UNIVERZITA PALACKÉHO V OLOMOUCI FILOSOFICKÁ FAKULTA

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Multimodal Portrayal of Queen Victoria in The Bulletin Magazine
Bakalářská práce

Prohlašuji, že jsem bakalářskou práci na téma "N in The Bulletin Magazine" vypracovala samostat práce a uvedla jsem všechny použité podklady a l	ně pod odborným dohledem vedoucího
Vdne	Podpis

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Abstract

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This thesis addresses the issue of multimodal depictions of Queen Victoria in the Australian satirical magazine *The Bulletin*, specifically in its special issue entitled Jubilee Bulletin, which was published to celebrate 50 years of the Queen's reign. An analysis is conducted of the poem and four cartoons. The aim of this thesis is to assess how the Queen was portrayed in this issue and what this portrayal suggests in the context of ideological manipulation at a time when nationalist issues were emerging in Australia. Answers to the questions presented are obtained using the close reading method and Kleeman's schema. The results acquired by examining the material through the aforementioned methods are then viewed through a narratological interpretation, which is supplemented by an interpretation of postcolonial theory. Thanks to the analysis conducted, it was found that the Jubilee Bulletin follows the overall antiimperialist ideology of *The Bulletin*, which gives this issue an ironic character. The Queen is portrayed as a bad and inconsiderate ruler who has no insight or interest in the problems of her subjects, both on the British Isles and in the colonies. The results revealed the magazine's attempt to manipulate the reader, whom it attempts to convince of the anti-imperialist ideology promoted by the Bulletin. It was emphasized, that this attempt could have been a threat to the British colonial empire.

Key words: The Bulletin, Jubilee Bulletin, Phil May, Frank Hawkesbury, close reading, narratology, postcolonial theory, multimodal research, 19th century, Australia, Queen Victoria, British empire, colonialism

Abstrakt

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Předložená práce řeší problematiku multimodálního vyobrazení královny Viktorie v Australském satirickém časopise *The Bulletin*, konkrétně v jeho speciálním vydání nazvaném Jubilee Bulletin, které bylo vydáno při oslavách 50 let královniny vlády. Analýza je provedena na básni a čtyřech ilustracích. Cílem práce je zjistit, jakým způsobem byla v tomto čísle královna vyobrazena a co toto vyobrazení naznačuje v kontextu ideologické manipulace v době, kdy v Austrálii vyvstávaly nacionalistické otázky. Odpovědi na předložené otázky jsou získávány za pomocí metody "close reading" a Kleemanova schématu. Na výsledky získané zkoumáním materiálu zmíněnými metodami, je poté pohlíženo skrze naratologickou interpretaci, která je doplněna o interpretaci prostřednictvím postkoloniální teorie. Díky provedené analýze došlo k zjištění, že se Bulletin i v tomto čísle drží své protiimperialistické ideologie, čímž číslo nabývá ironického charakteru. Královna je zde vyobrazovaná jako špatný a bezohledný vládce, který nemá přehled ani zájem o problémy svých poddaných, a to jak na Britských ostrovech, tak i v koloniích. Na základě výsledků byla zjištěna snaha časopisu o manipulaci čtenáře, kterého se snaží přimět k přiklonění se k protiimperialistické ideologii, která je Bulletinem propagovaná. Také byla implikována možná hrozba, kterou mohla taková snaha mít pro Britské koloniální impérium.

Klíčová slova: The Bulletin, Jubilee Bulletin, Phil May, Frank Hawkesbury, close reading, naratologická interpretace, postkoloniální teorie, multimodální výzkum, 19. století, Austrálie, královna Viktorie, Britské impérium, kolonialismus

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Introduction

Due to the increasing number of media that influence us daily, it becomes increasingly important to be aware of the possible correlation between the general moods in society and those presented to us by the media, the motives behind their comments, or different symbols and the way they are presented. Such influence is nothing new, as it can be found in various media throughout history. This thesis deals with one such media, namely *The Bulletin* magazine and its special edition to celebrate fifty years of Queen Victoria's reign – the *Jubilee Bulletin* – and its depiction of the Queen, as one of the symbols of the empire, hence the colonialism.

The research has been conducted in order to fill in the gap in research of Australian satirical magazines in the 19th century since the research has shown a startling deficiency of research focused on their depiction of Queen Victoria and her Jubilee, which was supposed to be a milestone for the entire empire ruled. It is important to fill this gap in order to better understand and contextualize the contemporary perception of Queen Victoria, hence the empire, by the British colonies in the century of rising nationalistic tendencies. Such tendencies have created the world and its politics as it is known to us today, therefore it is only beneficial to be familiar with its very beginnings and foundations.

This leads to the general objective of this study, which is to identify how was Queen Victoria perceived in *The Bulletin* magazine jubilee issue. The analysis will be performed on both poetry and cartoons, in order to cover a larger spectrum of possible depictions. Both of the media were chosen because of their accessibility for readers, poetry being pleasant to read, and cartoons simply captivating attention. Specifically, the thesis aims to analyze the narration of these works and capture how this narration correlates with the colonial period when was the *Jubilee Bulletin* created.

The scope of this study will be over only one issue, as has been previously stated. This is because of the convenience of this issue, which focuses solely on the Jubilee and its celebrations and therefore focuses mostly on the Queen, or things closely related to her persona. Nevertheless, this creates a limitation, since the research is not only limited to examining a single magazine but also to analyzing a single issue of that magazine. The scope of this research is therefore quite small; however, a larger scope would be adequate for a researcher with greater expertise in the field as well as for larger-scale research.

Preceding the main body of the thesis, it is crucial to outline the organizational layout and content of the individual chapters constituting this inquiry, in order to provide guidance for the reader, set the thesis' framework, and for overall enhanced clarity and coherence. An outline of the thesis, how it is structured, a short description and a roadmap is provided below.

Chapter 1 explains the basis of the entire work, which is the historical context of The Bulletin magazine and Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. Among other things, it also discusses related secondary sources to the field of historical research. This chapter serves as the support of the entire historical core of the work. Chapter 2 explores the possible use of satirical magazines as a source, its limitations, advantages, and its accessibility. The main purpose of this chapter is to lay a foundation for predictions about possible future research, related to the main analysis of the text, which is suggested in the Conclusion. The necessity of its inclusion is the specificity of the satirical magazine as a medium. Chapter 3 functions as an overview of the core and most relevant literature from the field of comic studies, narratology studies, or postcolonial studies, which was utilized in order to conduct this thesis. It also touches on the most important points explored in the literature, which were employed to understand the issues, perform the analysis, or draw conclusions. Chapter 4 tries to explain the approach that was taken in order to conduct the analysis and the specific methodology of close reading and usage of schema introduced by Grant Kleeman, a former Senior Lecturer at Sydney's Macquarie University focusing on pedagogy of geography, and the analysis of narratology and the application of postcolonial theory, that were utilized to understand this complex topic. The second half of the chapter is devoted to the introduction of terminology. Chapter 5 includes a close reading analysis and the analysis of selected works based on Kleeman's schema, and field-specialized terminology. Both of these were previously introduced in chapter 4. In this chapter are presented the generally negative messages of the works which are directed towards the Queen. These are further explored using the narratological approach and postcolonial theory in chapter 6, which unearths the anti-imperial ideas and the perception of a deep difference between the poor and the wealthy in the context of their access to power. Chapter 7 then returns to the historical analysis, contextualizing the findings with the historical context of Queen Victoria and her Golden Jubilee.

1 Historical and Historiographical Background

As this thesis examines a primary source of historical origin, it is essential to provide the historical context surrounding the source and its main focus – *The Bulletin*, Her Majesty the Queen, and the Golden Jubilee. This section is devoted to accomplishing this while introducing different scholars addressing this matter in their research.

J. F. Archibald and John Haynes established *The Bulletin* magazine in 1880. It was known as an independent publication advocating for anti-English and anti-imperial ideas. The literature discusses *The Bulletin* mostly in connotation to such political and ideological ideas. This is done e.g., by Carolyn Holbrook, a contemporary Professor at Deakin University focusing on the Great War in connection to Australia, its society, and politics, who introduces the topic of Bulletin's ideology in her article Marxism for Beginner Nations: Radical Nationalist Historians and the Great War, published in Labour History in 2012. Another scholar discussing this topic is Meg Tasker, an Associate Professor at the Federation University in Ballarat, who focuses on Australia's late colonial writers and journalists, and discusses the nationalistic ideology of Bulletin in her comparative study Two Versions of Colonial Nationalism: The Australasian "Review of Reviews" v. the Sydney "Bulletin", published in Victorian Periodicals Review in 2004.² Scholars come to alike impressions of *The Bulletin's* ideology which is similarly described as aggressive³ or radical.^{4,5} The history of the magazine is debated by Sylvia Lawson, Australian essayist debating culture and politics, who, among her other works, authored a fairly comprehensive publication *The Archibald Paradox*, a monograph published in 1987, dealing with the origins and ideology of *The Bulletin* with the strong influence of Archibald, who was its editor.⁶

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¹ Carolyn Holbrook, 'Marxism for Beginner Nations: Radical Nationalist Historians and the Great War', *Labour History*, no. 103 (2012): 123–44, https://doi.org/10.5263/labourhistory.103.0123.

² Meg Tasker, 'Two Versions of Colonial Nationalism: The Australasian "Review of Reviews" v. the Sydney "Bulletin", *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37, no. 4 (2004): 111–22.

³ S. J. Michael F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen, 'The Oxford Companion to the Book', in *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 398,

https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/acref/9780198606536.001.0001/acref-9780198606536.

⁴ Holbrook, 'Marxism for Beginner Nations', 125.

⁵ Tasker, 'Two Versions of Colonial Nationalism', 112.

⁶ Sylvia Lawson, The Archibald Paradox: A Strange Case of Authorship (Ringwood, 1987).

Later chapters of this thesis analyze specific works by *Bulletin* contributors Phil May and Frank Hawkesbury. Phil May was an English-born satirical artist, who was working for *The Bulletin* for three years and also for *Punch* magazine. Punch will be elaborated on further below. The ability to work for such ideologically different magazines indicates a certain adaptability of the author and his work to different ideologies and attitudes. Frank Hawkesbury was a pen name used by Francis Adams, English-born poet, novelist, and journalist, who, as is stressed by Tasker, was never *Bulletin*'s official staff member, which allowed him to express his opinions independently without being compromised (at least in the year 1887, according to Tasker's research). Nevertheless, his opinions can be perceived as quite close to the ideological path taken by *The Bulletin*.

The Jubilee in 1887 celebrated fifty years of Queen Victoria's reign. The depiction of the Queen and other symbols of the empire played a vital role in these celebrations. It was not only on different merchandise, such as Jubilee Mugs¹⁰ or Jubilee Medals, whose purchase symbolized commitment and conformation¹¹ but also in different magazines, such as *Punch*, a highly institutionalized satirical magazine.¹² Among other depictions of the Queen in the *Punch* magazine, William E. Fredeman, a historian scholar focusing on Victorian era, in his article *A Charivari for Queen Butterfly: "Punch" on Queen Victoria*, published in *Victorian Poetry* in 1987, discusses her depiction specifically connected to her Jubilee in 1887.¹³ Due to the popularity of Punch magazine, such a depiction may be understood as representing the public perception of the Queen on the British Isles. Nevertheless, little to no research has been conducted in order to examine the colonies' relationship to Queen Victoria's fiftieth-anniversary celebrations in magazines, such as *The Bulletin*, which has dedicated an

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⁷ Mark Bryant, 'Drawing the Line: Fine Art, Caricature and Cartoons in Britain, from Gillray to Scarfe', *The British Art Journal* 20, no. 2 (2019): 47.

⁸ Andrew McDonnell, 'Presentation of Phil May Portrait to the Chelsea Arts Club', *The Wildean*, no. 10 (1997): 2.

⁹ Meg Tasker, *Struggle and Storm : The Life and Death of Francis Adams* (Carlton South, Victoria, Australia : Melbourne University Press, 2001), 58–59, http://archive.org/details/strugglestormlif0000task.

¹⁰ Thomas Richards, 'The Image of Victoria in the Year of Jubilee', Victorian Studies 31, no. 1 (1987): 11.

¹¹ Brian Louis Pearce et al., 'Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee 1887', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 135, no. 5372 (1987): 583.

¹² Thierry Smolderen, *The Origins of Comics: From William Hogarth to Winsor McCay* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2014), 76.

¹³ William E. Fredeman, 'A Charivari for Queen Butterfly: "Punch" on Queen Victoria', *Victorian Poetry* 25, no. 3/4 (1987): 55–56.

entire issue to address the happening. Elizabeth Webby, an Australian literary critic and scholar of literature focusing on 19th century Australian literature, discusses the Australian relations towards the empire based on an analysis of two magazines in her article *Images of Europe in Two Nineteenth-Century Australian Illustrated Magazines*, published in *Victorian Periodicals Review* in 2004,¹⁴ but this is only general research that does not focus on a specific event or specific person, as this thesis aims to do. However, her attitude towards the importance of the influence of the analyzed periodicals, one of which is *The Bulletin*, ¹⁵ lays one of the fundamental questions of this thesis: what was the attitude of *The Bulletin*, given its strong support of the Australian nationalist movement, towards one of the strongest symbols of the empire – Queen Victoria?

The aforementioned scholars and their research were the basis for the creation of this thesis. They are used as part of the arguments during the analysis in Chapter 5: Examination of selected works, during the discussion in chapter number 6: Narratological Approach and Postcolonial Contextualization, and finally also in chapter 7: Talking Historical Context: Queen Victoria, her representation, and Golden Jubilee, where they are used as a vital basis for historical contextualization.

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¹⁴ Elizabeth Webby, 'Images of Europe in Two Nineteenth-Century Australian Illustrated Magazines', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 37, no. 4 (2004): 10–24.

¹⁵ Webby, 11.

2 Satirical Magazine as a Primary Source

The usage of 19th-century satirical magazines as a primary source requires considering their specificities as a public media. This section considers the usage of 19th-century satirical magazines in terms of their media specificity, their features, and advantages as a medium, nowadays accessibility, and research possibilities.

According to Andrei Molotiu, an art historian and a senior lecturer at Indiana University Bloomington conducting research in critical theory of art and comic studies, in the chapter Cartooning from the book Comics Studies: A Guidebook published in 2020, the specificity of 19th-century satirical magazines lies in the technical options and parameters given by contemporary technological development, which not only restricted the artists to a certain extent but also altered the art in its final form. 16 The importance of media specificity is also emphasized by Kai Mikkonen, a Professor at University of Helsinki concentrating on comparative literature and narratology, ¹⁷ or Lawson. 18 It is quite possible, that such technical issues may have affected the creation of the works that are the object of study in this thesis. However, before proceeding further, it needs to be stated that this thesis does not aim to record these possible changes or further analyze them. It focuses on providing an insight into the possible propaganda by the media, which is explored using literary tools such as narratological analysis and postcolonial theory. Nevertheless, the specificity of the media, such as the development stage of print media, printing costs, or possible influence or pressure on the media from higher political or power positions, could impact the artist and their work.

It is also necessary to state that this thesis conduct an analysis of cartoons as a literary source. As is emphasized by Hillary Chute, an American literary scholar and Distinguished Professor at Northeastern University focusing on research of comics and graphic novels, comics consist of "two narrative tracks, one verbal and one visual", and highlights the importance of both these components for a full understanding and possible subsequent analysis of what she calls a "graphic narrative". ¹⁹ During the analysis conducted in this work, this insight showed to be vital, since it has been found

¹⁶ Andrei Molotiu, 'Cartooning', in *Comics Studies: A Guidebook*, ed. Charles Hatfield and Bart Beaty (New Brunswick Camden Newark, New Jersey London: Rutgers University Press, 2020), 154.

¹⁷ Kai Mikkonen, *The Narratology of Comic Art*, Routledge Advances in Comic Studies 3 (New York London: Routledge, Taylor & Fancis Group, 2017), 249.

¹⁸ Lawson, *The Archibald Paradox*, ix.

¹⁹ Hillary Chute, 'Comics as Literature? Reading Graphic Narrative', *PMLA* 123, no. 2 (2008): 452.

that these two tracks overlay in the analyzed works too and therefore it is impossible to examine neither of them separately. This type of analysis offers a framework to truly cover the complex nature of this double track storytelling, techniques used by the artists and the relevance in cultural context, which is characteristic for the analyzed selected works in this thesis.

Different attitudes are taken by different scholars considering the significance and uniqueness of cartoons. Scott McCloud, an American comics theorist and cartoonist focusing on the comic as a medium in general, emphasizes their ability to stimulate multiple senses at once, referred to as the concept of synaesthetics.²⁰ In the context of this thesis, this statement emphasizes the fact that the cartoons found in the *Jubilee Bulletin* have a great potential to attract the attention of the reader. This reader is then influenced in multiple ways. Initially comes the first observation that leaves a certain impression on the reader. In this work, I will prove that the aim of the authors of the *Jubilee Bulletin* is to leave the reader with negative feelings from the very beginning. This initial impression is based on encountering a cartoon with somewhat negative connotation. This depiction is then complemented and emphasized by a negative title and caption.

This concept introduced by McCloud seems to be connected to Amy Matthewson, a researcher specializing in interdisciplinary research in history and art, and her claim that cartoons are able to enter the reader's consciousness quite rapidly.²¹ Therefore after encountering a positively or negatively connotated cartoon, that is easily transmitted into our consciousness, it becomes easier to adopt the opinions that are subliminally presented to us through such cartoon. In context of this thesis, this connotation is negative, as I will prove in the next chapters, and therefore I argue that the readers of *Jubilee Bulletin* were influenced to maintain a negative attitude towards Queen Victoria, hence the empire.

Thierry Smolderen, a Belgian essayist focusing on comic history, stresses that cartoons, due to their nature, encourage the creation of habits while conveying their message ²² This, in connection to Matthewson's claim presented in the previous paragraph, suggests that after encountering multiple positively or negatively connotated

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²⁰ Scott McCloud, Understanding Comics The Invisible Art (New York, 1994), 123.

²¹ Amy Matthewson, *Cartooning China: Punch, Power, & Politics in the Victorian Era*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge India, 2022), 7, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003025573.

²² Smolderen, *The Origins of Comics*, 80–84.

cartoons, the reader's attitude towards the Queen will shift to be negative and such a reader will search for negative connotations after encountering any depiction of the Queen in the future – possibly not only a pictorial, but a depiction of any kind.

All of the above-mentioned claims by McCloud, Matthewson and Smolderen are important when considering the usage of cartoons in magazines. Being able to appeal to all the senses and entering the consciousness of the reader, while creating habits, leads to an increase of the possible influence the magazine has. Therefore, when considering the overall negative presentation of the Queen, which will be in depth analyzed in the following chapters, it is essential to assess that the allusions and derogatory remarks towards the Queen cannot be underestimated, especially in the context of postcolonial studies.

Shifting away from technicalities, this research would be much more demanding, in both time and resources, if it were not for the digitalization of different 19th-century magazines. Different resources are praised by different scholars. Caley Ehnes, a Professor at College of the Rockies focusing on 19th century media and poetry, and Kylee-Anne Hingston, an Assistant Professor at St. Thomas More College researching Victorian literature, narratology and pedagogy, value existence of resources such as Google Books or British Periodicals I &II.²³ Others, such as Kristin Mahoney, an Associate Professor at Michigan State University specializing in Victorian studies or queer studies regard free resources such as Internet Archive.²⁴ I would argue, that accessing primary sources such as magazines to the wider public creates more space for discussion, whether in the public space or the academic space, which is currently still limited in many cases due to the financial possibilities of researchers In light of this, it is necessary to mention Trove, which gives access to an internet archive accessing *The Bulletin magazine*, ²⁵ that has been used to access the *Jubilee Bulletin* issue from June 18th, 1887, the object of study of this thesis.

Thanks to this digitalization and the subsequent possibility of printing the primary source, the research could have utilized Mahoney's and Abraham's method of conscientiously reducing reading speed and attentively analyzing the primary source.²⁶

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²³ Caley Ehnes and Kylee-Anne Hingston, 'Collaborative Knowledge and Merging Media: Teaching Victorian Periodical Print Using Digital Tools', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48, no. 2 (2015): 197.

²⁴ Kristin Mahoney and Kaitlyn Abrams, 'Periodical Pedagogy in the Undergraduate Classroom', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48, no. 2 (2015): 2.

²⁵ 'Trove - Digitised Newspapers and More', Trove, accessed 3 April 2024, //trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper.

²⁶ Mahoney and Abrams, 'Periodical Pedagogy in the Undergraduate Classroom', 14.

This method is opposed by Dallas Liddle, a Professor at Augsburg University focusing on periodical press, who suggests utilizing "some of the emerging big-data methods of the digital humanities." However, this method was excluded from possible use, due to the small amount of analyzed material and its not exclusively verbal character.

The aim of this Chapter was to assess and evaluate the possibilities and obstacles of usage of a satirical magazine as a primary source. It has been emphasized that this thesis does not reflect the technical obstacles of the 19th century technical advancement, which may have influenced the outcome of the magazine's final appearance. In addition, the influence of the use of cartoons in a magazine was emphasized as a possible consequence of greater popularity of such magazines. Lastly, the possibilities of research using Internet resources, their limitations, and the limitations of research due to financial reasons were emphasized, while institutions providing free access were highlighted.

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²⁷ Dallas Liddle, 'Genre: "Distant Reading" and the Goals of Periodicals Research', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48, no. 3 (2015): 385.

3 Review of Relevant Literature

In order to conduct this thesis, it was necessary to conduct background research in multiple different fields. The most relevant sources to the historical background of the Queen's Golden Jubilee, *The Bulletin* magazine, and working with digitalized sources were introduced in the previous chapters. This chapter aims to introduce central sources in areas of narratology in poetry, comics in general, narratology in comics, imperialism in comics, and imperialism and postcolonial theory.

A central source used in this thesis to examine narratology in comics is written by Peter Hühn, a Professor at Hamburg University researching narratology in poetry. Hühn, in a book chapter *Plotting the lyric: forms of narration in poetry* from the book *Theory in poetry: new approaches to the lyric*, published in *Theory in Poetry: New Approaches to the Lyric* in 2005, introduces the possibility of narratological examination of poetry in terms of plot, sequentiality, or mediacy. This study has fueled debate in academic circles and is praised for example by Brian McHale, a literary theorist and Distinguished Professor at The Ohio State University, for its unusual perspective, which includes the concept of psychological motivations as the plot of the work. Hühn describes the topic as a complex of phenomena that are connected and follow each other. By doing so, he achieves a convincing argument that confirms the existence of plot, sequentiality, and mediacy, which are used as essential objects of study of poetry in this thesis.

Additionally, McHale in his article *Beginning to Think about Narrative in Poetry*, published in *Narrative* in 2009, advocates for analyzing segmentivity as a tool of narration in poetry.³⁰ Its substantiality lies in its complementation of Hühn's theory with an overlooked element, i.e. the already mentioned segmentivity, as an element emphasizing the existence of a deliberate division of the poem for the purpose of narration. This element forms an important framework, as it takes into account the external form of the poem, as was originally published, which is vital since this thesis works with a historical primary source that shows the original poem as it was printed, with all the intentional external features.

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²⁸ Peter Hühn, 'Plotting the Lyric: Forms of Narration in Poetry', in *Theory in Poetry: New Approaches to the Lyric*, ed. Eva Müller-Zettelmann and Margarete Rubik (Amsterdam - New York: Radopi, 2005).

²⁹ Brian McHale, 'Beginning to Think about Narrative in Poetry', Narrative 17, no. 1 (2009): 13.

³⁰ McHale, 'Beginning to Think about Narrative in Poetry'.

A vital work for the sections working with comics is McCloud's *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*, a graphic monograph published in 1994, where he presents an overall account of comics, their brief history, and different styles and above all dives into specific phenomena such as the usage of gutters.³¹ This book is fundamental for its innovative approach to comics as a medium, laying the foundations of the emerging field of comic studies. This general account explains comics and their character from the ground up, making it accessible, and stimulating further exploration. This is vital, since it can be used as a framework for terminology, as was performed in this thesis.

History of comics is offered also by Smolderen in *The Origins of Comics: From William Hogarth to Winsor McCay* published in 2014. For this thesis, Chapter 5: *The Evolution of the Press* is the most relevant since it devolves around the press and its assimilation to comic art.³² This book is a comprehensive treatment of the history of comics, their development and influence over the years. This source is crucial for this thesis because of its emphasis on the popularity of illustrated magazines as a force driven by society responding to the demand of the people. This thesis works with this statement as a basis that confirms the existence of a complex relationship between the medium and the recipients of the message it conveys, in this case *The Bulletin* readers.

The elaboration on narratology in comics in this thesis relies primarily on the framework set by Chute, previously mentioned in Chapter 2, Suzenne Keen, a literary scholar and Professor at Scripps College known for her research on narrative forms, specifically the narrative empathy, and Mikkonen, previously mentioned in Chapter 2. Their work relevant to this thesis is described in the paragraphs below.

Chute's article *Comics as Literature? Reading Graphic Narrative*, published in *PMLA* in 2008, focuses on the relation of verbal and non-verbal storytelling in graphic narratives,³³ expanding the scope of thinking about comics as a separate medium. The author emphasizes the uniqueness of the comic medium in terms of this "double track" narration, which enables the transmission of the narration in two different ways at once. This method of interpretation is used in this work, due to the format of the analyzed cartoons, which consist not only of verbal expression or a pictorial part but combine these concepts together creating an exceptional mode of narration.

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³¹ McCloud, *Understanding Comics*.

³² Smolderen, *The Origins of Comics*.

³³ Chute, 'Comics as Literature?'

Another important variable employed by this thesis is introduced by Keen in her article *Strategic Empathizing: Techniques of Bounded, Ambassadorial, and Broadcast Narrative Empathy* published in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* in 2008, where she focuses on narratology in terms of objectives behind the narration intended for specific audience and reception.³⁴ This work is significant due to the fact that it considers not only the meaning of the analyzed work, but also its relation to the intended audience, which can contribute to an overall possible interpretation. The explanation of these phenomena is made possible through a complex description of different types of the emphasizing and the presentation of their examples. Importantly, Keen follows up on this research in her article *Fast Tracks to Narrative Empathy: Anthropomorphism and Dehumanization in Graphic Narratives*, published in *SubStance* in 2011, where she offers an application of the beforementioned narratology analysis on specific works.³⁵ This set of ideas was very helpful in connecting the results of the initial analysis of this thesis with the possible intended audience of *The Bulletin* magazine.

The Narratology of Comic Art by Mikkonen, a monograph that was published in 2017, offers a comprehensive take on narratology, which is divided into separate parts that investigate the narratological analysis of different comic properties. One of its main goals is a revisionist review of basic narrative concepts, specifically by analyzing comics and incorporating them into conversation with narratological analysis. This thesis is inspired by Mikkonen's concept of the image as a whole and the analysis of its individual parts in context, i.e. by comparing the background and foreground of the cartoon, as well as the concept of characters who are identified not only as characters in the comic but must be viewed with the assumption that the reader has an idea and preconceptions about the specific character before reading the comic.

One of the central works that made it possible to contextualize the results of my research into the framework of colonialism is written by Matthewson, who was already mentioned in Chapter 2. In Matthewson's *Cartooning China: Punch, Power, & Politics in the Victorian Era*, a monograph published in 2022, Matthewson investigates the staff and contributors of *Punch* magazine in order to assess the motivations and ideologies

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³⁴ Suzanne Keen, 'Strategic Empathizing: Techniques of Bounded, Ambassadorial, and Broadcast Narrative Empathy', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift Für Literaturwissenschaft Und Geistesgeschichte* 82, no. 3 (September 2008): 477–93, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03374712.

³⁵ Suzanne Keen, 'Fast Tracks to Narrative Empathy: Anthropomorphism and Dehumanization in Graphic Narratives', *SubStance* 40, no. 1 (2011): 135–55.

behind the publication, considers the format and content of the magazine as a primary source, and focuses on the power of portrayal through graphic expression.³⁶ The indispensability of this source for this thesis lies in its character, since it is an analysis of a historical source, which is an illustrated satirical magazine that looks at the issue of colonization. This thesis tries to replicate this research approach in order to achieve a satisfactory level of depth and objectivity throughout the research process and the process of formulating conclusions.

Nevertheless, *Cartooning China* takes a point of view from which it analyzes the colonizer's view of the terrorized area. However, this work deals with the opposite point of view, i.e., the colony's view of its colonizer. Therefore, it was vital to choose a framework that made it possible to conduct an analysis of this perspective. I have chosen a framework set by Shehla Burney, a former Professor at Queen's University focusing on postcolonialism, cultural criticism and its application in pedagogical practice, namely her monograph *Pedagogy of the Other: Edward Said, Postcolonial Theory, and Strategies for Critique*, published in 2012, specifically in Chapter 7: *Conceptual Framework in Postcolonial Theory: Applications for Educational Critique*.³⁷ This thesis uses her comprehensive treatment of the topic, which was employed to contextualize the primary thesis research results using postcolonial theory.

The aim of this chapter was to acquaint the reader with the most prominent and relevant sources from various fields of scientific knowledge that were employed while conducting this thesis. In the field of narratology in poems were highlighted the works of Hühn and McHale and their concept of tools of narratological analysis. Further, in the field of comics in general were mentioned McCloud and his general introductory input about comics and Smolderen and his history of comics, cartoons and specifically cartoons in nineteenth-century magazines. The field of narratology relies on the ideas of Chute and her double narration, Keen and her theory based on the intended audience, and Mikkonen and his concrete narratological practices. For contextualization within colonialism and postcolonialism were used the works of Matthewson, who became an inspiration for the research process in the work, and Burney, thanks to which the results of the work could be contextualized through the lens of postcolonial theory.

³⁶ Matthewson, *Cartooning China*.

³⁷ Shehla Burney, 'Conceptual Frameworks in Postcolonial Theory: Applications for Educational Critique', in *Pedagogy of the Other: Edward Said, Postcolonial Theory, and Strategies for Critique*, vol. 417 (New York: Peter Lang AG, 2012), 173–93, https://www.jstor.org/stable/42981704.

4 Analytical instruments: Approaches for Examination

In order to conduct the research in this thesis, specific tools in the form of approaches, theories, and methodologies had to be chosen and applied. This section serves as an explanation of these choices, specifically the choice of narratological approach that was examined through the lens of postcolonial theory, the methodology set by Kleeman's examination schema,³⁸ and close reading. The terminology associated with this analysis will also be defined and explained further below.

Methods of close reading and examination according to Kleeman's examination schema were employed while analyzing the collected material. An important method that was used in the initial analysis of both the poetry and the cartoons is close reading, thanks to which enabled perception of details and different patterns comprising the primary results. Kleeman's examination schema from an article *Not just for fun: Using cartoons to investigate geographical issues*, published in *New Zealand Geographer* in 2006, was implemented on the analyzed caricatures at the same time with close reading, in order to ensure consideration of all essential components of graphic art; including caricaturing, stereotyping, visual metaphors, humor, perspectives, captions, exaggeration and distortion, and the overall context, that create the entire message the cartoon conveys.³⁹ Each of the cartoons was analyzed separately and thoroughly searched for signs of any of the aforementioned phenomena.

Throughout the primary research, a decision has been made that the approach that needs to be taken is narratological analysis. This was due to the realization of the complexity of the message that *The Bulletin* magazine conveys, and its strong ideological influenced views. It has also been decided, that in order to be able to assess the results of the narratological analysis into the timeframe and space of the British empire, they need to be looked at through the lens of the postcolonial theory. Both these procedures were then applied to a previously made close reading analysis, that enabled the tracing and marking of recurring phenomena.

In order to present the analysis, discussion, and results of this research, it is essential to establish a common understanding of the terminology used to conduct it. This section of the thesis will define essential terms for this study in order to enhance clarity and understanding of the applied framework. Since this is a multimodal research

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³⁸ Grant Kleeman, 'Not Just for Fun: Using Cartoons to Investigate Geographical Issues', *New Zealand Geographer* 62, no. 2 (2006): 149, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-7939.2006.00057.x.

³⁹ Kleeman, 149.

field of narratology incorporating multiple analytical instruments, multiple different fields of terminology must be considered. Among those is the field of the terminology used in comic studies, in narratology of both comics and poetry and the terminology of postcolonial theory.

Among the terms in the field of the comic related terminology can be found terms such as cartoon, frame, gutter, sequence, or synaesthetics. Cartoon needs to be distinguished from comics and this study will do so by the definition of Mikkonen, who says that "Cartooning can be defined as the graphic simplification of figurative shapes for purposes of communication, humor, and so on in comic strip and comic book rendering (. . .)."40 Other important terms are frame and gutter, which are defined by Chute as tools thanks to which "[c]omics moves forward in time through the space of the page, through its progressive counterpoint of presence and absence"41 Sequence, sequential and non-sequential in comics field of studies expresses the idea of being or not being "designated to be viewed side-by-side (. . .)!"42 Synaesthetics is then described by McCloud as the comics' or ability of a cartoon to "unite all the senses (. . .) and in doing so, unite the different artforms which appealed to those different senses."43

The list of narratological terminology includes narration, spatial attachment, sequentiality and mediacy, and voice and focalization. Narration is defined by Hühn as "the act of utterance (. . .) through which the incidents and existents (. . .) are transformed into the discourse level."⁴⁴ One of the narratological tools in comics, spatial attachment, can defined in terms of Mikkonen as a procedure of tracking a character, specifically "in the course of a scene or several scenes"⁴⁵. The feature of sequentiality has been described in the context of comics in general, nevertheless, it can be discussed also in the context of narratology in poetry. In this field, it is suggested that sequentiality can be used as a means of narration. This, according to Hühn, can be done by precepting the mental stimuli as a "sequence of incidents", ⁴⁶ which enables the analysis to perceive it in terms of plot, "[t]his description of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic organization of poems in terms of narrative sequences has to be supplemented by a specification of

⁴⁰ Molotiu, 'Cartooning', 153.

⁴¹ Chute, 'Comics as Literature?', 452.

⁴² McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 17.

⁴³ McCloud, 123.

⁴⁴ Hühn, 'Plotting the Lyric: Forms of Narration in Poetry', 148.

⁴⁵ Mikkonen, *The Narratology of Comic Art*, 103.

⁴⁶ Hühn, 'Plotting the Lyric: Forms of Narration in Poetry', 147–48.

the forms and levels of poetic mediacy (. . .) to which they are attributable."⁴⁷ Mediacy then consists of two components, namely voice and focalization. Those are defined by Hühn as "subtle difference between the narrating and the experiencing (perceiving or reflecting) self, a difference in temporal as well as cognitive and emotional terms."⁴⁸

Postcolonial terminology used in this thesis includes terms such as binary, central and marginal, counter-discourse, or hegemony. These terms will be used as defined by Burney. The binary is understood as anything standing in opposition or being presented as in opposition, creating a polar relation.⁴⁹ Centrality and marginality can be defined as the perception of the population of colonized countries and the colonizers as "the 'civilized'" and "the (. . .) 'savage'".⁵⁰ The term counter-discourse will be used "to signify moments and movements of subaltern resistance to the colonizers, which can take several forms."⁵¹ Hegemony is then a system that "operates (. . .) through the hidden structures of power", one of these being media.⁵²

The aim of this chapter was to introduce the approaches, methodologies and terminology employed while conducting the analysis, in order to set a firm framework understood in the same way by both the author and the readers, so that there occurs no possible misunderstanding. Firstly, the fundamental methods used for the initial analysis were presented. Then follows an explanation of why were chosen the procedure of narratological analysis and postcolonial theory to conduct this research. This is followed by a final section defining terminology from the fields of comics, narratology of comics and narratology of poetry, and terminology used in postcolonial theory.

⁴⁷ Hühn, 152.

⁴⁸ Hühn, 153.

⁴⁹ Burney, 'Conceptual Frameworks in Postcolonial Theory', 178.

⁵⁰ Burney, 180.

⁵¹ Burney, 182.

⁵² Burney, 189.

5 Examination of Selected Works

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of individual selected works originating from the Jubilee issue of *The Bulletin* magazine. Those selected works consist of one poem and four cartoons. The analyzed poem named *Queen Victoria* was chosen based on its prominent position at the very beginning of this issue and thus the given assumption that it has the biggest potential of reaching the most readers. The cartoons were selected due to their direct depiction of the Queen, specifically a depiction in a cartoon in which she assumes a central role as a protagonist, or one of the protagonists, rather than functioning only as a background character. The chosen cartoons are *A Straight Answer, A Fair Deal, Those Jubilee Mugs,* and *A Jubilee Medal.* The examination of the poem is done by the close reading method, as to ensure the detection of details and reoccurring patterns. A close reading is also used to conduct the examination of the selected cartoons, accompanied by the analysis according to the Kleeman schema, as explained in Chapter 4, that ensures that the analysis touches on all the most important aspects. Analytical instruments: Approaches for Examination.

5. 1 Poem Queen Victoria by Frank Hawkesbury

Brought to the fore, the first poem in this issue of *The Bulletin* is authored by Frank Hawkesbury and is printed on the very first page (if the opening page with the introductory cartoon is not counted). Its prominent placement in this issue of *The Bulletin* in the reason it has been chosen for analysis in this thesis. The full name of the poem is *Queen Victoria* (1837-1887.) An Address on her Jubilee Year. ⁵³ Based on the content, the poem can be divided into four parts. Those parts are delimited by repeated phrases. These phrases can be found at the beginning and towards the end of the poem and suggest distrust in her character and personality. The middle part then criticizes her enforcement of the interest of the upper classes, the wealthy, and the royals and accuses her of impurity in her actions. The very end, which follows the repeated phrases, directly insults Queen Victoria. The following section further analyzes these indications and provides a close reading of the poem.

The beforementioned full name of the poem suggests that the poem can be understood as a direct message for Queen Victoria herself, as articulated by the narrator. This way of introduction of the poem enables it to be read as a public letter, which puts

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⁵³ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4, accessed 10 July 2023, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-693511695/view?partId=nla.obj-693513850#page/n0/mode/1up.

the readers into a position, where they acquire a feeling of being allowed to read something that does not involve them, evoking a feeling of being flattered and inducing curiosity. This results in a greater preoccupation in this affair.

One of the previously mentioned delimiting phrases is "[s]peech addressed to a woman who never breathed upon earth," which suggests an impossibility of her character, more precisely how the character of the Queen is presented to the public. The author implies that the Queen that is presented to the masses, in fact, does not exist. By doing so, the author articulated the idea that the Queen is unrelatable and is skeptical of her public image. Another delimiting phrase is "[w]e will praise you alone for your actual imminent worth." This phrase emphasizes the author's previous implication that the presented image of the Queen, which is being publicly praised, is not real. It also bears signs of irony since the rest of the poem does not praise her, as is presented below. Both of these phrases are repeated towards the end of the poem, which stresses the message of skepticism they carry.

Another condemned issue is covered in the middle part of the poem. It is the Queen Victoria's purity. Firstly, a question is asked: "Pure! "To the pure all things are pure," says the antient saying, And this is the measure you'd have us mete out to yourself?" By posing this question, the poem suggests that the depiction of the Queen as a "pure widow" is merely a manipulation of the masses. This is followed by another question, that is "Your lips are clean of men's kisses, your hands are they clean of men's pelf?" In connection to the previous one, this question suggests that the image the Queen presents is only a made up and fake character, which is supposed to serve as a cover to hide her dishonest deeds, including those resulting in her financial gains

The questioning of her purity appears once again when the poem states "[p]ure was your bed. Pure was your Court? – we know not."⁵⁷ This concludes the skepticism of her true purity in admitting that the knowledge of her sins is limited while indicating a certain sense of prevailing distrust. Being associated with purity contributes to her image as a reliable and trustworthy monarch. By introducing this new perspective on the Queen and her deeds, claiming she is impure and dishonest with her own people, the

⁵⁴ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4.

⁵⁵ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4.

⁵⁶ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4.

⁵⁷ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4.

poem aims at forcing this idea into the possible readers mind, inducing or further incite their disdain for not only the Queen, but possibly to whole monarchy.

Her treachery and insidiousness are emphasized again in verses "(...) in backstairs fashion in the stealthy twilight hour, You have struggled and struck and stabbed, you have bartered and bought and sold!"58 where the author emphasizes the connection of her dishonesty with money by using business vocabulary. Since the poem targets the finances, this problem becomes personal for the readers. That is because the money that are associated with the Queen are usually thought of as the money from the royal treasury, where collected taxes are sent. Therefore, the reader may acquire a feeling that it is their money, which are being embezzled.

Towards the end of the poem, it can be observed that the author's sharp opinions escalate, and he becomes quite open in his negative attitude towards her persona. An example of this can be seen when the poem discusses the Queen and her relatives stating that "[y]ou have put up a gilded calf beside a gilded cow" – the calf being compared to the relatives and Victoria to a "gilded cow" sp, which is not only quite offensive and dishonorable towards her position as a queen and figure as a woman, but it also suggests stupidity and incapability of the Queen. This is reinforced later when the author pardons the Queen by stating "Good, you were good, we say. You had no wit to be evil. (. . .) You quietly sat in the shade and grew fat on our wealth instead." By writing this, the author straightforwardly and publicly insults the Queen and suggests that she lets other people control the empire since her intelligence does not allow her to do so. There can be seen a disconnection of the Queen's character from the empire, nevertheless, she is still being blamed for its misfortune.

Through the use of dishonoring phrases and skeptical questions, which are the subject of the above-conducted analysis, the author insults the authority, offers a new point of view from which can the reader perceive Queen Victoria, and suggests that the public image of the Queen is fake. This makes the reader question not only the authorities but also the whole monarchical system, possibly leading to nationalistic ideas.

⁵⁸ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4.

⁵⁹ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4.

^{60 &#}x27;Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4.

5. 2 Cartoon A Straight Answer by Phil May

In the same issue of *The Bulletin*, there can be found a cartoon drawn by Phil May entitled A Straight Answer. 61 The cartoon is an editorial cartoon that depicts two characters, Queen Victoria, and poet laureate Alfred Tennyson, while they are having a conversation. The scene is accompanied by a headline stating "A Straight Answer" and dialogue, where the queen says: "That ode isn't up to your old mark, Alfred." and Tennyson replies: "No, mum, perhaps not, but gimme a decent subject to write about and i'll let yer see." 62 It is placed in the middle of a page, surrounded by text on all sides, therefore acquiring an accompanying function – nevertheless, due to its size, it is a first thing the reader notices on the page. In the electronic version, which was used to conduct the examination, the cartoon is displayed in black and white. Hatching is employed to depict shades. The analysis of the cartoon will be conducted according to the methodology set by Kleeman⁶³ and close reading as described in Chapter 4 in order to interpret the cartoon, its headline, and the dialogue as distinct parts of a whole.

First, the context of the creation of this cartoon needs to be explained. Based on the examination of the full magazine issue, specifically page 4, The Bulletin critically evaluates poet laureate Alfred Tennyson's ode⁶⁴, which was written in honor of the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign. In this section, I will prove that this is also the case of this specific cartoon.

Next, I would like to focus on the accompanying headline and dialogue. The aforementioned conversation presented in the caption is impossible, because of the chosen lexicon – specifically words such as "gimme" and "yer", that are connotated with closeness and informality between two characters, and such familiarity would be unthinkable between a Queen and an individual from a lower social stratum. This dialogue therefore creates an absurdity, which results in a humorous understanding of the text.

This closeness is then exaggerated by the queen addressing Tennyson as "Alfred" and him addressing Victoria as a "mum". This not only further ridicules their relationship, but additionally presents the character of Victoria as a mother figure. In the context of the message of the dialogue, which can be interpreted as a criticism of the

^{61 &#}x27;Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 8.

^{62 &#}x27;Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 8.

⁶³ Kleeman, 'Not Just for Fun', 149.

⁶⁴ Tennyson Alfred, *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Ricks Christopher (London, 1969), 1369–72.

work executed by Tennyson, whose character may be understood as a representation of the entire empire, which tries to mindlessly please the Queen in any way possible, the nature of the character as a mother figure expands to a mother of the empire. This considered, the title of the cartoon then refers to this being "a straight answer" of the whole empire.

The cartoon presents a stereotyped depiction of the queen, which is connected to the queen's typical image – thus black voluminous dress, white vail, and crown. This portrayal underlines her majestic origin and status and is juxtaposed by the overt plainness of Tennyson's clothing, making him an embodiment of the common people. This difference can be analyzed as an intentional emphasis put on their social strata, likening Tennyson to ordinary people. In context of the previously mentioned social stratification, this further shows the material difference and emphasizes Queen Victoria's superiority over her subjects.

The juxtaposition between the two characters is further caused by the colors used for their depiction. As has been previously stated, the cartoon is only in black and white, and therefore expresses shades in hatching. Since the Queen's dress is black, it is much more distinct than Tennyson's white coat, which results in the Queen's character being much more prominent. This shifts the focus to the Queen, suggesting that although the cartoon consist of two characters, the more prominent of them is Queen Victoria.

The same prominence applies to the spatial attachment of the characters. Due to the perspective from which the cartoon is depicted, the figure of the Queen is partially, and her face is completely turned towards the viewer, whereas Tennyson's figure and head are both facing the Queen. This further accentuates the character of the Queen as a prominent agent in the depicted situation. Further, this layout implies that the Queen is being disrespectful since she does not value Tennyson enough to look at him during their conversation.

There appears no caricaturing, which suggests a certain respectability of both characters. As has been stated above, the cartoon emphasizes the Queen as the main character in the situation, and despite suggesting that she does not value people surrounding her or working for her, the lack of caricaturing advocates for the fact, that Queen Victoria, as a monarchy symbol, is nevertheless being respected, at least to a certain extent.

Ultimately, by looking at the exaggeration and ridiculing of the relationship between Queen Victoria and Alfred Tennyson, likening Tennyson to the commoners and emphasizing the Queen's role in Tennyson's ode affair, as was presented and analyzed above, we can see that the author presents the Queen as a motherly figure of the empire, who does not take care of her servants the way that would be appropriate and expected, and therefore is not worthy of celebrating. By doing so, the author devaluates the Queen and her importance in the eyes of the possible reader. By depicting the subordination of Tennyson, while making him a symbol of the commoners at the same time, the cartoon highlights the subordination of the common people.

5. 3 Cartoon A Fair Deal by Phil May

Another one of Phil May's cartoons in this issue is A Fair Deal displayed on a double page, covering the whole two pages 10 and 11, and depicting a group consisting of the Queen, an enormous lion, a group of toddlers, and two lion-cubs. The Queen and the lion are each depicted on one side of this scene. The Queen, seated on the right side of this depiction, is dressed in her typical attire – a dark voluminous dress that represents her widowhood. She has a sash on her chest and a veil on her head. However, she does not have a crown, which is quite an important detail, which will be discussed below. The Queen sits on a chair on the back of which are two statuettes of unicorns holding a baby bottle between them. Beneath the queen's feet is a large fluffy dark pillow. The Queen holds two lion cubs, one of which is laying on her lap, the other is held in the air by the Queen by the skin of its neck. Both of these lion cubs are obviously malnourished. Beneath the lion, which is on the left side of the scene, are ten toddlers and one toddler is sitting on the lions back. The toddlers are dresses in plain bright fabrics, some of them are wearing small crowns. Some are holding objects such as a broom, a balloon, or a bottle. One of the toddlers are holding onto a string that is attached to a big crown, which is placed in front of the lion's paw. Apparently, it is the crown of the Queen. The technique of hatching is employed to depict shades, otherwise the cartoon is black and white. The cartoon is accompanied by a headline "A Fair Deal" and a caption consisting of two parts. One of them is allegedly taken from London Paper and says "The Queen last week visited the 'Olympia' circus, and, towards the conclusion of the perform[ances] fondled the lion-cubs, which at Her Majesty's request were brought to her by the director."65 And a statement made by the lion stating: "That's

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⁶⁵ This citation had to be altered in order to be meaningful. An electronic version of this cartoon that would contain the full text was not found, so the word "performances" was completed by the author of

right old lady, I've nursed your cubs long enough. Now, you nurse mine a bit. Some of them are very hungry and discontented, I assure you."66 This is another editorial cartoon, which will be analyzed using close reading and Kleeman's 67 methodology while adding the approach of Keen⁶⁸ regarding animalistic agents.

The characters of the lion and queen holding a lion-cub are visibly forwarded by their darker color and bigger size. They can be considered the main protagonists of the cartoon. In terms of spatial attachment, each of them is placed on one side of the cartoon and is surrounded by the "cubs" of the opposite kind. This creates a juxtaposition between the protagonists and the other characters that appear in their closest surroundings. This opposition presents a difference between the British population from the British Isles, and the population in the colonies, as will be presented below.

A more backgrounded group of babies can be found behind the lion. As royal babies, they are stereotypically depicted with a crown, which suggests their origin in royal circles. In contrast to that, their clothing seems to be quite simple and plain. The clothing suggests that the population of the British Isles is still just ordinary people. Some of the babies do have caricatured faces, specifically the babies that are depicted crying. The purpose of the caricaturing is to bring attention to their constant dissatisfaction. The babies are visibly well-fed, at least in the juxtaposition to the lion cubs held by the queen, which makes their discontent absurd. The lion cubs are depicted with facial expressions suggesting dissatisfaction and anger, which is put into juxtaposition with the demeaning crying of the babies.

The malnourishment of the lion-cubs is further underlined by one of the babies eating from the PAP bottle and the symbol of the PAP bottle being depicted one more on top of the throne where the queen is seated, as one of the "representative" symbols. Being such a symbol suggests that the empire is supposed to be able to provide for its people. The eating baby is then a symbol of the wealth and content royals who are being tended to by the empire. The contrast to the emaciated lion-cubs then proposes that the

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this thesis. The original form published on Trove is: "The Queen last week visited the 'Olympia' circus, and, towards the conclusion of the performa fondled the lion-cubs, which at Her Majesty's request were brought to her by the director."

^{66 &#}x27;Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 10-11.

⁶⁷ Kleeman, 'Not Just for Fun', 149.

⁶⁸ Keen, 'Fast Tracks to Narrative Empathy', 137.

empire provides only for the royals, and not the commoners, who are represented by the cubs.

Another important detail is the Queen's crown, which is held by one of the toddlers, i. e. a representative of the population of the British Isles. That the toddler holds such an important symbol of power suggests that while Queen Victoria is the main ruler of the empire, her power is clearly in someone else's hands. Thus, the cartoon proposes that the Queen's decisions are not hers alone but depend on pressure from the British population in the Birt Isles. The fact that the crown is held by a toddler, but not by any of the lion cubs, provokes the idea that the colonies and their inhabitants have no influence on political decisions.

The above-conducted analysis will now be utilized to interpret the headline and caption accompanying the cartoon. First, I will return to the characters of the cartoon. It can be assumed that they represent two parts of the British Empire – the British Islands and its colonized territories. When the caption states, that Her Majesty visited a circus (that the lion cubs are part of), it implies, that the colonies are being looked at to as a circus. This suggests that they serve for the pleasure of royalty, which can be considered quite dishonoring.

Furthermore, the lion's predicament stated in the caption of the cartoon, i.e. "That's right old lady, I've nursed your cubs long enough. Now, you nurse mine a bit. Some of them are very hungry and discontented, I assure you", 69 then suggests that the colonies, symbolized by the lion and its cubs, provide for the British Isles, represented by the queen and the babies. This incites displeasure with the population of the colonies. The statement ending then implies a certain level of threat in a possible form of riots if the situation does not change. Considering this analysis, the headline "A Fair Deal" may be interpreted as an oxymoron, since the cartoon suggests no deal but only a rebellion.

However, it should be emphasized that this cartoon does not seem to advocate for seceding from the empire. The colonies are represented by a lion, which is one of the symbols of the British empire, and therefore, the cartoon seems to be directed towards the fringed richness of Britain, the contemporary economic setting between the British Isles and the colonies, and Queen's ignorance of the colonized territories' issues.

⁶⁹ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 10–11.

⁷⁰ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 10–11.

The above-conducted analysis has shown that by specific choice and depiction of the representatives of the colonized territories and the United Kingdom, the author draws attention to the discontent of the colonies and their inhabitants, which emphasizes the difficulties of the coexistence of the 'original' Britain and colonies in the British empire, i.e. the issue of the concept of colonizers and colonized countries. It also suggests that the monarchy prefers its British Isles population, since they can affect the political decisions made by the monarchy administration.

5. 4 Cartoon Those Jubilee Mugs by Phil May

Another editorial cartoon by Phil May in this issue of *The Bulletin* is *Those Jubilee Mugs*, ⁷¹ which will undergo an examination by the close reading method and the Kleeman's schema, ⁷² as described in Chapter 4: Analytical instruments: Approaches for Examination. The cartoon consists of two characters, the Queen and a little boy. Queen Victoria is depicted in her typical black voluminous gown, her veil, and her crown. She is leaning downwards to the little boy, handing him the Jubilee Mug. The little boy is called "little Billee". He is depicted as much smaller in relation to the Queen, and he is obviously malnourished. He is depicted in old, ragged clothes and he does not wear any shoes. The whole scene is black and white, and the shades are hatched. The hatching highlights the dirtiness of little Billee's clothes and the splendor of the Queen's gown. The caption of the cartoon says:

"30,000 30,000 Jubilee mugs are to be distributed among the poor children of London on June 21." -*Cablegram*

Little Billee: "I've got a mug already, but I've not got nuthink to put in it, and that's just what's the matter."

The context of the cartoon can be deduced from its caption, specifically from the first part. The object of interest of this cartoon are therefore the Jubilee Mugs, specifically their donation to poor London children. Such a charity should shed good light on the Queen. However, the second part of the caption enlarges the context by offering another perspective, which shows the poverty of a part of the population. Although this fraction of the community is in a need of help, it is not such as a mug donation. This reading then contextualizes the Queen to be preposterous and ignorant. The headline "Those Jubilee Mugs" may be in the light of the previously made

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^{71 &#}x27;Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 12.

⁷² Kleeman, 'Not Just for Fun', 149.

contextualization interpreted with an undertone of a resigned sigh, indicating that little more than such an empty gesture is anticipated from the Queen.

The analysis shows that the principle of juxtaposition is employed, as was the case with the previously examined cartoons. This is done by introducing the characters as significantly different in size, both stature and weight and apparel. Queen Victoria is depicted as much bigger than the child character, although she is known for not being tall herself. Such exaggeration emphasizes certain superiority of the queen, which highlights the perception of the boy as an innocent and defenseless creature. A similar phenomenon can be observed while analyzing the difference in weight of the characters, Queen Victoria being visibly overweight and little Billee exceedingly malnourished. The features of malnutrition, such as sunken cheeks and protruding bones, are caricatured and therefore highlighted. This not only suggests dominance but also indicates that the Queen lives in prosperity, while the boy is destitute.

An important message is conveyed through the juxtaposition of the clothing of the characters. While the queen is stereotypically dressed in her luxurious rich black gown, little Billee wears dilapidated garments with strips of fabric hanging from them. The exaggeration of poverty and malnutrition of the little boy allows the cartoon to present two diametrically different worlds and their priorities, and to emphasize the fact that a mug may be a suitable gift from the Queen's perspective, since as someone of her status she has never experienced true hunger or lack of basic means of life. However, it can be considered a mockery from the commoner's point of view, since they perceive the luxury that the royals live in and can compare it to their own suffering.

It should be stressed that the character of little Billee is strongly caricatured. This refers not only to his tattered clothes, which were previously discussed in the context of the juxtaposition with the Queen's clothes, but also to his skeletal appearance, which can be seen for example when looking at his head that strongly resembles skull. This depiction suggests the difficult life the child has had, which enlarges the gap between the two social strata depicted.

As was shown above, by presenting two entirely distinct characters and their difficulties, highlighting their main features, and putting them into a juxtaposition, the author presents the character of the queen as detached from reality, unable to recognize the needs of her citizens, and therefore not being able to attend to the needs. Such depiction then draws attention to profound differences between the lifestyle and

opportunities of privileged and underprivileged social classes and presents the queen as ignorant.

5. 5 Cartoon A Jubilee Medal by Anonymous Author

The aim of this section is to examine another of the prominent depictions of the Queen in this issue of *The Bulletin*, which is a caricature of the Jubilee Medals. This cartoon is unfortunately not visibly signed by its author and therefore will not be analyzed with respect to them. It consists of a caption simply stating: "A Jubilee Medal" and two sides of the medal depicted next to each other – left, obverse; right, reverse. The obverse side of the medal depicts the Queen's left profile as she is wearing a crown, and an inscription can be found along the edges of this side which states: "Victoria's Jubilee". The reverse side of the medal depicts two men, one is a Caucasian with a pickaxe and the other is of an Asian origin. The first mentioned is kicking the other. The first inscription on this side is along the edges and states "Australia for the white man. The Chinese must go", a leading slogan of the magazine since 1886.73 The second inscription is underneath the drawing of the two men and states four numbers representing a year. It cannot be determined whether it represents the year of Queen Victoria's coronation (1837) or the year of the Jubilee (1887).⁷⁴ Close reading method, Kleeman's schema,⁷⁵ and an analysis of Jubilee Medals conducted by Mark Jones, an Assistant Keeper in the Department of Coins and Medals in British Museum, will be employed in conducting this analysis.

The cartoon of the Queen's profile on the obverse side is slightly caricatured, creating a less magnificent portrayal of the queen. This was done by adding a sagging skin that emphasizes her undereye circles and double chin, and by enlarging and distorting her nose. Another sign of caricature carries the Queen's crown, which seems to be humorously small in comparison to her head, devaluing the position of the queen as a head of the state and also the empire that this crown stands as a symbol for.

The caption further dishonors Queen Victoria's position by addressing her by her first name only. This insight is based on a comparison to the original Jubilee Medals, e.g., those presented by Jones in an article *Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee 1887*, published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* in 1987. In this article, the Queen

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⁷³ Richard Scully and Andrekos Varnava, *Comic Empires: Imperialism in Cartoons, Caricature and Satirical Art*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester university press, 2020), 394.

⁷⁴ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 13.

⁷⁵ Kleeman, 'Not Just for Fun', 149.

was addressed as "Regina" and "imperatrix". The light of this knowledge, the addressing presented in the *A Jubilee Medal* cartoon is much more informal and suggests a certain familiarity. This leads to a personification of her character, which was generally accepted as an emblem of the empire, which brings her character closer to common people. This causes her to be more relatable but also harms her superior and sovereign status as a monarch.

The cartoon of the two men on the reverse side of the medal is caricatured by emphasizing the gestures of the characters – the kick and the fall, specifically. This is done for humorous purposes alone. The humor then brings attention to the racial issue of contemporary Australia at the time, suggesting its importance to the country by depicting it on the side of the medal, which standardly depicts matters of importance to the kingdom, by which it wishes to be presented, such as naval power of England or trade affairs. This depiction then implies that the Queen, hence the empire, should investigate this matter and involve herself more in addressing it. The inscription on the reverse side of the medal aligns with the magazine's ideology of radical nationalism, protectionism, and racism, and implies that this is the direction that will be taken by the Australians, disregarding what stance may be adopted by the Queen and the empire.

The conducted analysis has thus shown, that by presenting a caricatured portrayal of Queen Victoria, addressing her by her first name, omitting the title, and presenting Australia's problems with a hint of implementing their own solutions, the author desecrates the image of the Queen and therefore also of the empire. By doing so, the author implies possible separation from the direction and orders of the empire, which underlines the trajectory the magazine pursued in the 1980s.

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⁷⁶ Pearce et al., 'Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee 1887', 582–87.

⁷⁷ James R. Andrews, 'The Imperial Style: Rhetorical Depiction and Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee', *Western Journal of Communication* 64, no. 1 (1 March 2000): 150, https://doi.org/10.1080/10570310009374663.

⁷⁸ Pearce et al., 'Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee 1887', 582.

⁷⁹ Tasker, 'Two Versions of Colonial Nationalism', 112.

6 Narratological Approach and Postcolonial Contextualization

The following section undertakes the task of discussing the above-analyzed pieces of work, firstly in the context of their narratology and then in the context of postcolonial theory. To complete this task, narratology, and its utilization when conducting multimodal research needs to be considered.

6. 1 Narratology and Its Application in Multimodal Research

Different scholars have different outlooks on narrativity and its specificity to the examined media. The aim of this section is to discuss and evaluate these perspectives, in order to contextualize the findings of this thesis and to engage the originated ideas to different scholars to critically evaluate them.

An example of such approach is *The Origins of Comics*, where Smolderen argues, that a wordless story is nearly without any narrator at all, ⁸⁰ and therefore emphasizes the function of the text in the comic environment. This idea can be argued by Mikkonen in *The Narratology of Comic Art*, where he explores the idea that "comics can visually articulate the narrative by showing certain things in certain ways.", ⁸¹ e.g., using juxtaposition⁸² or means of the character's subjectivity. ⁸³ While Mikkonen makes an interesting remark, I would argue that such an understanding of narration can be quite narrow and limited, since although wordless narrative techniques may give an indication of the narration, they may not always be sufficient for proper analysis. This can be seen when analyzing the cartoon called *A Straight Answer* in which the written narration is vital, as has been presented in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, such narrative techniques may be sufficient when analyzing a sequence or an elaborate and detailed cartoon, such as the above-discussed cartoon *A Fair Deal*, ⁸⁴ where the headline and caption only specify and emphasize the already depicted message that points to economic abuse.

Due to the uniqueness of the narrativity in comic media, this double-narrative track (that of headlines and captions and that of the image) must be acknowledged just as Chute does.⁸⁵ The specificity of the comic and cartoon media needs to be taken into

⁸⁰ Smolderen, *The Origins of Comics*, 117.

⁸¹ Mikkonen, The Narratology of Comic Art, 25.

⁸² Mikkonen, 83.

⁸³ Mikkonen, 109–10.

^{84 &#}x27;Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 10-11.

⁸⁵ Chute, 'Comics as Literature?', 452.

consideration when executing analysis, as well as the uniqueness of the ratio of verbal or visual narration in each work, as has been confirmed in the process of conducting this analysis

A similar debate can be found in lyric poetry. Hühn argues that fundamental elements of narration that can be found in narrative fiction are parallel to those in lyric poetry. ^{86, 87} Hühn and Schönert assume that two components constitute narratology in lyric poetry: sequentiality and mediacy. ^{88,89} Hühn's ideas are expanded by McHale in his article *Beginning to Think about Narrative in Poetry* where he introduces segmentivity as a vital element for the narration of poetry. ⁹⁰ He supports this by agreeing with McCloud on the idea of gutter ⁹¹ and extends this idea beyond comics to the realm of poetry. ⁹² This suggests, that not only the analysis of sequences and mediation but also the analysis of gutters and their function is applicable as a method of multimodal research.

McHale is opposed by Bruce Heiden, a Professor at The Ohio State University researching Greek and Roman drama, in *Narrative in Poetry: A Problem of Narrative Theory*, where he argues that "the concept of "segmentivity" is unhelpful, because (. . .) verse-measures are not interruptions and they typically reinforce syntax."⁹³. This statement undermines the usage of gutter as a multimodal research tool, however, Heiden's critique appears to overlook the plausible intention of the author. This can be observed when looking at the narrator's questions that are asked in the above analyzed poem *Queen Victoria*. Each one of the questions is verse-final and therefore offers a gap behind as a place where the narration takes place, and the reader starts to consider the doubts that are offered by the narrator of the poem. While the doubts are being

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⁸⁶ Hühn, 'Plotting the Lyric: Forms of Narration in Poetry', 148.

⁸⁷ Peter Hühn, 'Transgeneric Narratology: Application to Lyric Poetry', in *The Dynamics of Narrative Form: Studies in Anglo-American Narratology*, ed. John Pier, Fotis Jannidis, and Wolf Schmid, Narratologia 4 (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 140.

⁸⁸ Peter Hühn and Jörg Schönert, 'Introduction: The Theory and Methodology of the Narratological Analysis of Lyric Poetry', in *The Narratological Analysis of Lyric Poetry*, ed. Fotis Jannidis, John Pier, and Wolf Schmid, 2005, 1.

⁸⁹ Hühn, 'Transgeneric Narratology: Application to Lyric Poetry', 139.

⁹⁰ McHale, 'Beginning to Think about Narrative in Poetry', 13–18.

⁹¹ 'Blood in the Gutter', in *Understanding Comics The Invisible Art*, by Scott McCloud (New York, 1994), 60–93.

⁹² McHale, 'Beginning to Think about Narrative in Poetry', 13–16.

⁹³ Bruce Heiden, 'Narrative in Poetry: A Problem of Narrative Theory', Narrative 22, no. 2 (2014): 270.

absorbed, the reader, already made uncertain, continues reading the next verse which deepens and strengthens the already embedded doubts.

The aim of this section was to discuss the views of different scholars on narratological analysis in different media and put them into a conversation with the results of the primary analysis in this thesis. The abovementioned ideas will be further explored in the following sections 6. 2 and 6. 3, in the context of the analyzed poem and cartoons.

6. 2 Narratology and Postcolonialism in Poem Queen Victoria

This section aims to explore the narration of the Poem *Queen Victoria* while employing ideas of the above-mentioned scholars: Hühn and McHale. The results will be examined for features of colonialism and postcolonialism, that will be interpreted employing postcolonial theory using Burney's framework, as has been defined in Chapter 4: Analytical instruments: Approaches for Examination.

The mediation of the poem will be considered on two modes of mediation: the voice and that of focalization. ⁹⁴ In terms of voice, the deictic orientation of pronominal expressions is vital for the conveyed meaning of the text. The poem uses third person narration in the plural and therefore is able to create an opposition of not only the narrator and the Queen but also to put the Queen into opposition towards the masses, which the "we" and "us" refer to. The first appearance of "we" is in the first part of the poem, where is it used as a reference for the empire that watched the queen ascend to the throne. This usage of "we" sets the understanding which persists throughout the rest of the poem. The relevance of this understanding is subsequently increased when the narration continues to question the Queen and her purity. This creates a binary conflict in which said masses are creating an opposition against the queen and stresses the existence of so-called ". It needs to be stressed that the poem does not offer any mention that suggests that this opposition is based on a marginality of Australia, which undermines Burney's claim that "conceptual framework of the center and the margins was imperative to the idea of empire."

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⁹⁴ Hühn and Schönert, 'Introduction: The Theory and Methodology of the Narratological Analysis of Lyric Poetry', 8.

⁹⁵ Burney, 'Conceptual Frameworks in Postcolonial Theory', 180.

Other mode of mediation, the focalization, can be defined in words of Hühn and Schönert as "ideological perspective" of the discourse,⁹⁶ that is presented in the poem, adds to the understanding of the poem as a counter-discourse to the self-representing discourse of the Queen, hence the empire. This counter-discourse then suggests objection and hostility towards the hegemony.

The sequentiality of the poem is, according to Hühn, presented through a "sequence of incidents (usually of a mental kind),"⁹⁷ that create, with the help of the modes of mediation, a poetic plot.⁹⁸ As has already been observed in part 5. 1, the poem can be divided into four parts. The first part is motivated by distrust and can be analyzed as a causal string that defines the distrust towards the Queen as a consequence of the Queen's pretentious depiction as "(. . .) a woman who never breathed upon earth,"⁹⁹

The second part is a string of spatial and hierarchical phenomena. The spatiality connects Queen Victoria to dark places and night, such as "(. . .) but in backstairs fashion in the stealthy twilight hour," which have connotations with dubious practices. This connotation is then transferred to the Queen herself and contributes to the overall narrative of the Queen's character.

Another contribution to the narration of the character of the Queen is the discussion over her purity analyzed in section 5. 1. In terms of hierarchy, her character is, in the second part of the poem, presented as part of the royal and privileged class, that is by the narration defined by their cowardice and impurity in "Your sons and your blameless spouse's certes, as Galahads show not." This part of the poem functions as an emphasis on the argument why the commoners should not follow the Queen. Its delimitation by identical parts number one and three heightens its significance, as the argument of distrust towards the queen is repeated after the second part in another causal string, this time following specific complaints that, in the light of the purpose of the third part of the poem, function as arguments.

Continuing the narrative that has been used to define the Queen's character, the final part aims at confirmation of the previously set prejudices. On those is developed

11uiii, 149.

⁹⁶ Hühn and Schönert, 'Introduction: The Theory and Methodology of the Narratological Analysis of Lyric Poetry', 8.

⁹⁷ Hühn, 'Plotting the Lyric: Forms of Narration in Poetry', 147.

⁹⁸ Hühn, 149.

⁹⁹ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4.

¹⁰⁰ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4.

¹⁰¹ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4.

an intensified aversion which is based on specific features of the queen – stupidity ("You had no wit to be evil."¹⁰²) and obesity ("You (. . .) grew fat on our wealth instead"¹⁰³). A change in the style of narration can be observed – until the final part, the narration was conducted through arguments and examples that supported the claims. The final part does not offer argumentation, only direct verbal attacks directed at the Queen, which are possible thanks to the argumentation made in the previous parts of the poem.

Ultimately, using sequentiality as a frame for this analysis made it possible to identify narrative development throughout the poem. This development finally led to an intensified negative depiction of the compradors, as defined by Burney, ¹⁰⁴ and such depiction deepened the previously mentioned binary conflict between the colonized countries and the colonizer class. Additionally, sequentiality also allowed this analysis to uncover the negative impact of dependency, as understood in the dependency theory, ¹⁰⁵ as the realization of exploitation of Australia, that can be observed in a sentence: "(. . .) You quietly sat in the shade and grew fat on our wealth instead." ¹⁰⁶ The observation of semi-plots made it possible to construct a plot from the outset and detect its hidden motives.

6.3 Narratology and Postcolonialism in Jubilee Bulletin Cartoons

The aim of this section is to discuss the results of the initial analysis of the selected works, which has been executed in Chapter 5, and put these results into context of the narratological analysis of cartoons and examine the obtained results through postcolonial theory.

Narration in comics may be recognized in multiple different ways. Mikonnen offers to caption the narration in cartoons by studying the juxtaposition of images and examining how contiguous they are, alias their spatial attachment, ¹⁰⁷ and asks a question "[W]hat is shown in the image that inspires narrative response?" The juxtaposition was noticed while conducting an analysis of cartoons *A Straight Answer*, *A Fair Deal*, and *Those Jubilee Mugs* in sections 5. 2, 5. 3 and 5. 4. From a narratological point of

¹⁰² 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4.

¹⁰³ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4.

¹⁰⁴ Burney, 'Conceptual Frameworks in Postcolonial Theory', 181.

¹⁰⁵ Burney, 183.

¹⁰⁶ 'Jubilee Bulletin Vol. 7 No. 0385 (18 Jun 1887)', 4.

¹⁰⁷ Mikkonen, The Narratology of Comic Art, 102.

¹⁰⁸ Mikkonen, 87.

view, in all three cartoons, the narration juxtaposes the wealthy royal with the poor commoner, showing how distant the Queen, her attitudes, and priorities are from her subjects.

A surprising finding of this research is that the depiction of Queen's ignorance in the cartoon *Those Jubilee Mugs*, and therefore the narration suggesting her incompetence and carelessness, may be based on misinformation, or the cartoon may intentionally broadcast fake news. Assuming that (and only if) the source discusses the same occasion of mug donation as Thomas Richards, a former Associate Professor at Harvard University, who clearly states that the donation was accompanied by administration of food among the poor.¹⁰⁹

Spatial attachment seems to be vital in the cartoon *A Fair Deal*, where it enables the perception of the Queen and the lion as two separate entities that stand in opposition. The opposition in the spatial attachment here functions as a visual narration of a conflict. The cartoon *A Straight Answer* may be examined using the concept of spatial attachment too, where it carries underlying narration of Queen as a rude and arrogant ruler.

The above-discussed narrative procedures emphasize the dysfunctionality of the hegemony and feeling of alterity, which is experienced by the non-comprador classes. The discourse of the Queen being the opposite of a good and caring ruler forms a counter-discourse to her typical self-representation as a strong ruler, which is a quality emphasized by Ira B. Nadel, literary critic focusing on Modernism and Victorian Era. The narrative focus on the binarity of the classes of wealthy royals and poor commoners reveals concurrently the exoticization of the royal class and the feeling of alterity of the class of commoners.

To Mikkonen's juxtaposition and spatial attachment, a category of background can be added by McCloud as a narrative tool. McCloud believes it may "indicat[e] invisible ideas... particularly the world of emotions." Mikkonen agrees with backgrounding and foregrounding being able to "highlight the subjectivity of the source of narration." I would agree with Mikkonens wider statement, since background and backgrounding may be helpful not only for the reading of characters' inner states but

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¹⁰⁹ Richards, 'The Image of Victoria in the Year of Jubilee', 11.

¹¹⁰ Ira B. Nadel, 'Portraits of the Queen', Victorian Poetry 25, no. 3/4 (1987): 173–79.

¹¹¹ McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 132.

¹¹² Mikkonen, The Narratology of Comic Art, 83.3

also for emphasizing already given or known information, which is used by the narrator to convey the narration intended. An example of this is the bottle of PAP depicted on Queen's chair in the cartoon *A Fair Deal*. The symbol induces specific narration of the Queen's character, suggesting that Queen Victoria comes from an environment where there is no shortage of food, and at the same time explains why the Queen does not understand the hunger and suffering of her own people. This narration further supports the discourse that exoticizes Victoria from the world of the subjects and their issues and deepens the binarity of the lives of the royals and the subjects in the empire. By doing so, it further undermines the empire's discourse of hegemony.

A unique approach is adopted by Keen in this matter, who, unlike Mikkonen and McCloud, examines the objectives of the narration and divides and analyzes the narrative according to this division, ¹¹³ assuming the narration is performed by "(...) facial expressions and bodily postures (...)."¹¹⁴ The uniqueness of her research lies in the application of this hypothesis not only to human figures but also to animal figures. ¹¹⁵ According to her division, part of the cartoons analyzed in this thesis may be considered those evoking broadcast strategic empathizing, ¹¹⁶ and one of the cartoons evoking ambassadorial strategic empathy, ¹¹⁷ as will be done below.

The objective behind the cartoons may be derived from analyzing the message that each one of the cartoons has, based on the analysis that has been conducted in the previous sections 5. 2, 5. 3, 5. 4 and 5. 5. A Straight Answer and Those Jubilee Mugs criticize the Queen's lack of work and care for the kingdom and its subjects, A Fair Deal exhibits similar criticism but focuses on the sphere of colonies. Based on their similar message, they can be sorted into one category of evoking broadcast strategic empathy since their objective is to convince any possible reader to empathize with Queen Victoria's treatment of her subjects. This analysis of the narrative's objectives fits into the overall previous analysis of the narrative and its postcolonial indications. On the other hand, The Jubilee Medal offers input on purely Australian issues, suggesting implementing solutions without the Queen's consensus and therefore having an objective of convincing the Australian masses and encouraging Australian nationalists.

¹¹³ Keen, 'Strategic Empathizing', 477.

¹¹⁴ Keen, 'Fast Tracks to Narrative Empathy', 137.

¹¹⁵ Keen, 136–37.

¹¹⁶ Keen, 'Strategic Empathizing', 487–88.

¹¹⁷ Keen, 483.

Therefore, this cartoon may be classified among those evoking ambassadorial strategic empathy. By offering more radical ideas, the cartoon introduces another area of postcolonial theory, that of subaltern groups using catachresis as their argument in order to convince the masses of their radical thinking.

In this section, a narratological approach was applied to the analyzed cartoons, which were then contextualized with postcolonial theory. It has been uncovered that by creating juxtaposition and working with spatial attachment and background in the analyzed cartoons, the differences between different social classes are emphasized, thus achieving an imaginary distancing of the Queen from the common people and emphasizing her ignorance and lack of care for the colonies. The queen is portrayed as a ruthless ruler who comes from a privileged social stratum and has no regard for the welfare of her colonies. It has also been found that the narrative in the cartoons is for the purpose of inciting the public against the monarchy and proposes the invocation of a rebellion.

7 Talking Historical Context: Queen Victoria, her representation, and Golden Jubilee

When conducting an analysis of a comic, cartoon, or poem, the context of its creation needs to be taken into consideration. Such importance is acknowledged for example by McCloud, Hühn, Hühn, or Kleeman in his analysis schema. Therefore, it is vital that the following section considers the context of Queen Victoria's representation in relation to the research results, for better understanding of their overall meaning and significance.

Chute's idea of double track narration presented in Chapter 2, showed to be vital when conducting the analysis of the narration in *Jubilee Bulletin's* cartoons. It enabled the examination to notice both the graphic and verbal layer of storytelling and examine them separately as two mutually influential units. It is obvious, that the negatively connotated narration presented by *The Bulletin* authors in all fours analyzed cartoons, which has been presented in Chapters 5 and 6, is not compatible with the narrative that is propagated by the empire. Such a narrative could initiate antiimperialist and anti-English thoughts and thus support antiimperialist movements. Therefore, this thesis confirms Holbrook's¹²¹ and Tasker's¹²² claims about *The Bulletin's* ideology.

This thesis also expands the beforementioned Holbrook's and Tasker's idea with the context of *The Bulletin* forcing its ideology even into the *Jubilee Bulletin* issue, which should be a celebration of the Queen and her reign. The issue's name suggests a celebratory and therefore pro-imperialistic attitudes, however, the conducted analysis has shown that this is in fact not the approach that *The Bulletin* truly has, since the analyzed works bear signs of attitude that is strongly against the Queen. The name is therefore of oxymoronic origin and highlights the ironic character of the whole issue, which is essentially in opposition towards the Queen and the empire and should be taken into consideration when conducting a further analysis not only of this issue but also of the magazine in general.

The in-depth examination of the narration of the character of Queen Victoria in the poem *Queen Victoria* was made possible by using the narrative analysis tools introduced by Hühn and McHale, as described in Chapter 3 – plot, sequentiality, mediacy and segmentivity. These made it possible to uncover the narrative structure that enabled

¹¹⁸ McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 169.

¹¹⁹ Hühn, 'Plotting the Lyric: Forms of Narration in Poetry', 152.

¹²⁰ Kleeman, 'Not Just for Fun', 149.

¹²¹ Holbrook, 'Marxism for Beginner Nations', 125.

¹²² Tasker, 'Two Versions of Colonial Nationalism', 112.

the narrative to increasingly dishonor the character of the Queen. This process of dishonoring is gradual and unforced and therefore may be interpreted as an attempt to transmit this mindset subliminally into the reader's mind. Such an effort may be vital when inciting the nation to antiimperialist mindset and possible subsequent actions.

Similarly, in the context of the research of this work, Keen's theory of strategic emphasizing needs to be discussed. As has already been described in Chapter 3, Keen connects the narrative presented in an artwork to its intended audience. The analysis has shown, that only one the of the analyzed cartoons evokes ambassadorial strategic emphasizing and four of them evoke broadcast strategic emphasizing. In other words – four of the five analyzed works aim at larger population group and only one at a specific smaller group. Therefore, it can be assumed, that the aim of *The Bulletin* in general was to get more people to have the same ideology that this magazine promoted.

Victoria's representation in general is a vital part of understanding her character from a narratological point of view, since as Mikkonen concludes: "the identification of the protagonists probably takes place already before reading." At this point, it is necessary to state that the Queen functioned as a symbol of the empire, which is agreed by both James R. Andrews, a Professor Emeritus at Indiana University focusing on rhetoric in connection to public and Victorian era, ¹²⁴ and Walter L. Arnstein, a historic and Professor Emeritus at University of Illinois focusing on Victorian era, ¹²⁵ and it can be concluded that common people perceived her as such. Therefore, the direct attacks directed towards the Queen, or the derogatory statements exposed by the examination are not only attempts to ridicule the Queen but can be considered as attacks on the whole Great Britain and its colonies.

According to Nadel, the Queen was aware of the magnitude of her official depiction and the narrative behind it.¹²⁶ The acknowledgment of the importance of the public image is possible to identify when considering the palace's support of commercial Jubilee merchandise, as described by Arnstein,¹²⁷ or the process of choosing the Jubilee Medal manufacturer, as described by Jones.¹²⁸ A question then arises, as to

¹²³ Mikkonen, The Narratology of Comic Art, 180.

¹²⁴ Andrews, 'The Imperial Style', 69.9

¹²⁵ Walter L. Arnstein, 'HISTORY: Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee', *The American Scholar* 66, no. 4 (1997): 592–93.

¹²⁶ Nadel, 'Portraits of the Queen', 170–71.

¹²⁷ Arnstein, 'HISTORY', 594.

¹²⁸ Pearce et al., 'Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee 1887', 584-86.

how is possible that Queen Victoria and her administration allowed such excesses. In case of further research, it is necessary to place such events into a context of empire's inner administration of such affairs.

The might that the Queen's public image held needs to be also accounted for when conducting postcolonial research based on the location of the analyzed subject, *The Bulletin*, on the so-called margin of colonial power. The importance of the concept of marginality and centrality in postcolonial discourse is stressed by Bruney. ¹²⁹ It is important to add that the perception of centrality and marginality is uncovered only when making a contextualization to the center, the British Isles, since it has not been spotted in the discussion regarding marginality and centrality as presented in *Jubilee Bulletin* presented in the sections above.

A comparison and contextualization of the Golden Jubilee celebrations in Australia can be made to the depiction of the Golden Jubilee in Queens's native England. Specifically to, similar to *The Bulletin* magazine in Australia, the well-known and popular satirical magazine *Punch*, where appeared "by far the greatest number of cartoons on the Queen (. . .)."¹³⁰ Fredeman in his article *A Charivari for Queen Butterfly* focuses on Queen's depiction on the pages of *Punch* in general and includes a section examining *Punch's* cartoons on her and her Golden Jubilee. ¹³¹ There he concludes, that no matter how much Punch ridiculed the Jubilee Celebrations or the Jubilee merchandise, it kept its "characteristic loyalty [it] had shown to the "Royal Lady." ¹³² This illustrates the difference between the loyalty present on the British Isles, as the center of the empire, and the lack of it in Sydney in the marginal Australia.

Considering the differences in depiction and narration of the Queen and her Jubilee on British Islands and Australia that were introduced above, a note needs to be made on the planned celebrations of Golden Jubilee and the colonies. None of the colonial representatives were invited to Britain in order to attend the Jubilee celebrations. ^{133,134} Nevertheless, this has changed ten years later with Diamon Jubilee celebrations, when occurred "inclusion of the premiers of Britain's self-governing

¹²⁹ Burney, 'Conceptual Frameworks in Postcolonial Theory', 180.

¹³⁰ Fredeman, 'A Charivari for Queen Butterfly', 47.

¹³¹ Fredeman, 55–56.

¹³² Fredeman, 56.

¹³³ Arnstein, 'HISTORY', 595.

¹³⁴ William M. Kuhn, 'Queen Victoria's Jubilees and the Invention of Tradition', *Victorian Poetry* 25, no. 3/4 (1987): 113.

colonies in the celebrations."¹³⁵ Since no discussion of motives behind this change is offered by either of the authors, I would like to propose further historical research on the possible connection of this change to the colonies' reactions to the Jubilee celebrations, such as the one that is examined in this thesis.

The power of portrayal is also discussed by Matthewson, as described in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. Her methodology, which assesses the motivation and ideological orientation behind the *Punch* magazine, enabled this thesis to uncover the methodology and assess the ideology behind the analyzed works. The results of the examination then confirm that *The Bulletin* is indeed an antiimperialist magazine, intentions of which are to change the attitude of the Australia's inhabitants towards the empire and its ideological worship of Queen Victoria, and the values symbolized by her. Additionally, these intentions could be perceived in an attempt to incite the population to antiimperial actions such as rebellion or even revolution.

The aim of this Chapter was to contextualize the results of the analysis of selected works, which were the subject of study in this thesis. This contextualization showed that the narrative used by the author of *The Bulletin* opposes the narrative that is promoted by the empire administration. The ironic undertone of the entire *Jubilee Bulletin* issue has been emphasized. A possible influence on the readers and their opinion on the Queen as an important symbol of the empire was suggested, as a consequence of such narration in the colonial press. Furthermore, the nature of Australia's marginality and its perception by the contemporary Australians was discussed. Finally, the difference between the jubilee celebrations on the British Isles and Australia as a British colony was emphasized. In this context, it has been suggested that a possible change in celebrations in the next Jubilee, the Diamond Jubilee ten years later, which has included political representatives of the colonies, may have resulted from similar reactions to the Golden Jubilee as were uncovered by the analysis of the works in this thesis.

¹³⁵ Kuhn, 113.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was mainly to identify the message that *The Bulletin* magazine conveyed to its readers through its multimodal portrayal of Queen Victoria, whether underlying or forwardly stated. This was done by following the method of close reading and Kleeman's methodology schema. The findings were subsequently discussed in the context of narratology and postcolonial theory.

The initial analysis in Chapter 5 showed depreciation and insulting of the Queen. Specifically, the poem *Queen Victoria* questions the public image of the Queen through derogatory statements and calculated questioning of her qualities, leading to questioning of the whole monarchical system and its public presentation. The cartoon *Straight Answer* suggests that the Queen is not doing enough for her own people, resulting in further derogation of the Queen and her position in the public eye as a strong leader. Similarly, the cartoon *A Fair Deal* reminds the possible reader of this negligence, this time using animalistic agents as a representation of the poor. Which results in even more highlighting the problem. The issue of different opportunities is enhanced once again in the cartoon *Those Jubilee Mugs*, which points to the deep contract between the privileged and underprivileged, depicting the Queen as even more inattentive. The last of the cartoons, *A Jubilee Medal*, offers a problem-solving which is omitting the support from the empire while dishonoring the Queen by caricatured depiction and familiar addressing, suggesting a possible separation from the empire, at least in the sense of decision making.

The following analysis in Chapter 6, aiming at applying narratology and postcolonial theory, uncovered specific and unexpected perceptions of centrality and marginality, that it not based on the geographical or political division of the colonizer country and the colony, but on the differences between the wealthy and privileged social class, and the poor and underprivileged. The narratological examination of the poem *Queen Victoria* revealed that the usage of the pronouns "we" and "us" was vital in order to include masses of readers in the binary conflict on the side of the radical nationalists, giving them the ability to make the masses feel self-pity and hurt. The dangerousness of this was emphasized. It has been concluded that the poem has a function of counter-discourse to the self-representation of the Queen, and its four parts have the function of overall gradual devaluation of the Queen as a symbol and weakening her leadership position in the empire. The application of narratology and postcolonial theory to the cartoons once again revealed the aforementioned gap between the privileged and

underprivileged strata, often emphasized by various means, such as juxtaposition of clothes, size, or implementation of specific scenery. This further undermines Queen Vicotria's position as a ruler.

Thus, this analysis has shown that the perception of the difference between the ruling class and the class that is being ruled is an important topic in society. The fact, that this situation is also multiple times indicated very directly and is associated with the culprit that is seen in the Queen is a direct act against the empire and can be perceived as an attempt at reformation, or even a possible indication of the empire's dissolution, or at least Australia's withdrawal from this grouping.

This all expands the ongoing research of different Victorian prints, among all the research of satirical magazines printing cartoons. Another usage of this research may be as backing evidence in the research of the nationalistic tendencies of Australia in the 19th century. Specifically, the research of the Queen as a symbol of the empire and the relevance of her character to people's understanding of the empire and its issues.

Except for the research results and achievements, I am obliged to address its limitations and caveats. Although this research acknowledges the existence of technical and technological limitations of contemporary print, it does not include those conditions into account while conducting the analysis. Neither does it thoroughly contextualize the works analyzed with their authors or their surroundings and influences. The same applies to *The Bulletin* magazine and its context, possible influence from the financial benefactors and other influences, or other contemporary issues the magazine could have had. This should be taken as an opportunity to expand on the research in this direction. Another possible continuation could be conducting quantitative instead of qualitative research, using digital sources in order to conduct linguistic corpora-based research not only of the already observed material but possibly of multiple different issues, years, or even make a comparison to different competing magazines.

It is important to note, that any future research of *Jubilee Bulletin* and Queen Victoria's depiction would be more than welcome, as my results cannot be yet compared with any of the same type. This creates a limitation in the sense of incapability of reflection on the results and their possible modification or refutation based on other studies. This thesis tries to be as objective as possible by trying to rely on other similar or related sources, however, this cannot ensure complete impartiality in this matter as long as not opposed by anybody.

The biggest obstacle in the research was in general the finding and unavailability of resources. Czech libraries do not have sufficient access to foreign academic literature and, despite the possibility of international loans, obtaining much-needed literature has become difficult, or even impossible. Other problems include the impossibility of obtaining the latest edition of some books that were used as secondary sources. Therefore, another limitation of this research is the occasional work with older versions of academic literature, i.e., with the one that was managed to be obtained. Therefore, this thesis is indebted to a significant extent to Palacký University's access to various Internet resources, such as the Internet Archive database, ¹³⁶ the extensive private library of my supervisor Elizabeth Allyn Woock, and also to the endlessly patient staff of the Olomouc Research Library.

Furthermore, it is necessary to focus on the possible use of this research in practice. Due to the number of media that we encounter on a daily basis, it is vital to educate ourselves in critical thinking and the ability to distinguish verified information from propaganda and manipulation attempts. The findings of this thesis uncover how the media could control public opinions in the past, and I believe that we can look at nowadays media in a similar way when consuming information about contemporary affairs. I suggest the possible usage of similar, although simplified, versions of such research in classes at the high school or university level, which could help spread awareness about the size of the possible influence of the media on society in different social backgrounds.

At the end of this chapter, I would like to present my plans for possible future research. In the future, I would like to do more in-depth and extensive research into the portrayal of Queen Victoria in satirical magazines in Australia. Specifically, I would like to focus on the multiple issues of *The Bulletin* magazine and their depiction of not only the Queen but possibly other symbols and representatives of the empire, too.

Nevertheless, I would also like to extend my research to another satirical magazine, *Melbourne Punch*, to see what position this magazine has taken on this issue. This research would have to be even more interdisciplinary and, above all focus on connections with historical theories and facts.

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¹³⁶ 'Internet Archive: Digital Library of Free & Borrowable Books, Movies, Music & Wayback Machine', accessed 3 April 2024, https://archive.org/.

Another possible route of future research could be extensive research of the Golden Jubilee in 1887 and its comparison to the Diamon Jubilee in 1897, in a similar manner as is done by William M. Kuhn, a historian scholar focusing on British Monarchy in 19th and early 20th century, in his article *Queen Victoria's Jubilees and the Invention of Tradition*, published in *Victorian Poetry* in 1987.¹³⁷ In such research, I would like to focus, as is mentioned in the previous paragraph, not only on *The Bulletin* but on multiple different satirical magazines.

Overall, the results of this thesis may be a major factor in analyzing the relationship between the Australian print, rising nationalistic ideologies, and public opinion. The significance of this research lies in its general applicability, which does not apply to past matters only, but also overlaps with the present day. The perception of symbols is a non-negligible part of every day, and so realizing their importance has a significant meaning for society, regardless of the period that is being discussed.

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¹³⁷ Kuhn, 'Queen Victoria's Jubilees and the Invention of Tradition'.

Resumé

Vzhledem k rostoucímu tlaku a vlivu médií na náš každodenní život se stává čím dál nutnější si sílu médií uvědomovat. Manipulace médií ovšem není nic nového, jedná se o praktiku prováděnou již mnohem dříve. Tato práce ukazuje, jakým způsobem se tomu dělo v australském satirickém časopise *Bulletin*. Konkrétně se práce zaměřuje na vyobrazení anglické královny Viktorie v čísle pojmenovaném *Jubilee Bulletin*, v překladu "Jubilejní Bulletin". Jedná se o číslo, které bylo vydáno na počest jejího "Zlatého Jubilea", neboli oslavě 50 let královniny vlády.

Předložená studie pracuje s jubilejním Bulletinem jakožto s primárním zdrojem historické povahy. Zaměřuje se tedy nejen na jeho literární analýzu, ale také se pokouší o jeho historické zasazení do kontextu doby a prostoru, kde došlo k jeho vydání. Také zohledňuje kontext jednotlivých fenoménů a kauz, o kterých se zmiňují jednotlivá rozebíraná díla v něm vydaná. Mezi analyzovaná díla patří báseň se jménem *Queen Victoria* a čtyři ilustrace s názvy *A Straight Answer, A Fair Deal, Those Jubilee Mugs* a *A Jubilee Medal*. Všechna tato díla spojuje fakt, že se v nich nachází královna Viktorie jakožto protagonista. Výzkumná otázka práce je, jakým způsobem časopis královnu vyobrazuje, ať už přímo, nebo podprahově.

Odpověď na tuto otázku práce získává za aplikování metody "close reading" a také pomocí Kleemanova schématu. "Close reading" je aplikován na všechna díla, zatímco podle Kleemanova schématu probíhá analýza pouze u děl grafických. Výsledná data prvotního zkoumání jsou poté dále posuzována na základě naratologické interpretace, která je doplňována o analýzu na základě postkoloniální teorie.

Výsledky prvotní fáze analýzy ukázaly prezentaci královny v silně negativním světle. Bylo zjištěno, že báseň *Queen Victoria* královnu dehonestuje prostřednictvím přímých znehodnocujících označení a vypočítavých otázek, za pomocí kterých dosahuje u možného čtenáře zpochybňování nejen jí, ale také celé monarchie, jejíž je královna symbolem. Ilustrace *A Straight Answer* vyobrazuje královnu jako neschopnou vládkyni, která se nestará o vlastní lid, čímž dále poškozuje královninu pozici jakožto silného vůdce. Další ilustrace, *A Fair Deal*, zdůrazňuje toto zanedbávání, a to za použití zvířecích postav, které reprezentují chudý lid a podtrhují tak rozdíl mezi bohatou privilegovanou vrstvou a vrstvou chudou a bezmocnou. Ilustrace *Those Jubilee Mugs* umocňuje tento pohled vyobrazením malého, chudého a vyhublého chlapce, který je s královnou postaven do juxtapozice. Poslední ze zkoumaných ilustrací je ilustrace *A Jubilee Medal*, která funguje jako karikatura již existujících jubilejních medailí, a u

které byly zdůrazněny vlastní, "australské", problémy a priority za konstanty zesměšňování královny. Analýzou bylo zjištěno, že tato ilustrace vybízí k řešení australských problémů bez asistence administrativy impéria.

V další fázi analýzy bylo na tyto výsledky nahlíženo prostřednictvím naratologie a postkoloniální teorie. Díky aplikaci těchto metod byla v první řadě vyzkoumána manipulace básně čtenářem, a to zapojením čtenáře do narativu použitím zájmena *my*. Bylo seznáno, že báseň funguje jako protipól diskurzu, který je propagován monarchií, a zdůrazňuje tedy nedostatky královny a zpochybňuje její zájmy. Analýza ilustrací ukázala, že prostřednictvím juxtapozice a prvků prostředí dochází k umocňování rozdílů mezi královnou, jakožto zástupcem movitých a privilegovaných, a částí společnosti, která je nuzná a neprivilegovaná.

Na základě této analýzy bylo následně zhodnoceno, že vnímání chyb a nedostatků impéria a rozdílů mezi privilegovanými a neprivilegovanými bylo ve společnosti palčivým tématem. Skutečnost, že je tento problém prezentován velmi přímočaře a také to, že je z jeho existence viněna královna, představuje přímou hrozbu pro existenci impéria, protože naznačuje možný pokus o reformu či revoluci, nebo minimálně myšlenku Australanů na řešení svých záležitostí nezávisle na impériu.

Výsledky tohoto výzkumu vybízejí k dalšímu možnému bádání. Jedním z možných směrů bádání je výzkum vnímání královny ze strany konkurenčních australských publikací, jako je například *Melbourne Punch*, který by mohl přinést nové pohledy na tuto problematiku. Dále by byl možný hlubší výzkum *Bulletinu*, který by byl zaměřený na vícero čísel časopisu v průběhu let, a bylo by tedy možné sledovat vývoj vnímání královny napříč časem. Oba tyto výzkumy by musely více reflektovat interdisciplinaritu výzkumu, konkrétně jeho historickou podstatu.

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