was painted to commemorate the opening of Prince Albert's massive project, the Great Exhibition, and combined the solemnity of high sovereignty with the warmth of familial affection:

> The Royal mother, holding her young child in her arms, contemplates the handsome cadeau with evident satisfaction. The expression of the Duke is marked with benignity and respectful homage. In the rear is Prince Albert, whose mind—not withstanding the interesting scene passing before him—seems still to be engrossed with the great national work which he has this day brought to a happy completion...[46]

All the better too, in this year of build-up to the Crimean war, was the serendipitous fact that the new baby's godfather happened to be the greatest living hero of the Battle of Waterloo, now a distant memory.

This image exemplifies the ideal in *ILN* representations of royalty, in which the sovereign aspects of the Queen's person become indivisible from her femininity. This accomplishes the twin feat of increasing the Queen's charisma and celebrity status while continuing to position her as an icon of motherhood. In this way the *ILN* could count on

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[45]*ILN*, 1853, vol. 1, p. 328.

[46]ibid.

representations of the monarchy to attract readers and at the same time advance civilizing messages about family life. Both monarchy and motherhood are presented as institutions worthy of readers' inspired awe and each is rhetorically elevated to the level of the sublime, often in the same breath. The *ILN* paid equal homage to Royalty and to the transcendent virtues of Woman, especially as these were embodied in the Queen. At the same time, and often in the same households, however, *Punch* took a far less indulgent stance toward the Crown and its representatives. While it is possible to construct a taxonomy of *Punch*'s royal imagery that parallels the *ILN*'s thematic focus on sovereignty and femininity, it proves more fruitful to think of these images in terms of whether or not they were meant to evoke readers' laughter.

"JOHN BULL pays every farden...": Punch *on the Monarchy*

The *ILN*'s July 22, 1843 review of *Punch* was positive: "..."Punch" has improved with time, and each of his volumes is a half-yearly rejuviniscence...."[47] This praise barely masked a trivializing critique, however, for by the end of the review it was clear that *Punch* simply could not be taken seriously: "While great minds are straining to bring the ends of the earth into communication with each other, "Punch" and his club are content to sit at home, by turns put on the cap, and persuade men out of their follies by ridicule and railery, wit and broad humour..."[48] Despite its frivolity, however, the reviewer contended that *Punch* did fulfill a civilizing function in the moral deportment of its readers, and that ultimately "the pleasure of the experiment keeps the senses and the best part of the blood awake, and lays the gross to sleep..."[49] The *ILN's* amicable estimation of this competitor for the middle-class sixpence was likely due to its own early but failed attempts at *carnivalesque* humour and the fact that the two illustrated weeklies

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[47]*ILN*, 1843, vol. 2, p. 59.

[48]ibid.

[49]ibid.

addressed themselves to different levels of desire of the nineteenth-century middle-class psyche.[50] Middle-class homes accommodated both magazines, despite the fact that Mr. Punch prided himself on his all-out assault on middle-class values.

Punch began weekly circulation in 1841, approximately one year before the *ILN* hit the news-vendors stands. The brainchild of a motley assortment of young, male, and relatively well-educated actors and intellectuals, *Punch* relied solely on subscriptions for its financial well-being. Although its illustrators gained the greatest reputations among readers, one of *Punch's* first "ideas men" was Henry Mayhew, who would go on to research and write the highly influential *London Labour and the London Poor*. William Thackeray consistently donated his wit and erudition to this critically-acclaimed *mélange* of "radical" social commentary and caricature which advertised itself as being free from "grossness, partisanship, profanity, indelicacy and malice" of any kind.[51] *Punch* poked fun at pomposity and pretentiousness, the follies of contemporary fashions, and the hypocrisy of the rich. In the words of Harriet Beecher Stowe, "*Punch* laugh[ed] at everybody but the workpeople", a statement that underlines precisely the elite audience to which it addressed itself.[52] On the subject of the monarchy, the weekly was more racist than republican, and attacks aimed at the Royal Family usually focused on Victoria's perceived dependence on her German prince and their shared delight and patronage of all things foreign.[53] The cost to the tax-payers of frequent royal births also provided grist for the satirical mill, and it was not until the success of the Great

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[50]The first edition of the *ILN* contained a hodge-podge of serious journalism, cultural topics and attempts at humour that closely resembled *Punch's* unmistakable style.

[51]R.G.G. Price, *A History of Punch* (London: Collins, 1957), p. 30.

[52]Stowe's comment arises from her visit with the English censor in 1853. Quoted in Amy Cruse, *The Victorians and Their Reading* (Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), 391.

[53]See William E. Fredeman's "A Charivari for Queen Butterfly: *Punch* on Queen Victoria" in *Victorian Poetry*, vol. 25, no. 3-4, Autumn-Winter 1987, pp. 47-69, p. 49.

Exhibition in 1851 proved Prince Albert's "Englishness" that *Punch* to some extent tempered its anti-Albertarian sting.[54]

As "firm friend of the Queen", the *ILN* would have had little reason to castigate *Punch*'s earliest representations of her Majesty, which were only mildly and teasingly critical in the years immediately following her accession.[55] *Punch* spared the Queen entirely during the first two months of its run, directing its attack on the first estate toward politicians instead. As Dorothy Thompson has argued,

> [t]he Chartists...never directed their main propaganda against the throne. They felt threatened by an exclusive political system, a centralizing state and the increasing control exercised over their work and their lives by merchant and manufacturing capital. The throne, occupied by a young female, was, to begin with at least, as likely to be invoked on the side of traditional liberties, in the name of Alfred or Boadicea, as to be represented as an oppressive or parasitical institution. When Chartist speakers did attack the queen, it was more likely to be in the language of carnival or satire than of serious politics.[56]

Thompson's assessment of Chartist anti-monarchical polemic holds in the case of *Punch*. Although *Punch* was hardly an organ of republican sentiments, it can be read as an historically-specific instance of the *carnivalesque*, a traditional form of controlled revolt against the hierarchies and hypocrisies of the *status quo*. *Punch's* use of the comic brings the rich and famous back down to the level of the body by emphasizing their infantile and physical qualities

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[54]Following the birth of each of her nine children, the Queen presented Parliament with a request for an allowance from the public coffers. These frequent pregnancies pointed to the Prince Consort's taste for conjugal pleasure (as a woman, Victoria's sexuality was necessarily confined to matters of maternity, not libidinity), a critique that could only be intimated by the barely respectful Mr. Punch. Until he proved his worth in the public, non-erotic sphere of business and cultural affairs, Prince Albert presented an easy target in a society suspicious of foreigners and mocking of men not fully in control of their women. The unpopularity of the Prince Consort has been well-documented in many sources, but here I have specifically consulted J.M. Golby and A.W. Purdue, *The Monarchy and the British People, 1760 to the Present* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1988), p. 49.

[55]Literary critic William Fredeman has already conducted an extensive empirical study of Punch's treatment of the Queen, identifying six main thematic approaches throughout the span of her reign: 1)Early Political Caricatures; 2)Historical and Figurative Representations of Queen Victoria; 3)Queen Victoria and Prince Albert; 4)Queen Victoria and India; 5)Royal Functions; and 6)The Two Jubilees. This typology easily co-exists with the one used in this chapter, even though Fredeman was not working from a feminist perspective and therefore was not interested primarily in the links and contradictions between nineteenth-century notions of sovereignty and femininity. As Fredeman points out, and as this investigation corroborates, cartoons and quips about the monarchy would become more scathing over the years, but never in its more than one hundred drawings that featured royalty did *Punch* transgress beyond the limits of propriety. See William Fredeman, "A Charivari for Queen Butterfly: *Punch* on Queen Victoria," *Victorian Poetry*, vol.25, no.3-4, (Autumn-Winter, 1987), pp. 47-73, p. 49.

[56]Thompson, *Queen Victoria,* p. 101.

and laughing at the absurdities of overly-civilized polite society.[57] If it is not the 'other,' but the self, that is being made comic, then critique is meant not so much to resolve conflict as it is to relieve the pressures of cultural inhibitions and taboo.[58] To the degree that *Punch's* progenitors hailed from the privileged strata of English society, a modicum of self-deprecation resides within its pages. Presumably, however, the majority of people prefer to laugh at others, and in the years between 1841 and 1861 there was as much opportunity to laugh at the institutions of the day as at political movements that sought to ameliorate social injustice. Without an intricate analysis of historical context and its use of social relations, we cannot state simply whether *Punch* performed conservatively to protect the *status quo*, or radically to challenge the inequities of the social order.

We need only look to the first paragraphs of the first issue, and the writer's allusion to "the crowd," to see how *Punch* drew on the ancient tradition of *carnival*[59] as a platform from which to launch their hierarchy-levelling, reform-minded humour:

> As we hope, gentle public, to pass many hours in your society, we think it right that you should know something of our character and intentions. Our title, at a first glance, may have misled you into a belief that we have no other intention than the amusement of a thoughtless crowd, and the collection of pence. We have a higher object...We have considered [Mr. Punch] as a teacher of no mean pretensions, and have, therefore, adopted him as the sponsor for our weekly sheet of pleasant instruction.[60]

Mr. Punch's stated mission was one of social justice through the unmasking of the cruelties and hypocrisies that condemned many of the Queen's subjects to lives of abject misery and

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[57]*Punch* represents an historically-specific instance of the carnivalesque, in which the middle-class market demanded the "gentrification" of the ancient tradition of the "grotesque". See Peter Stalleybrass' and Allon White's *The Poetics and Politics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986) for an overview of how the expression of the grotesque and the carnivalesque has changed over time in modern western culture.

[58]For a deep analysis of how jokes and the comic work upon the human psyche, and of their use of materials from the larger culture, see Sigmund Freud's, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, James Strachey [ed. & trans], (New York: W.W. Norton, 1960).

[59]Mikhail Bakhtin has undertaken a thorough analysis of this tradition, a form of counter-discourse that relies on body imagery and the vulgarization of official discourse through the hearty laughter of the crowd. These matters are taken up in the next chapter. See Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* [tr. H. Iwolsky] (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1968).

[60]*Punch*, July 17, 1841, p. 1.

suffering. His targets were to be "[t]he noble in his robes and coronet—the beadle in his gaudy livery of scarlet, and purple, and gold—the dignitary in the fulness of his pomp—the demagogue in the triumph of his hollowness"—in other words, aristocrats, bureaucrats and politicians. Equally important was Mr. Punch's attitude toward the gentle sex. Drawing attention to his propensity over the centuries to beat his puppet wife, the writer offered this paternalistic disclaimer:

> We are afraid our prototype is no favourite with the ladies. Punch is (and we reluctantly admit the fact) a Malthusian in principle and somewhat of a domestic tyrant; for his conduct is at times harsh and ungentlemanly to Mrs. P.....But as we never look for perfection in human nature, it is too much to expect in wood. We wish it to be understood that we repudiate such principles and conduct. We have a Judy of our own, and a little Punchininny that commits innumerable improprieties; but we fearlessly aver that we never threw him out of window; nor belaboured the lady with a stick—even of the size allowed by law.[61]

The person of Mr. Punch allowed the *Punch* staff writers and cartoonists to attack and critique the social institutions so confidently and elegantly constructed in the pages of the *ILN*. Even the twin Victorian pillars of monarchy and virtuous womanhood, as personified by Queen Victoria, were not immune to the satirical arrows and daggers of the fictional Mr. Punch, who was always careful to couch his attack in such a way as to avoid accusations of libel. Much of his humour relied on the subjugation of women in Victorian society, and it is therefore no accident that much of the imagery of Queen Victoria focused on her femininity, but from a vantage point of fantasy and fictional space. Images of the Queen in *Punch* all share this space, although it could be used to make two distinct kinds of statements about the monarch—either comic/critical and serious/laudatory. Before turning to this taxonomy of humorous and serious imagery, however, consider the gender ramifications of this kind of text's fantasy geography.

Whether it targeted Queen Victoria's privileged position and the institution of monarchy or appropriated these for its own rhetorical use, *Punch* launched its polemic from the realm of allegory, a wholly defensible position whether the intent was to solicit a guffaw or a gasp from

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[61] *Punch*, July 17, 1841, p. 1.

readers. This representational extraction or abstraction of the Queen into a fictional geography allowed for the kind of criticism that, within mainstream periodicals at least, could not be aimed directly at the monarchy. Marina Warner has defined allegory as a species of metaphor that draws much of its strength from the opposition of the symbolic and temporal universes.[62] Paradoxically, the power and prevalence of the female body in allegory is tied to a corresponding social subordination of women. The false designation of women and nature as "other", as somehow dwelling outside of culture, imbues the female body with erotic qualities that empower this form of visual rhetoric. Again and again, historians of culture have linked the symbolic and political orders, showing in each of these conceptual realms objectifiable entities (entities that are different from the civilized male body) are chosen to represent all that is virtuous in the cosmos. For this reason, the male figure is rarely used to connote abstract principles.

This is not to say, however, that we should confuse allegory with reality, or suppose that actual women were necessarily considered to contain the virtues of their allegorical sisters.[63] In the nineteenth-century it was primarily culturally-enfranchised men, such as the proprietors, editors, and writers of *Punch* and the *ILN*, who defined the contents of allegory, although these meanings could be inverted and re-appropriated for entirely different purposes. The "other" used for allegorical purposes was almost always an idealized figure of "woman", for the image of a young female body tends to spirit the viewer away from the abstract realm of politics into a less rational universe of physical sensation and sentiment. The illusion of allegory, in which the erotic female figure represents the beautiful and the good, transcends mere symbolization to function as a form of persuasion. Depending on the mode of representation, allegorical images of the Queen could symbolize different ideological climates or atmospheres, and both the *ILN*

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[62]See Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (New York: Atheneum, 1985).

[63]ibid. In the chapter "Engendered Images", Warner points out that while Latin abstract nouns were often feminine, the active agent nouns deriving from them were always masculine.

and *Punch* used this device. However, unlike its more reverent competitor, whenever *Punch* fashioned an allegorical setting for this most exalted of Englishwomen, it was usually in the form of a velvet-gloved critique of both her position and her person. What follows is an overview of various sub-genres of that comic/critical imagery.

The first major representation of Queen Victoria appeared in its issue for the week ending September 5, 1841 [fig. 14].[64] From the very beginning, *Punch* focused on Queen Victoria's body—in 1841 terms, this meant the featuring of her youth, her modesty, and above all, her reproductive acumen. "The Letter of Introduction" is a case in point, with its subtle air of sexual foreboding. Here Queen Victoria, by the demure lines of her dress, is presented as a chaste young upper-class woman. The male figure represents Sir Robert Peel, the incoming Tory prime minister, also a member of the upper-classes, but in some way suspect, as is evidenced by the cautious snuffling of the Queen's dog. The sexual undertones are understated here, but communicated by several clues included by the cartoonist. Because she is seated at a desk, surrounded by various accoutrements of writing, the reader is to know that Peel has entered, perhaps uninvited, into the private chambers of the Queen, a space far removed from the public sphere. The reader would have to be familiar with previous *Punch* "pencillings" to know at a glance that this was a representation of a meeting between a self-styled liberal monarch and her newly-elected conservative prime minister.[65] Peel is recognizable only as an English gentleman, and the Queen lacks any of the emblems that signify sovereignty. It is crucial to this instance of political critique that she be seen to be oblivious to the rights and privileges that pertain to the monarchy.

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[64]*Punch*, September 5, 1841, p. 91.

[65]Victoria's early liberalism is well-documented and likely grew out of the close relationship she conducted with her first prime minister, Lord Melbourne, as well as her concerted attempts to distance herself from the court allegiances of her male predecessors. See Thompson, *Queen Victoria*, p.89; also Giles St. Aubyn, *Queen Victoria*, p. 153.

The feminine modesty and youth of the queen symbolizes Whig politics, while the incipient danger posed by the incoming Tories is signified in the dog's careful olfactory appraisal of Peel's presence. To see how this works, we must now turn to the text which this image is meant to illustrate. In a dramatization of their first meeting, Peel is cast as an applicant for the open post of premier of the nation. Queen Victoria apes the concern of the royal hound in her aside to the audience: "I don't much like the looks of the fellow—that affectation of simplicity is evidently intended to conceal the real cunning of his character."[66] As representative of all that is virtuous in "woman," the Queen is also made to represent all that is virtuous in politics—according to *Punch* in 1841, that meant the outgoing Whig government.[67] Clearly aligned with the "good," Queen Victoria sits defeated in opposition to the nefariousness of the Tory leader, head of that group designated by *Punch* to be the upholders of out-dated, immoral, and anti-democratic principles of aristocratic privilege and nepotism:

> The Queen.—Then the majority of my subjects are to be rendered miserable for the advantage of the few?
>
> Sir Robert.—That's the principle of all good governments. Besides, cheap bread would be no benefit to the masses, for wages would be lower.[68]

This reading of the first image *Punch* devoted to the Queen illustrates how the politics of the day could be couched in terms of gender categories, as well as how a fictional space clears the way for otherwise socially-unacceptable commentary. Over the years, *Punch* continued to divide its critique of the practices and expense of the monarchy between representations of the

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[66]*Punch*, September 5, 1841, p. 90.

[67]Should anyone misconstrue *Punch's* political leanings, the Whig critique of Tory policy was reiterated throughout this and other issues, through the devices of irony, parody, illustrative and textual caricature, as well as minor quips and other plays on words.

[68]*Punch*, September 5, 1841, p. 90. We would be mistaken, however, to conclude that *Punch* adhered to the Whig party line. In the same issue, some pages later, a spoof on court circulars (and weekly columns such as the *ILN*'s "Court and Haut Ton") intimates that the views espoused in "The Letter of Introduction" are those of a Queen reticent to acknowledge her own political impotence, while another piece entitled gives a quick tongue-in-cheek explanation for the out-going Whig prime minister's political demise. The propensity of *Punch* to be critical of anyone at anytime gave the magazine the sizzle of topicality, as well as the representational clout that derived from its ability to fan the flames of scandal.

Queen as woman and the Queen as sovereign. Between 1841 and 1861, more than sixty images pertaining to the Royal Family or to the Monarchy assisted *Punch* in its efforts to turn the real world upside down in ways that would entertain rather than offend.

Another allegorical image entitled "The Royal Red Riding Hood, and the Ministerial Wolf" (fig. 15)[69] appeared in the very next issue of *Punch*. The fall of the Whig government outraged Mr. Punch, whose hostility to the incoming Tories/Conservatives manifested itself in the transformation of their leader into a slathering wolf, intent on eating up the "goodies" traditionally conferred by the Crown to its ministers. Partisan politics aside, this early "pencilling" also characterized the Queen as a pubescent innocent roaming about the woods, unaware of the danger posed by her lupine minister. The sexual danger connoted by the minister's bestial disguise would have been apparent to many of *Punch*'s readers, without transgressing the limitations of early Victorian morality. The outline of Windsor Castle in the background identifies the nursery rhyme character as the Queen, and the basket she carries as the container of the privileges that inhere in her sovereign body. This image is one of the few that explicitly target the Queen's partisanship and political influence. By sexualizing her in this way, however, a more subtle message is sent about the young Queen Victoria's vulnerability as mere woman, and the need for a strong, incorruptible masculine political influence. We must remember that by this time Prince Albert had come under fire, not only for his German background, but also because of his position as Prince Consort to the Queen, a subordinate role that would have diminished his virility in the eyes of many Victorians.

Where the *ILN* applauded the Queen as a living instance of the feminine ideal, many of *Punch*'s images upbraided her for the very same reasons, usually in terms of her maternal capacities. "A Royal Nursery Rhyme for 1860" (fig. 16)[70] sagely predicts the Queen's frequent

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[69]*Punch*, September 12, 1841, p. 103.

[70]ibid., 1843 vol 4, p. 17.

pregnancies and their financial drain on the public coffers. As Dorothy Thompson and others have shown, a critique of the Queen's seemingly endless fecundity became a typical republican mode of attack on the costs of a monarchy to the nation.[71] The more disciplinary aspects of maternal power are represented in "The Holiday Letter" (fig. 17),[72] in which *Punch* has the Queen scolding the inactivity of government leaders reticent to plan for war with the Russian Tsar. For its effect, the spoof relies on the dour moral authority attributed to the Victorian woman school-mistress or governess. Femininity in any form could potentially be characterized as a liability, and the Queen did not escape this implicit critique of the deficiencies of her gender. What set her apart from other women and their representational fate was the fact of her sovereignty. Often what one finds is that images of Queen Victoria were placed alongside seemingly unrelated images and text containing the kind of critique against women that could not be expressed overtly against the Queen in a middle-class periodical. In the early years, feminine naivety and caprice could be appealed to, especially in the case of the Queen, whose administrative abilities seemed to have escaped *Punch's* notice. Both "The Writing Lesson" and "The Queen Dissolving Parliament" (figs. 18, 19)[73] position Her Majesty as an incompetent and whimsical interloper in the public affairs of men. Barring the years of seclusion following the Prince Consort's death, Queen Victoria was often faulted by her ministers and the press for her emotional attachment to certain governments and not others, and for her tendency to interfere in foreign affairs. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether *Punch* mocked women themselves or the cultural construction of "woman." Certainly the perception of female "narcissism" and women's taste for fashions presented a perpetual target for *Punch*'s barbs (fig. 20).[74] On the other hand, some women's eschewal of self-adornment was also seen as a sign of feminine deficiency.

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[71]Thompson, *Queen Victoria*, p. 98.

[72]*Punch*, 1854, vol. 27, p. 35.

[73]ibid., 1847.

[74]From *Punch's Almanack*, 1851.

Images of women who in anyway exhibited signs of independence or presented obstacles to male appropriations provided *Punch* with instant targets of ridicule (fig. 21).[75]

Serious-minded images of the Queen constitute a second major taxonomic category in *Punch,* although these occur far less often than humourous images. This makes sense, in that *Punch* considered itself first and foremost as an entertainment weekly, but it also felt no compunction about appropriating positive images of a monarch it usually taunted.[76] The frequency of comical representations seems to have tapered off after 1856 and the disaster in the Crimea. In just a year and nine months time the image "O Gods of Battle" had seen Queen Titania of the Fairies transformed into the most anguished of all of England's mothers [figs. 22, 23).[77] After this period, allegorical royal images tended to be more serious in tone and featured the Queen in more matronly roles than before. This shift in representational mode may reflect the fact that, as she matured and her family grew ever larger, it became increasingly difficult to characterize the Queen as a young, attractive, and sexually-potent-but-contained woman. This type of image is dealt with in much greater detail in the final chapter of the thesis.

Changes in royal imagery over the years of this study occur in terms of breadth of scope as well as in content and tone—serious-minded images appear more often as the Queen ages and the British political consciousness reaches outside of its borders. Images of the Queen in the 1840s were limited for the most part to a localized milieu. For the most part, early images were concerned with domestic issues, such as the plight of the Irish (fig. 24).[78] These tended to concentrate on the familial aspects of the Royal Family, and even in the face of *Punch's* satire,

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[75]From *Punch's Almanack,* 1851.

[76]See the final chapter for a deep analysis of one such "serious-minded" image. It is in this type of imagery that the connections between the *ILN* and *Punch* are exposed.

[77]*Punch,* February 23, 1856, p. 74; October 10, 1857, p. 151.

[78]One reason for this may well have to do with the fact that confinement due to pregnancy kept the queen at home in the early years. There were the occasional state visits, however, and such visits always prompted massive coverage by the *ILN* and provided fresh faces for *Punch's* cartoonists. "Ireland-A Dream of the Future" is type that anticipates later imagery in the 1850s pertaining to India.

they work in the interests of the solidification of middle-class sensibilities. Later, and especially after the Great Exhibition, images of the Queen became increasingly imperialistic, reaching out to establish the dominance of British middle-class values throughout the world.

Like the *ILN*, *Punch* writers and cartoonists tended to target both the femininity and the sovereignty of the Queen. While there is no direct correlation between their representational practices, it can be argued that *Punch* images often functioned to expose the construction of cultural mythologies in the *ILN*'s representations of the Queen. On the face of it, *Punch* appears to be deconstructive or critical of the "myths" so central to the culture of industrial capitalism, but its potentially subversive stance was always temporary—in *Punch* neither class nor sexual revolution is ever seriously entertained.

Chapter III

Ideology, Transgression and the Queen

This chapter establishes some of the similarities and contrasts between the realism of the *ILN* and the satire and parody of *Punch*. Each journal in its own way contributed to the emergence of the modern cult sensibilities that have thus far ensured the survival of an otherwise outmoded British monarchy. Following a brief discussion on issues of readership, a deeper analysis of periodical royal imagery shows precisely how even humorous representations of the Queen worked, in this era at least, not to disparage monarchy but rather to reinforce its necessity in English cultural life.

By 1841, the English periodical readership had become fragmented into distinct, although sometimes overlapping audiences, and periodical publications increasingly participated in this articulation of "the crowd."[1] At least three distinguishable groups were being created during this period, but the ideological tenor of *Punch* and the *ILN* would not have appealed to a radical readership, and their cost would have priced them out of the range of most working-class people.[2] While it proves difficult to explore the hermeneutic practices of their individual readers, or even the demographics of their largely middle-class readerships, it is possible to remark upon the ideological dynamic between readers and their texts. Jon Klancher has noted that , "[i]n the early nineteenth-century, writers and readers of [periodicals] became highly self-conscious about interpreting, constituting and struggling over signs. They were equally absorbed in the problem of social hierarchy, class structure, and the refashioning of a status-conscious society of "ranks" typical of the eighteenth century into the more modern, lateral solidarities and conflicts of social

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[1]See Jon P. Klancher, *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790-1832,* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987).

[2]See Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1957). p. 319.

class in the nineteenth."[3] As this process occurred, the result was a stratification of periodicals based not so much on their differing contents but on their tone, their cost, and the "dividing practices" of their language. This is not to say that readers were not intensely engaged with the contents of the periodicals they purchased, or that reader's contributions were not welcomed, but with periodicals whose 1843 circulation figures exceeded 40,000, the more intimate practices of the eighteenth century were no longer possible nor economically desirable.[4]

We can see this process in the waning of reader contributions and the rise of reader response. The textual practice of "Letters to the Editor," a communal exchange of meaning between writers and readers that characterized the journals of the eighteenth century, faded in the years preceding the generation of mass and middle-class periodicals that spawned the *ILN* and *Punch.* Their emphasis on illustrations and the size and diversity of their readership meant that the one-on-one relationship between editor/author and reader had shifted to one of corporate producer and anonymous consumer. The *ILN* did not completely dispense with the tradition of reader as author, and the magazine's editors occasionally replied to letters in a column entitled "To Correspondents," but this appeared sporadically throughout the year and never became a regular *ILN* feature. The issue for August 5, 1843 contains a good example of a small column addressed to readers whose anonymity remains largely intact.[5] We can extrapolate from the text to discover something about the concerns (if not the demographics) of these more vocal representatives of the *ILN*'s readership. This nugget of editorial commentary suggests that readers looked to the magazine not just for "objective" information, but also for guidance on ways to arrive at an informed analysis of world events and cultural affairs. For instance, "J.K." of Aberdeen sent a

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[3]Klancher, *English Reading Audiences*, p. 7.

[4]Altick, *English Common Reader*, p. 394.

[5]*ILN*, August 5, 1843, p. 86.

letter inquiring as to the literary worth of a contemporary poet, while "A Constant Reader"'s query merely solicited the stark rejoinder, "Protestant."

Many of the comments, however, belie the existence of a sometimes critical and engaged readership. One reader, referring to himself as "A Lover of Truth", objected to the *ILN*'s feature on astrology as just another form of quackery."[6] "Observator", "Smith Smith", "H.D. Griffiths" and "E.T.C." were other readers who felt compelled to correct the factual errata of previous issues. The bulk of correspondents, however, seem to have been more interested in becoming contributors to the magazine, and the editors' selection or rejection of their contributions presented another way of limiting the kind of information and commentary disseminated to the larger *ILN* readership. In this week's column, the editors advised "G.L." to send his score to a music publisher, declined "A"'s poetry, and thanked "T.T." for a contribution for which no room was available. A Mr. Bateman, on the other hand, merited an invitation to "send the drawing, and explain the nature of his invention".[7] A sadder fate awaited "G.B.F." and "E.F" whose works entitled respectively "The Blind Boy to His Mother" and "Flowers" were rejected with only one word— "ineligible."

In Mr. Punch's imaginary world, readership response was as likely to be invented as not, but still played a part in the privileging of certain truths over others. One such "response" found fault with *Punch*'s lop-sided critique of gender differences, and offered "her" own polemic of male behaviour instead, although Mr. Punch made sure to trivialize her invective by its introduction of the piece: ""Fallacies of the Gentlemen.": By a lady who knows them all too well."[8] Gender issues provided *Punch* with material throughout the years, and although the cultural construction of gender was at least addressed there, we will see that no serious critique of

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[6]*ILN*, August 5, 1843, p. 86.

[7]ibid.

[8]*Punch*, 1851, p. 22

the subordination of women was ever extended in its pages. These few examples show how the *ILN* functioned as a site of contested cultural meanings, consensually-endowed with the power to authorize certain interpretations of the world and to exclude others. In the case of *Punch*, the effect was the same but the means different. Because the readerships of *Punch* and the *ILN* overlapped to some extent, we need to know how two seemingly disparate views on the monarchy could be contained within a middle-class sensibility. Therefore, the question of how meanings were produced around the central figure of the Queen for a middle-class audience must take into consideration the context in which the image appeared.

Royal Imagery in Context

In her study of nineteenth-century working-class illustrated periodicals, Patricia Anderson argued that the meaning of periodical images can change as a result of a shift in context, that is as a result of a change in place and time of dissemination.[9] By the 1840s, large numbers of a diverse British population now had access to royal imagery and this coloured the way in which the monarchy was portrayed as well as in the meanings it could now produce. A royal portrait, for instance, could not have the same meaning in both the Royal Academy and in the pages of an *ILN* supplement.[10] Because of his basic assertion that historical context counts in our assessment of cultural artefacts, I have applied some of Roland Barthes' ideas to get at the meanings imbedded in illustrative royal imagery.

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[9] See Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture 1790-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 58-60. Her analysis of the image "The Dying Gladiator" in *Penny Magazine* (1833) underlines the ways in which an antique sculpture takes one new meanings when represented within the context of a nineteenth-century periodical and its readership.

[10] See Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" in *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, [1955] 1978). When a work of art is extracted from the actual thing that lends it its "essence", then the "aura" of that work of art, that is to say, its power, is always delimited and altered in some way. I would add that what it loses in cultural force, it gains in cultural celebrity.

Barthes's methodology proceeds with the assumption that an image always carries at least three meanings.[11] First, there is the literal meaning of the image, which is formed from the actual lines and their distribution upon the pages—this does not change as long as the image remains unaltered, no matter what the context. This meaning is as close as one can come to a "natural" or *denotative* meaning of the image, but it is important even at this level to consider such issues as editorial choice of subject matter and, in the case of *Punch,* artistic license.[12] Second, even a minor shift in context can substantially modify an image's message—it is no accident that the *ILN*'s fashion illustrations occurred in its back pages, with representations of royalty toward the front.[13] Victorian readers came to these images with basic cultural assumptions that already ascribed positive and negative value to terms such as high, low, back, and front. In the case of illustrated periodicals, the text that accompanies the images constitutes the second or *connotative* meaning of the image. We shall see that the general connotative message of class superiority that was produced in middle-class magazines affected the way in which the monarchy would be represented there. In the pages of the *ILN*, the art of engraving was assigned as much a teaching role as it was an aesthetic role—art stood for culture and civilization, and the *ILN* saw itself as a primary agent of this civilizing process. Images of the Queen in this context did not so much proclaim her power over her subjects as it reinforced middle-class values already existent in readers who emulated the virtues for which she stood.

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[11]For the theoretical grounding of these concepts, I have referred to Roland Barthes's *Mythologies* (New York: Noonday Press, [1957] 1988) pp. 109-159; as well as his "Rhetoric of the Image" in *Image/ Music/ Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977) pp.32-51.

[12]I follow Patricia Anderson in ascribing very little choice to the engravers who made the images for the *ILN*: "It seems safe then to assume that an ample salary and steady employment would have given most, if not all, of the magazine's artists sufficient motives for doing as they were directed—creating, adapting, or merely copying images to suit both specific texts and overall editorial policy." Anderson refers specifically to the artists at *Penny Magazine*, but the same conditions apply to the *ILN*. See Anderson, *The Printed Image*, p. 60.

[13]Royal images always occupy a privileged position in the *ILN* during this time period. They are to be found toward the back of any given edition only when that editions a supplement devoted entirely to royalty or in the case of appropriation of royal imagery for the purposes of advertising.

For insight into its connotative meaning or underlying message, an image must be analyzed within ever-widening circles of its social and cultural context. It is therefore necessary to be precise about where, when, and why an image came to appear in the *ILN*, for the socio-cultural context of an image taken from an 1861 issue would differ from the earliest images of the 1840s. Overall, however, images that appeared in the *ILN* between 1842 and 1861 circulated in a cultural milieu that had yet to become obsessed with the monarchy. A mass-fetishizing of the Crown would not occur until the end of the century, and, in the early years at least, the *ILN* had its editorial hands full trying to represent royalty to a newly-monied class, at once suspicious and envious of aristocracy, and with high moral expectations of the Sovereign. That the Queen be seen to embody all the virtues of Victorian ideals of femininity was crucial to positive representations of her. This means that throughout the period of this study, the sign "Queen Victoria" as it is constructed in the *ILN*, will send a message about monarchy that is almost always couched in terms of a code of femininity that was essential in the articulation of the middle-class itself.

In the next image (fig. 25), note its immediate context, that is, its placement within the periodical and the surrounding images and text.[14] In February 1844, the editors saw fit to sandwich details of the conspiracy trial of the Irish "traitor" Daniel O'Connell between engraving of the London skyline and a recently-erected statue of the Queen. Although the text appended to the image indicates its discontinuity with the O'Connell story, it is difficult to miss the framing of this tale of treason within the parameters of secular law (as signified by the distinctive architecture of the City) and of sacred duty. In England, the power of Westminster depends both rhetorically and constitutionally on a social hierarchy headed by the Crown. It follows that a bid to dismantle the national body should be seen as an affront to its essence, the Queen:

> ...the particular course of agitation which has followed the footsteps of Daniel O'Connell, and marked the present epoch of Ireland's history, with so many

[14] *ILN*, February 17, 1844, pp. 97-98.

> elements of storm, is declared a crime against the Crown, a conspiracy against the English Throne and people...[15]

Nowhere is the name or title of the Queen invoked in the course of this diatribe against the Irish agitators, but the connotative meaning of the critique is made clear even to those unfamiliar to Britain's political terrain by virtue of the illustrations and the contents of the adjacent text. O'Connell's assault appeared doubly heinous by making visible its unspoken target, Her Royal Majesty, and by following that story with one that explicitly sang the Queen's praises. Drawn from the descriptive article on the erection of the first statue of the new Queen that directly follows the O'Connell story, the following passage is worth quoting at length for its attempt to conflate Queen Victoria's sovereignty with her femininity:

> It must not be supposed, however, that this statue is a mere abstraction—on the contrary, it conveys a strong and satisfying likeness of her most gracious Majesty. The Sovereign is represented seated on a throne with the diadem on her brow, representing that worn by her on all state occasions; her right hand grasps the sceptre, and her left leans on the orb; the head is slightly inclined towards the right, and rises naturally from the bust, which is exquisitely soft and rounded, and admirably relieved by the flowing drapery falling in massive folds around the lower portion of the figure....In the *Edinburgh Evening Post*, the attitude and expression are much commended for their graceful dignity. "But at the same time," adds the editor, "we see an English lady; and accordingly the artist has conveyed that sweet and placid smile which marks the feminine character in its elevated aspect. The entire statue is thus imbued with all the majesty which belongs to the office of Sovereign, rendered interesting and attractive by the gentle and natural expression which belongs to the woman. It is, in fact, impossible to look upon this production without admiration and love, a sentiment which has been freely and warmly expressed by all who have seen it.[16]

By using the rhetoric of emotion that runs rife in "Prospects of Ireland," the *ILN*'s partisanship could be cloaked in the affectionate language reserved for the monarchy; and, by using the Queen, the proprietors of the *ILN* could play politics while seeming to function as mere commentators. Whatever its party loyalties, however, its use of gendered language and concepts was crucial to the meaning of the *ILN*'s invective against those who would disturb the peace. By ascribing a feminine value to the throne, the state could be positioned as masculine and duty-bound to protect

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[15]ibid., p. 97

[16]*ILN*, February 17, 1844, p. 98

the honour of the Crown. This semiotic analysis of a single image was undertaken to show the ideological riches buried within *ILN* representations of royalty, and to illustrate the difficulty of separating the Queen's sovereignty from her femininity. In these instances, the body of the Queen is used for political work, to underwrite the power of the Throne by appeals to her femininity.

Immediate context matters, but so does the historical context of a given image. In 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition, images of royal spectacle raised the profile of the monarchy in terms particular to the time and place of their dissemination. To represent the Queen in 1851 meant justifying the hierarchies of gender, race, and class through which industrial capitalism was seen to thrive.[17] A heavily choreographed piece such as that staged at the opening of the Great Exhibition, taken together with the intent and skill of the *ILN* production team, could produce a spectrum of political and moral meanings on a single piece of newsprint. If it was in the latter half of George III's reign that the exaltedness of the Crown began to be expressed in terms of domestic metaphors, we can see in many of the *ILN* images how the exaltedness of the Home was being expressed in political terms.[18]

The technical and artistic staff of the *ILN* worked feverishly over the week following May 1, 1851 to ensure that the magazine's pictorial coverage of opening day at the Great Exhibition would precede and outshine any similar efforts by their competitors. One two-page spread entitled "Opening of the Great Exhibition" (fig. 26) featured a serpentine column of ornately-dressed dignitaries, a highly stylized representation to modern eyes though a sophisticated attempt to record the "truth" in early nineteenth-century terms. Only seven women, including Queen Victoria and the Princess Royal, take part in the procession while more than fifty men, including Prince Albert and the Prince of Wales, attend them. The Royal Family occupies the middle of the top half of the image—that they are followed by the women distinguishes them as a family group

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[17]As Barthes points out in *Mythologies*, the role of such myths is not so much to make reality disappear as it is to distort that reality.

[18]See Linda Colley, "The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty, and the British Nation," *Past and Present*, vol. 102 (1984), pp. 94-129.

from the long line of male dignitaries that precedes them. Two of the male dignitaries walk backwards, bowing as they face the Royals and demarcating the separation between symbolic and political space. All male members of the procession wear various types of ceremonial garb, but the women's heads are bare, decorated only with flowers, and all are dressed in low *décolletage* and light colours. The Queen is differentiated only by a small crown and the riband worn across one shoulder The men appear in various types of uniform, with ornate hats in hand and swords at their side, although one sub-grouping clearly consists of foreign officials in national costume. Framing the top of the page, against the background of the Great Exhibition, a multitude of spectators strains for a clear view of the proceedings. Most of these are women, draped in their long day shawls and bonnets and barricaded behind a low wall—both dress and space separate them from the royal women. No text accompanies the image, and the viewer would have had to have access to the issue of May 3, 1851 in order to identify the members of the procession. To most readers the names, other than those of the Royal Family and the Duke of Wellington, would have meant nothing, but the most important aspect of these double-page engravings was accomplished in their overall effect of grandeur and sovereignty. A royal procession must always be seen to amount to more than a sum of its parts.

The *ILN* devoted almost one-tenth of the May 10 issue to an exhaustive account of the progress of the *cortège* and of the opening of the Great Exhibition, going far beyond the description and identification of dignitaries in an attempt to evoke the strange atmosphere of majesty and "togetherness" that filled the great glass hall that day. The report itself was situated in the theatre section of the *ILN*, where the events of the day were presented as a mixture of entertainment and solemn state occasion. The text explains that the procession occurred well into a lengthy mass spectacle that consisted of thousands of British subjects and foreign visitors cheering the Royal Family as they left Buckingham Palace, drove up Rotten Row in an open carriage for all to view, solemnly entered the Crystal Palace, and ascended the temporary dais erected for the ceremonial in the British section of the great mall. Queen Victoria's presence at the

culmination of her beloved husband's grand vision cemented the proposed social arrangements embedded in the theme of the great "Family of Man" and the achievement of world peace through a celebration of the "Industry of all Nations."[19] Prince Albert's deep involvement in the conception and construction of the Great Exhibition, and his presentation of it to his wife that day—the gift of a husband to a wife—symbolized a consolidation of new forms of power relations. In an increasingly secular and constitutional political realm that was seen to explicitly privilege kinship ties of affection even as it implicitly continued to revere the ancient blood-ties of sovereign power, Queen Victoria personified elements of both.

This image was selected for the statements it makes about Victorian royal ceremonial, female monarchs, definitions of gender, and class-lines. This grand ceremonial, set in a Glass Palace hung with medieval banners, in which the entire world is signified by its goods, claims British hegemony over time and space.[20] More than that, it confirms modern middle-class goals and values by the presence of the historical symbol of the British nation, the Queen, combined with an erasure of any evidence of the social inequities required by the capitalist project of progress. The procession is led by men in heraldic costume, men who have no other official ties to the Court than their association with Prince Albert in the planning of the Great Exhibition—the workers and exhibitors are absent.[21] There had been fears that a public display of wealth, wonders and majesty on such a grand scale would incite the class riots that had threatened the

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[19]This rhetoric of family values and industrialization was repeated in many sources other than the *ILN*. Prince Albert used it himself, as did the *Observer* and the *Westminster Quarterly Review* (1850), p. 90. For an account of how the tensions of the early years of Queen Victoria's reign became subsumed within this rhetoric, see Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 60—"[T]he social unrest of the 1830s and 1840's becomes a simple misunderstanding, not a fact, but an error. The purpose of the Exhibition was not to mark any one event but to act as a historical corrective to this misunderstanding...."

[20]Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, pp. 25-26: "...the exhibition layout essentially balkanized the rest of the world, projecting a kind of geopolitical map of a world half occupied by England, half occupied by a collection of principalities vying for the leftover space."

[21]*ILN*, 1851, vol. 1, p. 448. "At two o'clock on Wednesday, according to notices duly given, the interior of the Crystal Palace was cleared of exhibitors and their assistants...."

social order in 1848, and officials also feared foreign assassins.[22] *Punch* produced its own caricature of the Royal Procession, dismissing middle-class fears of the lower orders with a wry comment on the high status and wealth of the actual crowd gathered in the inner chamber (fig. 27):

> "Beyond comparison, the most gratifying incident of the day was the promenade of the the Queen and Prince, holding by the hand their two eldest children, through the whole lower range of the building. It was a magnificent lesson for the foreigners—and especially for the Prussian princes, who cannot stir abroad without an armed escort—to see how securely a young female Sovereign and her family could walk in the closest possible contact, near enough to be touched by almost everyone, with five-and-twenty thousand people, selected from no class, and requiring only the sum of forty-two shillings as a qualification for the nearest proximity with royalty.[23]

Signified in the course of the procession was what the English considered to be a superior attitude to sovereign power. Unlike the French, they did not kill or otherwise depose their monarchs—instead the Crown and the People had reached out in a civilized, mutual embrace of family values that circumvented the atrocities and instability brought on by revolution.

Other than the aristocrat's gardener-turned-architect Joseph Paxton, many of the actual procession belonged to the upper echelons of a class that depended on free enterprise and exploitation of human labour for its ever-increasing power. The presence of the Queen silently attests to the gradual passage of the old criteria of blood-ties for social status and wealth. Political power now resided in the constitutional "body politic", dispersed in the bodies of men like these, men whose civil status depended as much on their ability to amass capital as it did in their ability to physically and morally differentiate themselves from the lower classes, primitive savages, an immoral aristocracy and women. Following the heralds in the procession are the foreign commissioners, middle- and upper-class men from other nations responsible for several of the smaller exhibits in the fair. The fact that many of the countries represented at the Great Exhibition

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[22]Whether these fears were well-founded is questionable. Although the middle- and upper-class fear of "mob" had increased since the Reform Bill riots of the 1830s and the European revolutions of the 1840s there is much evidence to show that these fears were played upon by opponents of the Prince Consort and his pet project. See Monica Charlot, *Victoria : The Young Queen* (Oxford and Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 334; and Giles St. Aubyn, *Queen Victoria: A Portrait* (London: Sinclair Stevenson, 1991), p. 230.

[23]*Punch*, 1851, (image) p. 190, (text) p. 240.

were dominions of Great Britain ensured that half of the floor space of the Crystal Palace was devoted to English goods: "If visitors expected the foreign half of the Crystal Palace to measure up to the English half, they must have sorely disappointed...Next to the virtual encyclopedia of manufactured objects crammed into the English half, the foreign half looked like a dishevelled cabinet of curiosities."[24] The prominent Chinese "dignitary" was actually a serendipitous interloper, an entrepreneur come to London and paying his way by charging money for Londoners to board and examine his junk moored on the Thames. His presence did not disrupt the solemnity of the occasion, but instead was used by the *ILN* to underline the sense of warmth and fraternity so on show that day: "We must also remember the droll Chinese Mandarin amongst the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, who swayed along from side to side, those before and those behind him leaving a pretty full berth for his comical progress."[25]

This great capitalist/cultural project, one that promised to bind the world in peaceful relations through the gathering of the "industry of all nations," required that all members of the new world society know their place within it. In international terms this meant that England, by virtue of its advanced technology and rationalized free-market economy, would take precedence.[26] In domestic terms, it meant that the spirit of entrepreneurship would take precedence over the older political orders of religious and sovereign power. The procession signifies the architecture of a new social order through the medium of a choreographed piece in which living examples of the autonomous, rational man are followed by representatives of the Church, the constitutional government, the military, and the Royal family. Moreover, Victoria *follows* her husband, whose

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[24]Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, p. 25.

[25]*ILN*, 1851, vol. 1, p. 449.

[26]England's most rapid period of industrialization occurred between the 1830s and the 1850s—the railroads took off during this era. This was also a time of great economic and social strife for many Britons. Paradoxically, although a utilitarian ideal of political economy cherished by most landowners/politicians was put forth in this era, it took widespread starvation to prompt the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. For this and other explanations of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British economic history, I have referred extensively to Trevor May, *An Economic and Social History of Britain 1760-1970* (New York: Longman, 1987), p. 102.

court uniform visually assigns him the sovereign power he lacks as Prince-Consort, and they cling to their children as he represents the division between public and private space, between the Royal family and the representatives of commerce and politics (the fraternity to which Albert now belongs). This image may be seen as a representation of the new middle-class cosmos, in that it symbolically relegates the Crown to the political space reserved for women in middle-class families. The Royal family occupies that space in the image reserved for the female spectators, non-active members of *families* whose calling it is to efface their individuality to provide spiritual and affectionate support for the rational male individuals whose duty it is to protect, represent, and serve them through their worldly endeavours. Increasingly throughout the nineteenth century, the most favourable metaphorical light in which to represent the Crown was as morally influential Wife to the politically active State. That Victoria was a woman rendered this a fairly simple exercise.

Other than a few soon-abandoned forays into the comedic and satirical realm more proper to *Punch*, the shape and content of the *ILN* stood the test of time, altering little over the period of this study. The inaugural issue will serve as the model for this mini-analysis of the discursive construction of cultural hierarchies, not least of all because the proprietors of the *ILN* were open and explicit about the domesticating purposes and power of illustrative art:

> [The early illustrative periodical, meant for the working classes] walked abroad amongst the people, went into the poorer cottages, and visited the humblest home in cheap guises, and, perhaps, in roughish forms; but still with the illustrative and the instructive principle strongly worked upon, and admirably developed for the general improvement of the human race....We are, by the publication of this very newspaper, launching this giant vessel of illustration into a channel the broadest and the widest that it has ever dared to stem....The public will have henceforth under their glance and within their grasp, the very form and presence of events as they transpire, in all their substantial reality.[27]

Right from the beginning, a hierarchy of "reality" is established, beginning with the public space of foreign and domestic politics:

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[27]*ILN*, 1842, p. 1.

> [a]nd reader, let me open some of the detail of this great intention to your view...Begin, *par example,* with the highest region of newspaper literature—the Political....In the realm of diplomacy, in the architecture of foreign policy, we can give you every trick of the great Babel that other empires are seeking to level or to raise....Is there Peace? then shall its arts, implements and manufactures be spread upon our page...Is there War? then shall its seat and actions be laid naked before the eye.[28]

Clearly, the *ILN*'s intent is constructive, in that its goal is to assemble and then make sense of the diverse data increasingly available as a result of technological innovations in printing, travel, and telecommunications.

Items native to the realm of most middle-class women, that is, of the home and the domestic sphere, are relegated to the *ILN*'s back pages, if they are included at all. Although the editors made no allusions here to their female readers, they were implicit in this introduction of the periodical to England's "families." In future issues, the Queen's image would, of course, warrant front page coverage, but references to her appeared in both the "hard" news as well as the fashion and, later, the advertising pages in which the Queen's image would become associated with various cosmetics and cures more proper to women's sphere.[29]

Beyond the separate spheres ideology that influenced the layout of the *ILN,* entire semantic universes separated the *ILN's* "people" from the "crowd" represented and appealed to in the pages of *Punch,* even though both periodicals were bought by the middle-classes.[30] The nonsense and tom-foolery so prevalent in *Punch* distinguishes it from the historically-fixed, realist "non-fiction" of the *ILN.* Even as *Punch* destabilizes, it serves to restabilize the hierarchies and power relations upon which the social dominance of its readership relies. Freud's study of the strategies of the comic have provided a analytical tool useful for humorous royal imagery, but

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[28]*ILN*, 1842, p.1.

[29]For an excellent account of the commodification of the Queen's image, see the chapter "The Image of Victoria in the Year of the Jubilee" in Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England,* pp. 73-118.

[30]Although *Punch* cost half as much as the *ILN*, it was still out the price-range of most working-class people. Furthermore, the contents of *Punch* suggest that the magazine was being pitched to a class of people who, to some extent at least, had already "arrived." This would have included gentry, wealthy artisans, clerks, and professionals.

before turning to an in-depth discussion of Mr. Punch's relationship with his Queen, it is fruitful to note *Punch*'s relation to the tradition of *carnival* and the strategies of grotesque realism.

Punch as Court Jester—The Limits of Transgression

Humour is central to the language of *carnival*, as it is by extension to the language of *Punch*, subtitled *"or the London Charivari."* Mikhail Bakhtin coined the phrase *grotesque realism* to refer to aesthetic concept indigenous to the transgressive comic imagery of folkloric culture.[31] In western cultures, the prime site of cultural transgression has been the human body. It is the tradition of carnival, a tradition of irreverent laughter and cultural transgression that most easily exposes the construction of societal myths by focusing on what has been made peripheral or low by "respectable" or realist discourse. To a great extent, *Punch* invoked the essential element of grotesque realism, which is the devaluation of all that is esteemed in "high" culture: "The essential principle of grotesque realism is degradation, that is, the lowering of all that is high, spiritual, ideal, abstract; it is a transfer to the material level, to the sphere of earth and body in their indissoluble unity."[32] What separates this nineteenth-century expression of carnival laughter from its medieval prototypes is that fact that *Punch*'s mixed-sex readership would not tolerate the references to the reproductive aspects of degradation that characterized the earlier forms of the grotesque. These included body imagery that centres on both death and birth, in that "to degrade is to bury, to sow, and to kill simultaneously, in order to bring forth something more and better."[33] The grotesque realism of *Punch* is more akin to that practiced in Renaissance realism,

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[31]For this discussion of grotesque realism, I refer to the long historical and theoretical introduction in Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World,* [tr. H. Iswolsky], (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1968).

[32]ibid., p. 19.

[33]ibid., p. 21.

in which "that ever-growing, inexhaustible, ever-laughing principle which uncrowns and renews is combined with its opposite: the petty, inert, 'material principle' of class society."[34]

Beyond the taboo on overt expressions of sexuality, such as obscene jokes or cursing, *Punch* exhibited the visual pageantry and comic verbal compositions that Bakhtin deemed central to carnival humour. *Punch* constituted the marketplace safely contained on paper, with all the discord, chaos and profusion of bodies that characterized the London street scene. Part of the fun of *Punch* was that one could not, as one could with the *ILN*, predict the contents or the layout of the magazine from week to week. The first issue promised nothing more than a satire on almost everything that a middle-class audience, including readers of the *ILN*, might take seriously. The institutions of banking and high finance were trivialized in "Commercial Intelligence", literary matters were treated with utilitarian ideals in "A Railroad Novel," and academe got its comeuppance in "Lessons in Punmanship."[35] "A Synopsis of Voting Arranged According to the Categories of Cant" revealed in chart form the corruption of the parliamentary process which was just underway with the fall of the Whig government of Lord Melbourne.[36] These and other high-brow matters are brought low and degraded even as the "low" culture of the streets is regaled in "A Conversation Between Two Hackney-Coach Horses."[37] Queen Victoria would be spared visually for a few more issues, but the satire on the monarchy appeared in textual format in this first issue. Like the *ILN*'s "Court and Haut Ton", *Punch*'s "Court Circular" commented on the activity of the Queen and her family, but with a slant directed at the nether regions of the household: "Stalls have been fitted up in the Royal nursery for the reception of two Alderney cows."[38] This barely-disguised reference to the breast-size of the Queen was a rare occurrence

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[34]ibid.

[35]*Punch*, July 17, 1841, p. 2.

[36]ibid., p. 3.

[37]ibid., p. 5.

[38]ibid.

not often, if ever, to be repeated, but in any case, it serves as evidence of *Punch*'s links with grotesque realism. How did *Punch* critique the monarchy without offending its middle-class readership? In what follows, I draw on Freud's study on jokes and the comic in order to outline the critical but acceptable strategies employed by *Punch* in its assessment of the Queen and her family.[39]

At its most basic level, the purpose of the joke, and of humour in general, is governed by a person's need to surmount the critical, rational voice of culture and to momentarily upset the power relations that ensue there.[40] *Verbal jokes* may take the form of double meaning and puns, a multiplicity of meanings produced by a watered-down meaning of the parts, composite words, or alteration in the arrangement of words. *Punch* was rife with this kind of wise-cracking humour, of which this epigram entitled "WHO ARE TO BE THE LORDS IN WAITING" is only an infinitesimal representative:

> "We have lordlings in dozens," the Tories exclaim,
> "To fill every place from the throng;
> Although the cursed Whigs, be it told to our shame,
> Kept us *poor lords in waiting too long*."[41]

Brevity of expression seems to be crucial to the verbal joke, which draws from all aspects of culture for its material.

Conceptual jokes rely on "the diversion of the train of thought , the displacement of the psychical emphasis on to a topic other than the opening one."[42] One among innumerable examples from *Punch* can be seen in the August 10, 1841 issue (fig. 28).[43] Entitled "NURSERY EDUCATION REPORT-, NO.2: The ROYAL RHYTHMICAL ALPHABET, *To be said or sung*

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[39]See Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious*, James Strachey [ed. & tr.] (New York: W.W. Norton, 1960).

[40] ibid. p. 128.

[41]*Punch*, September 12, 1841, p. 99.

[42] Freud, *Jokes*, P. 51.

[43]*Punch*, August 21, 1841, p. 62.

by the Princess Royal," this particular extract appeared during the Queen's second pregnancy, and conflates the seemingly divergent worlds of the warm childhood nursery and the adult world of politics and strife. Here the conflation of genres creates the safe place from which a critique of the costs of a privileged caste to the average Englishman can be put forth for the reading pleasure of subscribers.

Jokes rely on the context of culture for their meaning, and another shared characteristic is their contextual use of seemingly unimportant cultural materials to distract and subvert the internal and external censors. Freud differentiates between the nature and amount of pleasure derived from the two categories of *abstract* and *tendentious* jokes. The pleasure derived from an abstract joke is moderate and in some way linked to word-play, as we saw in the case of the "Lords in Waiting." In the case of tendentious or cynical jokes, the technique is of far less importance than the purpose for which the joke is told, as in the case of the "Royal Rhythmical Alphabet." Although the editors of *Punch* often resorted to abstract jokes, it is within the category of tendentious jokes that images of Queen Victoria can best be conceptualized. This genre produces a degree of pleasure related directly to the subversion of external power relations and of internal inhibitions towards the body.[44] Tendentious jokes fall into three categories, each with its slightly different purpose.

Hostile jokes, which break the social taboo on hatred within the group, replace overt brutality by representing the enemy as small, inferior, despicable or comic—these jokes are directed at figures who claim authority and who are protected by inhibitions and external forces from direct disparagement.[45] In *Punch,* this technique was rarely used against the Queen, but employed regularly in representations of her husband and her ministers (figs. 29, 30).[46] The

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[44]Freud, *Jokes*, p. 118.

[45]ibid., pp. 102-105.

[46]*Punch,* 1843, vol. 5, p. 179; 1850, vol. 16, p. 42.

eagerness with which the Prince assumed various high-ranking roles soon after his marriage to Queen Victoria is the subject of "Prince Albert's Studio," but *Punch* defuses the strength of any of his claims to power by trivializing and domesticizing his talents and interests. In the appended text, *Punch* uses the extended metaphor of fashion to mock the Prince's interest in changing the uniform of the regiment, the command of which was bestowed upon him by the Queen:

> Ever since the accession of Prince Albert to the Royal Husbandship of these realms, he has devoted the energies of his mind and the ingenuity of his hands to the manufacture of Infantry caps, Cavalry trousers, and Regulation sabertashes. One of his first measures was to transmogrify the pantaloons of the Eleventh Hussars; and as the regiment alluded to is Prince Albert's own, His Royal Highness may do as he likes with his own...[47]

In 1850, *Punch* transmogrified the queen's ministers for the cartoon "The Opening of Parliament Pie." Again, this critique of the monarchy focused on its effects—the taxes levied upon hard-working John Bull—rather than on the Queen herself, although the sex and questionable ethnic background of her husband continued to invite *Punch's* poison arrows.

There was, however, another strategy that the magazine could use to get its invective across to its readers without seeming to attack a poor defenceless woman. *Cynical jokes* are those aimed at institutions and collective bodies in which one has a stake, and send the message that the desires of the people have a right to be heard alongside the strictures of ruthless morality—these power-laden jokes constitute a critique of social institutions.[48] Many of the images in *Punch* used this technique to critique the monarchy, but again, not directly the queen (fig. 31).[49] *Punch's* contempt for an unquestioning popular support of the monarchy by "ordinary" people (as signified by John Bull) was expressed through the metaphorical device of a pump draped in the emblems of the Throne. The very idea that good English folk would take the motto *Honi soit qui*

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[47]*Punch*, 1843, vol. 5, p. 178.

[48]Freud, *Jokes*, p. 107.

[49]*Punch*, 1843, vol. 5, p. 35.

mal y pense literally prompted the cartoonist to represent this brand of patriotism in mindless *obéisances* paid to the inanimate arm of the very device that would empty middle-class wallets.

Obscene jokes are almost always aimed at women, and, like other tendentious jokes, require a receptive audience, in this case a male one. Obscene jokes aim at exposure, and should be seen as an aggressive discursive act, one that in extremely polite circles must resort to *double entendre* to bypass the censors. *Punch* always resorts to allusion when using this mode, and the jokes themselves are constructed so that they are seen to be directed by lower-class men to upper-class women. Allusions of this sort in regard to the Queen are entirely absent in *Punch*, and we should see any references to her body as a separate species of pleasure in which the joke may be present but working in the service of the *comic*.[50] *Punch*'s reticence to invoke the parts of the female body consolidated its reputation for a middle-class audience, but this does not mean that the Queen's sex was irrelevant to its critique of the monarchy.

Freud identified two species of the comic—the *naive* and the *occasional*. Of all the forms of the comic, the naive lies closest to the joke, except that is encountered and not made. The operative principle is the recognition of a lack of inhibition in another who is unaware of any transgression of normative behaviour.[51] The naive comic is as likely to be encountered in a "realist" magazine like the *ILN*, as it is in the fictional, satirical landscape of *Punch*, and this is especially so in the case of representations of the women, members of the lower classes and "outsiders." Review, for instance, the *ILN's* documentation of the delight derived from the Chinese "ambassador"'s inclusion in the Great Exhibition's Opening Day procession. The occasional comic, on the other hand, occurs intentionally and its mechanisms of mimicry, comic situation, disguise, unmasking, caricature, parody, and travesty are called upon constantly in the

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[50]According to William Fredeman, *Punch* artists were conservative compared to their later counterparts, including the anti-royalist Matt Morgan (whose image *A Brown Study* alluded to scandalous relations between the Queen and her servant John Brown) at *Tomahawk* magazine, founded in May 1867. See Fredeman, *A Charivari for Queen Butterfly*, p. 57.

[51]Freud, *Jokes*, p. 182.

contents of *Punch*, and rarely, if ever, in the *ILN*. The occasional comic depends for its effect on what Freud and Bakhtin both called "the degradation of the sublime." in which the sublime refers to something large in the figurative, psychical sense. Pleasure is produced when the sublime is brought down to one's own level. In the case of the comic, the degradation is aimed at a person or object which lays claim to authority and respect. Queen Victoria, as well as other members of the Royal Family, certainly provided republican sympathizers with an alluring target for this rhetorical practice.

Among these techniques of "degradation," caricature, parody and travesty were representational techniques familiar to the writers and readers of *Punch*. *Caricature* laughs at the figure of authority by emphasizing or inventing a single comic trait that is overlooked in representations that serve the dominant ideology, and fails utterly if the reverential attitude persists. This may explain why comic images of Queen Victoria rarely use this technique. From the point of view of a nineteenth-century middle-class sensibility, to which the idea of the moral superiority of bourgeois women is central, her femininity and supreme social position doubly protect her. Caricatures of the Prince Consort or a favoured minister were likely to produce more pleasure.

Parody and *travesty* share the comic technique of unmasking, a strategy that works best when the sublime figure has seized authority by deception rather than by right.[52] The pleasure found in such images derives from the degradation of the exalted personage, emerging from the unmasking of the all too human frailties of the target, most often by drawing attention to the dependence of mental functions on bodily needs. Parodic images of Victoria appear far more often in *Punch* than do caricatures—usually these position the Queen as a common mother and wife with the problems that would have plagued any nineteenth-century middle-class matron.(fig.

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[52] Freud, *Jokes*, p. 203.

32).[53] "A Case of Real Distress," for instance, mocks the Royal Family's request to Parliament for the funds to refurbish the new residence at Osborne. In this parodic image, the Queen and her husband are characterized as sharing the plight of most of the populace, who lacked the basic requirements for survival, and who, with the birth of each child, sank deeper into poverty. The ridiculousness of the comparison underlines *Punch's* mockery of the State's priorities. Furthermore, it makes sense that a republican critique of the monarchy, one that focuses on the absence of any "divine right" of kings, would argue their case in terms of the Queen's humanity, and more particularly, in terms of her femininity.

The carefully constructed facade of middle-class respectability tends to be especially prone to the deconstructive work of laughter. In the England of the 1840s, *Punch* appears to have been welcomed by a sizeable middle-class readership as a necessary corrective to the self-conscious artificial hierarchies represented in the serious, realist press. As a satirical, critical magazine, it functioned for the most part in the realm of the imaginary, not least of all because of its loyalties to the tradition of *carnival.* While the state of mind of nineteenth-century readers remains hidden, it is likely that the price of the magazine was spent with the anticipation of pleasure and the assuredness that at least this mental journey would not involve anything approaching a sermon. If *Punch* had any political or didactic message, it was one of good manners and reform, not revolution. The social context of industrial England certainly provided the ground for the joke and the comic, but after all was said and done, the continued success of the magazine depended on the continued commercial success of the "civilized" classes and their (psychic) discontent.

Industrial societies depend on the rational division of its constituent components into variously ranked subjects, and increasingly the powerful rational forces of "civilization" have contained the laughter of *carnival* in socially-acceptable forms, such as art and academic

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[53]*Punch,* 1846, vol. 11, p. 89.

discourse, that subverts dominant social discourse on its own terms. As Peter Stalleybrass and Allon White have argued, if

> we treat the carnivalesque as an instance of a wider phenomenon of transgression we move beyond Bakhtin's troublesome *folkloric* approach to a political anthropology of binary extremism in class society. This transposition not only moves us beyond the rather unproductive debate over whether carnivals are politically progressive or conservative, it reveals that the underlying structural features of carnival operate far beyond the strict confines of popular festivity and are intrinsic to the dialectics of social classification itself.[54]

The sites of dominant discourse and of the *carnivalesque* are therefore not distinct but instead overlap at the site of cultural taboo. The carefully-crafted pages of the *ILN* contained the middle-class mythology and the reasonable criticism that the *carnival* spirit of *Punch* was attempting to subvert. In the case of the Queen, however, the fact of her femininity forestalled any effective transgression, but a careful analysis of the reasons and the ways in which *Punch* represented her to the "crowd" makes clear the extent to which gender worked as a primary building block of the ideologies it usually attacked. Ultimately we shall see *Punch*'s failure to transgress Victorian gender codes as one of the semiotic chains that rendered it complicit in the very hierarchies it mocked. The important differences between the two periodicals is not their intended audience or ideological purposes—for when all is said and done *Punch* remained an organ of middle-class ideology—but the processes invoked in representation and the production of meaning.

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[54] Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Poetics and Politics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 26.

Chapter IV
Monarchy and Maternity

This final chapter addresses the representational conflation of power and femininity that worked so well to cement the relationship of the Queen with her middle-class subjects. Within the context of mid-nineteenth-century Britain, it was absolutely essential to the renewed popularity of the monarchy that the Queen be seen as "meta-mother" to the nation, a role that obfuscated the monarch's by now irrational claims to "divine right." The Queen's moral authority depended on the extent to which she could be seen to represent "respectability" in her person. It was this "respectability" that consolidated the contours of middle-class ideology and that contained and delimited the Queen's expression of sovereignty. It was not by accident that the role of the monarch became increasingly symbolic just as the crown was placed upon a woman's head.[1] The Queen's sex did not guarantee that the monarchy would survive republican challenges to its continued existence, but the fact that the Queen was a woman proved exceedingly useful for the construction of social categories and hierarchies that ensured the consolidation of already privileged middle classes. On the other hand, representations of the Queen also helped to consolidate the myth of the "angel in the house," and this is the paradox of Queen Victoria's reign—that even as a woman sat upon the most powerful throne in the world, her actual political power waned so as to become non-existent, eventually transformed into royal "influence."

We may dismiss this unacknowledged form of power as insignificant and irrelevant to history, in the same way that the private sphere of the home has been relegated to the realm of fiction and biography. However, the correlation between the shift of the sovereign's power from

[1]Upon the death of her uncle King George IV in 1837, various parties opined on the symbolic possibilities and the political impotence of the young queen. A contemporary print entitled *Susannah and the Elders* represented Victoria flanked by Lords Melbourne and Russell, asserting Victoria's dependence on her ministers. See Stanley Weintraub, *Victoria: An Intimate Biography* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1967), p. 106. Others saw greater potential, as did Peter Murray McDougall in his broadside that predicted a new, more merciful era given the presence of a young, unmarried woman on the throne. See Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power* (London: Virago Press, 1990), p. 95. Both outlooks, pessimistic and optimistic, rested on the queen's youth and sex.

the political to the symbolic realm coincides with the increasing relegation of middle-class women to the home. Women were denied political lives in nineteenth-century England, usually on the basis of either some natural deficiency of reasoning powers or physical strength or because of their maternal role. Although the ideal of the bourgeois "woman" became increasingly associated with intellectual insipidity, physical vulnerability, and sexual frigidity, these characterizations of femininity were discordant with the Evangelical and utilitarian values that also underpinned middle-class ideology. During the same period, and in much the same way, the monarchy's political redundancy was emphasized at the same time that it was used as a symbol for, among other things, an British nationalism. We can see this discordance of female morality and female vacuity, as well as the clash between parliamentary and monarchical rule, being played-out and contested in weekly installments of *Punch* and the *ILN*.

The question of readership and reader-response to these ideologically-fecund images raises the issue of how power circulates through cultural artefacts. I rely on Antonio Gramsci's theory of consent and cultural hegemony here, insofar as this approach attributes a certain degree of autonomy to individuals/readers without minimizing the power of the ruling class to dictate social norms.[2] The exclusion of some meanings as false and the inclusion of others as "natural" or as "common sense" is part of the process by which one class comes to differentiate itself from others. This is the first move in the Gramscian theory of ideology and hegemony. The second part of the process involves the creation of a consensus about the nature of these truths among, not only members of the group, but also between itself and other groups. In terms of images of Queen Victoria, the middle-class press asserted its cultural dominance by representing the monarch with a virtuous respect for her social position. This differentiated the largely overlapping readerships of the *ILN* or *Punch* from the perceived chaos and radicalism of the mob as well as

[2]For a more systematic development of Antonio Gramsci's thought see Tony Bennett, "Popular Culture and the Turn to Gramsci", in T. Bennett, C. Mercer, and J. Woollacott (eds.), *Popular Culture and Social Relations* (Milton Keynes, 1986).

from an immoral aristocracy contemptuous of the Queen's lack of patrician sheen and the crashing dullness of court life.[3]

From the mid-eighteenth century on, the middle class distinguished itself by "creating its own sexuality and forming a specific body based on it, a 'class' body with its health, hygiene, descent, and race."[4] According to Anita Levy, "it did so by affirming in writing and in practice the unique character and importance of its body and sex, assigning to the female the care, maintenance, and maximization of the life of this body."[5] The stock representation of the domesticated, desireless middle-class woman differentiated the middle class from both the aristocracy, with its allegedly licentious, public women, and also from the working, dirty, sexual stereotype of the woman of the lower classes. At the same moment of this differentiation, however, "it also provided the new truth that could remove individuals of competing classes from their place in history and culture and unite them according to a set of universals apparently common to them all...Desire was represented as firmly rooted in...sexual difference."[6] Individuals then seemed to become united across lines of race, class, culture, or generation in an erasure of real differences that authorized intellectuals and professionals of the dominant class to pronounce the "truth" about individuals, cultures, and historical moments with impunity. This theoretical model underlines the importance of viewing images of the Queen through the lens of a gender analysis that focuses on cultural formations of sexuality and their role in outlining the parameters of the "natural."

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[3]Many biographers and historians have commented on the rift between Queen Victoria and fashionable English "society". Giles St. Aubyn notes, "It was certainly a novel experience for Englishmen to be ruled by a sovereign who set them a good example. Naturally, the middle class and Evangelical world welcomed the new morality. But many of the gentry, brought up in the days of George IV, denounced the Court as bourgeois and sanctimonious". See Giles St. Aubyn, *Queen Victoria: A Portrait* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1991), p. 288.

[4]Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality: Vol. 1*, Introduction.

[5]Levy, *Other Women*, p. 13.

[6]ibid.

The *ILN* and *Punch* provided two primary sites for this construction of "reality." The English middle class could construct itself as separate and above, but also the same, as other groups from which it distinguished itself, by privileging sexuality and the "family" as the most fundamental and therefore most "universal" human attribute. Much more was going on, however, as Anita Levy has shown:

> With notions of sexuality and the healthy body, the emerging middle classes laid claim to a distinctive class "body" differentiating them both from the aristocracy and the labouring classes.....The family became the privileged locus of affects, sentiment and love, as well as the privileged point of development of sexuality. Middle-class marriage and the family it begat ostensibly had no rules other than the dictates of the heart. They were, in fact, based on separation and difference—of domestic space from political space, domestic labor from labor, leisure from work, female from male.....While new notions of political economy developed that located the source of class power in various places within the economic sphere, the social sciences and especially anthropology devoted their efforts to formulating a new model of kinship. It was a class- and culture-specific model to be sure, but one that became a residual element that played a powerful legitimizing role.[7]

The conclusions drawn from Levy's study can readily be shown to be applicable to the intellectual work of periodical literature. Like the discourses of the social sciences and fiction, this genre took part in the articulation of a middle-class ideology that grew out of the relatively recent formation of the domestic family. The first issue of the *ILN* openly declares its civilizing role, and the audience that it intends to address and to continue to construct according to the requirements and desires of England's "families:"

> Here we make our bow, determined to pursue our great experiment with boldness; to associate its principle with a purity of tone that may secure and hold fast for our journal the fearless patronage of families; to seek in all things to uphold the great cause of public morality; to keep continually before the eye of the world a living and moving panorama of all its actions and influences...[8]

It was also in the interests of *Punch,* despite its critical and carnivalesque stance, to uphold the basic infrastructure of the *status quo*, especially considering its reliance on middle- to upper-class incomes. To show how these periodicals produce and reproduce a class-specific and gender-

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[7]See Anita Levy, *Other Women: The Writing of Class, Race, and Gender, 1832-1898* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991),p. 59.

[8]*ILN*, Saturday, May 14, 1842, p. 1.

stratified ideology, the balance of this chapter is devoted to an in-depth analysis of one image each from the *ILN* and *Punch*.

The "Family of Families" at Home

Let us turn to an *ILN* representation of the "Queen as Woman," in an image of the "family of families" at home. Entitled "Reception of the Chinese Family, at Osborne"(fig. 33), it appears in a late August issue of *ILN*.[9] The artist was commissioned, with the assent of the Royal Family, to represent an official event that took place within the "private" sphere of Victoria's hide-away at the Isle of Wight. She, Albert, five Royal children, and three male and two female lookers-on are dressed in the day garments of the middle-classes, although the princesses wear light colours and bloomers. In her hand, Victoria holds to the middle of her body a piece of white or light-coloured fabric—perhaps a bonnet or an apron. As a group, the Royals stand to face the Chinese family in a communal gaze, although Albert's body is turned in a three-quarters profile that directs his view in such a way as to bypass the exotic creatures altogether—in fact, he is looking down and across the page so that his line of vision encounters only the feet of the most central seated Chinese woman. He leans heavily upon a pillar that delineates the space inhabited by the Royal family and their attendants to the left of centre of the image itself.

Beginning at the centre of the image, and continuing to the right fore-ground, the Chinese family is situated in a diagonal configuration. Closest to Albert is a dark-skinned woman, clad simply in a white smock. Her lack of finery suggests that she is an attendant to the women of the family. Seated below and to her right, an older woman stares imperiously back at the viewer, hands folded in her lap. Two younger women with rather Caucasoid facial features are situated beside her in three-quarter profile, gazing back at the Royal family. One is clad in a dark version of the gown worn by the older woman, and her hands too are folded in her lap. The woman to

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[9] *ILN*, 1851, vol. 2, p. 269.

her left, plucking a Chinese stringed instrument, is dressed similarly to the attendant, although her headdress and jewelry are more elaborate. Like the other seated Chinese figures, her feet are encased in small triangular slippers.

In direct opposition to the spacial relations of Albert to the Royal family, the Chinese male figure is positioned behind the women of his retinue. It is difficult to ascertain his rank based on his simple white garments or minimal headgear, but his gown is similar to those of the women. This homogeneity of dress contrasts with the British group and their gendered costumes, and, within the context of the article, hints at Chinese male effeminacy. Because this is captioned as a *family*, the reader can assume that he is related either by marriage or by blood to at least one of the women, yet he stands slightly away from their bodies, making it difficult to ascertain his exact relationship to each of them. Like that of the two seated women, the trajectory of his gaze terminates at the body of the Queen. However, Victoria's standing position, her lack of ornamentation, and the fact that she meets the collective gaze of the Chinese group cancels out its power to objectify her, as does the protective masculine presence of Albert, standing slightly ahead and to the side of her.

Having delineated the representations of these two very different family groups, we may now consider them in terms of the background in which they are situated. Both families are arranged in a discontinuous semi-circle against a wall, but the lack of detail in the upper corners of the scene render it difficult to make a reading of the room's actual dimensions in relation to the figures it foregrounds. While the room appears to be somewhat vast, it is clear that this is a domestic interior, and this is echoed and repeated in the portrait of the Royal family that occupies the entire top centre space of the image. This is the well-known Winterhalter parlour portrait in which the Queen and the Prince of Wales, as conduits of the the royal blood-line, are positioned to the right of her husband and daughters. The scene is one of royal domesticity in which the display of sovereign power is muted—this is the "family of families". Within the domestic setting of Osborne at least, if not at the official locale of Buckingham Palace, Albert is seen to command

equal (if not greater) power than Victoria. Beneath the portrait, and directly between the two families, stands an intricately-wrought table the exclusive function of which is to display two *objets d'art*. Whether the vase and the bust have been given by the Chinese entourage or enjoy a perennial state of display is unknown. The entire group inhabits floor space that is taken up and centred by an exotic woven carpet, probably Persian or Indian by design. The positioning of the central motif serves to position the viewer of the image outside and above the foregrounded figures. Victoria's authority is underlined by her proximity to the official family portrait, and the fact that she and her family are situated under that part of it that signifies sovereign power and the legitimate royal blood-line. The Chinese family occupies that symbolic zone of childhood designated by the princesses, thereby becoming a object for the anthropological, disciplinary (and potentially erotic) gaze of the viewer.

This has by no means been an exhaustive description of the contents and formal elements of the image but it will suffice for the purpose of an analysis that specifically seeks the modes in which abstract concepts are conveyed by seemingly innocuous and opaque representations of "reality." This image uses the moral and physical category of femininity to delineate gender roles within the family according to coordinates of race and class. The Chinese family, and especially the women, are exhibited as commodity or curiosity for the consumption of Victoria, the Royal Family, and the English people. This is signified by at least two visual elements—the physical proximity of the Chinese family with the table of *objets d'art* and the fact that they sit facing the unseen viewer of the image, while the royals remained standing, their gaze fixed upon the foreign visitors. They do not consume the same elements of the spectacle, however. Albert alone appears to make a concerted effort to avoid eye contact with the women— this might this be seen as an appropriate response from the loyal consort of the Queen, and as a devoted husband, should have eyes for no-one but his wife. As a married woman, Victoria's viewing of these ornamental women would not be tainted with eroticism—her maternal sensibility would not entertain erotic thoughts—and as the Queen, it is her duty to meet the gaze of her guests. It is the children and the

lesser members of the household who are permitted by their roles to drink in the scene with sensory abandon.

Readers of *ILN* did not come to this image unarmed with a framework for constructing the picture's meaning. The reception of the Chinese family had occurred in real time in the previous week,[10] and at that time *ILN* provided a lengthy "faithful account" of the principal characters and their attire, as well as the proceedings of the visit. Any regular subscriber to *ILN* would have known that the Chinese entourage consisted of one husband, his sister-in-law, his two young wives, and one lady's servant. Part of the reportage consisted of background information on the place of women within Chinese culture and its "barbaric" practice of footbinding. The writer expresses muted moral outrage at the way in which Chinese women are contained within the confines of the household by being rendered immobile, while the "naturalness" of Victorian corseting is given silent approbation.[11] Given the domestic context of the visit, we might assume that this outrage was based solely on a distaste for the expression of the unquenchable male libido and and its perverse sexual fetishes, but farther down the page we discover another, and perhaps more fundamental, reason for judging the Chinese family as deviant. We might expect an explosion of Victorian disapproval at the Chinese custom of polygamy, but this indelicate issue is deftly elided by the writer's concerns about familial harmony. He reports that, despite their long, sequestered sea voyage, the women took great comfort and pleasure in each other's company. In this seemingly trivial anecdote, the linchpin of Victorian social order —the binarily gendered family—is revealed.

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[10] *ILN*, 1851, vol 2, p. 254.

[11] The issue of corseting was by no means a non-topic in 1851. Feminist, social and religious reformers criticized its libidinal aspects, while doctors were split on its effects on women's health. Many women seemed to have used stays to form their figures in moderate dimensions that made them feel "all of a piece" — protected, presentable, while still alluring to the opposite sex.. The "corset controversy" was gathering full steam,with a little help from the owner and editor of *The Englishwoman's Magazine*, during the months of the Great Exhibition.

The *ILN* writer was not so much looking askance at the fact of polygamy, but at the likelihood of conflict in this non-binary group. *Punch* remarked on the same visit, in the form of a riddle:

> Chung-Attai and his brace of wives—his two better halves—have been introduced to the Queen and Prince at Osborne. An illustrious lady was heard to remark that for one husband to have a couple of wives, seemed an odd way of matching china; very like giving one cup two saucers.[12]

The trope of companionate marriage, of the "natural" spousal love between a man and a woman (and by extension, their children), is stated twice in this image, once in the family group and once in the portrait. Male and female members of the Royal group are clearly differentiated in their dress and demeanour, although the children, presumably as less civilized beings, are not yet fully grown into their specific gender roles. The presence of the polygamous Chinese family disrupts this trope, and must therefore be seen as an exotic strain of familial organization. The Royal Family, appearing twice in this image, represents the pivotal reference point for gender definitions, thereby positioning all other definitions as "uncivilized." The "civilized" English version of family depended on strictly gender-coded functions that were assigned to its individual members on the basis of sex, varying slightly according to age. The Chinese family, with its excess of wives, confuses nineteenth-century middle-class notions of utility and political economy—what purpose could two wives serve except to wreak havoc on a man's wealth and and the harmony of his home-life? Implicit in the silent critique of this apparently childless marriage was a denouncement of what seemed to be a purely ornamental and erotic role for the female spouse, as well as the absence of a strong emotional bond between husband and wife. This foreign kin group represented the antithesis of that foundation of civilization, the English family, of which Victoria and Albert were constructed as exemplars by the proprietors of the *ILN* and other cultural "gate-keepers."

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[12]*Punch*, 1851, vol. 21, p. 96.

We have seen how the *ILN*'s images of Queen Victoria between 1841 and 1861—whether they focus on the fictitious medieval aspects of Court finery, on the Queen at work, or on the ordinariness of this extraordinary woman—coalesce around the central theme of "family values," an historically particular ideology that was seen to be embodied in the Queen and the Royal family. It remains unclear the extent to which images of Queen Victoria took part in the articulation of these values, but it can certainly be argued that long before she came to the throne in 1837, the foundations of this middle-class ideology were being laid by at least one increasingly active sector of society. Women, and especially those women who had found a voice through their involvement in the reforming and Evangelical movements of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, would come to have an increasingly important role to play in transformation of the British monarchy.[13]

This image from 1851 provide us with some evidence of Victoria's intention to properly align the gender roles within her own family, and it is undoubtedly the success of Albert's self-assertion in cultural affairs that turned the tide of public opinion in his favour. We saw earlier how the Queen and the press used royal portraiture to position herself as a mother primarily concerned with the realm of affection and morality, and Prince Albert as the politically-neutral but publicly-active father to the British State.[14] In the aftermath of the Great Exhibition and the birth of yet another royal burden on the national coffers, it was necessary to recall the past of industrial and military heroism as represented respectively by Prince Albert and the Duke of Wellington, while at the same time framing the most Royal of bodies in her maternal role. The fact that Victoria came to be viewed as a mere figurehead only enhanced the meanings contained in her representations. Had she been seen as a political power, none of these meanings would have

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[13]See Colley, "The Apotheosis of George III", and Muriel Jaeger, *Before Victoria: Changing standards and behaviour 1787-1837* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1956).

[14]*ILN*, April 30, 1853, p. 328. See Chapter 2 of this thesis, fig. 13.

appeared to be "natural" and the peculiar brand of British nationalism would have foundered without the potent but empty symbol of monarchy upon which it relies.

Changes in royal imagery over the years of this study occur in terms of breadth of scope as well as in content and tone. Images of the Queen in the 1840s are limited for the most part to a localized milieu. For the most part, these early images are concerned with domestic issues and it is unusual for the Queen to be represented in terms of her relation with the rest of the world. Instead, images from the 1840s tended to focus on the monarchy as a family, and even in the face of *Punch's* satire, they worked in the interests of the solidification of middle-class sensibilities. Later, and especially after the Great Exhibition, representations of the Queen became increasingly imperialistic, reaching out to establish middle-class hegemony throughout the world. Again we will see how, in Gramscian terms, the two movements of hegemony are played-out on a broader scale. By proclaiming a consensus at home, the *ILN* and *Punch*, as organs of middle-class ideology, can reach outward to construct the world as "other." Let us see now how *Punch* employed concepts of femininity and monarchy in such a way as to ostensibly criticize players in the political realm but in practice d the ideological work of colonization and conquest.

Monarchy, Maternity and Middle-class Hegemony:

In September of 1858, Punch offered an unusually somber version of Queen Victoria to its readers —not a breath of caricature taints the regal atmosphere of "The Accession of the Queen of India" (fig. 34).[15] An analysis of the contents and construction of this image reveals not only the centrality of gender to English bourgeois ideology, but also the way in which gender functions to privilege British world-dominance. Important to note is the emphasis on maternity, not sexuality, as the central characteristic of virtuous nineteenth-century femininity. This image works on the

[15]*Punch*, September 11, 1858.

twin levels of politics and emotions, realms which in the Victorian era were purported to be entirely distinct, except in the case of the English female sovereign.

Queen Victoria would have been recognized by previous readers of Punch who would be familiar with the magazine's mode of royal caricature. For readers new to these conventions, she is alternately identifiable by her crown, the sceptre she holds in her right hand, and the English roses that embellish the braiding of her robes. The other female figure, however, cannot be identified as a real woman, but is instead meant to signify the state of India. This is implied by the image's semi-allegorical setting in which Queen Victoria's Grecian attire acts as bridging device that allows a back and forth movement between historical to symbolic space. Furthermore, the scene is set in nature, and therefore outside of civilization and history, and if there were any doubt as to the other woman's identity, we are guided by the absence of her proper name, by the image's caption and by the accompanying text on the following page of the magazine.[16]

In terms of European conceptualizations of time and space, Queen Victoria's geographical relationship with "India" is one of metaphorical dominance. Although the action in this image is somewhat ambiguous, "India" appears to be offering up her sceptre to Queen Victoria, allegorically offering to Britain the sovereignty of the Indian people. Queen Victoria's response seems to be one of generous acceptance of this additional responsibility, and in this way she is positioned as a benevolent ruler and not a greedy usurper of Indian rule. "India"'s submission to British rule is underlined by her prostrated body and by the prominent ring that pierces her nose—to an English reader, the nose-ring likely refers back to a method of taming animals such as oxen, signifying perhaps that, in exchange for its gifts of civilization, "India" will from now on serve as Britain's beast of burden. "India"'s need for British civilizing practices is implicit in her dark-skin, in her immodest dress and in the dirt in which she kneels.

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[16]See Christina Crosby, *The Ends of History: Victorians and "the woman question"* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991). In her study of how the Victorian obsession with history correlated with their obsession with the "woman question," Christina Crosby has shown how the discursive construction of the middle-class male as the universal subject of history required that the category "woman" be constructed as somehow outside of history.

This brief break-down of the element s of this image is necessary if we are to locate the subtleties of how ideologies get passed around as truths. In what is a piece of propaganda about political and economic exploitations of a pre-modern state by an industrialized one, it is the concept of "woman" that is used to obfuscate the power relations that obtain there. The composition of "The Accession of the Queen of India" serves to fragment the semiotic category "woman" into two distinct categories of femininity. "India"'s body, dress and demeanor signify the negative or ambivalent terms associated with "fallen" women in the nineteenth-century, and she stands collectively for unbridled corporeality, for luxury and decadence, for temptation and defilement, and for passion and irrationality.[17]

The over-mediation of the term "India" in this image mirrors the over-mediation of the term "woman," both in *Punch* and farther afield in nineteenth-century western culture. In this semiotic sleight-of-hand, Queen Victoria occupies the position of subject, a political vantage point usually reserved for men, but because the image refers to an inferior society in general, this movement is permissible. It is even preferable, perhaps, to jingoistic rhetoric of English superiority, for the image vaults the reader directly into the moral realm of right, providing a far less refutable argument than a blustering display of physical might. As we have seen, images of Queen Victoria in *Punch* usually focused on the Queen's femininity, but in this image, it is her sovereignty that is being emphasized. Her femininity merely provides the allegorical basis for the expression of the virtues of the Hellenic tradition—purity, wisdom, simplicity, grace, justice, mercy and self-composure—on which the ascendancy of the middle-class ideology is based. In this image, the allegorical/actual Queen is positioned against the sky, that signifier of the heavens, of the transcendent and all that is outside of history.

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[17] Any reader of *Punch would* have been familiar with the contents of an Orientalist discourse that perpetually positioned non-Europeans as "other.' My own research has borne out William Fredeman's assertion that *Punch* regularly offered xenophobic cartoons, caricatures and commentary. See William Fredeman, "A Charivari for Queen Butterfly: *Punch* on Queen Victoria," *Victorian Poetry*, vol. 25, no.3-4, (Autumn-Winter, 1987).

"The Accession of the Queen of India" differentiates the femininity of the English woman from that of the Indian woman. Poor India's visible signs of sexuality and subservience are compared unfavourably with femininity in its purest form, that of the non-sexual but desirable maternal woman. Queen Victoria's orderly, domestic, maternal body contains all that is progressive, modern and superior about England. "India," as the personification of chaotic sexuality, unregulated fertility and industrial indolence, begs at her feet for her to bestow the benefits of colonization. Anita Levy has shown how later British anthropologists demarcated civilized culture from the "primitive" on the basis of female sexuality. She contends that

> the anthropological representation of the past is crucial to the construction of the gender system. Men must rule women, not to create or maintain economic or political affiliations but to manage individual bodies. When the the past is represented as the disorderly disposition of bodies through time, the modern notion of population management becomes nascent with it. The past then creates the need for modern families and for institutions that intervene on their behalf when all else fails.[18]

When we look at this image in light of Levy's assertions, this otherwise benign and somewhat sentimental image of a Queen and her new subject, we begin to see that more fundamental meanings embedded there. Queen Victoria, although clearly the dominant figure in this image, derives her authority from within the constraints of middle-class feminine "virtue," in part because she is a woman, and in part because the renewal of the popularity of the monarchy depends on the obfuscation of the crown's power relations. In the nineteenth century, as today, this was most easily achieved when the queen's maternity was emphasized as the key element of her sovereignty.[19]

Turning to the text, we see that the allegorical device continues to be used to construct a rhetoric to support the colonization of the Indian state. The text that accompanies this image reinforces the analogy of the state to a woman, and by using this device, *Punch* makes statements

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[18]Levy, *Other Women*, p. 67.

[19]Paradoxically, it is precisely this aspect of the queen that comes under attack from her detractors. See Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power* (London: Virago Press, 1990), p. 101.

not only about the superiority of British rule but also about the necessary contours of British femininity. What follows is a content analysis of the poem. The combination of text and image within this context creates specific connotative meanings that, in the case of "The Accession of the Queen of India," create the parameters a middle-class ideology founded on gender relations.

Entitled "Congratulation to the Queen," the short laudatory poem atypically lacks the gentle parody that *Punch* usually directs toward the monarchy. On the contrary, the phrase "To thee is given another land..." positions Victoria both as an intimate and as divine authority, inasmuch as it begins with terms in which one would address one's lover or one's god.[20] India here is predicated as a natural possession, as a nation whose boundaries have always existed as outlined by the British trade monopoly there, becoming an addendum to the Queen's/England's subjectivity—just "another title of renown." "India"'s final gesture of sovereign subject is to pass on that sovereignty in the form of a sceptre and a crown that will sit on the good Queen's head, the rightful site of rule and authority. Such a willing sacrifice depends on "India"'s perception of British rule as salvation from its primitive past—shades of Queen Victoria's divinity colour the text here: "To India now at least appears, Hope that before she ne'er had seen...." In the next line, "India" is once again predicated as a weak, suffering woman, seeking salvation, and Queen Victoria's disinterested maternal benevolence is once again underlined: "She smiles upon thee through her tears, and looks for aid to England's QUEEN."[21]

In the second stanza, *Punch*'s versifier focuses on evoking a mood of praise for England's Queen, and accomplishes this through a series of metaphors that tie together the elements that both Levy and Crosby argue are fundamental to the delineation of middle-class or bourgeois ideology. "Woman," as locus of the emotional world and of such "feminine" sentiments as mercy, is featured in the supplication of "India" to Queen Victoria. Her appeal stems from their connection

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[20]Here *Punch* positions itself as subject, but also as a confident of the Queen.

[21]Regular readers of *Punch* would be familiar with an ongoing critique of the susceptibility of women to religious sentiments.

at the maternal level, a connection revealed in both language and text. "[N]or will she have nursed a fond belief in vain" uses the motif of the breast as nourishment, a function utterly distinct from the sexualized breast of the "India" figure, who appeals to the maternal sensibility of the monarch renowned for her fecundity. Seeking asylum from the uncivilized males of her race, "India" yearns to be "no longer a victim and a prey" of the lascivious males of her race, of the despots and the rajahs whose interests do not lie not with the moral and physical health of their subjects, but with the fulfillment of the desire for power. Indian resistance to British rule is trivialized here by sexualizing Indian claims for political power. Queen Victoria's authoritative maternity is referred back to in the final metre—"She will be governed for her good"—as are the child-like qualities of the subjugated "India."

"India" becomes further infantilized in the final stanza, which begins "Too long neglected," invoking a metaphor familiar to many Victorians—that of the abandoned, neglected child. Again, politics dissolve into the realm of affective, melodramatic language, in which a happy ending for the story and for history depend on the central figure of the virtuous woman, but at the same time industrial progress is rhetorically linked with timeless virtues: "At thy hands, benignant culture she requires." The Queen, as a primary locus of moral, if not divine powers, lavishes cures of "irrigated lands, [a]nd iron roads and lightning-wires." Communications and transportation provide the therapeutic infrastructure necessary to introduce the deprived and depraved "India" into the healing light of rationality and modernity. English pragmatism, usually the butt of *Punch's* witticisms, becomes privileged as a tonic for "India"'s ills when juxtaposed with the other alternative of religious sanctimony as practiced by missionaries. Queen Victoria becomes metaphorically aligned with the new secular moral rigour of the middle classes,[22] wherein virtue could be measured by one's actions, one's measure of success, and not by one's

[22]There is not the scope here necessary to fully document the English people's perception of the Queen as proponent of Christian values, but a least one English cleric of the era invoked her name in the name of decency and "family values". For instance, in 1860, a Sheffield Anglican minister Samuel Earnshaw defied the church's solemn condemnation of such pleasures as theatre-going by invoking the Royal Family who, in his words, "openly do the very things which the arbiters of religious opinions and models of Christian practice have pronounced irreconcilable with a religious state of mind." See Samuel Earnshaw, *The Tradition of the Elders* (Sheffield, 1860).

station within the Church. By 1858, Queen Victoria had come to epitomize such values, and we have seen how the *ILN* took pains to identify the Royals as a Christian family unit.

"The Accession of the Queen of India" gushes with such middle-class "mythologies," some of them contradictory. To reiterate, let us use the concept of displacement or sublimation to address that which is being semiotically purged from the Queen to reappear as the otherness on "India." Remember, however, that this image contains at least two layers of representation—if it is clear the Queen Victoria represents Britain and that the other female figure symbolizes India, it may not be so evident that the characterization of one nation as inferior to the other relies on their gendered identities. Queen Victoria here stands not only for "Englishness" and the values of industrial capitalism, but also for that set of "family" values on which its national identity depends. It is fruitful then to ask what it is that must be eradicated from the representation of the Queen in order to semiotically subordinate "India." Where exclusion occurs, there must always be an inverse construction taking place elsewhere—in this case, *Punch* builds the notion of "India" based on a notion of what Queen Victoria, and therefore, England, is not.

I noted earlier that this image fragments the sign "woman" into relative terms of high and low value. This fragmentation provides the logic for both middle-class hegemony as well as the subordination of women within that group. The foundation of "virtue" for the English middle-class can be detected in the distinctions between "India" and Queen Victoria. The primary contrast that can be made between the two figures, insofar as they are female, is that "India" contains sexuality for the purpose of male pleasure whereas the body of Queen Victoria is self-contained, autonomous and replete with an unselfconscious fecundity. The Queen's power derives from her maternity and not her sexuality, whereas the bare-legged "India"'s value is compromised by the uncontained sexuality of her body.[23] "India"'s apologetic stance does not alter the fact that her

[23]In the nineteenth-century, such a spectacle would have been viewed as nothing short of scandalous, for even the "loose" women of the demi-mondaine covered their legs in public.

virtue, at least in her present form, is irretrievable.[24] What it does signify, however, is "India"'s desperate need for the civilizing influences of British colonization and the respectability that its middle-class values can bestow upon her.

In Victorian England, active or assertive female sexuality had to be seen to be diverted from the bodies of middle-class women to the women of other classes, races and ethnic groups. Sex and the bourgeois woman were antithetical concepts, and middle-class sexuality was relegated to the private realm of the home, as outside of politics. Unbridled sexuality, as any decent person could see in the plight of the Irish and the Indian peoples, contributed to the perceived chaos that characterized the poor and the primitive, and that threatened the social "hygiene" of the working classes. This amputation of sexuality from the political sphere depended in reality and rhetorically on the domesticity of the women of the hegemonic group. The subject of sexuality could not be avoided, in that any group needs to reproduce to survive, and so middle-class women's sexuality needed to be represented, but only in ways that either implicitly or explicitly reiterated their subordination to men. A most successful motif was that of "woman as mother," wherein motherhood requires an expertise with transcendent emotions and an absolute elision of the sexual act and the power relations that precede the condition of motherhood. By emphasizing the maternal virtues of the semi-allegorical Queen Victoria, England is constructed, in the moment of reading the text "Congratulations to the Queen" and looking at the image of "The Accession of the Queen of India," as the apolitical benefactor to the underprivileged and vulnerable Indian state.

This has been an analysis of just one image that appeared in a periodical devoted to laughter and the comic, and not to serious politics. But it is precisely the serious tone, the "common-sensibility" of the verse, that supports my contention that *Punch* and the *ILN* took part in the construction of a middle-class consciousness. They did the intellectual labour, a form of cultural work essential to establishing political and social hegemony, one Gramsci deemed

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[24]The motif of the once-errant, now-repentant woman reappears frequently in the novels and periodical fictions of the early-to-mid-Victorian period. Some such "anti-heroines" are Nancy in *Oliver Twist,* and Dorothea in *Middlemarch.*

essential to social hegemony: "...the supremacy of a social group manifest itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as 'intellectual and moral leadership'. A social group dominates antagonistic groups, which it tends to 'liquidate', or to subjugate perhaps even by armed force."[25] Certainly the threat of armed force is being played down in this image, although the figure of "India" seems to invite an armed intervention on her behalf should more peaceful measures fail. In Gramscian terms, it is far more effective, at least in terms of consolidating the middle-class ideology, to position England as a leader, and a benignant one at that, that is seen to bestow its culture, both material and ideological, on needy "others." This endowment of money and thought culture on "India" is presented as a beneficent act of sacrifice and compromise, as if India "herself" had entreated England for such "leadership." Images of Queen Victoria conflate political and moral leadership, wherein the icon of nineteenth-century middle-class maternity serves also as the icon of British colonialism.

This extract from *Punch* illustrates Gramsci's characterization of the nature of hegemony as both economic and "ethical-political."[26] While he privileged the economic elements of hegemony, other writers have shown how essential gender distinctions are to class and race hierarchies in the nineteenth century. We have seen in the images "Reception of the Chinese Family at Osborne" and "The Accession of the Queen of India" how economic and political aspects of British rule in India are obfuscated by an emphasis on Christian morality, especially within the realm of innate maternal love. For periodicals like *Punch* and the *ILN*, Queen Victoria provided a far more effective purveyor of the national identity and imperialism than did old Britannia. This purely allegorical figure would still be trotted out as a sign of righteous English might, especially in times of war and in the face of clearly-defined "enemies," but the Queen could be used to justify the material exploitation of her own and other peoples. Although it was only in

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[25]Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, pp. 57-58.

[26]Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, p. 161.

the latter part of her reign that she became characterized as the "Great Mother," construction of this representational rubric of maternity was well under way in the years preceding her widowhood.

Summary

On December 14, 1861, the Prince Consort died following a brief illness, and the bulk of imagery in the weeks that followed focused on his life and accomplishments. The *ILN* devoted an entire supplement to his memory, and Punch paid its respects by omitting images and text critical of the monarchy. No one wondered at the Queen's mournful retreat from public life, for her devotion to her husband was well-documented, and it would be some time before the press began to question her prolonged absence.[27] Over the years, *Punch* would continue to point out the more surreal aspects of the reign of an increasingly dated and uningratiating sovereign. As always, the *ILN* would be there to stand in her stead, defending all that England and the British Empire in their ongoing rhetorical protection and projection of the widowed Queen's images. Whenever her rule threatened to become meaningless, a combination of accident and design worked to transform representations of the Queen into a new foundation for national identity and corporate profit.[28]

While the historical specificity of the English, nineteenth-century, middle-class family[29] prohibits any sweeping generalizations about the Victorian ideology of "separate spheres," it is clear that by 1861 it had become deeply embedded within notions of "common sense." To distinguish themselves from the supernatural (and thereby irrational) inflection of the Roman Church, the institutions of the English Church and the Evangelical Chapel alike tended to focus on a rational morality that lent itself to the daily business of secular life. "Duty" was an oft-used

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[27]Weintraub, *Queen Victoria*, p. 324.

[28]Assassination attempts and advertising campaigns both had the effect of imprinting the importance of the monarchy into the collective psyche of Victorian society. See Thomas Richards. *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1990).

[29]For the tracking of the growth of the middle-classes through the lens of families and the gender relations that mediated them, see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

byword, and the assured route to the progress of the individual soul and the nation, manifested by embracing one's role in the great division of labour that would lead to heaven on earth . Now, instead of appealing to old theological arguments as to their propensity to evil and soulessness, women were argued to be too intellectually and morally frail to withstand the rigours and dangers of public life.[30] The Victorian ideology of the sexual division of labour situated women's duty within the walls of the Victorian home, where, by virtue of her "natural" maternal calling, she laboured with love to maintain the moral and physical condition of her world-weary, bread-winning husband. It was a husband's and father's duty to do perilous battle in the arena the capital-based economy, and so provide status and a good living for the fragile beloved and their children. Home, the domestic sphere, required the containment of a morally-sound woman within it to stave off the pollution of the outside world.[31]

This is the myth of the middle-classes, and the myth upon which strict gender and class lines rely in a capitalist society—yet I am not suggesting that it in any way mirrored social reality or total complicity on the part of individual women. Women resisted their containment within domestic spaces, and many leapt at the chance to participate in public life. In 1848, the Queen's College for Women was established, and in 1851, Harriet Taylor anonymously published "The Emancipation of Women" in the *Westminster Quarterly Review*. *Punch's* ongoing cartoon commentary (figs. 35, 36)[32] on the phenomenon of American "Bloomerism" show how difficult it was for such innovative women to be taken seriously, and underline the social tension surrounding some women's attempts to transcend gender roles.

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[30]By 1851, the migration of Irish to English cities in the face of the Great Famine necessitated an extensive restructuring of the Roman Catholic Church to meet their needs. A Papal Bull issued in 1851, appointing Cardinal Wiseman "Archbishop of Westminster," divided England into twelve new dioceses. Wiseman could not resist a loud proclaiming of a Catholic restoration, precipitating an uproar in Parliament and public opinion. See St. Aubyn, *Queen Victoria*, p. 310-311.

[31]The material basis for these general arguments about middle-class ideology can be found in Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes* .

[32]*Punch*, 1851.

Queen Victoria's privileged position was unlike that of any other woman in the world, and yet she too suffered the consequences of middle-class culture which expected "selflessness" from women in an age of self-assertion. Representations of the Royal Family as the epitome of the normative English family served to obfuscate the contradictory power relations in her personal life that arose from her dual role as Queen and wife, ruler and ruled. An entry from her journal in 1852 reads,

> Albert grows daily fonder and fonder of politics and business, and is so wonderfully fit for both — such perspicacity and such courage — and I grow daily to dislike them more and more... We women, if we are to be good women, feminine and amiable and domestic, are not fitted to reign, at least it is *contre gré*.[33]

The images in middle-class periodicals between 1841 and 1861 show a concerted effort by the press to properly align the gender roles within the Royal family, and it is undoubtedly the success of Albert's self-assertion in cultural affairs that turned the tide of public opinion in his favour. As Victoria increasingly receded into the political background, Albert would continue his active engagement in the social reform of the public arena until his death in 1861. The coverage of the Royal Family during and after the Great Exhibition in 1851 had "naturalized" the German Prince Consort so that he was now seen to rule in the English castle, at least, if not in the British Nation. The fact that Victoria came to be viewed as a mere figurehead only enhanced the natural meanings contained in representations of her. Had she been seen as a political power, none of these meanings would have appeared to be "natural."

The theme of social and political harmony underlaid the mythology of monarchy that was invoked so often in the early years of the *ILN*. Even *Punch*'s satirical jabs at the Royal Family served to reinforce their iconographic status as a family first, and a political institution second, but this is not surprising when we see both these periodicals as taking part in the articulation of Victorian realism. For both *Punch* and the *ILN*, the social, political, sexual, racial, and economic

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[33]St. Aubyn, *Queen Victoria*, p. 219.

order depended on a division of physical and moral labour that found its most basic units in the modern middle-class family. Representations of Queen Victoria served a dual purpose of unifying her subjects, while on the other hand acting as a means of categorization between the socially superior and inferior.[34]

The purely physical force of the "rule of the fathers" that had governed social relations for centuries was antithetical to nineteenth-century notions of reason and self-discipline that justified democratic claims for the individual autonomy of males of the rising middle-class.[35] The ideal of the middle-class family represented in miniature the desired social division of labour and power necessary to the march of progress and British imperialism. Images of Queen Victoria served disciplinary purposes, although their meanings could be read in numerous ways, and feminists often pointed to Victoria as proof of women's political capacity.[36] Behind these images, the authorial intent of the illustrated press was mediated by many actors, including owners, editors, writers, artists, the Queen, and readers of the middle-class press. Profits were made when these agents invoked the Queen's image, a mutable sign grounded in the mortal body of a feminine sovereign. These representations of maternity, signifying the trope of congenial domesticity, were invoked as if they had the power to harmonize the potential chaos of a stratified society and to naturalize the politics and economics of British Imperial practices. On the other hand, early representations of Queen Victoria centred increasingly on a motif of maternity that would sustain her popular acceptance, at home and abroad, in the latter decades of her long reign. The words of the cataloguer, John Tallis, express most eloquently the role of the Queen in the year of the

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[34]Ilse Hayden, *Symbol and Privilege: The Ritual Context of British Royalty* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), p. 2.

[35]For an excellent overview of the intellectual and religious crisis of the nineteenth century, a crisis that involved the toppling of religious authority in the face of scientific and democratic practices, see Walter Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 19570.

[36]At least at the beginning of her reign, before she had become a matron and mother, there is evidence that some English women held her up as an example of women's political acumen. See Disraeli's early political novel *Sybil* for a fictionalized account of such sentiments.

Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition, just as they captures the essence of the representational rhetoric of the first twenty years of her imagery in the middle-class press:

> "And now rapidly congregated on British Ground the representatives of the different nations, with their respective productions and wares, who had been invited to take their place in the great industrial mart, one of the avowed objects of which was to draw all the families of the civilized world together, in bonds of amity, for their mutual benefit and enlightenment...to give the rest of the world its chance, the British Colonies had their assigned space; every zone of the earth and every temperature beneath the sun, received the command to exhaust their riches and lay them at the feet of Victoria.[37]

This thesis has focused on the contingency and interdependence of three key historical elements in Victorian England—the relatively new primacy of gender differences, the emergence of a middle-class media, and the transformation of the monarchy. While representations of Queen Victoria contributed to the construction of the nineteenth-century stereotype of the "angel in the house," the historical moment mediated these images and the mode of representation. An essential element of my main thesis rests precisely on this fact, that definitions of gender, or for that matter of monarchy, are never fixed, no matter how sturdy the ideology that produces them.

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[37]See John Tallis, *Tallis' History and Description of the Crystal Palace, and the Exhibition of the World's Industry in 1851* (London: Tallis, 1852), vol. 1, p. 15.

Appendix
Images of Queen Victoria

fig. 1

We come now to speak of the characteristic illustrations of this brilliant event, as they adorn the pages of our ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS. And, first, as in all honour and duty bound, we must direct attention to her who, not more in her exalted station as "sovereign of all she surveyed," than by her grace and condescension, was emphatically the sun from which the glorious constellations of the evening drew light, and life, and brightness. The costume worn by her Majesty was that of the noble-hearted and tender Philippa, Queen of Edward III. Our limits preclude a full-length representation of her Majesty's attire; but the accompanying engraving will enable our fair readers to form an idea of its *splendour*, with the assistance of the following description.

DRESSES OF HER MAJESTY AND HER LADIES IN ATTENDANCE.

Over a skirt, with a demi-train of *pourpre* velvet, edged with fur, her Majesty wore a surcoat of brocade, blue and gold. The centre and the edges *like-wise* lined with minever. This fur—distinctive of the highest social station in the middle ages, when the costume of high and low, of age and youth, were not confounded—her Majesty alone wore at her ball. From the upper edge of the centre of the minever stomacher there was a band descending of jewels laid on gold tissue, and the other parts of the dress, the armlets, &c., were likewise studded with precious gems. Over this was affixed an ample mantle of splendid brocade, gold and silver, with flowers of silver *marlre* and brilliants, over a gold ground—a marvellous tissue made, as well the blue and gold brocade, by the ingenuity of our own Spitalfields weavers. This mantle was lined with minever. Her Majesty's hair, folded inward *à la Clovis*, was surmounted by a light crown of graven gold.

THE MISTRESS OF THE ROBES.—Her Majesty was attended by the Duchess of Buccleuch, Mistress of the Robes, [illegible], in leader of the Highland Quadrille, were one of the noblest of her characteristic national costumes.

THE HON. MRS. NORTON.—The Hon. Mrs. Anson and Mrs. Norton were dresses of charming effect of the ancient fashion by her Majesty, bearing the quarterings of the ancient arms of England, with lions rampant de lis, &c.

LADIES IN WAITING.—Lady Jocelyn and Lady Portman were dresses of the same form as her Majesty's, with a surcoat, but without minever and other distinctive accompaniments.

THE MAIDS OF HONOUR, Miss Liddell, Miss Paget, Miss Devereux, Miss Stanley, appeared in dresses and surcoats, trimmed with gold and silver.

Lady Rosslyn exhibited a dress copied from the picture of the famous Countess of Salisbury, whose garter Edward III. turned into a trophy—origin of the highest order of chivalry now in existence, and which Kings, Princes, and Nobles of the highest degree bear as a remembrance of the most romantic of all passions.

To describe the effect of these dresses as gorgeous, would be but half to express the admiration they elicited. The design and execution of her Majesty's costume were intrusted to the genius and skill of Vouillon and Leare. The former, who, we hear, is an amateur of the pictorial art, had amassed experience under Sir Thomas Lawrence in the famous *bal costume* of the Marchioness of Londonderry, and with the assistance of his expert and tasteful sister, Madame Leare, we are told that he succeeded marvellously in embodying the noble devices of her Majesty upon this occasion.

The small engravings in the centre of this and the next page exhibit detached groups of her Majesty's illustrious visitors in the various costumes honoured by their adoption, as, blended together after the quadrilles, they wandered through the scenes of enchantment unveiled to them by the favour and hospitality of their young and lovely Sovereign.

The engraving at the bottom of this page will enable our readers to form an accurate idea of the novelty and splendour exhibited in the ball-room of the Palace, at the precise moment of the commencement of the royal quadrille. Amidst this magnificent group the ingenuity of our curious friends will find no *difficulty* in appropriating particular costume to individual character; and fastidious indeed must be the taste that, in such a cluster of brilliants, would care to discover a flaw.

If we might be allowed space, we could here dilate with enthusiasm upon the surpassing magnificence of the scene before us. The highest, the wealthiest, the loveliest, and the most honoured of the land, are gathered into one *Tableau Vivant* of the most interesting period of modern history; and but that any reference to the stern and unclothed facts of actual life would here be out of place, we would observe that, in our opinion, never did Sovereign and Prime Minister coincide in their measures more happily, than Queen Victoria and her Premier. The latter takes us to relieve the commonalty; our gracious and lovely sovereign, who combines exquisite feminine diplomacy with more serious statesmanship, amuses her nobles through their *pleasures, and the* [illegible] *amusement*, spend [illegible], to revive languishing trade! This is the healthful ingredient which lies at the bottom of the overflowing cup of pleasure. This is one of the wholesome conditions by which affluence and rank should preserve their distinctions amongst us. Some of our [illegible] *parvenus*, in narrow-minded envy of the rich, appear as if they would retrograde to the very sumptuary laws of the dark ages. We laugh to scorn the remarks of these—

> "Malicious censurers; which ever,
> As ravenous fishes, do a vessel follow
> That is new trimmed; but benefit no further
> Than vainly longing."

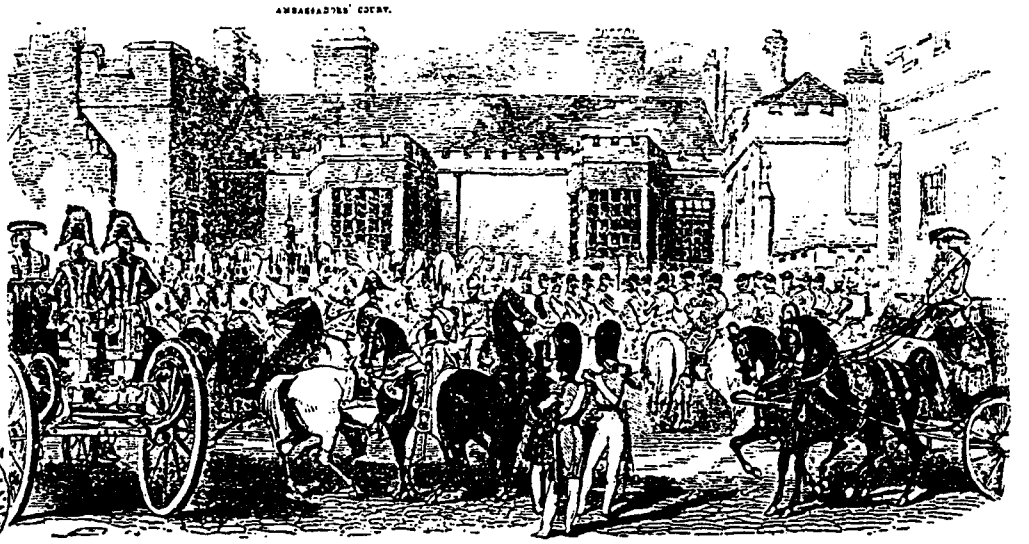
fig. 2

AMBASSADORS' CARRIAGES.

HER MAJESTY.

AMBASSADORS' CARRIAGES.

AMBASSADORS' COURT.



PERSIAN COURT.

fig. 3

THE QUEEN'S DRAWING-ROOM.—CEREMONY OF PRESENTATION.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S VISIT TO LANCASHIRE.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS.

No. 524.—VOL. XIX.] SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1851. [TWO NUMBERS, 1s. WITH HALF-SHEET SUPPLEMENT, GRATIS.

HER MAJESTY'S VISIT TO THE COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER.

THE return of the Court from their annual residence among the mountains of Aberdeenshire, has been this year marked by features which to the lovers of history might recal the glorious days of Elizabeth, were it not for the curiously distinctive marks which give to the present Royal journey on its individual character, and render it, in an eminent sense, a remarkable sign of the times. It was not merely to lordly halls and nobles of high birth that, on this occasion, the visit of a Queen and her illustrious Consort were directed; it was to the merchant princes of a city made by themselves the "Queen of the Seas," from the arctic to the antarctic pole—the modern Tyre, towards which lands the commercial enterprise of all the world: it was to nobility which had taken commerce by the hand and led her from the ocean, smiling, into the bosom of the land; it was to a city where men, by a singular union of solid character with genius, had given a vital soul and life-like energy to inanimate matter, and, by their well-directed industry, had raised the working power of England from three millions of men to three hundred millions.

The great commercial capital of the North was the first honoured with reception, whence her Majesty proceeded to Manchester, as the traveller would journey from the shores of some great lake up to the fountains of the river whence it drew its wealth of waters. And if fortune smiled on one more than another—if the sun shone on Manchester which was clouded at Liverpool, there can be no jealousy between them as regards the greatness of Royal favour, which honoured with equal brightness on both, and conferred equal honour on each in the person of its chief magistrate. Of Liverpool, all must acknowledge, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, all its greatness, its enterprise, and its superabundant, ever representing wealth were in the full displayed. But if Liverpool was great, Manchester was grand and wonderful. It was a very hive of industry, pouring forth a full demonstration of its long-stored riches. Nor should Salford be omitted, whose Peel Park—that most excellent testimony of a people's gratitude—and that one great spectacle of 12,000 children collected in the Royal honour, can never be forgotten.

With these few preliminary remarks, we proceed to describe in detail the interesting incidents which marked her Majesty's progress from our mountain home to the glades of Windsor Park.

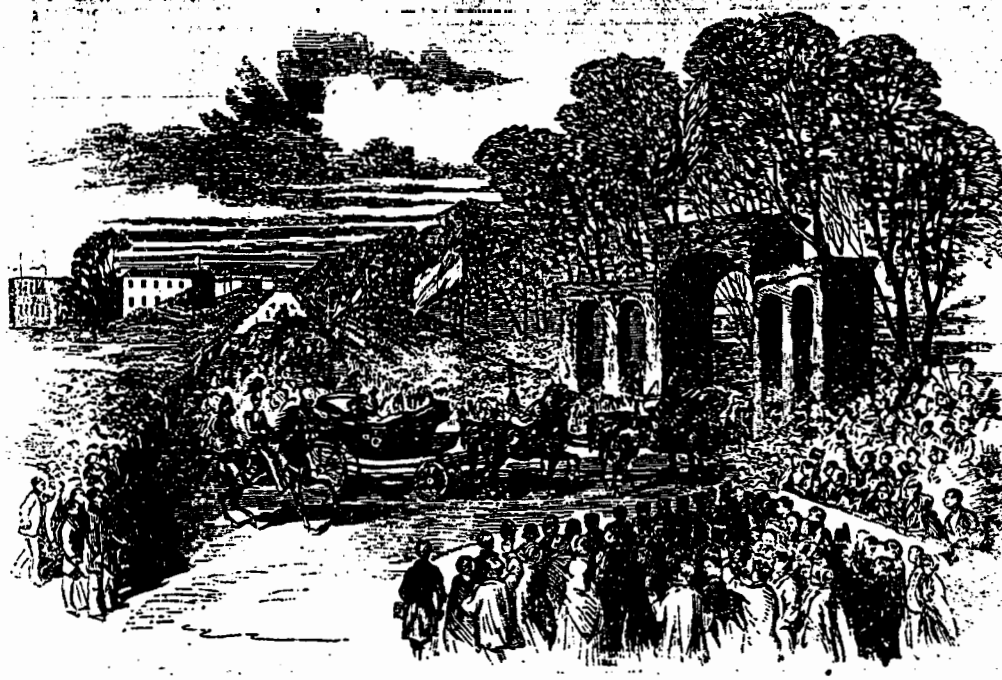
HER MAJESTY'S DEPARTURE FROM BALMORAL.

The Queen and his Royal Highness Prince Albert, with the Prince of Wales, and the other youthful members of the Royal family who had accompanied their Illustrious parents to Scotland, left Balmoral on their return to the south, on Tuesday, the 7th instant. The weather was very unfavourable, the rain falling heavily. Notwithstanding this circumstance, a number of residents in the neighbourhood, and all the dependents upon the Royal demesne, assembled to witness the departure of her Majesty. At the appointed hour, the Queen's carriage, containing her Majesty, the Prince Consort, the Princess Royal, and the Prince of Wales, drove down the avenue, followed by a carriage in which rode the other Royal children and the Ladies-in-Waiting; and then came the Earl Grey, Colonel the Hon. C. B. Phipps, Colonel the Hon. A. Gordon, Sir James Clark, and Mr. Birch in a char-à-banc. Two carriages, with the household servants, had been sent on before.

The route traversed by the Royal party, in order to reach the railway, was by the banks of the Dee to Banchory, and thence across the lower range of Grampians to Stonehaven, about 15 miles from Aberdeen. Leaving Aberyeldie on the left, a fine old mansion, long the property of a branch of the ancient family of Gordon, and now possessed by the Duchess of Kent, the Royal cortège passed Prince Albert's property of Birkhall, crossed from the south to the north side of the Dee, and ended the first stage of their journey at the village of Ballater. Here a large concourse of people had assembled to testify their loyalty to the Queen, and a detachment of the 42d Regiment, the 'Sprt of which is now at Aberdeen, was in attendance as a guard of honour. Leaving Ballater, and driving down the north side of the Dee, the Royal party arrived at Aboyne, where her Majesty was again greeted by the cheers of a loyal and attached people. On leaving Banchory, which was their next stage, the Royal cortège passed across the romantic bridge of Tough, and then, turning eastward, around the Grampian Chain, at a place called the Slug, whence for seven miles the drive was as cheerless, barren, and wild as can well be imagined. On emerging from the Slug the Queen drove on by Ury, the seat of Captain Barclay, towards the railway station at Stonehaven, where the Royal carriage drew up at half-past one o'clock, amid the acclamations of a crowd of spectators who had assembled at that place. Her Majesty and Prince Albert, the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales, on alighting from their carriage, were received by Lord James Kay, chairman of the Aberdeen Railway, Mr. Alexander Firie, vice-chairman, Mr. Keith, secretary, Major Christie, Mr. Bruce, of Ashgrove, and Mr. Wallace, of Perth, directors. Her Majesty and the Prince acknowledged the attention of these gentlemen, and walked to the private apartments, where luncheon was laid out for the Royal party.

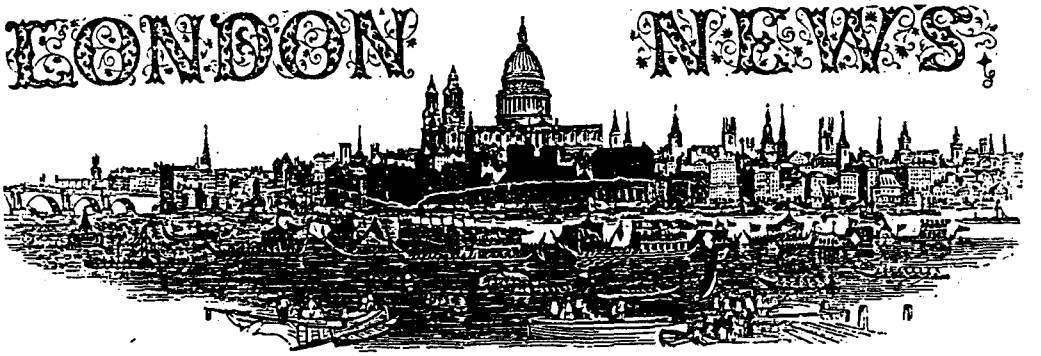
THE ROYAL PROGRESS FROM STONEHAVEN TO EDINBURGH.

The weather, which had been stormy up to this point, now cleared up, and at five minutes to two o'clock her Majesty entered the Royal saloon carriage belonging to the London and North-Western Railway, which, with five or six other first-class carriages, had been sent to [illegible] under charge of Mr. Wright, of the carriage department, for the Royal accommodation. At two o'clock the pilot engine started, and was soon



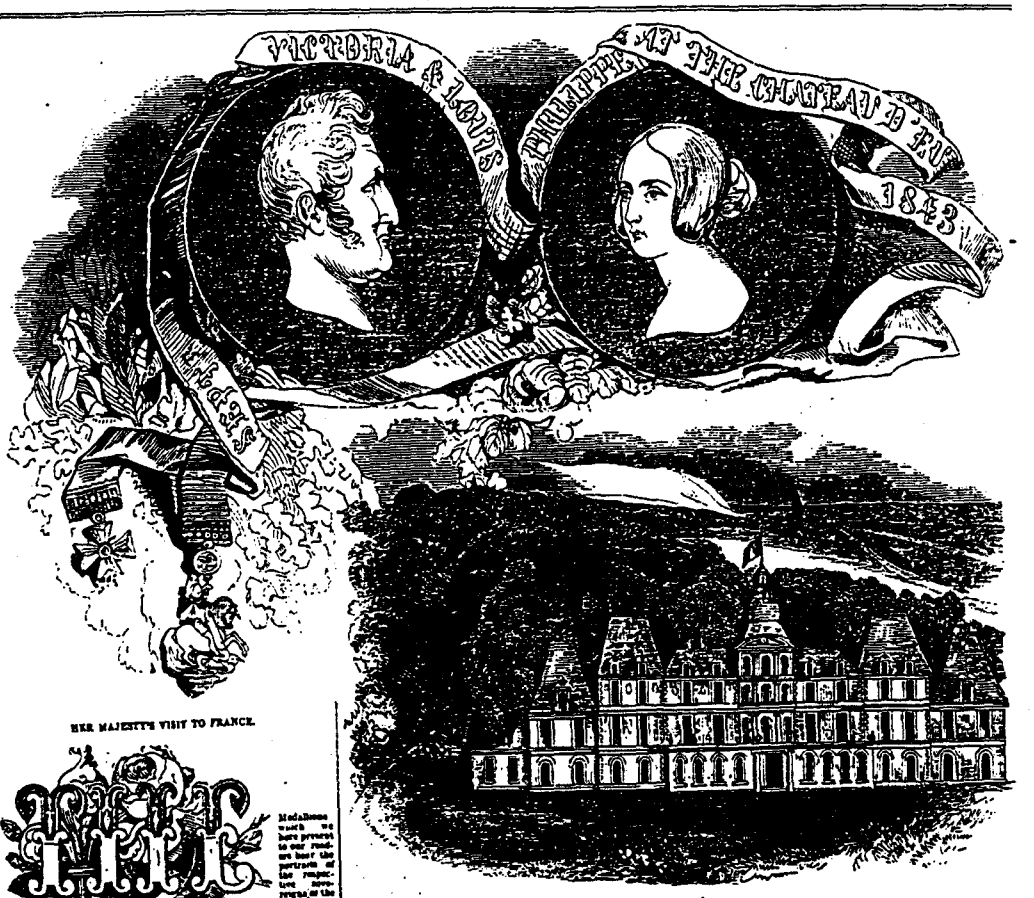
THE ROYAL PROGRESS...AT THE ENTRANCE TO PEEL PARK, SALFORD.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS



No. 72.—Vol. III.] FOR THE WEEK ENDING SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1843. [Sixpence.

OFFICE, 198, STRAND.



HER MAJESTY'S VISIT TO FRANCE.

THE CHATEAU D'EU

Medallions worthy of have presented to our readers have the pursuits of the respective nations, of the two most powerful, most enlightened, and most civilised nations amongst the kingdoms and states of the earth.

The event that has produced, and, indeed, is producing so great a sensation of the pleasure of their respective countries within the limits of one day, is one which may well call forth the reflective powers of the philosophic mind, and give rise to meditations of a far more satisfactory character than could have occupied his mind had the storm of Revolution remained such as it threatened to be when Louis Philippe first entered on the busy, and then sanguinary and tumultuous, theatre of life. Let us look back a little and trace the incidents of his career, such as they have been developed since the period when the present King of the French first dashed his sword and won his spurs before under the brave but unfortunate and unpredicate Dumouriez.

The exile of revolution followed the footsteps of Rochambeau and Lafayette across the Atlantic, on their return from the war of independence in which those officers took part. Society, demoralised and corrupt to an very great throughout the whole of France, was beginning to exhibit those symptoms of decay and convulsion, which, in broader public as well as in the cases of individuals generally give signs of approaching dissolution. The universal licentiousness, cruelty, pride, and rapacity of the nobles of France; the suffering of the people; the tyrannical measures to which the monarchy were subjected; the enormous and unjustly-increasing imposts levied upon them by the shocks of *pobelle* and other hateful and most unpopular taxes; together with the dishonesties in the revenue, which was swallowed up by the greedy practitioners of the unprincipled predecessors of the unfortunate Louis XVI.; all these, and numerous other deeply-rooted, and, as they proved, incurable evils, had reduced the kingdom to such a state, in the year 1789, as to render necessary some *coup d'état* not only repressive, but absolutely necessary, in order to enable the King's Ministers to carry on the Government. The step resolved upon was, the summoning together, in a grand national assembly of the three grand divisions of the community, namely, the nobles, the clergy, and the *tiers état*, or, the representatives of the burgesses and agriculture at large. Of the results of this movement, it is not our present business to write—they are matter for the pen of the historian; but we shall confine ourselves to the bare statement of the fact that they led, as a preliminary consequence, to the departure of the eldest son of the Duke of Orleans, the great prince of the blood, for the army of the north; and, ultimately, after the Duke of Chartres (Louis Philippe) had become supreme of the murder of his father, Philippe, surnamed Egalité, to a prolonged exile from his native country, and from the patrimony of his ancestors. It was during the twenty years that the present King of the French wandered, a homeless but always honoured exile, from the land of his birth, the wonderful and terrible events that characterised the wars of Napoleon were most active of achievements that characterised the wars of Napoleon were accomplished. The Duke of Orleans took no part in them. The Emperor of the French sought assiduously to destroy every trace of the royal family of France, and to substitute his own tyranny in its room; and it was not until the final defeat of that extraordinary man that Louis Philippe again sought the shores of his youth, and resumed the possession of such portions of his family inheritance as had escaped the rapacity of the revolutionary chiefs and their subservients.

During the early periods of the Restoration, and whilst the nation was recovering from the state of exhaustion into which the constant drain of men and money during the gloomy days of the Empire had thrown it, Louis Philippe confined his attention to the re-establishment of his fortunes, the

(Continued on page 179.

fig. 6

and others on the sides of high-ways far from towns, where travellers are hospitably entertained; and near every temple is a tower erected to the memory of some saint or hero, filled with images and lamps that burn perpetually. To every temple belongs a society of priests, who offer rice and other provisions to the gust of the place, of whom people come frequently to enquire what success they may expect in their undertakings. There are cloisters also of religious devotees, who undergo unheard-of penances to obtain the name of saints among the people, and merit the happiness of another state. In their temples is an image of Immortality, representing a fat man, sitting cross-legged; another, called the image of pleasure, twenty feet high; and between them another image, thirty feet high, with a crown on his head. Besides which, they have abundance of images in their houses, which they worship, as well as Confucius and their ancestors. The sun, moon, and stars, also, are objects of their adoration.

Without the City of Nanking (formerly the Court and Imperial Chamber of the ancient Princes), not far distant from the walls, grows a very pleasant wood, full of pine trees, walled in, and containing twelve miles in circumference. In the middle rises a hill, on which are several well-built tombs, and several other works, among which an idol-temple is the chief masterpiece. It is situated upon a high hill, and built all of wood, except the walls, which are of stone. The entrance into this temple is by four large marble staircases, each having several steps, with gates opening towards the four quarters of the world, between which are four princely galleries, supported on all sides by curiously-carved pillars of wood, each being at least four yards thick, and thirty-six feet high. The ceilings are exquisitely painted and gilded. The doors are admirably wrought with imagery and painted, and the galleries and windows have a covering of wire-work, to prevent the birds from roosting on them.

THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND RECENTLY AFFIXED TO THE CHINESE TREATY.

The Great Seal of England is always renewed at the commencement of a fresh reign. The above beautiful design was executed on the accession of her Majesty, by Mr. Wyon, A.R.A., medallion engraver to the Queen.

The first seal used in England was by Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1048. The most ancient seal with arms on it is that of Richard the First.

The seal used in Elizabeth's reign was remarkable for the elaborate nature of the ornaments it contained—the chief figure being that of the maiden queen on horseback, bearing the sword of state and other symbols of royalty in her hands.

The Great Seal has been on several occasions lost or mislaid. When James the Second found himself deserted by his retainers, and had at length determined on taking refuge in France, to avoid an open conflict with the Prince of Orange, before leaving he threw the Great Seal into the Thames, off Whitehall, hoping thus to invalidate the acts of William.

The Great Seal was stolen from the house of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, in Great Ormond-street, into which some thieves broke and carried it, with other property, away, March 24, 1784, one day before the dissolution of Parliament. It was never recovered.

It was also mislaid during the early part of the Chancellorship of Lord Eldon. A copper seal was used for several years, until the regency of the Prince of Wales, when a new one was made of the accustomed metal, silver.

A new seal was brought into use on the union with Ireland, Jan. 1, 1801, which was again renewed, and the old one defaced, in January 1832.

There is also a separate "Great Seal" for Scotland. All private grants and public appointments in Ireland are ratified with the Great Seal of that country, with the exception of the offices of Lord Lieutenant and Master of the Rolls.

LID OF THE BOX CONTAINING THE GREAT SEAL.

In Scotland, none but what are termed "private grants," including all letters patent for inventions, are sealed with the official instrument of that country, a clause in the articles of union having been framed expressly for the regulation of the Great Seal. It does not appear that any such provision was made in Ireland at the time of its legislative union with England.

The "Great Seal" always accompanies the Lord Chancellor, to whose keeping it is delivered on his accepting office. During Lord Brougham's Chancellorship the Great Seal was conveyed to Scotland on the occasion of the noble Lord visiting that country. All documents requiring to be sealed were then forwarded to the Lord Chancellor, and formed (as indeed they do now on some occasions) a profitable source of income to the Lord Chancellor's messenger, who charges a separate "journey" for each patent, sometimes conveying ten or a dozen.

The material used for taking impressions of the Great Seal is a light-coloured wax, which, when dry, is exceedingly brittle; while at the same time it melts on a very moderate exposure to heat. This is an evil which has been much complained of, and it is expected that some means will be speedily adopted to remedy the defect, the present Lord Chancellor having directed enquiry into the subject. The seal, when made, is generally enclosed in a small tin box, having an opening in one side, through which a piece of silk cord passes, which is attached to the letters patent, or treaty, as the case may be, at the one end, and passes through the wax at the other. In some instances the documents

THE GREAT SEAL.

are engrossed in a most elaborate style on vellum, and silver boxes used to contain the wax, as in the case we have selected for illustration.

The value of the metal used in making the Great Seal exceeds £30.

The Privy Seal is used by the Sovereign to all charters, grants, and pardons, signed by Majesty, before they come to the Great Seal. This seal was also originated by Edward the Confessor. It is much smaller than the Great Seal, and consists only of one design.

The Lord Chancellor is appointed by the delivery of the Great Seal into his custody, though some few instances have occurred in which the appointment has been made by patent. The resumption of the Great Seal by the Sovereign determines his office.

The office of Lord Chancellor is of great antiquity. Selden states "that the title of an officer, synonymous with that of Chancellor, occurs first in historical records of the period of Edward the Elder, A.D. 920." In the capacity of secretary he was the adviser of his master, prepared and made out his mandates, grants, and charters, and finally (when seals came into use) affixed his seal. He is styled keeper of the Sovereign's conscience, probably because in early days the appointment was usually held by an ecclesiastic. The last churchman who exercised the office was John Williams, Archbishop of York, who was Lord Keeper from July 10, 1621, to November 1, 1625.

The Great Seal has been, on some occasions, put into commission during the temporary vacancy of the office, or the sickness of the Chancellor; the seal being then entrusted to the chief commissioner.

THE GREAT SEAL.

fig. 7

PARLIAMENTARY PORTRAITS.

MR. FIELDEN, M.P.

On Monday evening, the Factory Bill was passed in the House of Commons, by a majority of 63. Whether a short period, it will be the law of the land. The struggle for it has been one of some years' duration; towards its conclusion, Mr. Fielden, who had always been an indefatigable supporter of the cause, became its leader. Lord Ashley was one of the Conservatives who gave in his adherence to Sir Robert Peel on the Corn-Law question; and, as he had been selected by his Conservative constituents on very different principles, he resigned his seat, and was, of course, lost to the leader of the Short-Time party. The question did not suffer by the secession of Mr. Fielden to the post of Lord Ashley. His Lordship, though great zealous and sincere, was scarcely believable enough for the leader of a popular movement; his parliamentary reputation was that of "superior mind" of which enormously inflated accounts are made; and on one occasion, his yielding a point to the request of the Peel Ministry, after he had obtained a majority in the Commons that did not bridle up the Government, gave rise to some positive dissatisfaction. During the Corn-Law debates, too, the name of the agricultural labourers to preserve, and those of Dorsetshire in particular, was shown to be not so superior to that of the factory operatives as to give the landed party a right to assume the post of monopoly of "the constitution." The re-passing of Peel through the usual manufactures of all, was frequently urged against Lord Ashley with much effect; and, more than once, he was broadly told to look at the people at his own doors before he ventured to denounce the employers of the manufacturing districts.

To some of these objections or insinuations was Mr. Fielden liable. He had been a factory worker himself; he had risen to the station of an employer, and while advocating the interests of the hands of factory, was himself the master or one of the largest establishments in England. He spoke with the authority of one thoroughly conversant with both sides of the question; and, therefore, his practical knowledge and greater influence than in the House of Commons. His simple and earnest eloquence made up for many personal deficiencies.

Mr. Fielden is no politician, and makes no figure in debate. His vision is an apparently weak, short, among those immediately around him, no one can hear more than a few broken sentences, spoken with a stifling pronounced accent. He generally prepares and publishes his speeches beforehand. He is tall and thin, pressed by age, and with an appearance of ill health. But a strong mind, a singleness of purpose are there, and those effect much; they have raised Mr. Fielden deservedly to an independent station, and, as a public man, his name is now connected with one of the great questions of the day. In general politics, Mr. Fielden has had as much as others; some may be brought to believe whether leaders in the House. The truth, during the important sessions of 1845 and 1846, carried on their business at a loss, and removed their goods to the hustings. The Commissioners as well. They were, however, discharged in a large amount, which they would not pay, and their stock was seized, and, we believe, sold by auction. After various attempts and appeals, Mr. Fielden brought the case before the House, reserved himself with that remark, for he got no satisfaction from the Government. Mr. Goulburn's answer was very official and evasive.

Mr. Fielden sits for Oldham.

MR. FIELDEN, M.P.

THE ROYAL PICTURES AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE.

THE two Pictures painted for her Majesty, by Winterhalter, and placed in the Antechamber, of Queen Anne's Room, at St. James's Palace, were opened to the public (by tickets) on Monday last. One of the pictures is large, the other small.

The first Picture is a family group, representing the Queen and Prince Albert, and their five children. Her Majesty and the Prince are seated on a sofa, placed upon the terrace of Windsor Castle; the Queen in a white dress, and the Order of the Garter; and the Prince in a suit of black, with black silk stockings. On the Queen's right, and standing by her side, is the Prince of Wales, in a uniform velvet dress, and immediately in front of the Queen is her Majesty's second son, in the act of running to play with his three sisters, who form a charming group on the left of the composition. The two elder Princesses are playing with their favourite spaniel on a cushion on the ground, and Prince Albert is represented touching the Queen's hand, and directing her attention to the group before her. On the Prince's left is a table, with fruit upon it, and on her Majesty's right is a vase of flowers. The floor is carpeted.

The small Picture, which is placed opposite the larger one, however, cannot be shown in our Illustration, is a full-length portrait of the Prince of Wales, in a velvet dress—blue jacket, frock trousers, and a hat which never has—the costume of the Royal Navy.

The larger Picture is, in many respects, the best work of art. figures are artistically arranged, and the contrasting is good.

Among the visitors to view the Royal Pictures on Friday, were Bavarian, Brazilian, and Netherlands Ministers; the Duke Duchess of Beaufort, the Duke and Duchess of St. Albans, the Marquis of Exeter, Marquis of Downshire, Marquis and Marchioness of Westmeath, Earl Delaware, Earl Auckland, Count D'Orsay, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Lady Lennox, Lord Colville, Sir George Cooper, Sir John Mac Mr. Ainsworth, M.P., and the Hon. F. Ashley.

On Tuesday, were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort, the Dowager Countess Charleville, Earl of Pingall, Lord Stanhope, Lady Lyndsay, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Seaton, the Countess of Arundel, Lady Caroline Lady Barrington, the Marquis of Worcester, Lord Frederick Cavendish, Viscountess Canterbury, Lord Colborne, Lord Somerville, J. Travis Sadler, Lord Aylmer, Lord J. Stuart, and Lady Charlotte Egerton.

And, on Wednesday, were the Bishop of Rochester, Lords Palmerston, Lansdowne, Lord Ashley, Lord Ebrington, Lord Leigh, Walsingham, and Portarlington, Dowager Lady Suffield, Lady Mary Howard, and Lady Rendcomb.

Tickets to view the pictures are issued from the Lord Chamberlain's office, from two to four o'clock. Each ticket will admit lady or gentleman whose name will be inserted in it, and five persons. All applications must be made personally, or through a respectable agent, as it will be impossible to send tickets or to attend to written applications.

Ladies and gentlemen receiving tickets will be requested to their names and address, on their cards, at the Lord Chamberlain's office.

These very interesting Pictures, we learn, will be engraved in with, and published by Alderman Moon.

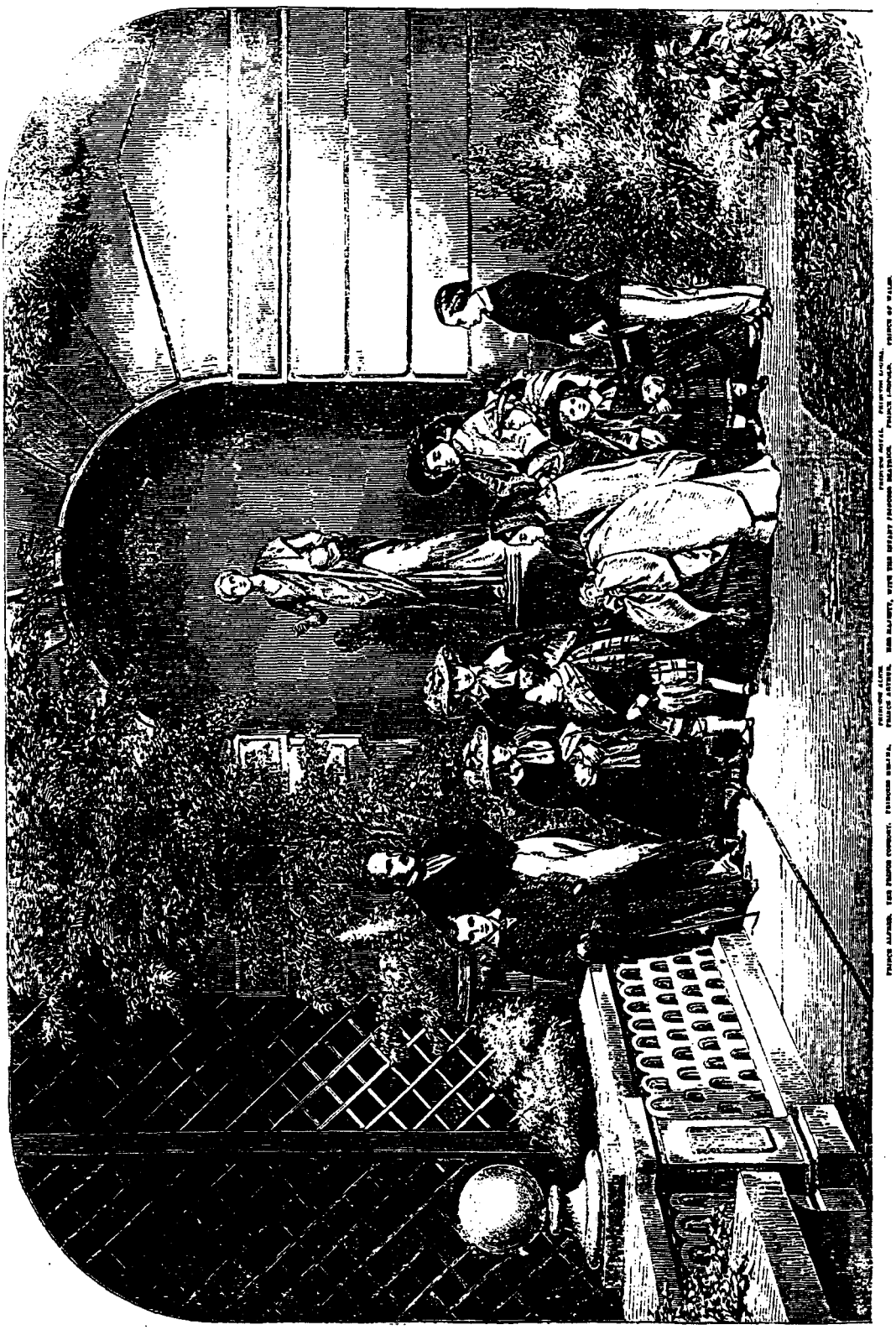
THE ADMIRALS' GOOD SERVICE PENSIONS.—The Earl of Auckland has conferred the Admirals' Good Service Pension, which remains his retirement on the death of Sir Davidge Gould, on Admiral Sir White the Hon. Sir John Talbot, G.C.B., the hero of the Royal Sovereign, one of the most distinguished officers in the service. He is the brother of the present Baron Talbot de Malahide.

COURT MARTIAL AT PORTSMOUTH.—An inquiry into the circumstances attending the wreck of the steamer, *Thunderbolt*, in Bay, in February last, commenced on Monday, at Portsmouth, a court martial, ordered by the Admiralty, to try Commander A. L and the officers and crew, for their conduct on the occasion. members of the Court consisted of Rear-Admiral Fanshawe, C.B., Admiral Captain Peacock, Fanshawe; Captain Chads, C.B., Excellent; Captain Milne, *St. Vincent*; Captain E. C. Durnford, *Asia*, Lieut. L. Grenfell officiated as Judge Advocate. The Court was occupied during the whole day with the preliminary evidence, and on the following day the defence was entered upon. The Court was of opinion that Her Majesty's late steamer *Thunderbolt* had, from wrecked through stress and neglect, and sentenced Commander Alexander Boyle, Mr. J. D. Miles, master, to be dismissed her Majesty's service. In consequence of the production of high testimonials of former character and ability, recommended them to the favourable consideration of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.—After the conclusion of this court martial, the same members were sworn in by the marshal to try Quartermaster, seamen, to leaving her, and while on the *Forgelon*, taking a passage to Queen's Bay. The charge was fully proved, and he was sentenced to be dismissed the service.

INCENDIARY FIRE AT WILDWICK ABBEY.—On Wednesday evening (last week) an incendiary fire occurred in the stack-yard of Sir Green the Duke of Portland, at Wood Barn, near Wildwick Abbey. The damage has been estimated at £ Owing to the great exertions of the villagers and the police, the farm buildings were preserved.

... PALACE OF WESTMINSTER'S PICTURES, PAINTED FOR HER MAJESTY.

fig. 8



"THE ROYAL FAMILY AT OSBORNE."—FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY CALDESI AND MONTBORDI.—PUBLISHED BY COMMAND OF HER MAJESTY.

fig. 9

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

No. 205.—Vol. VIII.] FOR THE WEEK ENDING SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1846. [Sixpence.

MINISTERIAL DIFFICULTIES.

The proceedings of Parliament are somewhat inexplicable; the whole of Monday evening was spent in debating a point of etiquette and precedence, namely, whether the Coercion Bill for Ireland should be proceeded with, or whether the Corn Bill should be taken first. Much was said of the value of time, and much of the precious article spent in the discussion upon it, the debate being closed, at last, by a decision that decided nothing, as it was further adjourned. On Tuesday, so much having been said of the value of time, it might naturally be supposed that the debate would have been resumed; but, to the astonishment of everybody, no House was made, and the important discussion on a measure that suspends the Constitution, was necessarily postponed for a day or two; the point of etiquette and precedence between the Corn Bill and the Curfew Act—between food and force—remaining unsettled, a vote of thanks to the Indian Army, and an incidental discussion of the Irish Poor-law, filling up the interval.

It is well known the Government can always make a House when it wishes, though it cannot so well prevent one being made if its opponents are determined there shall be one, this omission, interpreted as a wilful avoiding of a disagreeable debate, has given rise to various reports as to the stability of the Ministry, which have not been without their effect on the funds, though this is by no means a proof that such reports are well founded. A certain degree of credit is, however, lent to them; there is a general impression that difficulties are gathering round the Government, which it must possess more than ordinary vitality to outlive,—of course, in the official meaning of the phrase. The speech of Sir Robert Peel on Friday last, though it preceded a triumphant division, was by no means confident in its tone; he spoke of "falling" more than once, and of how and why he should descend from the high position he holds: it was not such an oration as might be expected from a Minister with a majority of a hundred supporting him. The mere contemplation of "falling" as a possibility, suggests the idea that the occurrence is not far off. Sir Robert's peroration was, in some degree, the gathering round him of his Legislator's robe, that the last act might be performed with decorum.

Then, there have been heard and seen other symptoms of weakness and uncertainty. Sir James Graham says, "It would be in vain for me to attempt to dissemble, and, at all events, I shall not attempt to dissemble, the extreme difficulties of the Government at this particular moment." On all sides, there is little but despondency; the victories in India are almost the only events which throw a gleam of brightness on Ministerial prospects, and they will not aid the Government out of what has been, still is, and will long remain the "great difficulty."

The stumbling-block of all English Ministries is Ireland and its condition; the Whigs could suggest nothing but a Coercion Bill, and admitting a few Catholics to legal offices; the first measure irritated the people; the second did not do what was most wanted—feed them. All Ministries seem to think they can succeed by working from the highest classes downwards; the Whigs admitted wealthy Catholics, or those who had legal talents and political influence, to office and patronage; but, for the bulk of the nation, the immense mass of pauperism and discontent, there was nothing but Coercion Bills. When the Conservatives, under Sir Robert Peel, took the helm, they dispensed theological and academical education; in itself, the policy was commendable enough, but, again

ROYAL VISIT TO ASTLEY'S.

[CONVENT EDITION.] HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT, HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES, AND THE PRINCESS ROYAL.

fig. 10

HER MAJESTY AND THE INFANT PRINCE ARTHUR—FROM A PAINTING BY WINTERHALTER.

fig. 11

CHRISTMAS TREE AT WINDSOR CASTLE.—DRAWN BY J. L. WILLIAMS.—(SEE NEXT PAGE.)

PRESENTING A BOUQUET TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

with satisfaction. Mr. John Clay's apparatus for this purpose seems entitled to consideration, and we have therefore thought it worthy of being illustrated in our pages. The two Illustrations consist of a transverse vertical section and a portion of a longitudinal section of the boiler, furnace, &c. *b b* represent the back partitions, *c* the bridge, *d d* the boiler, *e e* the furnace, and *f* the furnace bars. The novelty of this apparatus consists in dividing the volume of smoke at the bridge, and causing it to pass between and along the passages formed between the brick partitions *b b*, thereby rendering the latter red-hot, thus keeping up the temperature to a high degree, and causing it to be fired as it passes through the heated channels with the air introduced at the four ventilators. A steady combustion is kept up by observing regularity, on the part of the stoker, in supplying fuel to the doors of the furnaces alternately.

PRESENTATION OF A BOUQUET TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Our Artist here represents an incident not unworthy of being recorded in connection with the grand solemnity of the inauguration of the Crystal Palace on the 1st of May. The son and daughter of Mr. Younghusband, who supplies some of the refreshments, having previously obtained the permission of her Majesty and Prince Albert, respectively presented the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales with a handsome Bouquet, soon after their arrival, and whilst on their way with their sugar parents to the Royal pavilion in the centre of the Transept, and which humble offerings their Royal Highnesses accepted in a very gracious manner.

CARVED PICTURE-FRAME. TUSCANY.

The specimens of wood carving from Tuscany are of a very superior order of merit, the devices being generally in good taste, and executed with extreme delicacy of finish. Amongst other matters in this line with which we have been struck, are some small picture-frames, in walnut-tree wood, by Lombardi and Barbetti, both of Sienna, one of which we have engraved.

SCENES IN AND ABOUT THE GREAT EXHIBITION.

CONSTANTIN'S ARTIFICIAL FLOWERS.

THE PIANOFORTE GALLERY.

Now that the frequenters of the Great Exhibition are becoming familiar with the general arrangements of its varied contents, it is curious to observe the manner in which they congregate in groups about the particular objects interesting to their several tastes: practical men and utilitarian ladies devoting their attentions to the machinery department, where new wonders of mechanical and manufacturing skill astonish them at every turn; connoisseurs in articles of vertu lounging about the Gobelins room of the French department, or the sculpture and furniture rooms of Austria: the general masses on these shilling days crowding round the great diamond, and the Indian tent, and the great printing press, and the Queen of Spain's jewels, and a thousand other wonders which give them

CARVED PICTURE FRAME.—TUSCANY.

much to talk about whilst they are there, and will give them more to talk about when they go home. Even outside the Building, amongst the eager crowds approaching it, there are scenes worthy to engage the attention of the observer of mankind, and to employ the painter's talent—scenes of peaceful bustle which will become memorable in after days, on account of the singularity of their aspect in a social point of view, and of the all-interesting event of which they are illustrative.

Our Artist will, from time to time, try his hand at some of these subjects. On the present occasion he has selected Constantin's "Conservatory" of artificial flowers, and the Pianoforte Gallery, both favourite resorts of the ladies.

We wish we could, in this hurried notice, do justice to the exquisite truth and delicacy exhibited by M. Constantin in an art which he may fairly be said, if not to have created, at least to have brought to a point of excellence which it had never reached before. As, however, we shall return on some future occasion to the subject of artificial flowers, we will only here add, that those of M. Constantin's productions are hardly to be called so, being, in beauty and in almost everything but smell, identical with those of nature. Roses, lilies, hot-house plants, ivies, and endless other varieties, are here before us, as it were, in propriâ personâ, and not always in full bloom, but occasionally represented, with most truthful effect, in their day of declining and withering, with the canker-worm at the core, and blight upon the face. All these wonderful realisations are produced in one material—cambric; and very high praise is due to the artist who has achieved what he has done with it.

2.—INNOCENCE DEFENDED BY FIDELITY.—BENZONI

1.—GRATITUDE.—BENZONI.

The above are two pleasing little *pièces de genre* in marble, executed by Sig. MARIO BENZONI, of Rome. One represents a little girl fallen asleep in the midst of her frolics in the fields, whilst her favourite dog trampies upon an adder which would otherwise have bitten her, looking up in her face well pleased at his achievement. In the other, the little girl shows her gratitude to her canine friend by extracting a thorn from his foot.

fig. 13

"THE FIRST OF MAY, 1851."—PAINTED FOR HER MAJESTY, BY WINTERHALTER.

"THE FIRST OF MAY, 1851."

THE incident commemorated in this picture is of threefold interest. It occurred on the 1st of May, 1851, just after the opening of the Great Palace of Industry of All Nations: and the day was the birthday of the illustrious Wellington, as well as of the infant Prince Arthur, to whom, by Royal invitation, the Duke stood godfather. The gallant hero of a hundred fights, after assisting at the ceremony of the inauguration of the Great Exhibition, hastened to Buckingham Palace with a handsome casket selected from amongst the varied and costly articles of corn thrown open to public view on that day, intending it as a birthday present to his Royal godson. He arrived at the Palace before her Majesty and Prince Albert had returned from the Crystal Palace; but, after waiting a few minutes, they arrived, when her Majesty was so pleased at the graceful act of attention intended on the part of the Duke, that she hastened to snatch up the infant Prince, on dandling, even from the couch where he lay, to receive the present; a present we have no doubt he will dearly prize in future years. The Royal mother, holding her young child in her arms, contemplates the handsome emblem with evident satisfaction. The expression of the Duke is marked with benignity and respectful homage. In the rear is Prince Albert, whose mind—notwithstanding the interesting scene passing before him—seems still to be engrossed with the great national work which he has this day brought to a happy completion (seen in the distance), and a plan of which he carries.

This picture, which was painted by Winterhalter, at the Queen's express desire, is one of the contributions forwarded by her Majesty to the Great International Exhibition about to be opened at New York. A fine engraving of the picture in mezzotint, by S. Cousins, has been published by Messrs. F. and D. Colnaghi, Pall-mall East, by whose permission it is here copied.

SCENE FROM THE NEW PLAY OF "COLOMBE'S BIRTHDAY," AT THE HAYMARKET THEATRE.—(SEE PRECEDING PAGE.)

PUNCH'S PENCILLINGS.—N°. VIII.

THE LETTER OF INTRODUCTION.

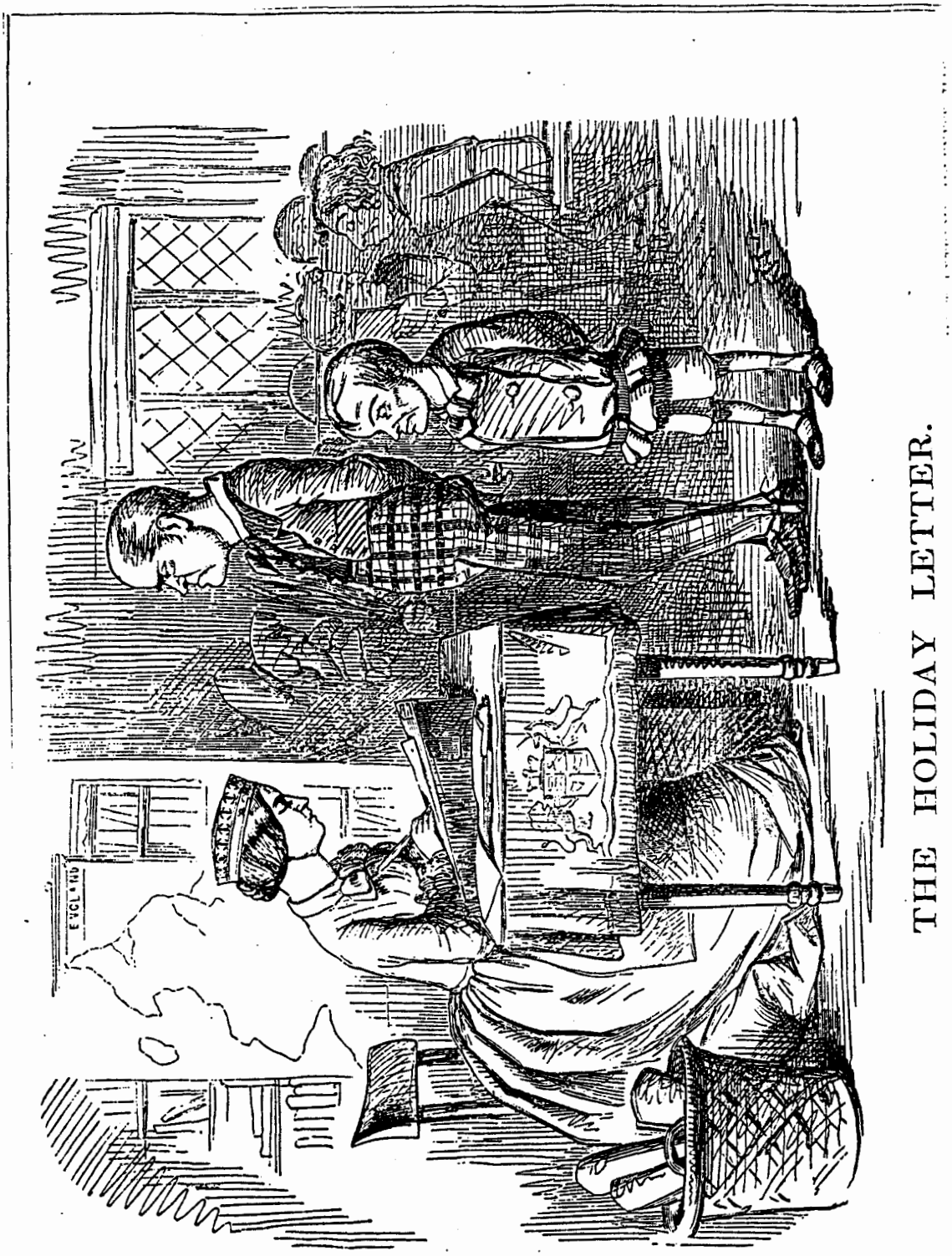
PUNCH'S PENCILLINGS.—N°. IX.

THE ROYAL RED RIDING HOOD,
AND THE MINISTERIAL WOLF.

fig. 16

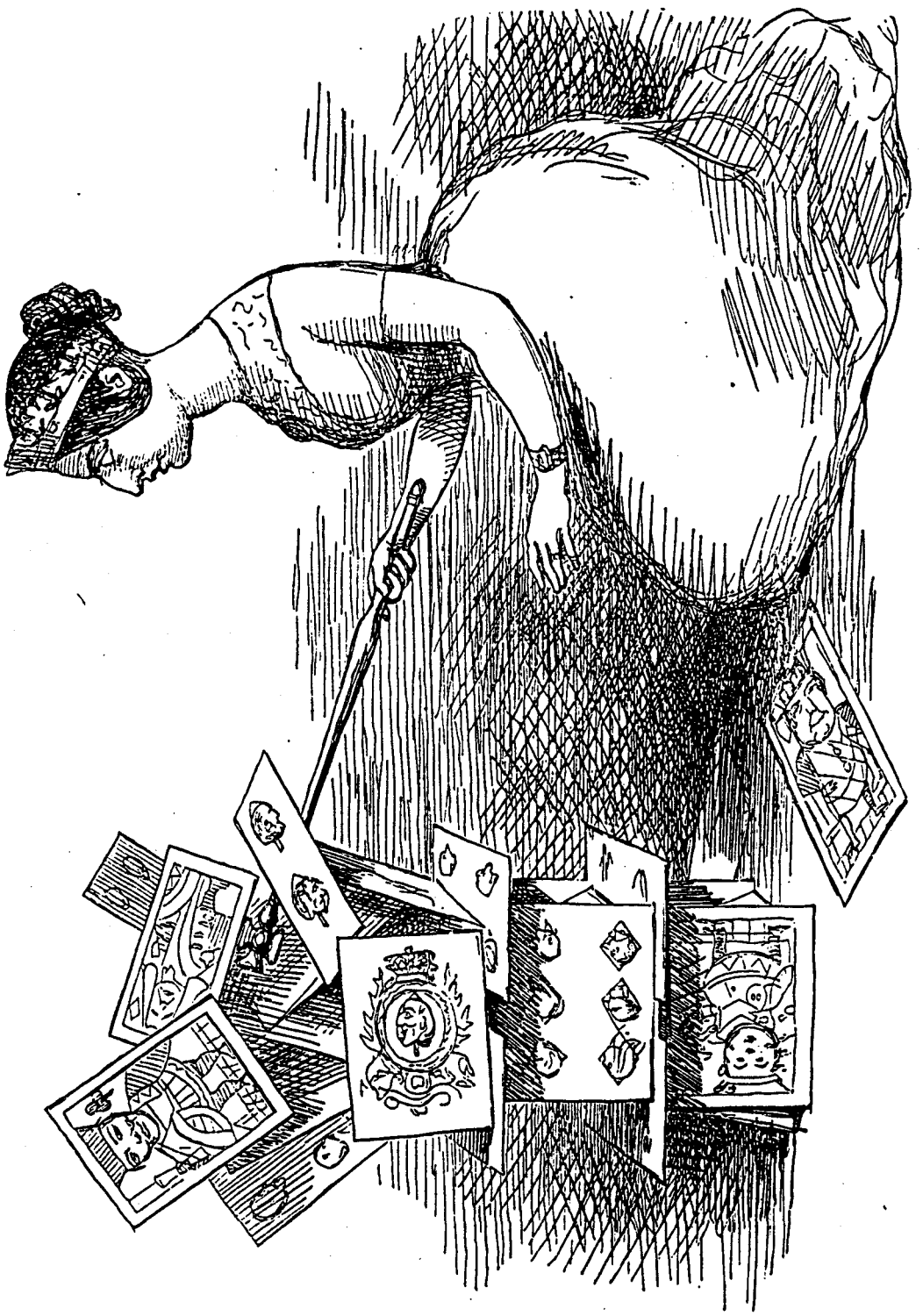
A ROYAL NURSERY RHYME FOR 1860.

"There was a Royal Lady that lived in a shoe,
She had so many children she didn't know what to do."



THE HOLIDAY LETTER.

THE WRITING LESSON.



THE QUEEN DISSOLVING PARLIAMENT.

THE HAYCOCKS IN 1851.

The Count Receives a Love Token.

Waterman. "Vat Time would you Like your Hot Water, Sir?"

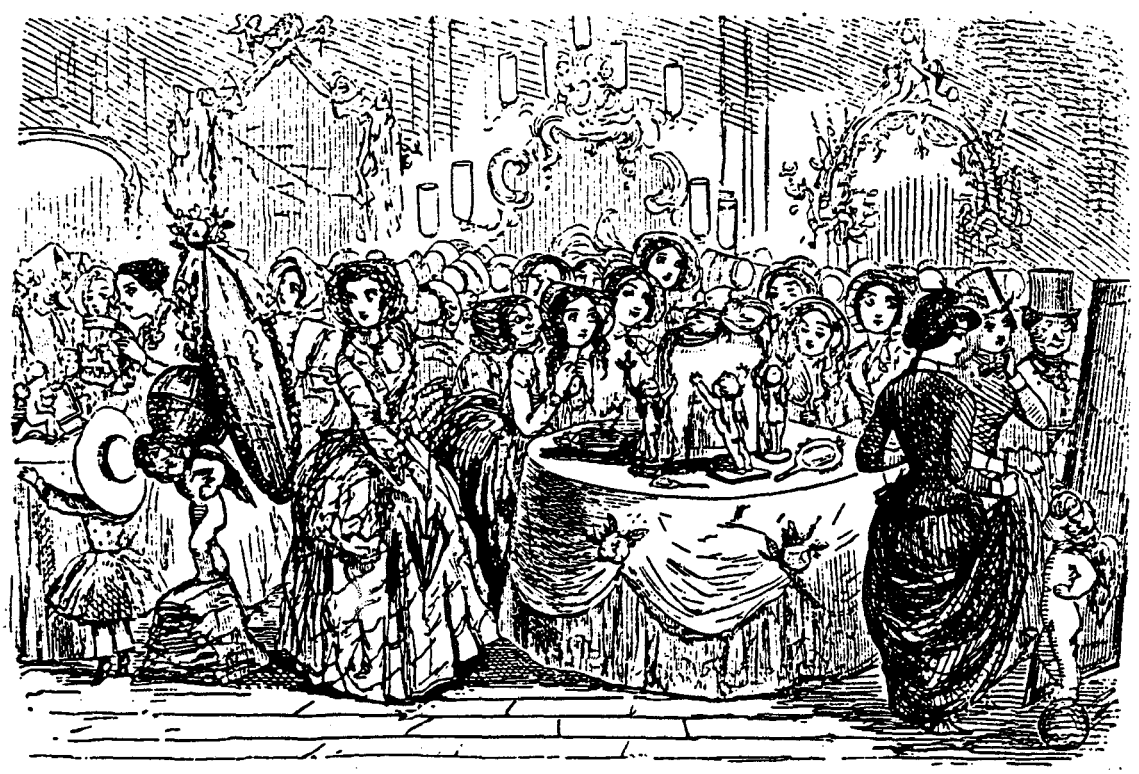
the next, and hang me if there wasn't another man, in his nightcap and dressing-gown, shaving his boots out of the window, and begging the driver to "rap at the door at eight, and bring him his hot water." Fred tells me they are regularly let out for the night or week, declares that he saw placards, with "Lodgings *for a Single Man*," *on a pole stuck out* the top of a Hansom, and "One Bed to Let" hung from the window of a mangy-looking at Clarence: I suppose people who have no objection to a double-bedded room, are accommodated in the omnibuses.

From Miss Haycock's *Diary.*

Pa had a dreadful scene with papa this morning. He *will* go home, and was so awfully ient, that I am afraid he will do something dreadful, if we resist any longer. The Count threw "qu'il *se brûlera la cervelle*," if we go

He met us yesterday, again, at the Exposition. Unluckily it was in that part of t gallery where the mirrors are exhibited, and which is always so crowded with ladies. W could not exchange many words, as one's blushes were reflected in every direction, and o saw *oneself* all round, and couldn't help thinking everyone else saw one.

4 *o'clock.*—We have just come from the most charming drive in the Park. Rotten R was most animated; the Arabs, with their dromedaries, excited a good deal of attention: s the Nawaub of Bangalore was one blaze of jewels, on the largest elephant I ever saw. T Laplanders were out, in their rein-deer sledge. They appear a stupid people, but the deer beautifully. I cannot say the Chinese appear to me at home on horseback. Our Turki friends, I am sorry to say, have been taken up by the Police for throwing the jereed, whi



The Looking-Glass Department of the Great Exhibition.

ONE OF THE DELIGHTFUL RESULTS OF BLOOMERISM.—THE LADIES WILL POP THE QUESTION.

Superior Creature. "SAY! OH, SAY, DEAREST! WILL YOU BE MINE?" &c., &c.

MISCHIEF OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

THE Crystal Palace baffled many prophecies. It did not tumble down, it was not blown inside out—it did not, under its glass roof, draw to a head the socialist and democratic humours of the body politic. But the Crystal Palace has—occasioned the Kaffir war! A profound man in the *Morning Herald* has, to national bewilderment, discovered this!

"THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON was afraid to send out above 1500 troops, because he feared all our small army might be required about London. Had 6000 or 7000 troops been sent out on the outbreak of the war, all would now have been settled."

And now, says MERCATOR, the expenses of the war will cost a couple of millions! And all along of the Crystal Palace! With this conviction it is to be hoped that COLONEL THORP (who may be "MERCATOR" himself) will move, that the Royal Commissioners pay into the Exchequer the quarter of million balance, in part liquidation of the two millions to be expended. If SIR JOSEPH PAXTON, the great originator of the Crystal mischief, were also sent as a state prisoner to the Tower, it might be a warning to future projectors.

TAKING HIS POSITION.—There is no doubt that the recent scientific exploits of MR. HOBBS will place him where HOBBS always ought to be—by the side of the Great.

THE EX-UNPROTECTED FEMALE, UNDER THE UNITED INFLUENCE OF A STRONG-MINDED FRIEND, AND THE INSULTS OF MR. JONES, DISPLAYS SYMPTOMS OF BLOOMERISM.

SCENE.—*The Back Parlour in Great Coram Street.* Time—October, 1851.

The EX-UNPROTECTED FEMALE *discovered in* tête-à-tête *with* MISS RUNT, *a most superior and very strong-minded woman, settling into the forties, and owning to thirty-six, with a long nose, a loud voice, a large foot, and a general boniness of build, full of enthusiasm for "isms," and of scorn for conventionalities.*

Miss Runt (*rising*). And now, my dear MRS. JONES, I must really be going.

The Ex-Unprotected. Oh, don't say so, MISS RUNT! JONES will be in to tea directly; and he is always so glad to see you. You know he does so admire your conversation. He says you talk just like a man—I think it is—or like a book. I'm not quite sure. Now, do sit down another five minutes.

Miss Runt (*with modest self-consciousness, and sitting down again*). I never could see, my dear MRS. JONES, why woman should not talk like man.

The Ex-Unprotected. So I've often said to JONES, when he *will* have the last word.

Miss Runt. Or why woman should submit to man, in general, as she does.

The Ex-Unprotected. So I always say to MR. J., when he will have his own way.

Miss Runt (*proudly*). I have made a point of never submitting to the other sex, MRS. JONES.

The Ex-Unprotected (*with a dim sense that this may not be altogether attributable to* MISS RUNT). Well, my dear, I didn't for a long time; but there's no knowing what *may* come.

Miss Runt (*with virgin dignity*). MRS. JONES, I beg you will not conceive the possibility of my changing my condition.

The Ex-Unprotected. Oh no! my dear; I don't think it's the least likely.

Miss Runt. The position of woman is deplorable—in this country, I should say—for I understand it's very different in America.

The Ex-Unprotected (*clasping her hands*). Oh! I'm told it's dreadful there, with the bowie-knives, and Greek Slaves, and picklocks, and things. Don't talk to *me* of America, there's a dear!

Miss Runt (*recalling the* EX-UNPROTECTED *to the point*). I spoke of woman in that country. I'm told they have institutions there, as female gymnastics, and public meetings, at which women address the audience; and what is the consequence? A woman may travel by herself from one end of the United States to the other, and have the best places in the coaches, and the best cabins in the steamboats, and the best of everything, in fact.

The Ex-Unprotected (*pertinaciously recurring to her prejudices*). But I'm told they spit dreadfully all over, wherever they are; and carry bowie-knives and pistols in their pockets, with ever so many blades—I mean the bowie-knives, you know—

Miss Runt (*with condescension*). You are speaking of the men, my dear MRS. JONES. The men in America, I presume, are like the men everywhere else, egotistical, vain, ignorant, and presumptuous.

The Ex-Unprotected (*mysteriously, but with superiority*). Ah, my dear, you've no notion *what* they are till you're married. JONES was quite a different man to me, that I can assure you, before and after. Oh, if you only knew—

Miss Runt (*breaking in*). Yes; and it's our own faults. Why don't we combine?

The Ex-Unprotected. Why, you see, my dear, we always quarrel.

Miss Runt (*becoming excited, and running off into triads*). Why do we not unite, act, and agitate? First, there's our education viewed as moral, physical, and intellectual.

The Ex-Unprotected (*kindling at* MISS RUNT'S *fire*). Oh, it's dreadful! At the school where I was, we had always necks of mutton, and not half enough—and *such* chilblains as I had.

Miss Runt (*over-riding* MRS. J.'s *school-day grievances*). Then there's our position in society—viewed as private, social, and political.

The Ex-Unprotected (*with equal warmth*). Not allowed to have an opinion of one's own, scarcely, about what there's to be for dinner even—

Miss Runt. Then there's our dress, viewed as sanitary, economical, and æsthetic.

The Ex-Unprotected (*who has never viewed her dress in that light before*). Æsth—what? Is it a new French stuff my dear?—

fig. 22

SCENE FROM A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM.

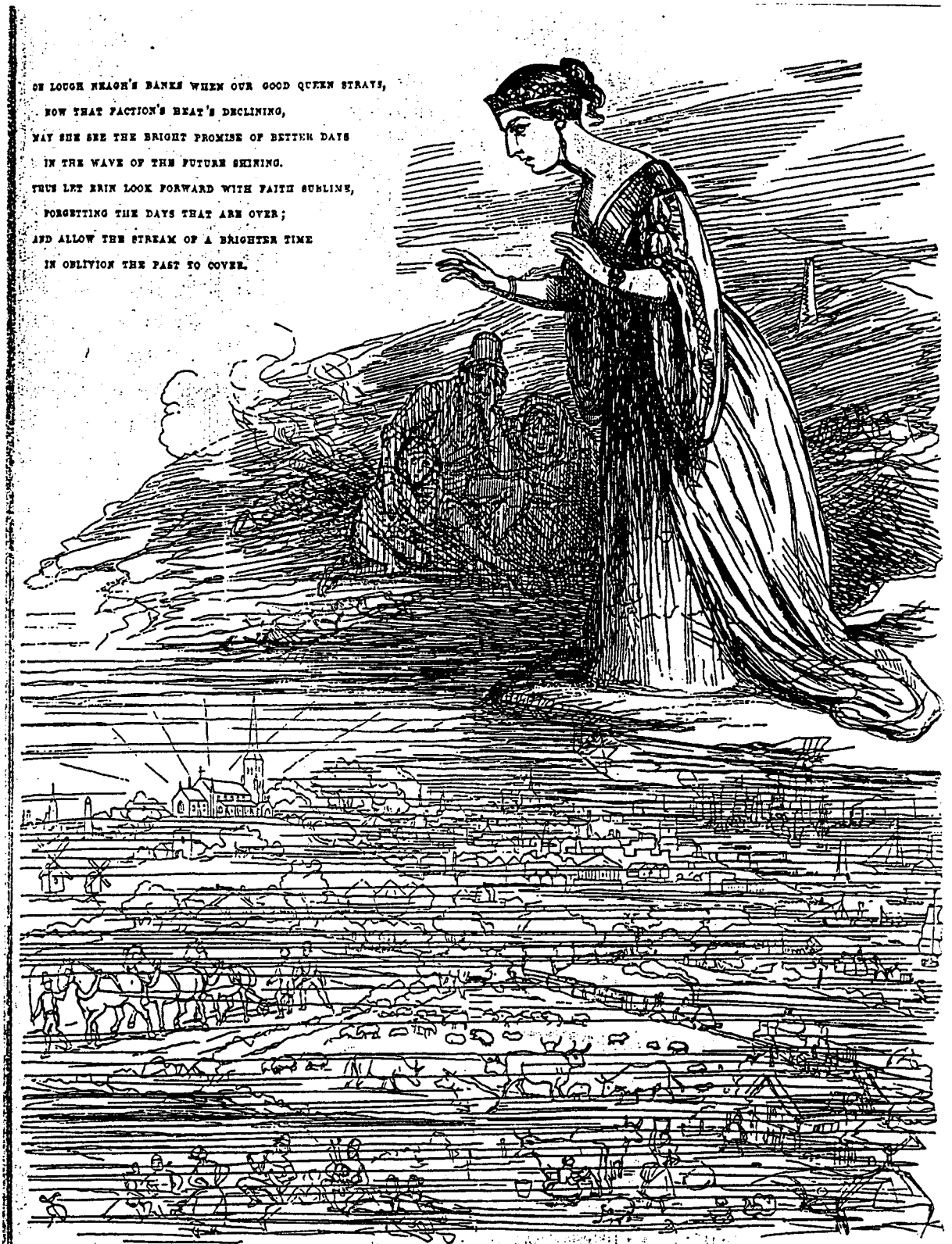
(As Performed at Windsor Castle.)

TITANIA, QUEEN OF THE FAIRIES . . . . HER M—J—STY. BOTTOM . . . . . BY GENERAL MISMANAGEMENT.

"O GOD OF BATTLES! STEEL MY SOLDIERS' HEARTS!"

Henry V., Act IV.

fig. 23



IRELAND—A DREAM OF THE FUTURE.

fig. 25

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

No. 94, Vol. IV.] FOR THE WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 17, 1844. [Sixpence.

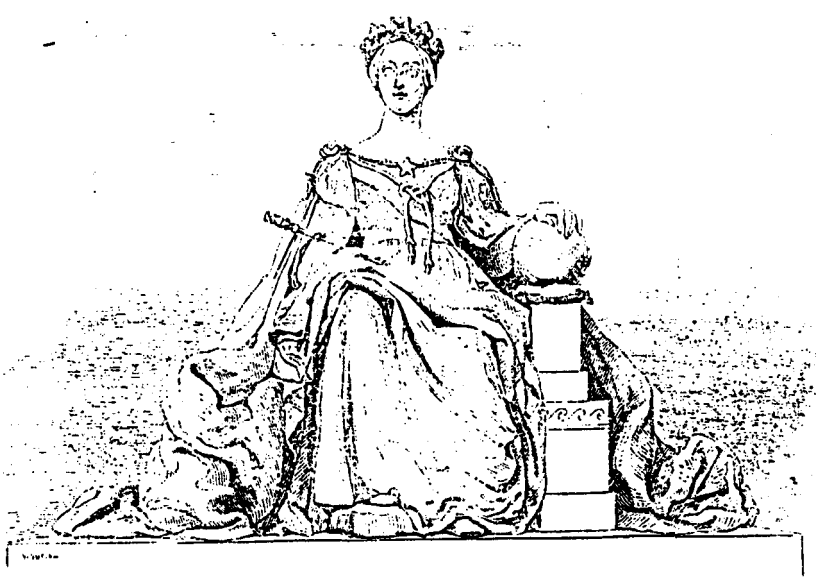
PROSPECTS OF IRELAND.

THE public anxiety is at rest upon one point: and now that, after a long and exciting trial, the verdict of a jury has decided that Mr. O'Connell and others were guilty of conspiracy, in their persevering efforts to obtain a separation of England from the Sister Isle—now that it has been clearly enunciated in a court of law that the Union is part of the constitution of the empire, and that to seek dismemberment is to excite disaffection—now that monster meetings of hundreds of thousands of inflamed and dissatisfied beings, not physically violent, but exhibiting, as it were, a passive passion, and making their imposing presence a sort of peaceful danger to the State, are proclaimed to be disturbiful of the harmonies of society, and excitetul of burning irritability and discontent—now, in a word, that the particular course of agitation which has followed the footsteps of Daniel O'Connell, and marked the present epoch of Ireland's history, with as many elements of storm, is declared a crime against the Crown, a conspiracy against the English Throne and people, and a base to Ireland herself—we hope to find the traces of the late tempest clearing away, and look into the future for some happy beacon that may cheer the restless spirits of Irishmen, and guide their beautiful country into some haven of prosperity at last. It is to the good sense of the English Government and the English Parliament that we turn for this fortunate omen.

We know in the outset how deep and strong will be the struggle against it, and how desperate will be the efforts of the Agitator and of all those who have so recklessly pledged themselves with him to Repeal, to keep up that excitement which Ireland might bitterly to feel as a clinging curse upon her destiny; but still we believe that after the striking of this first blow—and by it the unmining of the power which it has made *illegal*, if it has not all suppressed—the sudden and radiant presence of some happy line of policy—the exhibition of cordial sympathy and an earnest spirit of inquiry into wrong—the determined expression of a desire to promote the wealth, the liberty, and the happiness of Ireland—to bring home her rich to relieve her poor—to stimulate her commerce and to reconcile her religion—that all these gifts of justice, tendered with sincerity from England's heart, would woo away the people from their turbulence, and complete, with a peaceful influence, that task of admitted difficulty, the first beginning of which has just been determined by the law.

We grant that no encouragement is to be found at the hands of the Repealers, who, with a sort of mystering and joyous insolence, proclaim that, notwithstanding the verdict of the jury, they are Repealers still. We know that a hundred quibbles will yet be raised to nullify the trials, and to hold out the hope to the people that that verdict will be no verdict at all. We saw how O'Connell, on the very morning of its solemn record, went to the temple of *the Repeal Association*, and, *in the presence of half-stifled* thousands of his countrymen and women, declared that they should have a Parliament on College-green, and that his conviction had only hastened the event—we heard how Mr. Smith O'Brien denounced the Attorney-General and the Judge, and proclaimed that he would bring the bench of justice before the Parliament of the land—we heard how Nicholas Maher, the new member for Tipperary, assented to all the violence of his leader—we heard O'Connell tell the people that he would not leave them—that nothing should tempt him to go to London—that it would not be prudent—it would not be wise, and that in his present position he questioned whether it would be either *loyalty* or morality right; and *the next evening we found him embarked for the English metropolis!* We know that he brought with him Sir Colman O'Loghlen and Mr. O'Hea, laden with all the pith and circumstance of his trial for the information of Lord John Russell on the Irish debate; and we know also how much Irish debate there will be during the session, which will assert the purposes of agitation, and nothing more; but, for all this, we do not despair of achieving some tranquillity, and many blessings for Ireland, if Ministers will only be determined, conciliatory, generous, and just.

For, depend upon it, with all the outward bravado of the Repeal party, and despite "the laugh that covers tears," there is a disappointment—a settled melancholy disappointment—gone into the hearts of the people. It is hard for them to deny that O'Connell is all-powerful and invincible, but they feel it nevertheless. They (we do not speak of the mere City of Dublin, but of the country—the rent-paying, ill-fed, warm-hearted peasantry—in a word, the people) feel that a blow has been struck which they dare not notice—that it has been dealt openly and received generally—that no consequences of riot, or bloodshed, or revenge, have ensued—that even patriotic exhibitions and the pageantry of processions have been forbidden them by their leaders, and that the great Dan has been wounded in the very heart and seat of his power—prosecuted publicly and condemned in a court of law without any of those manifestations which they would have held to be the natural consequences of such an event—if, indeed, they could have been brought to believe that such an event were possible at all. They have the same love for O'Connell, for he has blended himself with their affections; his influence over their hearts is a thing to inspire a beautiful envy; he has them to live or die for what he wills; he has unquestionably acquired among them a surpassing mastery over the natures of his poor countrymen, who look up to him with glistening eyes, and souls half smiles half tears, as to the source of some bright river from whence is to flow their happiness, their regeneration, and the gladness that shall bless their homes! But their love, as we have said, is tinged with melancholy; there is *a damp upon their spirits* now; and although



COLOSSAL STATUE OF THE QUEEN, AT THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, EDINBURGH.—See next page.

fig. 26

OPENING OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION—THE ROYAL PROCESSION.

HER MAJESTY, as She Appeared on the FIRST of MAY,

Surrounded by "Horrible Conspirators and Assassins."

NURSERY EDUCATION REPORT.—No. 2.

THE ROYAL RHYTHMICAL ALPHABET,

To be said or sung by the Infant Princess.

A stands for ARISTOCRACY, a thing I should admire;

B stands for a BISHOP, who is clothed in soft attire;

C beginneth CABINET, where Mamma keeps her *tools*;

D doth stand for DOWNING-STREET, the "Paradise of Fools;"

E beginneth ENGLAND, that granteth the supplies;

F doth stand for FOREIGNERS, whom I should patronize;

G doth stand for GOLD—good gold!—for which man freedom barters;

H beginneth HONORS—that is, ribbons, stars, and garters;

I stands for my INCOME (several thousand pounds per ann.);

J stands for JOHNNY BULL, a soft and easy kind of man;

K beginneth KING, who rules the land by "right divine;"

L's for MRS. LILLY, who was once a nurse of mine.

M beginneth MELBOURNE, who rules *the roast* and State;

N stands for a NOBLEMAN, who's *always* good and great.

O is for the OPERA, that I should only grace;

P stands for the PENSION LIST, for "servants out of place."

Q's the QUARTER'S SALARY, for which true patriots long;

R's for MR. [illegible]ATSEY, who taught *me* this pretty song;

S stands for the SPEECH, which Mammy learns to say;

T doth stand for TAXES, which the people ought to pay;

U's for the UNION WORKHOUSE, which horrid paupers shun;

V is for VICTORIA, "the Bess of forty-one;"

W stands for WAR, the "noble game" which Monarchs play;

X is for the TREBLE X—Lilly drank three times a day;

And **Y Z**'s for the WISE HEADS, who admire all I say.

fig. 29

PRINCE ALBERT'S STUDIO.

THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT PIE.

Sing a song of Parliament,—
Speeches cut and dry,
Four-and-twenty Members,
Each with his cry.

When their mouths they open
Each his cry to sing,
They make a pretty kettle of fish
To set before the Queen.

The Prince sits in his parlour
And there he takes his money,
The Queen sits in her nursery,
Looking sweet as honey.

John Bull pays every farden
And don't know how it goes,
And outruns the constable,
Paying through the nose

CARTOON, N°. III.

JOHN BULL'S IDOL!

A CASE OF REAL DISTRESS.

"Good People, pray take compassion upon us. It is now nearly seven years since we have either of us known the blessing of a Comfortable Residence. If you do not believe us, good people, come and see where we live, at Buckingham Palace, and you will be satisfied that there is no deception in our story. Such is our Distress, that we should be truly grateful for the blessing of a comfortable two-pair back, with commonly decent Sleeping-Rooms for our Children and Domestics. With our slender means, and an Increasing Family, we declare to you that we do not know what to do. The sum of One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds will be all that will be required to make the needful alterations in our dwelling. Do, good people, bestow your Charity to this little amount, and may you never live to feel the want of so small a trifle."

fig. 33

RECEPTION OF THE CHINESE FAMILY BY HER MAJESTY, AT OSBORNE.

fig. 34

THE ACCESSION OF THE QUEEN OF INDIA.

fig. 35

fig. 36

WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION.

(Being a Letter addressed to Mr. Punch, with a Drawing, by a strong-minded American Woman.)

It is quite easy to realise the considerable difficulty that the natives of this old country are like to have in estimating the rapid progress of ideas on all subjects among us, the Anglo-Saxons of the Western World. Mind travels with us on a rail-car, or a high-pressure river-boat. The snags and sawyers of prejudice, which render so dangerous the navigation of Time's almighty river, whose water-power has toppled over these giant-growths of the world, without being able to detach them from the congenial mud from which they draw their nutriment, are dashed aside or run down in the headlong career of the United States mind.

We laugh to scorn the dangers of popular effervescence. Our almighty-browed and cavernous-eyed statesmen sit, heroically, on the safety-valve, and the mighty ark of our vast Empire of the West moves on at a pressure on the square inch which would rend into shivers the rotten boiler-plates of your outworn states of the Old World.

To use a phrase, which the refined manners of our ladies have banished from the drawing-room, and the saloon of the boarding-house, *we* go a-head. And our progress is the progress of all—not of high and low, for we have abolished the odious distinction—but of man, woman, and child, each in his or her several sphere.

Our babies are preternaturally sharp, and highly independent from the cradle. The high-souled American boy will not submit to be whipped at school. That punishment is confined to negroes and the lower animals.

But it is among *our* sex—among women—(for I am a woman, and my name is Theodosia Eudoxia Bang, of Boston, U. S., Principal of the Homœopathic and Collegiate Thomsonian Institute for developing the female mind in that intellectual city)—that the stranger may realise in the most convincing manner the progressional influences of the democratic institutions it is our privilege to live under.

An American female—for I do not like the term Lady, which suggests the outworn distinctions of feudalism—can travel alone from one end of the States to the other—from the majestic waters of Niagara to the mystic banks of the Yellow-stone, or the rolling prairies of Texas. The American female delivers lectures—edits newspapers, and similar organs of opinion, which exert so mighty a leverage on the national mind of our great people—is privileged to become a martyr to her principles, and to utter her soul from the platform, by the side of the gifted Poe or the immortal Peabody. All this in these old countries is the peculiar privilege of man, as opposed to woman. The female is consigned to the slavish duties of the house. In America the degrading cares of the household are comparatively unknown to our sex. The American wife resides in a boarding-house, and, consigning the petty cares of daily life to the helps of the establishment, enjoys leisure for higher pursuits, and can follow her vast aspirations upwards, or in any other direction.

We are emancipating ourselves, among other badges of the slavery of feudalism, from the inconvenient dress of the European female. With man's functions, we have asserted our right to his garb, and especially to that part of it which invests the lower extremities. With this great symbol, we have adopted others—the hat, the cigar, the paletot or round jacket. And it is generally calculated that the dress of the Emancipated American female is quite pretty,—as becoming in all points as it is manly and independent. I enclose a drawing made by my gifted fellow-citizen, Increasen Tarbox, of Boston, U.S., for the *Free Woman's Banner*, a periodical under my conduct, aided by several gifted women of acknowledged progressive opinions.

I appeal to my sisters of the Old World, with confidence, for their sympathy and their countenance in the struggle in which *we* are engaged, and which will soon be found among them also. For I feel that I have a mission across the broad Atlantic, and the steamers are now running at reduced fares. I hope to rear the standard of Female Emancipation on the roof of the Crystal Palace in London Hyde Park. Empty wit may sneer at its form, which is bifurcate. And why not? Mahomet warred under the Petticoat of his wife Kadiga. The American female Emancipist marches on her holy war under the distinguishing garment of her husband. In the compartment devoted to the United States in your Exposition, my sisters of the old country may see this banner by the side of a uniform of female freedom,—such as my drawing represents,—the garb of martyrdom for a month; the trappings of triumph for all ages of the future!

Theodosia E. Bang, M.A.,
M.C.P., Φ.A.K., K.L.M., &c., &c., (of Boston, U.S.).

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