



# A sketch of Canada

How Canada, Britain and the United States are portrayed in  
Canadian political cartoons. (1867- 2006)



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Instructor: Professor Henri Beunders

Student: Laura Surentu

Student number: 283896

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*It feels quite amazing that my thesis is finally finished; maybe a bit sad in a way, but it is also exciting. I really hope that you will enjoy reading the results of my studies in Ottawa.*

*Laura Surentu*

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## Chapter 1. Introduction

One of the things I noticed while visiting Ottawa for the first time was the popularity of a local treat called *beavertails*. Canadian companies often use beavers in their logos. It raised my curiosity towards the history behind Canadian national symbols. Did Canada always associate itself with beavers? Why would that be?

Four years later I went to Ottawa again to study there. I decided to explore the history of Canadian national symbols in comparison to that of Great Britain and the United States. I chose political cartoons as my main source because they show the subtle links between Canada's history and values. Various national representations reveal feelings of national insecurities and confidence while searching for more independence. Finally, I compared my findings with the theoretical discourse on the Canadian identity. My research questions are:

- 1) How were Canada, Britain and the United States drawn in Canadian political cartoons, roughly from 1867 until 2006?
- 2) How did Canada's relationship with Britain and the United States influence the Canadian national identity?
- 3) Do Canadian political cartoons show a sense of 'anti-Americanism'?

Canadians seem to feel very different from most Americans. Several books can be found on the question if Canadians are 'anti-Americans' or not, and what this might imply. Some researchers who write about this subject are Norman Hillmer, Sydney Francis Wise, Carl Berger, Jack Granatstein, Robert Bothwell, Michael Adams and Reginald Stuart. By involving political cartoons I hope to contribute to the discourse from a different angle.

When I speak of 'nationalism' in this thesis, I speak of the promoting of collective interests of the national community above those of individuals, regions, special interests or other nations.<sup>1</sup> The term 'anti-American' will be used very widely in this essay: the opposition to the American culture and its implications, such as the government, history, economical system, ideologies, traditions, behavior of American citizens, etc.<sup>2</sup>

This essay is not, as it cannot be, an attempt to include all relevant cartoons of Canadian political history. I hope that the selected sample images in this essay can help us understand more about Canadian nationalism, while keeping in mind the nature of political cartoons. They usually depict criticism and conflicts rather than friendships. I have used 138 political cartoons and sketches for my research, found from different sources. The most important sources were the books on Canadian cartoons by Charles and Cynthia Hou<sup>3</sup>, the online archive of the *Globe and Mail*<sup>4</sup>, and the yearly surveys of

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<sup>1</sup> Definition partially taken from the Canadian Encyclopedia Online.

<sup>2</sup> Anti-Americanism proves itself a difficult term since there is no concrete consensus about its definition. Therefore, in this thesis, I tend to avoid it when possible.

<sup>3</sup> Hou, Charles & Cynthia. 1998. *The Art of Decoding Political Cartoons. A teacher's guide*. Vancouver: Moody's Lookout Press & Hou, Charles & Cynthia. 2002. *Great Canadian Political Cartoons. 1820 to 1914*. Vancouver: Moody's Lookout Press.

<sup>4</sup> Canada's Heritage from 1844- The Globe and Mail (Online Archive).

political cartoons in *Portfoolio*.<sup>5</sup> For a global understanding of Canadian history, I mostly relied on *For Better or for Worse* by Norman Hillmer and Jack Granatstein.<sup>6</sup>

In the next chapter, I will first take a look at some general Canadian backgrounds. Canada started out as a Dominion, directly under the influence of the British Commonwealth. The power of the British Empire was contested during the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. After the Second World War, Britain's political power rapidly declined, allowing Canada to grow closer to the United States. In this chapter I will also set out the current theoretical discourse on Canadian nationalism and anti-American feelings.

In Chapter 3, I will focus on political cartoons: what can they tell us and what not? Furthermore I will briefly discuss some Canadian pioneers in the world of political cartooning.

Chapter 4 introduces all Canadian national icons that I have found in Canadian political cartoons. They are Miss Canada, Jean-Baptiste, Johnnie/Jack Canuck and the Canadian beaver. Uncle Sam and John Bull will be discussed as well, since the U.S. and Britain were very important in Canada's history. I tried to assess the precedents and meanings of each icon, the period when it was drawn and how these icons differ from one another.

An interesting interaction between Miss Canada and Uncle Sam can be found in Chapter 5. The pursuit of Canada by the U.S. was a popular theme in cartoons and was mainly related to political issues such as elections, reciprocity and free trade deals.

Chapter 6 focuses on the period between 1867 and 1945, the period in which Canada 'became a man'. This chapter shows the importance of the wars on Canada's national industries and confidence. It also shows how Canada during some events felt stuck between its ties with Britain and the United States.

Chapter 7 deals with the period right after the Second World War until the present. Canada first went through a prosperous time while keeping a warm friendship with its neighbouring nation. Then, when the Cold War broke out, Canada and the U.S. took diverging roads in terms of foreign diplomacy. During the same time, Canada's industry, economics and culture became closer to that of the Americans. Nowadays, Canada presents itself as an international peacekeeper whereas the U.S. is often accused of being a war seeking nation.

Finally, in Chapter 8, I will try to answer the three research questions mentioned before. In doing this, I hope to show more insight in the general development of Canada's representations. We will see how this young country constantly compared itself to the U.S. and Britain while searching for a stronger national identity.

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<sup>5</sup> Badeaux, Guy. Yearly editions, 1986-2006. *Portfoolio. The year in Canadian caricature/The year's best Canadian editorial cartoons*. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, MacMillan.

<sup>6</sup> Hillmer, N. & Granatstein, J.L. 2007. *For better or for worse. Canada and the United States into the Twenty-First Century*. Toronto: Nelson, Thomson Canada Limited.

## ***Research methods***

My first assessment was to find as many Canadian cartoons as possible with Canadian, American or British icons, so that I could tell which icons were used, during which periods and for which political themes. This development is briefly summarized by the images on the title page of this thesis, and more thoroughly in Chapter 5.

I found useful literature about the history of Canadian cartoonists and important Canadian periodicals. However, I had not found any literature which had assessed the development of Canada's national icons in cartoons throughout history, nor any literature about either Baptiste, Canuck, the Mountie and the Canadian beaver in particular. I did come across literature about Uncle Sam, the Canadian Flag and the Maple Leaf. Also, I found one thesis about Miss Canada by Robyn Fowler.

I made a selection of all relevant cartoons found in literature, compilations and the online archive of the *Globe and Mail*. I selected them, based on the question whether or not they showed Canadian, British or American icons, and whether or not they help to understand more about the Canadian identity. The course on Canadian-American history at Carleton University helped me to better understand these cartoons.

I think that this thesis can contribute to the Canadian history of political cartoons, in the sense that it is the first research that gives a rough line in which the development of Canada's national icons from Confederation until the present is clearly visible and given an interpretation, seen in relation to the history of Canada's feelings towards the U.S. and Britain when trying to attain independence.

### ***Cartoons from 1867 – 1945: compilations and literature***

I started out trying to find cartoons from the period between 1867 and 1945. The two compilations by Charles and Cynthia Hou came in very handy. This Canadian couple has been collecting Canadian cartoons for years. In *Great Canadian Cartoons (1867-1914) & (1915-1945)*, they chronologically show over 500 cartoons from different newspapers, with a very short explanation underneath each cartoon. (About 1-3 sentences.) I scanned all cartoons, which were relevant for my research: all cartoons in which Canada, the U.S. or Britain was represented by a national icon.

I did the same with the cartoons found in *A Caricature History of Canadian Politics* (1841). These sketches were put together by the J.W. Bengough, a popular Canadian cartoonist from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. I found a few more cartoons through more literature, but I used mainly these two sources to find useful cartoons for the first half of my research period.

At the Library and Archive of Canada I found a few cartoons in microfiche, which I had found earlier in the compilations by the couple Hou. I used literature and the course by Professor Hillmer at Carleton University to understand which events had been important during the history of Canada's search for independence. This enabled me to better understand and give my own interpretation to the cartoons in this thesis.

### ***Cartoons from 1986 – 2006: compilations and literature***

After I had a clear idea about the icons used between Confederation and the Second World War, I aimed to extend my research period. The only relevant literature on Canadian cartoons that I found was *The Hecklers* (1979). This book assesses the history

of political cartooning in Canada; however, it did not give me much useful cartoons, also it does not contain cartoons from after 1979.

Professor Hillmer recommended me the yearly compilations *Portfolio* (1886-2006) to gain insight on icons drawn between the mid 1980s and the present. These compilations do not give a historical interpretation, but a big selection of the best cartoons published each former year, per year usually over 130 cartoons. (The cartoons are put together by theme, and each main theme has a small comical introduction) I scanned through all 20 editions to find out that mainly the Mountie and the beaver were used during this period. (Only in rare occasions a lumberjack and Miss Canada.) Furthermore I used *The art of political cartooning* (1980); a compilation of cartoons published in 1980, put together by Steve Bradley.

### ***Cartoons from 1945 – 1985: online archive and literature***

At this point, I was still missing cartoons from between 1945 and 1986. To my knowledge, there has not been done any research about Canadian cartoons from the 1950s until the later 1970s. To find useful cartoons, I went on the online archive of the *Globe and Mail*.

I searched through all editorial pages of every day from January and July from the years 1945, 1949, 1953, 1957, 1961, 1965, 1969, 1973, 1977, 1981 and 1985. This search through approximately 528 editorial pages online<sup>7</sup> gave me about 26 useful cartoons, plus 11 cartoons by browsing through important dates. From these, I used 18 cartoons for Chapter 8 in this thesis. I tried to link these cartoons to the literature and the history course at Carleton University to draw conclusions about their meaning.

The cartoons that I found in the online archive of the *Globe and Mail* correspond to the literature that I read about Canadian-American history.

### ***The use of the cartoons***

Once I had enough cartoons, I was able to answer my first research question: *How were Canada, Britain and the United States drawn in Canadian political cartoons between 1867 and 2006?* My answer to this question can be found in Chapter 5 and is based on my selection and rearrangement of cartoons.

While gathering cartoons, I noticed that several ones showed Uncle Sam pursuing Miss Canada. This resulted in Chapter 6, in which I give my own interpretation on this theme, linking the cartoons to the insecurities felt by Canada in relation to their neighbour, especially during elections.

My second question is: *How did Canada's relationship with Britain and the United States influence the Canadian national identity?* Chapter 7 and 8 answer this question more in depth. I chronologically used the main events of Canadian-American history as a guideline, trying to find a correlation between it and the constantly changing Canadian representations.

Chapter 9 answers my third research question: *Do Canadian political cartoons show a sense of 'anti-Americanism'?* From all the cartoons I had gathered, there were two themes that sprung out which *could* be linked to anti-Americanism, namely the use of (perhaps irrational) anti-American feelings, such as during Canadian elections.

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<sup>7</sup> There were six editions per week; 24 editions per month. I searched through 22 months x 24 gives 528 editorial pages.

## Chapter 2. Growing up in the Commonwealth

Canada started out as a Dominion of the British Empire. Its population consisted of British and French settlers, the First Natives, the Inuit, and later immigrants from Japan, China and continental Europe. Confederation between the first four Canadian provinces took place in 1867. This was two years after the American civil war. The population of the Dominion of Canada feared annexation of the northern territories by the Americans. Canadians felt that the weak Federation of the U.S. had left too much freedom to the provinces, resulting in a bloody civil war. Therefore, it was decided that Canada should have a strong government to avoid similar conflicts.

Before 1914, the Dominion of Canada was a self-governing colony, however, all diplomatic and foreign policies were run by Britain.<sup>1</sup> Canada's official flag was the British Union Jack.<sup>2</sup> However, Canada was allowed its own Canadian Merchant Marine Flag to distinguish trading ships at sea. This flag was called the 'red ensign' and hung on top of the Parliament Building in Ottawa until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most Canadians thought that this was their official flag. At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Britain became weary of its decreasing power in the Commonwealth.<sup>3</sup> The 'red ensign' on Parliament Hill was replaced by the Union Jack. It was a silent message to Canadians: they were still British subjects.

Canada sent out soldiers to help Britain during the Boer War of 1903. While most English Canadians were eager to help in the war, there was a sharp dissidence from the French province Quebec. The protests were led by Bourassa, a French-Canadian politician and activist. However, Canada as a nation was relatively young and weak. In order not to fall in the hands of the U.S. it needed Britain's support.

During the First World War, Britain mainly made all military decisions. Much to his frustrations, Prime Minister Borden was kept out of the Supreme War Council in London.<sup>4</sup> Canada was expected to send between 400 and 500 thousands soldiers.<sup>5</sup> While fighting under the Union Jack, these men wore badges with Canadian symbols such as the maple leaf.<sup>6</sup> The wars made Canada realize how much Britain needed its colonies. The power of the Commonwealth was waning and Canadian nationalistic feelings grew.<sup>7</sup>

At this point, Britain started to take on a more 'decentralist' position between 1917 and 1926.<sup>8</sup> The Colonial Office wanted to maintain close ties with all dominions, the Foreign Office preferred to give the dominions more autonomy. This caused many internal quarrels.



British Union Jack Flag.



The 'red ensign', Canada's Merchant Marine Flag.

<sup>1</sup> Pearson, Lester. B. 1970. *The Commonwealth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Stanley, George F. G. 1965. *The story of Canada's flag*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 25.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, 26

<sup>4</sup> Wigley, Philip G. 1977. *Canada and the transition to Commonwealth. British Canadian relations, 1917-1926*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Stanley, op. cit., 30.

<sup>7</sup> Pearson, op. cit., 5.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, 279.



Eventually, the policies of the Foreign Office prevailed and in 1926 the Balfour Declaration was signed: from that point on, all dominions and Britain officially had equal status.<sup>9</sup>

In 1970, Prime Minister Lester Pearson wrote that Britain at that time was still ‘the first among equals’.<sup>10</sup> Participation during the Second World War was unquestioned, but Canada and South Africa made sure that Britain would give them autonomy over their own troops and command during the war.<sup>11</sup> Before 1939, Canada used to trade as much with the U.S. as it did with Britain. After the Second World War, the U.S. rapidly became Canada’s more important trading partner.<sup>12</sup> Britain’s power soon declined.

After many decades of debates, the Canadian government finally felt comfortable enough in 1964 to have its own flag. The question remained what the flag should depict, and many designs were made. One symbol that was likely to make it on the flag was the maple leaf.

Already around 1700, the maple leaf became associated with Canada.<sup>13</sup> The Natives had taught Canadians how to make maple syrup out of Maple trees. The wood was also very useful to make wooden furniture. Since this tree was of use for all Canadians, (Natives, English and French settlers) the maple leaf became a good symbol to unify the nation. (See also Chapter 7, cartoon nr. 7.16 from 1903) But the Conservatives and loyalists to the British Empire preferred a flag which would also show the Union Jack as a reference to Canada’s ties with Britain.

Liberal Prime Minister Pearson also made a design. It included the colour blue as a reference to Britain and showed three leaves on one stem, like on the Canadian Coat of Arms. It was resentfully named ‘Pearson’s poisoned ivy flag’ because the only leaves that grow per three in Canada are poison ivy leaves from the poison oak. (Apart from that, protesters suggested that the three leaves resembled a beer label, a pawn shop sign and a salad<sup>14</sup>) Most Canadians did not want a flag to refer to colonial days too much.

Pearson’s flag did not make it through the votes in the House of Commons.<sup>15</sup> It took over 2000 designs before the official Canadian flag as we know it today passed the House of Commons in 1964. Queen Elizabeth officially proclaimed the flag in February 1965.<sup>16</sup> Having an own flag meant a new national identity for Canada.



Prime Minister Lester Pearson’s design for a national Canadian flag.



Official Canadian Coat of Arms since 1921. It shows the Royal symbols of Great Britain and France, the three maple leaves on one stem refer to Canadians of all origins. (the maple leaves were originally green)



Canada's national flag today.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, 8.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, 8

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Bothwell. 2007. *The Penguin History of Canada*. Toronto: Penguin Group Canada, 414.

<sup>13</sup> Canadian Heritage Online, Symbols of Canada. (Read: March 20, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> <http://scaa.usask.ca/gallery/flagdisplay/design.htm>. ‘Hoping this will end the strife: designs.’ (Read: August 11, 2008).

<sup>15</sup> Stanley, op. cit., 65.

<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, 69-72.

During the 1970s, many Canadians wondered if the Commonwealth still meant anything, what it represented and whether it would eventually cease to exist. The Commonwealth still held meetings, but their nature had changed. Before 1970, they were smaller and internal affairs of the colonies were not to be discussed. Prime Minister Pearson did not see the Commonwealth as a political entity anymore, but rather as a sort of 'fellowship'. He named it a 'New Commonwealth of Nations' and suggested that the Commonwealth should change their aims in order to remain important.<sup>17</sup> Instead of a political group that influences the world, he wanted to see the Commonwealth to fight discrimination and to give assistance to smaller developing members, such as in banking and technical support.<sup>18</sup> Pearson saw the United Nations as a role model for the future of the Commonwealth.

In 1970, Prime Minister Pearson stated that the days of British Imperial power were soon to be at an end, at least in the old sense of the word.<sup>19</sup> As Britain's issues became less important, John Bull became less important in Canadian political cartoons. Canadians finally felt free from Britain's pull, yet another nation still clouded their new found freedom.

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<sup>17</sup> Pearson, op. cit., 26.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, 28-30.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem.

### Chapter 3. A difficult relationship between two neighbours

It has surprised me to find so many recent books about Canada's ties with the U.S. The attacks of 9/11 in 2001 and the war on terrorism have clearly moved the debates about Canada and the U.S. to the foreground. Roughly, Canadian scholars can be divided into two groups.

First, there are those who insist that Canada and the U.S. are fundamentally different. They argue that Canada is dependent on the U.S. and feel concerns about this. They generally suggest specific national policies to help increase international influence and to move towards a specific Canadian multicultural, peaceful identity.

The other group consists of those who prefer to focus on the similarities between Canada and the U.S. rather than the differences. Becoming a closer ally to the U.S. brings more advantages, they argue. While both groups agree that Canada is dependent on the U.S. they do not see this as a problem. (Or at least less)

I would like to stress out that there is no clear-cut divide between these two arguments. Some authors such as Norman Hillmer and Allen Gotlieb could be categorised in both groups. I will now introduce some other main players who participate in the discourse. For a short biography on the following authors I refer to appendix B.

#### § 3a) Desires to create distance from the U.S.

'Living next to you is in some ways like sleeping with an elephant: no matter how friendly and even-tempered the beast, one is affected by every twitch and grunt.'<sup>20</sup> This is how Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau illustrated Canada's position in North America. He said this in 1969, during a speech at the National Press Club in the U.S. In these years, researchers such as Gerald M. Craig stressed out the importance of trying to find other allies besides the U.S.<sup>21</sup>

Prime Minister Trudeau tried to tighten Canada's diplomatic relations with European and Asian nations. He tried to establish a new Canadian nationalism: a fresh identity, based on multicultural, peaceful and tolerant principles. Some of the programs he set up were the National Energy Program and FIRA (Foreign Investment Review Agency) to put a stop to the increasing American ownership in the Canadian economy. He acknowledged China and argued to retrieve soldiers from Europe and to put more focus on the defence within North America.

However, his new National Policies only had relative success. Foreign countries preferred to trade with neighbouring allies. This is easier for them: there are less language barriers, the countries are used to each other and transport takes less long. Another problem for Canada-U.S. relations was that President Nixon and Prime Minister Trudeau never enjoyed close personal relations. (On the Watergate tapes Nixon referred to Trudeau as 'that asshole Trudeau'<sup>22</sup>) In public, both men always remained respectful towards each other. Trudeau knew that Canada could never fully turn his back to the U.S. In Craig's words: 'For a country like Canada, anything like real independence is obviously impossible.'<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Hillmer, & Granatstein, op. cit., 240.

<sup>21</sup> Craig, Gerald M. 1968. *The United States and Canada*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 310.

<sup>22</sup> Hillmer, & Granatstein, op. cit., 237.

<sup>23</sup> Craig, op. cit., 310.

Allan Gotlieb, who has been Canada's ambassador in Washington from 1981 until 1989, agrees that Canada is not standing very strong in world international diplomacy, even though it is one of Canada's aims.<sup>24</sup> One problem is that the U.S. simply has a bigger military force. A nation will not be taken serious when it lacks the power to put sanctions whenever international laws are violated. Furthermore, Canada needs the U.S. market for its own prosperity.<sup>25</sup>

Criticism on American society has come from researchers such as the American sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset and the Canadian Michael Ignatieff. Lipset sees positive as well as negative consequences of a society without strong regulations.<sup>26</sup> He had lectured at the University of Toronto and wrote on American 'exceptionalism'. This term refers to the nationalistic feelings of being different and superior to other nations. Lipset links these national sentiments to the urge to spread freedom and democracy in other nations. Ignatieff considers it a blessing that Canada is lacking a similar fierce patriotism as felt in some parts of the U.S.<sup>27</sup>

Charlotte Gray and Peter C. Newman agree that Canadians are less patriotic than their neighbours. According to them, Canadians celebrate less modern heroes than Americans. This is because Canada identifies more with Clark Kent rather than with Superman, Peter C. Newman argues. Both authors point to the more socialist society of Canadians in comparison to that of the idealistic Americans, where individualistic achievements play a bigger role.<sup>28</sup> It must be said that the charismatic Pierre Trudeau, Marshall McLuhan and Terry Fox were true heroes (or at least came close) to many Canadians.

Immigration is another issue treated differently by the U.S. and Canada. Haroon Siddiqui accuses the U.S. of 'scapegoating' immigrants after the attacks of 9/11. In his opinion, the 'bad' integration of immigrants is used as an excuse to shift attention from the real problems.<sup>29</sup> George Jonas has a similar vision as Jack Granatstein. Jonas argues that too much multiculturalism can make for a loss of national narrative, and that there are some immigrants that want to change Canada.<sup>30</sup> In answer to this, Siddiqui suggests that it is more important for a nation that every citizen acts according to the rule of law. He sees no problem if immigrants keep their cultural backgrounds and heritage and uses the words of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Prime Minister Laurier, who compared Canada to a gothic cathedral:

'I want the marble to remain the marble, the granite to remain the granite, the oak to remain the oak – out of all these elements I would build a nation great among the

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<sup>24</sup> Gotlieb, Allan. 2007. A recipe for world influence & Postscript. In: Griffiths, Rudyard. *Great questions of Canada*. 147-151 & 157-165.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, 157.

<sup>26</sup> Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1996. *American exceptionalism. A double-edged sword*. New York: W.W. Norton.

<sup>27</sup> Ignatieff, Michael. 2007. The history that matters most & Postscript....In: Griffiths, Rudyard.(edit.) *Great questions of Canada*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 23-27 & 35-41, 39.

<sup>28</sup> Gray, Charlotte. 2007. No idol industry here & Postscript. In: Griffiths, Rudyard.(edit.) *Great questions of Canada*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 99-103 & 109-116.

Newman, Peter. 2007. We'd rather be Clark Kent & Postscript. In: Griffiths, Rudyard.(edit.) *Great questions of Canada*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 104-108 & 117-120, 104.

<sup>29</sup> Siddiqui, Haroon. 2007. Scapegoating multiculturalism & Postscript. In: Griffiths, Rudyard. (edit.) *Great questions of Canada*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 197-201 & 206-209.

<sup>30</sup> Jonas, George. 2007. Multicult Revisited & Postscript. In: Griffiths, Rudyard. (edit.) *Great questions of Canada*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 193-196 & 202-205, 205.

nations of the world.<sup>31</sup> Laurier wanted Canada to be like a big gothic cathedral, built with many different building materials such as marble, oak and stone, while each material should keep its special qualities. A similar metaphor that Siddiqui uses is a 'tossed salad': he compares immigrants to ingredients that should keep their nature and flavour but can contribute to a tasteful salad.<sup>32</sup> Authors like Jack Granatstein and George Jonas prefer Canada more like a hearty soup, made in a melting pot, in which all ingredients become one dish together, if not, raw tossed ingredients could cause 'indigestion if not food poisoning.'<sup>33</sup>

Michael Adams spoke much about the fundamental differences between Canadian and Americans as well. His conclusions are mainly based on empirical research, using surveys and interviews. One important difference Adams names is the desire for strong governmental policies in Canada. Furthermore, he suggests that the harsh weather conditions in Canada have made its citizens more peaceful and pragmatic instead of ideological. Adams believes that Americans have more faith than Canadians in institutions such as the family, the Federal State, religion and the economical market.

Adams' writing has clearly been inspired by the work of Seymour Lipset. His texts have been praised but also received much criticism. His book *Fire and Ice* was published in 2003, shortly after the attacks of 9/11. Adams was accused of simply filling the desire in Canada to feel different from Americans. However, his previous work *Sex in the snow* was published in 1997. This work carried similar conclusions as *Fire and Ice*. However, more criticism was expressed on the interpretation of Adams' research, claiming that some conclusions were based on generalisations.

### **§ 3b) Desires to move closer to the U.S.**

The Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney cancelled the policies started by Trudeau, such as the National Energy Program and FIRA. In practice, FIRA had not proven itself effective to stop American ownership in Canadian economy. It was instead replaced by Investment Canada, leaving Canada open to foreign investors. In Mulroney's opinion, Canada needed to become close to the U.S. in order to have more influence over its own destiny.<sup>34</sup> He never saw the U.S. as a threat and achieved some important agreements such as Acid Rain, new policies against the apartheid in South Africa and the much debated Free Trade Agreement. Also, he stopped Reagan's controversial Star Wars project, which would have been a North American shield against nuclear missiles using weapons in space.

Mulroney does not stand alone in his beliefs that the U.S. should be Canada's best friend. Many authors believe that there are far more similarities than differences between these nations. Robert Bothwell argues that because of a similar history, economical and political system, Canada and the U.S. could be seen as twins.<sup>35</sup> Thompson and Randall together wrote on the alliance between the two nations, arguing that there is mostly tolerance between two mature partners. Reginald C. Stuart similarly provides material to

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<sup>31</sup> Siddiqui, op. cit., 209.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, 209.

<sup>33</sup> Jonas, George. op. cit., 196.

<sup>34</sup> Hillmer, & Granatstein, op. cit., 275.

<sup>35</sup> Bothwell, op. cit.

show the close relations between the two countries as he emphasizes on the effectiveness of institutions such as NATO and NAFTA.<sup>36</sup>

Jack Granatstein takes a sharper stand on the subject and puts the emphasis on anti-American feelings, which are at best self-deluding, and at worst hypocritical.<sup>37</sup> Stuart believes that Granatstein's work is an important beginning to the subject of anti-Americanism in Canada, however, he points out that there are still many areas of importance that need to be researched in order to create a full picture.<sup>38</sup> In times of diverging opinions, Granatstein writes, both nations agree to disagree. True, Canada depends more on the U.S. than the other way around, however, the alliance mostly brings mostly advantages to Canada.

There has been much debate about 'anti-American' sentiment in Canadian nationalism. According to Carl Berg, Canada behaves like a suspicious, jealous neighbour who should not feel threatened by the U.S. Other historians like Sydney Francis Wise and Norman Hillmer agree that there is a link between periods of national insecurities and anti-American feelings: these fears spring from the sense that Canadian nationalism is, in one way or another, in jeopardy. The few differences between Canada and the U.S. seem to have been highlighted by Canadians in order to remain different enough, to sustain a feeling of pride towards the national identity. Furthermore, Jack Granatstein argues that anti-American sentiments are strategically used in Canadian politics in order to find sympathy with the public.<sup>39</sup>

According to Granatstein, the conflicts between the U.S. and Canada are mostly caused by anti-American sentiments in Canadian culture. He argues that this attitude was the 'founding myth' of Canada.<sup>40</sup> As Canada has always been less strong than the U.S., it needed a different and more 'pure' and 'peacekeeping' identity. Granatstein believes that this image is not totally justified, as Canada does not have many United Nations soldiers stationed across the world.

Furthermore, Granatstein insists that Canada, for its own national interest, cannot afford to disagree with the U.S. More than 80 % of Canadian export products go to the U.S.<sup>41</sup> As for defence, Canada would most certainly need the U.S. in case of an attack. Granatstein wants Canada to recognize that the U.S. is its best friend, as they share similar ideologies, such as capitalism, democracy, Christianity and a western colonial history.

Yes, Granatstein and Hillmer claim, some conflicts are inevitable, depending on a wide range of issues during various circumstances. But this does not mean that there is no good relationship between these two countries. For example, when there is cooperation in trade, there can be cultural or ideological opposition at the same time. It is emphasized that Canada and the U.S. get along well on a lot of fields. Canadians and Americans often share relatives; therefore they often cross the border. Whether Canada likes it or not, it needs to get along with its big partner. A divorce is simply not possible.

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<sup>36</sup> Stuart, op. cit.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>38</sup> Yankee go home? Canadians & anti-Americanism. Granatstein, J.L. Stuart, Reginald C (Reviewer) *The American Review of Canadian Studies*. Washington: Summer 1997. Vol 27, Iss. 2, pg. 293.

<sup>39</sup> Granatstein, J.L. 2007. *Whose war is it? How Canada can survive in the post-9/11 world*. Toronto: Harper Perennial.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>41</sup> [http://internationaltrade.suite101.com/article.cfm/canadian\\_export\\_forecast\\_for\\_2007](http://internationaltrade.suite101.com/article.cfm/canadian_export_forecast_for_2007). 'Canadian Export Forecast 2007. Slowdown Expected for Canada's Resource—based Global Trade.' Workman, Daniel. November 15, 2006. (Read: August 2, 2008).

Another author who is strongly in favour of strong North American ties for Canada's best interest is Allan Gotlieb. He suggests that formal agreements are needed to ensure that the powerful U.S. will be considerate towards Canada's issues. Binding consultative arrangements can prevent unpleasant surprises. Therefore, Gotlieb wants the Canadian Prime Minister, Foreign Minister and diplomats to keep close personal ties with U.S. officials: this seems to be the most effective way to ensure a close friendship.<sup>42</sup>

However, Gotlieb does agree that Canada needs close ties with new important players on the international world stage, such as the European Union, upcoming Asian countries, NAFTA panels and the World Trade Organization. Furthermore, Gotlieb argues that Canada is not (yet) a very credible international peacekeeping force. To him, Canada needs more analytical skills, knowledge and understanding of foreign languages, cultures and history.<sup>43</sup> This requires more investment. Besides all this, Gotlieb suggests that Canada needs a bigger military force in order to be taken serious by other nations.<sup>44</sup>

### **§ 3c) A Canadian image**

It is debated what the 'Canadian identity' is really all about. Some researchers have pointed out some 'Canadian characteristics', such as being international peacekeepers, being multicultural in the sense of a tossed salad, and finding collective achievements in society more important rather than 'individualistic' achievements.

Roughly speaking, there seems to be a generalised, stereotypical view that Canadians in comparison to Americans are more pragmatic, more in favour of social programs, more 'peaceful', less individualistic, less extreme, less 'ideological', and more 'open' towards immigrants. Furthermore, other authors have emphasized on the many similarities between the U.S. and Canada: both countries have a similar history, a European colonial background, Christianity as a religious heritage, a similar democratic system, English as a main language and a capitalistic and liberal economy.

Will we find all these presumptions and thoughts in Canadian political cartoons as well? In the next chapter, we will take a look at the various ways that Canadian cartoonists found to draw Canada and the U.S.

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<sup>42</sup> Gotlieb, op. cit., 159.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem, 150-151.

<sup>44</sup> Ibidem, 150.

## Chapter 4. Political cartoons

### § 4a) What does a political cartoons say?

*A sketch of Canada*, the title of this thesis, can be interpreted in different ways. First of all, it is Canada as a country that has been sketched by the cartoonists. Secondly, the Canadian cartoonists have illustrated the country according to their visions and beliefs of that time: in this way, it is Canada itself that has made these cartoons. Thirdly, in this thesis, I am making a sketch of Canada to better understand Canadian norms and ideologies throughout history.

Most often, political cartoons are meant to attract a reaction from readers. Editorial cartoons show the point of view of the cartoonist, in some cases they represent the political view of the newspaper rather than that of its creator. The bias of the cartoonist always merely represents one idea out of many visions possible: every Canadian probably has a different 'Canadian nationalism'. For example, there are different visions on when and how American culture is or is not a threat to Canada. The viewer of a cartoon can agree or disagree, or 'partially' agree to any extent in between. However, cartoonists do often represent the opinion of many people, as they can reveal important tensions that were commonly felt in Canadian life.

A political cartoon can be seen as 'a drawing representing current public figures or issues symbolically and often satirically'.<sup>1</sup> It usually contains criticism or raises questions towards a political or social event, often using irony, humor, scorn and sarcasm.

Cartoons can sometimes have a more positive, almost 'cheerleading' tone instead of a negative message. For example, shortly after the attacks on the Twin Towers of 9/11 2001, some cartoonists changed their caricature of President Bush in order to make him look better. Cartoons of an Uncle Sam, rolling up his sleeves started to appear. In *Drawn to extremes* (2004), cartoonist Steve Breen explains how it felt more appropriate to draw cartoons that supported American politics. Steve Benson of the *Arizona Republic* argues that these types of cartoons expressed the natural emotional reactions of the cartoonists, which allowed the public for sharing a sense of collective identification.<sup>2</sup>

There are different views on this. According to Chris Lamb, editorial cartoonists should not draw propaganda on behalf of their own government, as other people are already paid to do so.<sup>3</sup> Then again, it depends on which definition of 'propaganda' is used here. It can be argued that cartoonists should be free to express their opinions.

Either way, political cartoons (or also named 'editorial cartoons') usually have a negative tone. Because of this, a study of political cartoons will only give part of the overall picture. They are very useful in order to find out points of criticism, but will less often depict signs of friendship between different nations. However, the way a national icon is drawn does help us understand whether the country it represents is seen as a foe or a friend. For example, the depiction of Uncle Sam was very different in the 1930s than during the Alaska Boundary Dispute of 1903.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/cartoon> (Read: June 9, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Lamb, Chris. 2004. *Drawn to extremes. The use and abuse of editorial cartoons*. New York: Columbia University Press, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*.



The political cartoon often reflects the thoughts of a group of people. However, it is also designed to influence the opinion of readers.<sup>4</sup> 'The cartoonist is part of that linking process which connects the general public and its political leaders - a give-and-take rough and tumble out of which comes what the pollsters call public opinion.'<sup>5</sup>, writes Charles Press in *The Political cartoon*. (1981) William Murrell states in *The Hecklers* (1979) that political cartoons are 'the situation as it appeared to a gifted and irreverent man in the street.'<sup>6</sup>

Editorial cartoonists are seen as part of the 'common people', blessed with talent and scepticism. The sketches are often best when the drawing is kept simple, so that the symbolical signs and caricatures are easy to recognise. The artistry skills of the cartoonist can be important but are never the main focus: at most, it complements the political cartoon. In order to portray a certain nation, national symbols are used which can change from time to time. The ways that Uncle Sam, Jack Canuck or John Bull are drawn, can tell us a lot about how the cartoonists envisioned the countries these icons represent. The message can be exaggerated but nevertheless gives us insight in certain prevailing sentiments of those passed times.

To find a job as cartoonist is hard, as an editorial cartoonist has to keep making cartoons on a regular basis while constantly attracting reactions from the public. Not all cartoonists can keep up such high expectations. Therefore, newspapers will prefer to hire experienced cartoonists than to give a chance to new talents. Nowadays, the rise of digital media had made newspapers less popular, especially among younger generations. Furthermore, newspapers are now often smaller than before, leaving less space for political cartoons. This is a disadvantage for cartoonists. However, there are now numerous websites on the internet on which different cartoonists can easily put their work, in the hopes that people will look at them. The new media make it easier for cartoonists to reach more people worldwide.

In 2006 a lot of riots occurred, as political cartoons that were mocking the prophet Mohamed offended many Islamists. In the Islam, all illustrations of their prophet are forbidden. The controversial cartoons were first printed in the *Jyllands-Posten* and quickly spread as angry Danish imams objected to the cartoons. The controversy grew, when the cartoons were reprinted in other newspapers in other countries, but also spread by the imams to other Islamic countries, causing worldwide riots and even deaths.

Political cartoons can cause controversy –that is what they are supposed to do- but they cause difficulties when they insult large groups of people. In these cases, stereotypical views can be felt to make a scapegoat of a certain culture. However, the cartoons do not stand on themselves alone: there were already underlying tensions between the western and Islamic world. But the cartoons can act as a powerful trigger, especially since the Internet easily sends them across the world.

A national symbol for a country is sometimes used to express criticism towards a certain aspects of a religion, policy, president or act, but then can be interpreted (or meant) as criticism/mockery towards a whole religion, nation, culture, or set of values. Legally, it is hard to draw a distinct line between the freedom of speech and what can be

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<sup>4</sup> Press, Charles. 1978. *The political cartoon*. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Desbarats, Peter & Mosher, Terry. 1979. *The Hecklers. A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and a Cartoonists' History of Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 17.

considered ‘hateful’ or ‘bias’ towards a cultural group. Among Canadian scholars, it is now very much debated whether all Canadians are ‘anti-Americans’, or not. I hope that the Canadian political cartoons in this thesis can further contribute to this discourse.

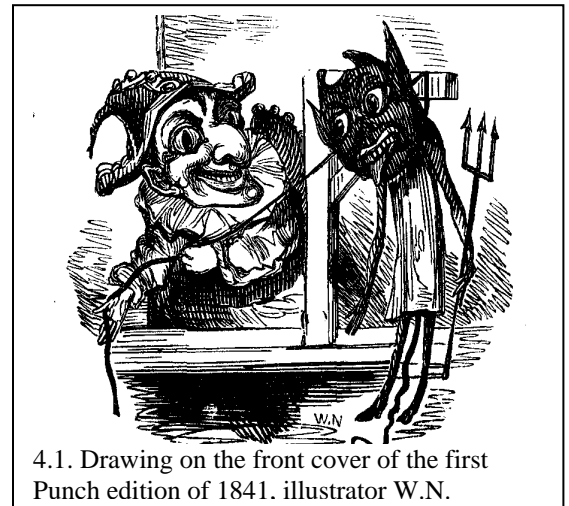
#### § 4b) History of Canadian political cartoons

It is not exactly clear where satire, caricatures and politically charged sketches find their origin: this also depends on the definitions we chose to use. During the days of the German Reformation there were already some political prints: for example prints of the pope portrayed as a pig around the 1520s. (The political message was that the Catholic clergy was enjoying too much wealth combined with bad morals.) But the history of political cartoons as we know them today can be traced back to 1841, when the English magazine *Punch*, *The London Charivari* was founded.

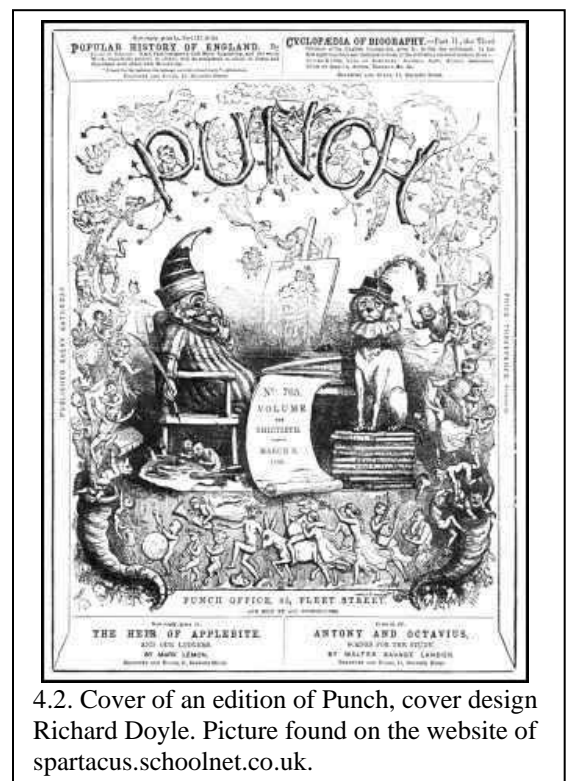
One of its cartoonists was Sir John Tenniel, also known for his illustrations of *Alice in Wonderland*. He was important for the development of the lion as a British national symbol.<sup>7</sup> As the English *Punch* became very popular, journals such as *American Punch*, *Southern Punch* and in 1849 *Punch in Canada* were launched. Mainly after 1822 lithography became more used in the United States, allowing for a faster reproduction of cartoons.

One important American periodical was *Harper’s Weekly*, founded in 1857. In 1862, Thomas Nast started to draw for this magazine. He quickly became the most important American cartoonist of his time, making lasting symbols such as the elephant representing Republicans and the donkey for the Democrats. Furthermore he reinvented the image of Santa Claus as the chubby cheerful man we still know today. *Punch* became an important source of inspiration for Canadian cartoonists.

One of Nast’s admirers was the Canadian cartoonist John Wilson Bengough. This young man wrote articles for the *Whitby Gazette*, but in 1873 he would illustrate and edit the magazine *Grip*. The Pacific Railway Scandal created the perfect theme for many political cartoons in the new journal. The Liberal Bengough would often make fun of the Conservative Prime Minister Macdonald. (He even made a cartoon when the Prime Minister died.) Later on, Bengough would switch from lithography to wood engraving and eventually to zinc etching. His cartoons showed that he was a protestant Reformist.



4.1. Drawing on the front cover of the first *Punch* edition of 1841. illustrator W.N.



4.2. Cover of an edition of *Punch*, cover design Richard Doyle. Picture found on the website of [spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk](http://spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk).

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, 29.

Although Bengough was an imperialist and very much in favor of helping the British in the Boer War and the First World War, some cartoons would show a more anti-imperialist tone, probably because of the non-imperialist Phillips Thompson who was the editor of *Grip*.<sup>8</sup> For the more Quebec related cartoons, Bengough would draw with a slightly different drawing style and sign with L. Côté. After *Grip*, Bengough worked as a cartoonist for the *Montreal star*, *the Globe*, *The Canadian Courier* and some other magazines. Other important Canadian illustrated periodicals of those days were *The Canadian Illustrated News / L'Opinion Publique*, *Diogenes*, *Grinchuckle* and *the Grumbler*.

The first cartoonist from French Canada was Jean-Baptiste Côté. He lived in Quebec City and worked there as a wood sculptor. He was still quite young when he organized the magazine *La Scie* in 1863, (*The Saw*), for which he also made wood print political cartoons. Eventually, Côté was arrested because of a cartoon in which he made fun of a sleeping civil servant 'at his days work' and he was put in prison for this cartoon.<sup>9</sup> Before, he had already received some warnings for other works that he had published. When he was released, *La Scie* was stopped and Côté became a woodcarver again.

Other important Canadian cartoonists of the twentieth century are Henri Julien, Robert LaPalme, Duncan Macpherson, Guy Badaux and Terry Mosher, more known under the name 'Aislin', also the name of his oldest daughter. Terry Mosher and Guy Badaux became the main editors of *Portfolio*, making yearly collections of important Canadian political cartoons, on which I will talk more later in Chapter 7. But first, we will take a look at Canadian, American and British national icons in cartoons, and how these representations correlate to one another.



4.3 A lithographic cartoon by Jean-Baptiste Côté. Picture found in *The Hecklers* 1979, 234.

<sup>8</sup> Cumming, Carman. 1997. *Sketches from a Young Country: The Images of Grip Magazine*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 179-180.

<sup>9</sup> Desbarats, op. cit., 63.

## Chapter 5. National icons in Canadian, American and British political cartoons

Sociologist Elias Canetti wrote in 1973: ‘A nation’s consciousness of itself changes when, and only when, its symbol changes.’<sup>1</sup> Slightly turning this sentence around, I would like to argue here that a national symbol can tell a lot about a country’s sense of self. The nation’s consciousness and symbols are perhaps linked, they go hand in hand. In this chapter I would like to introduce the different characters that have represented Canada and John Bull and Uncle Sam. I will discuss when various characters were drawn, in what contexts they were put and what symbolic values they implied. Finally, I will compare the characters with each other.

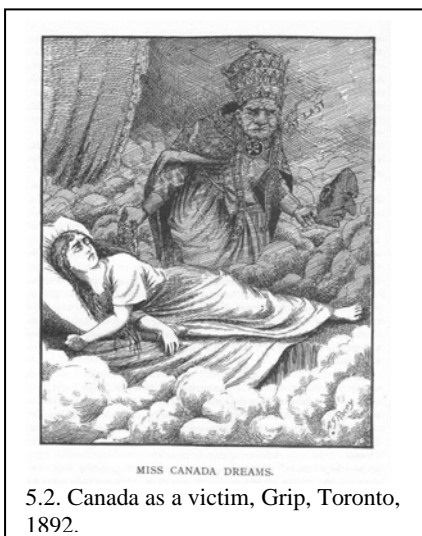
### § 5a) Miss Canada

Some of the early drawings by John Henry Walker show a very classical looking Miss Canada. Walker was one of the first Canadian artists who made sketches and engravings for Canadian periodicals. He made Miss Canada look a lot like her older mother Britannia: the allegory of Britain. Her sister on the left is shown with stars and stripes and a helmet, like her mother has: she is America. But the younger Miss Canada doesn’t have a helmet and has maple leaves instead in her hair: she looks pretty, very peaceful, young and soft-hearted. In her hand, she holds a book saying ‘fisheries’: showing that the country relied on the income of the fisheries.

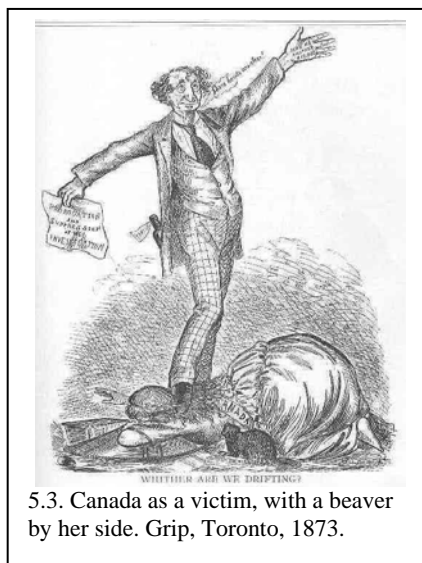
The way Miss Canada was drawn also depended on the personal taste of the cartoonist. Sometimes she would almost have no special attributes, but often she would have attributes: such as maple leaves, wood, wheat and beaver.



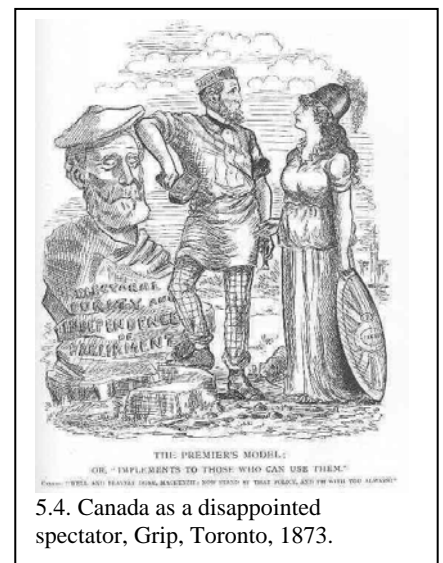
5.1. *Dominion Day*. Canada is introduced to the Council of Nations as the Canadian Confederation had just taken place. 1867, John Henry Walker, McCordMuseum Online.



5.2. Canada as a victim, Grip, Toronto, 1892.



5.3. Canada as a victim, with a beaver by her side. Grip, Toronto, 1873.



5.4. Canada as a disappointed spectator, Grip, Toronto, 1873.

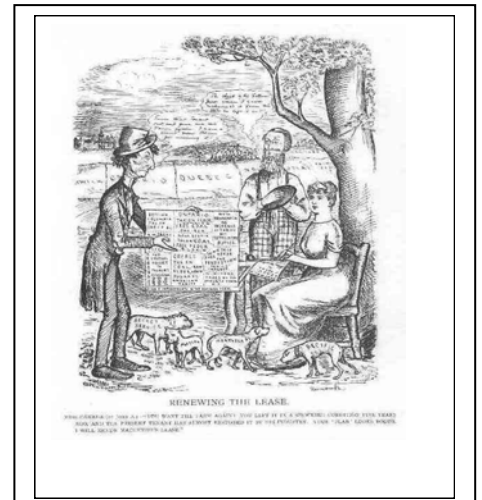
<sup>1</sup> Canetti, Elias. 1973. *Crowds and Power*. Translated by Carol Stewart. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 199.

The cartoonist J.W. Bengough would often draw Miss Canada in his cartoons, especially around 1870. He sometimes illustrated her with a shield and a helmet with maple leaves on top; she would then more or less look like Britannia: as Canada was portrayed as Britain's daughter. Her dress was often classical: a simple white dress. Other times she would have a middle-class or more contemporary dress. The dress, or the ribbon or hat on her head would sometimes simply have 'Canada' written on it to show that the woman represented Canada.

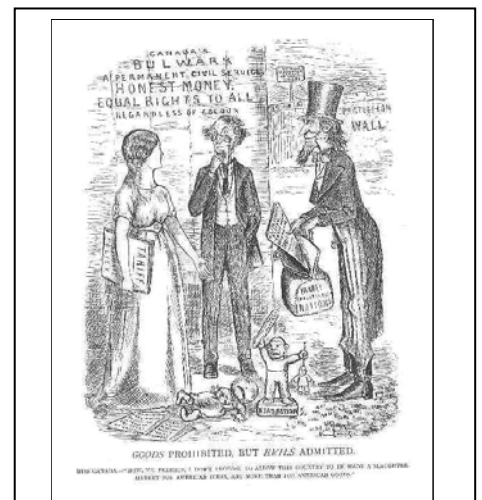
Miss Canada represents Canada as a very young, pure and innocent country. She is not married but often seems to need protection. An interesting concept in which Miss Canada was shown is the flirtation between Uncle Sam and Miss Canada: the U.S. was a threat because it wanted to take advantage of Canada. In Chapter 6 we will focus more on this theme.

Miss Canada was sometimes shown as a spectator but in more rare occasions she was the main actor of the cartoon. In cartoons nr. 5.5 and nr. 5.6, Miss Canada puts an end to Macdonald's lease and opposes American morals. She does not really work or fight, but her strength usually lies in being 'pure': she can reject Uncle Sam and the 'bad things' he represents. Also, she can represent what the Canadian people want during elections.

Miss Canada started to disappear roughly in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century but popped up from time to time in cartoons, for example in the 1950s simply as a woman with a Canadian leaf on her coat. Mostly, the cartoons of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are related to free trade with the U.S. or to the Canadian Prime Minister Jean-Paul Chrétien in the 1990s.



5.5. Canada deciding that MacDonal shouldn't be re-elected. Grip, Toronto, 1878.



5.6. Canada criticizing American morals. Grip, Toronto, 1879.



5.7. Miss Canada's summer vacation. Toronto, A. Wilson, 1882, McCord Museum Online.



5.8. I'm leaving darlin', but we still have 18 months, don't worry, it'll seem forever!! The Calgary Sun, Portfolio 2003, Tab.

**§ 5b) Jean-Baptiste**

Another character that already represented Canada in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was Jean-Baptiste. Shown in typically French-Canadian winter clothes, he was usually drawn in magazines of Quebec.

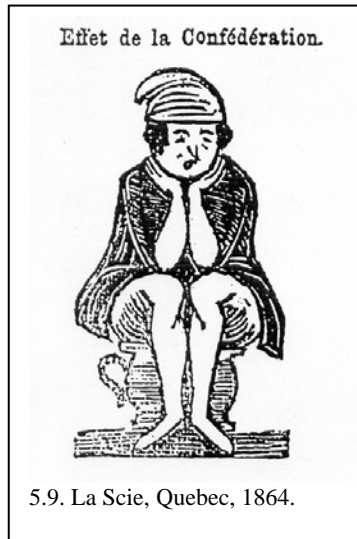
Sometimes, the character would be named ‘Canada’ instead of Jean-Baptiste, maybe because that would be more understandable for English speaking Canadians. In the beginning, Jean-Baptiste was often shown as against Canadian confederation and nationalism. However, around 1903 he would often be drawn in relation to Canadian nationalism.

Unlike Jack Canuck, he usually doesn't have a moustache. Especially his winter hat is typical: he draws a link between Canada and snowy weathers. As a man, he doesn't look aggressive but he can look forceful. He can be found in cartoons opposing John Bull, like in cartoon nr. 5.11. He is drawn the same size as John Bull and he does not look afraid of him at all. He is saying he is not an imperialist, reminding John Bull of the executions during the Rebellion of French Canadians in 1837. Sometimes, Baptiste's name or outfit could be also found on Jack Canuck. Jean Baptiste mostly symbolized a French Canadian nationalism, which the name alone shows. This might be the reason why he disappeared in the

early 20<sup>th</sup> century whereas Jack Canuck stayed around longer in political cartoons.

**§ 5c) Young Canada and John/Jack Canuck**

Young Canada was mostly shown as a man in a Mountie costume, or less often, in a plain business suit. But the Mountie costume became the characteristic suit of Jack or John Canuck: the Mountie hat and costume can easily be recognized. Where the



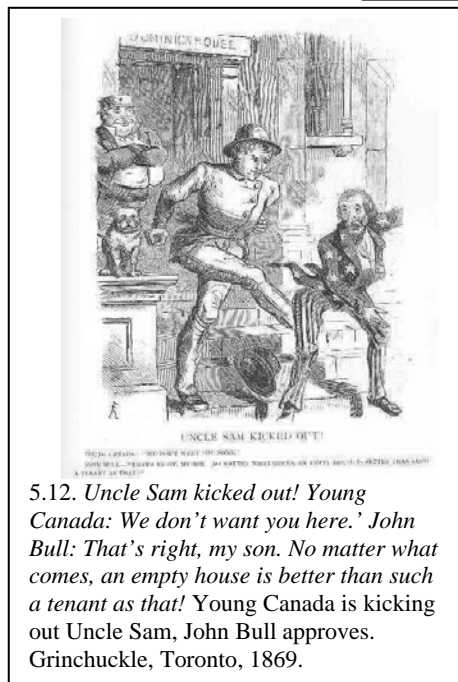
5.9. La Scie, Quebec, 1864.



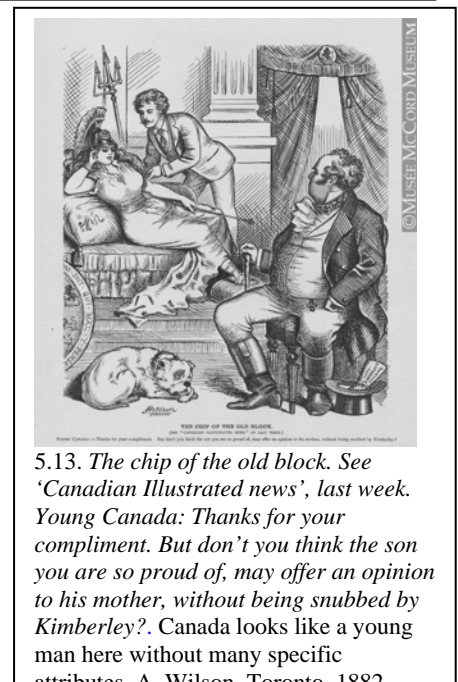
Bourgeois, 1924  
BAPTISTE — Pas besoin de me chiper tant d'eau pour réduire le whiskey que j'te vends, il est baptisé avant de partir.  
5.10. La Presse, Montreal, 1924.



JEAN BAPTISTE N'EST PAS IMPÉRIALISTE  
LE BRITISHER. Alors vous n'êtes pas impérialiste, JEAN-BAPTISTE. Pourquoi que non.  
5.11. Les Debats, Montreal, 1901.



5.12. Uncle Sam kicked out! Young Canada: 'We don't want you here.' John Bull: 'That's right, my son. No matter what comes, an empty house is better than such a tenant as that!' Young Canada is kicking out Uncle Sam, John Bull approves.  
Grinchuckle, Toronto, 1869.

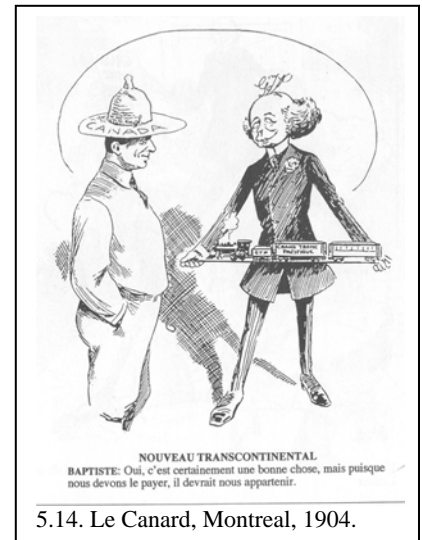


5.13. The chip of the old block. See 'Canadian Illustrated news', last week. Young Canada: 'Thanks for your compliment. But don't you think the son you are so proud of, may offer an opinion to his mother, without being snubbed by Kimberley?'. Canada looks like a young man here without many specific attributes.  
A. Wilson, Toronto, 1882.

name ‘canuck’ comes from is not exactly clear. Jack might refer partially to ‘lumberjack’.

There are different theories claiming that the word canuck. According to some, the word ‘kanuck’ has been found in a dictionary in 1835 referring to a Dutch or French Canadian.<sup>2</sup> Another theory suggests that Pacific Islanders worked in the Canadian fur trade, which might mean that the Hawaiian word ‘kanaka’ meaning ‘man’, was brought to French Canada where it became ‘canaque’. Also, the word could have originated from Iroquoian: the word ‘canuchsa’ means someone from a ‘kanata’ or village.<sup>3</sup> Jack Canuck wasn’t always explicitly named, sometimes he would just have ‘Canada’ written somewhere on him. This character still appears in modern cartoons today, although less often as before.

Cartoon nr. 5.14 shows a character that looks like a typical Jack Canuck wearing the Mountie outfit. The personage is called Baptiste. It shows how the characters and their names were intertwinable, as English and French Canadians had different names for their representations of Canada, and as many newspapers had an English and a French edition. Although the name Canuck isn’t popular anymore, the Mountie personage itself is still a national Canadian symbol and can still be found today on postcards and souvenirs in Canadian tourist shops.

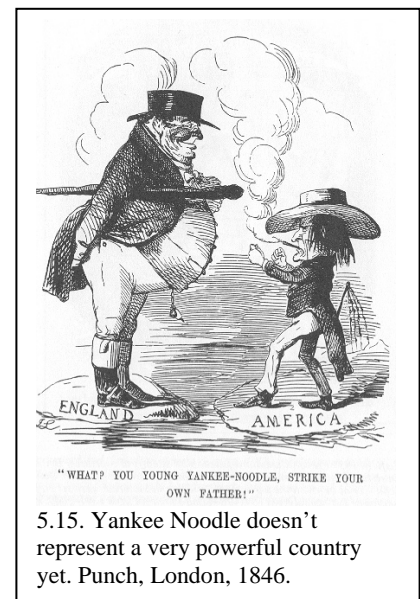


5.14. Le Canard, Montreal, 1904.

### § 5d) Uncle Sam

Uncle Sam was also known as Brother or Cousin Jonathan, Yankee Doodle and Yankee Noodle. Where the name Sam and Jonathan came from is not exactly clear. One theory dates back to the American war of 1812, when a certain Samuel Wilson moved to Troy in New York and supplied the army with food and meat. He became known as ‘Uncle Sam’ and wrote U.S. on the boxes he sent.<sup>4</sup> However, he looked very different from the Uncle Sam we find in cartoons. Uncle Sam’s beard might have been inspired by Abraham Lincoln’s beard. Thomas Nast’s version of Yankee Doodle/Noodle was often drawn without a beard.

In cartoon nr. 5.15, we find a very early illustration of Yankee-Noodle, representing the U.S. He is shown as a small man to point out the message that Britain was much stronger than the U.S. Here, he doesn’t have a pointy beard and white hair, the typical stars-and-stripes-suit and a top head, but he does have the same hawkish nose and thin posture. During the Fisheries conflicts, the Alaska Boundary Dispute and the elections of 1911, Uncle Sam would often be drawn as a sneaky mean man.



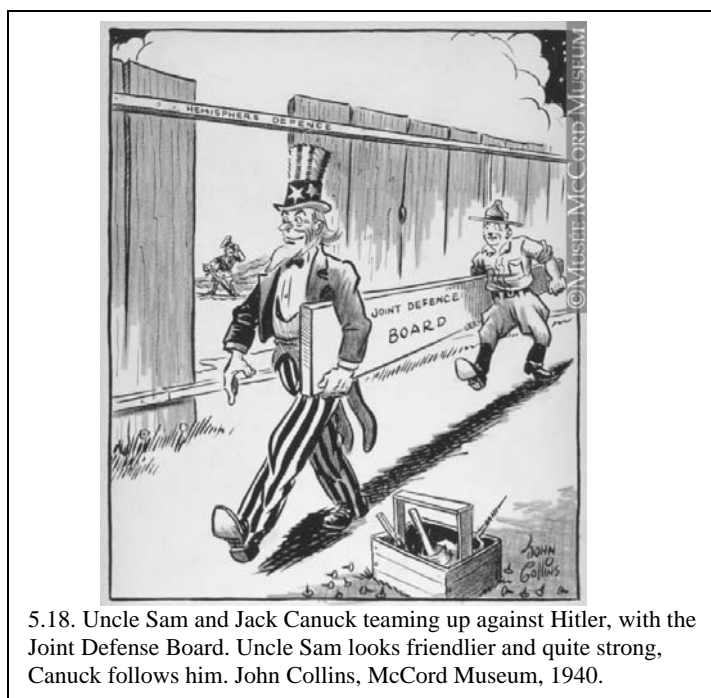
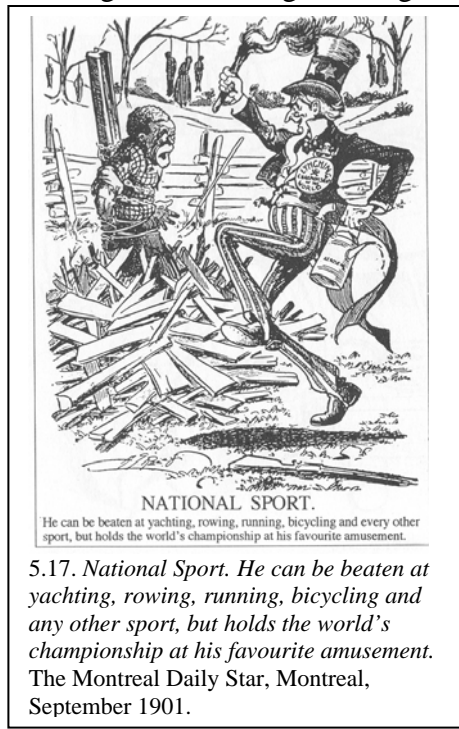
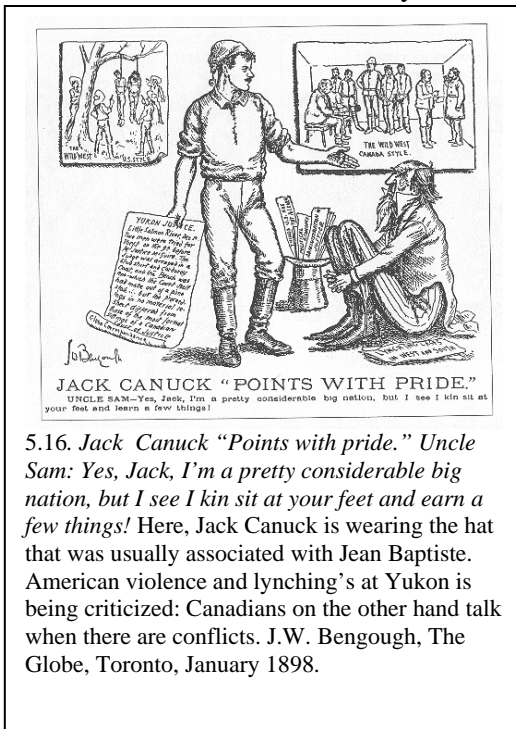
5.15. Yankee Noodle doesn’t represent a very powerful country yet. Punch, London, 1846.

<sup>2</sup> <http://kpearson.faculty.tcnj.edu/Dictionary/canuck.htm>. (Read: March 20, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem: ‘The Oxford Companion To The English Language (defines the term as): ‘Canuck, 1820’s. Probably from the Iroquoian canuchsa, someone in a kanata (village)...but possibly from Hawaiian kanaka: (man), through a pidgin used in the fur trade (in which Pacific islanders were employed), and taken into French as canaque, perhaps being originally applied to French Canadian canoemen. A nickname for a Canadian...but in the U.S. Northeast pejoratively referring to French Canadians’.

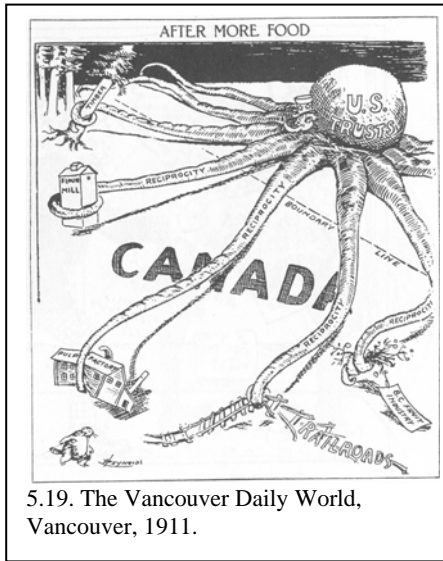
<sup>4</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel\\_Wilson](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_Wilson). (Read: March 20, 2008).

There was a lot of some criticism on the U.S. from time to time: the Americans were portrayed with bad morals because of racism, lynching, and other problems that happened in the U.S. Furthermore, the U.S. was criticized for wanting too much control over the world. They had early on bought Alaska from the Russians despite Canadian claims, they had fought against Spain and had taken control in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines and annexed Hawaii. In these cases, the U.S. was shown as a type of predator such as an eagle (their national symbol), or a wolf or an octopus. Canada would then usually be illustrated as a friendly harmless animal, such as a sheep or a beaver: an easy victim of annexation. These fears of annexation sometimes flamed up, like for example around 1911, when the Liberals were proposing to make a reciprocity deal with the Americans. Cartoonists reacted by showing the dangers of the neighbouring country.





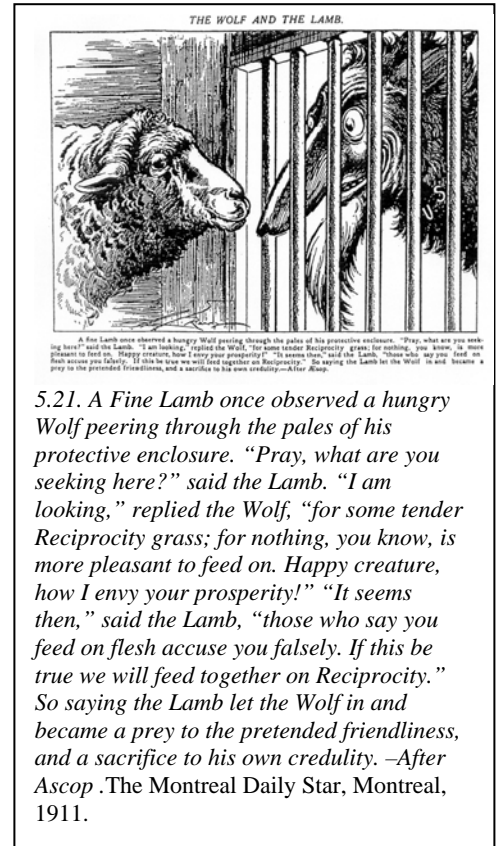
Cartoons nr. 5.19 - nr. 5.21 show the U.S. as a predator, reflecting the cartoonist's fears towards a reciprocity deal.



5.19. The Vancouver Daily World, Vancouver, 1911.

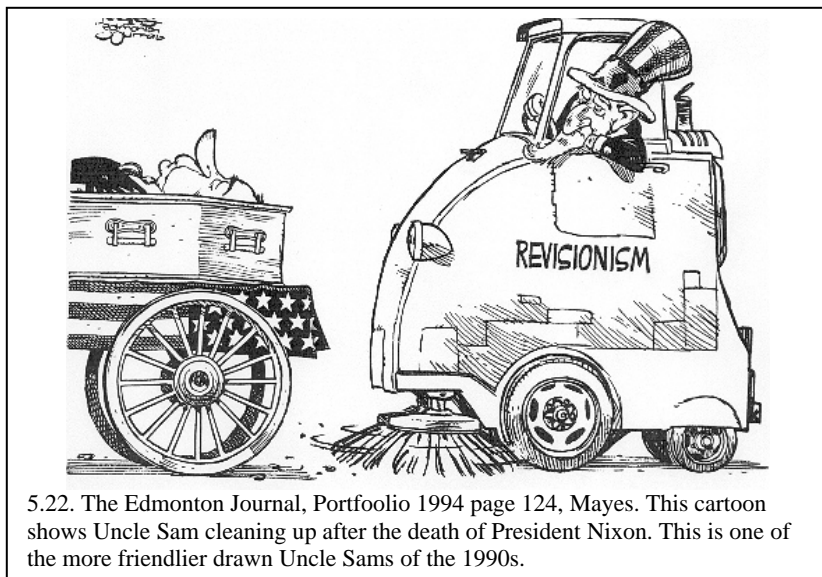


5.20. Continental union. Where the beaver would come in. The Evening Telegram, Toronto, August 1910.



5.21. A Fine Lamb once observed a hungry Wolf peering through the pales of his protective enclosure. "Pray, what are you seeking here?" said the Lamb. "I am looking," replied the Wolf, "for some tender Reciprocity grass; for nothing, you know, is more pleasant to feed on. Happy creature, how I envy your prosperity!" "It seems then," said the Lamb, "those who say you feed on flesh accuse you falsely. If this be true we will feed together on Reciprocity." So saying the Lamb let the Wolf in and became a prey to the pretended friendliness, and a sacrifice to his own credulity.—After Ascop. The Montreal Daily Star, Montreal, 1911.

We have to keep in mind that cartoons are bias. Sometimes cartoonists would exaggerate the dangers, in order to get their message through. During the First and Second World War, the U.S. was drawn as a considerably friendlier person, whom Canadians could trust, or at least work together with. But in Canada he was drawn most often in a negative tone starting from the later 1950s, which partially can be explained from the fact that cartoons are in general negative, (cartoonists usually criticize) but it can also be explained as a way for Canadians to express their desires to be distinguished from Americans. Despite many differences they are very alike on many fronts. These questions will also be further explored in the following chapters.



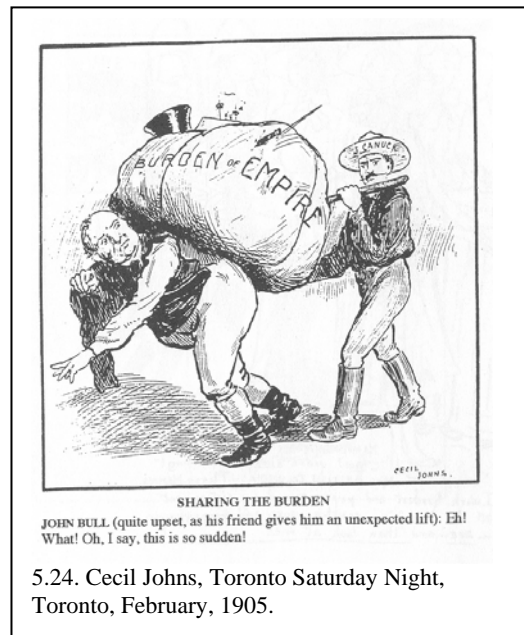
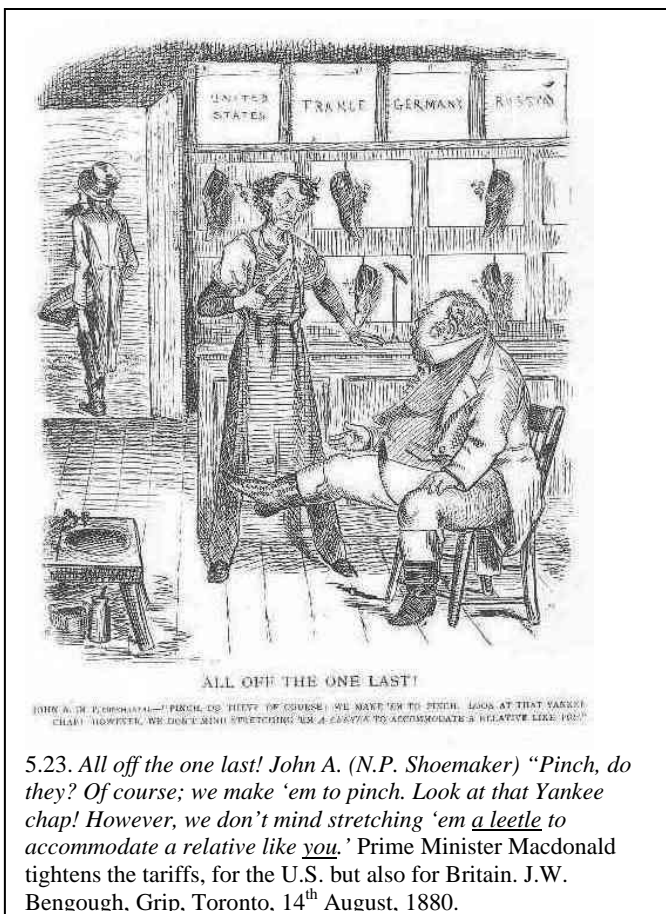
5.22. The Edmonton Journal, Portfolio 1994 page 124, Mayes. This cartoon shows Uncle Sam cleaning up after the death of President Nixon. This is one of the more friendlier drawn Uncle Sams of the 1990s.

## § 5e) John Bull

Britain, as we have seen in cartoon nr. 5.1, has been represented by Britannia but also by a round man called John Bull, like in cartoon nr. 5.13. Also, we saw him before in cartoon nr. 5.15 where he was laughing at little Yankee Noodle. Usually, he is shown as a fatherly type who gives advice: Britain was mostly seen as Canada's ally, not necessarily of the U.S. He looks aged and strong, has no moustache or beard but often sideburns and he wears a suit with a low top head. Furthermore, he is often followed by a little pit bull and symbols like the lion.

Compared to Canada, he usually looked more powerful in earlier cartoons, but that changed around 1880 with the Canadian national tariffs and around the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as Canada became a stronger nation. However, Canada was still quite dependant on Britain. As the outcome of the Alaska Boundary Dispute showed, Britain and the U.S. together were still a very big force. Canada felt betrayed by Britain and this enhanced Canadian's longing for a more independent nation: free from fears of annexation by the U.S., but furthermore free from British imperialism (Britain used Canadian soldiers during the Boer War in 1900 despite some protests) from being Britain's 'helpless son'.

We will further explore the search for Canadian independence in Chapter 5. For now, the main characters in Canadian political cartoons have been introduced, although it must be noted that many prime ministers and high officials also played an important role in Canadian cartoons. The reason I focus less on them in this essay, is because they are not a representation of Canada as a country: the criticism or satire in the cartoon is usually directed to the politician himself or towards his policies or political party.



5.24. Cecil Johns, Toronto Saturday Night, Toronto, February, 1905.

### § 5f) The Canadian beaver

In the early years of the 1900s, the beaver can already be found in Canadian political cartoons. However, at that time, Miss Canada, Baptiste and Canuck were still a more popular way to illustrate Canada.

The history of the beaver as a Canadian symbol goes way back. It was the first symbol that distinctively belonged to Canada.<sup>5</sup> It was also shown on the Coat of Arms, which was given in 1632 by King Charles I to Sir William Alexander, who ruled over Nova Scotia. Furthermore, the Hudson Bay Company, whose fur trade had been so important for the economy of Canada in the early colonial years, also had a Coat of Arms bearing the beaver.<sup>6</sup> The animal was praised for its monogamy, for being a hard worker, building dams and for having an ‘industry’.<sup>7</sup>

After the 1820s, the maple leaf became more and more important: the maple leaf tree was useful for English and French settlers as well as Natives. Therefore, it was a good symbol to represent unity.<sup>8</sup> The beavers then moved more to the background, but could sparsely be found in some cartoons at that time<sup>9</sup>. Around 1911, cartoonist Reynolds for the *Vancouver Daily Province* illustrated a small Canadian beaver in the corner of his cartoons.<sup>10</sup> Print nr. 5.26 shows a beaver, which was drawn by John Henry Walker, probably between 1850-1885. Walker was born in Ireland and emigrated to Canada at a young age. He was a pioneer of political cartooning and made engravings for various Canadian periodicals, including *Punch in Canada*. (He also made sketch nr. 5.1)



5.25. Coat of Arms of the Hudson Bay Company. Four beavers are shown on the shield. Picture found on the website of Wikipedia.



5.26. John Henry Walker, McCord Museum, ca. 1850-1885.



5.27. *The honeymoon continues...* The Hill Times, Ottawa, Portfolio 1994 page 79, Zazulak. A beaver sleeps in bed with Prime Minister Chrétien.

<sup>5</sup> Stanley, op. cit., 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, 21.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, 21.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, 22.

<sup>9</sup> Also see cartoon nr. 5.20 and nr. 7.12.

<sup>10</sup> Also see cartoons nr. 7.22 – nr. 7.24..

Beavers can also be found as a reference to the Canadian people in a governmental poster during the First World War. (Poster 5.28) But it was especially during the later years of the 1970s, up to the present that the beaver can more easily be found in Canadian cartoons, as will be further discussed in Chapter 7.



5.28. Archive of Ontario Online *Keep all Canadians busy. Buy 1918 Victory Bonds.* Artist unknown. Archives of Ontario, I0016137. 1918. [http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/english/exhibits/posters/gallery\\_noscript.htm](http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/english/exhibits/posters/gallery_noscript.htm) (Read: February 2008) During the First World War, the Canadian government sold victory bonds to help fund the war, which were loans to be paid back with interest. It was a big success.



5.30. Beavertail pastry, bought in Ottawa.



5.29. Beaver near the entrance at the Parliament Building in Ottawa. It was made a national symbol since 1975. [http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/education/CanSymbols/images/fullsize/beaver\\_lrg.jpg](http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/education/CanSymbols/images/fullsize/beaver_lrg.jpg) (Read: July 20 2008)



5.31. *Le Cochon d'inde, le Castor.* (detail) Approximately between 1745-1811. By Jean Baptiste Huet. Peter Winkworth Collection of Canadiana Library and Archives Canada, R9266, 02546. [http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/ENGLISH/exhibits/thompson/fur\\_trade.htm](http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/ENGLISH/exhibits/thompson/fur_trade.htm)

## § 5g) Comparisons

Generally, Miss Canada seems to be a weaker character compared to all other characters we have seen in this chapter. The fact that she is a young woman makes it already less logical to draw her while carrying John Bull's 'imperialism load', or to carry the Joint Defense Board together with Uncle Sam. But these situations wouldn't happen until after the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: before that time, Canada was still 'Britain's daughter': Britain handled Canada's foreign policies and played a major part in Canada's internal policies.

As French Canadians felt fewer ties to Britain, it made sense that from a very early age they preferred to be represented by Jean Baptiste instead of a dependant daughter of Britain. On the English speaking side of Canada Johnny (or Jack) Canuck was invented to represent a stronger Canada. He would sometimes have a dark moustache whereas Baptiste never had a moustache. Also, Canuck most often wore a Mountie outfit. This made Canuck look older and more serious than Baptiste in his winter clothes. Canuck would become a more dominant character than Miss Canada and Baptiste after the First World War. In the next chapter we will discuss this some more.

Miss Canada, Baptiste and Canuck do have some things in common, especially compared to the way Uncle Sam and John Bull were sometimes drawn. Canada presented itself younger, more proper and pure than the sneaky older Uncle Sam and the chubby older John Bull. Furthermore, the clothes of Miss Canada, Baptiste and Canuck do not emphasize on doing business, whereas John Bull's and Uncle Sam's suit and top head show parts of 'doing business'. Especially Uncle Sam looks like he knows how to make money since he often has a sneaky smile. Miss Canada with her dress looks quite the opposite. Baptiste's clothes refer to cold winters, he looks more like someone who works outside and Canuck has been shown as a lumberjack or a Mountie police man. The Mountie outfit might represent the authority and the desire to have rules and a strong government, something that the U.S. didn't have and has been criticized for. (For example the lynchings and the Civil War were proof to many Canadians that the Federal government of the U.S. was too weak) Canuck is a young strong man, emphasizing on all the potential that the country had.

It is not surprising to find Canadian representations so different than that of the U.S. Not only because there are indeed some real differences, but also because it makes sense that a country which has been in danger of being annexed by a powerful neighbour doesn't want to be mistaken for that country. Canada wanted an identity of its own. In order to have nationalistic feelings, a country needs a sense of self: the own identity should be special and unique, and at least in some ways better or nicer than that of other countries.

Historian Sydney Francis Wise suggested that Canada had to emphasize on small differences with the U.S. in order to distinguish itself. The cartoons in this chapter showed these differences. They are important when studying the development of national Canadian identity as they point out what Canada wanted to be like: on what aspects Canadians wanted to distance themselves from the U.S. and Britain and when they came closer to them.

After the Second World War, John Bull was less often drawn and eventually almost disappeared in Canadian political cartoons. Members of the Royal family however would remain drawn and ridiculed from time to time by the Canadian cartoonists. Uncle Sam is still drawn very often today. Jack Canuck gradually disappeared in cartoons as a representation of Canada as a whole and was replaced by a chubby beaver. Similar to

Miss Canada, the Canadian beaver seems a bit helpless when standing next to the bigger Uncle Sam. The cartoonists often use a sort of self depreciating humor when they illustrate Canada as a beaver. But unlike Miss Canada, the new national icon is independent. The beaver often has a house or a job (Such as cutting wood) and can be put in the role of the witty underdog.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Canada underwent a lot of prosperity. Prime Minister Pearson won a Nobel Price for peace and in later years, Diefenbaker and Trudeau promised Canadians a new Canadian nationalism, independent and strong. But it became more and more clear that whatever Canada does, it needs to consider their powerful neighbour. As Canada constantly measures its own image to that of the U.S., it feels more 'pure', with better morals (in terms of war and environment), but far less powerful. The chubby Canadian beaver of today's Canadian political cartoons represents these feelings of being weaker, but 'better', than the stereotypical Uncle Sam.

## Chapter 6. The pursuit of Miss Canada by Uncle Sam

It's interesting to see how throughout Canadian cartoons, Uncle Sam can be found flirting with Miss Canada from time to time. Even after the 1920's, when Miss Canada was mostly replaced by Jack Canuck, she would sometimes appear, being chased by Uncle Sam. It shows that the relationship between the U.S. and Canada is a very important reoccurring theme in Canadian history. Apparently, the cartoons imply, the U.S. want something from the pure and innocent Canada, such as Canadian natural resources. In general, these cartoons are most often about free trade.

In the first cartoon that I would like to discuss, we see New Brunswick and Ecosse (Nova Scotia) as young women, marrying Upper and Lower Canada, represented by two men: one in winter clothes and one in a suit. On the right behind the door, we can see the tall Uncle Sam, 'the neighbour' with his pointy nose and the top head. He is very unhappy because he wasn't invited, because he is 'not family'. There is even an armed guard blocking the door in case Uncle Sam wants to try something.

After the American Revolution of 1783, the Americans had hoped to own all of the North-American continent. Canada was invaded several times by the Thirteen Colonies, but the British sent enough troops to keep Canada as their own territory.<sup>1</sup> Not only military power held back the Americans: also cultural, religious and political efforts were undertaken to create differences between the U.S. and Canada.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Canada contained the Province Quebec, which was given more autonomy in 1774 by the Quebec Act. When the Americans invaded Canada again in 1812, many men weren't very interested in the war.<sup>3</sup>

In 1861 until 1865, the Civil War broke out in the U.S. It made Canadians even more inclined to keep a distance from the U.S. In 1867, the Canadian Constitution and the British North America Act was set up, to avoid having a weak government, such as the U.S. seemed to have.<sup>4</sup> As John A. Macdonald said several times, Canada needed British power to protect them from the Americans.<sup>5</sup> The U.S. policies in return became more protectionist, stepping away from reciprocity deals with Canada in 1866 to boast up their national economy.<sup>6</sup> But eventhough there remained fears for the U.S., dealing with the U.S. seemed tempting. After all, the U.S. was becoming a big economical and industrial power.



6.1. (in french:) *Confederation: Upper and Lower Canada marrying Miss New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Uncle Sam is not invited.* Le Perroquet, Montreal, January, 1865.

<sup>1</sup> Hillmer, & Granatstein, op. cit., 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, 11.

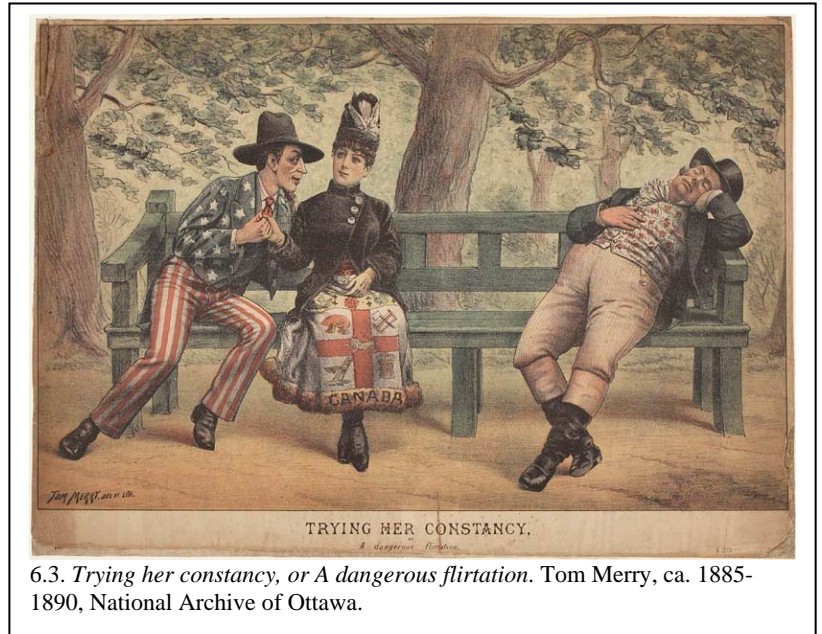
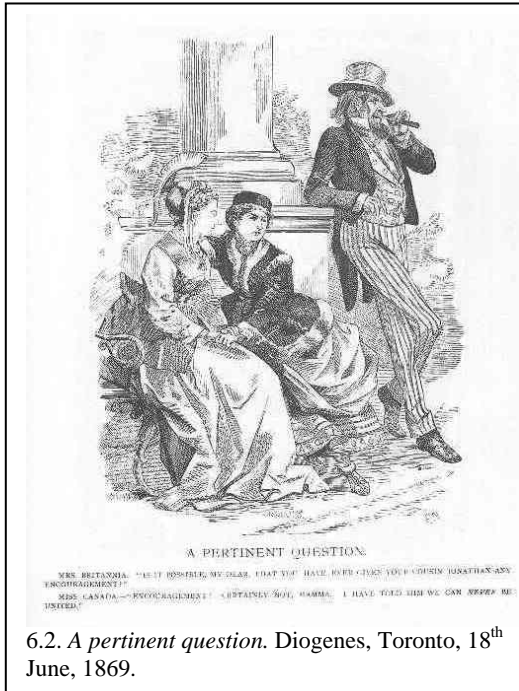
<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, 33.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, 35.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, 66.

In cartoon nr. 6.2, Uncle Sam seems to be waiting to be making a move on Miss Canada: she in turn, clings on to her mother Britannia. (Who looks older and stronger, because of her helmet) The cartoonist obviously has a bias towards too much American influence, as Uncle Sam looks like he is up to no good.

Cartoon nr. 6.3 shows a similar message. Here, we see Uncle Sam making a move on Miss Canada while her father, John Bull, is sleeping. Miss Canada's dress has the British lion on it, showing symbols referring to Canadian timber, carpentry, wheat and bears. She is smiling and looks quite naive and vulnerable, especially compared to the sly Uncle Sam. In this picture he looks still rather young, as his hair isn't white.



Again, in 1886, a cartoonist expressed his dissatisfaction by drawing cartoon nr. 6.4. In this cartoon, a young Miss Canada talks to her mother. However, Britannia has her hands full on a difficult child representing Ireland. Uncle Sam is fishing on the background and Miss Canada is not happy about this. Obviously, Britains protection was wanted by Canadians because Americans were fishing in Canadian territories despite agreements about the fishing boundaries made in 1818. The solution that Miss Canada proposes her mother is that perhaps she should marry Uncle Sam. The implication is that Canada needs protection from a partner, either a parent or a husband, in order to solve its problems.

In 1989, cartoon nr. 6.5 was made. It depicts, Uncle Sam, here named Brother Jonathan, while dreaming of owning Canadian territories. He laughs very eager to Miss Canada. She is dressed with a shawl that implicitly shows the British flag and a triangular winter tuque that Jean Baptiste



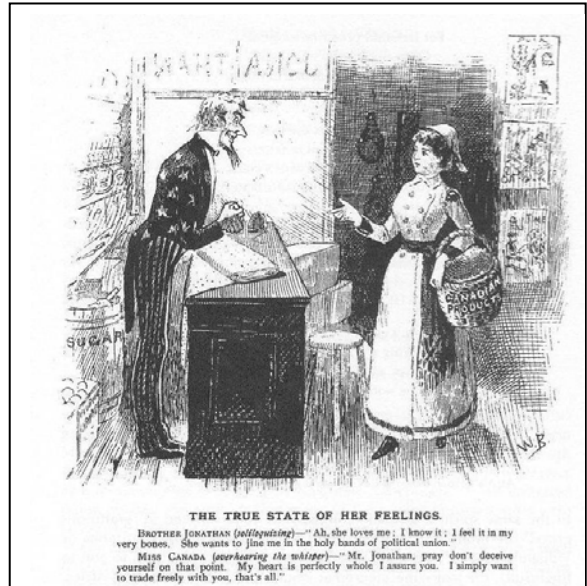


also usually wears. Despite Brother Jonathan's hopes, Miss Canada answers that she simply wants to trade with him; she wants no political union.

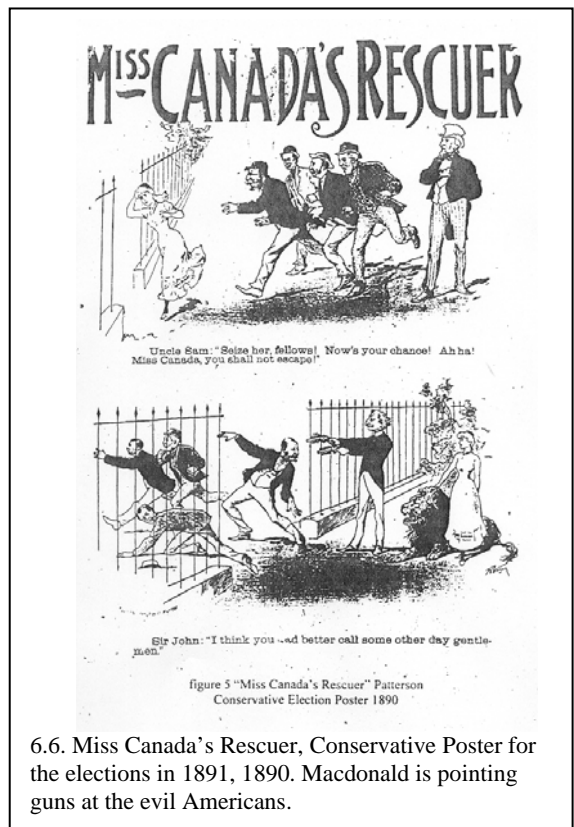
As a stronger Canadian economy was necessary in order to be strong enough not to be annexed by the U.S., the Canadian national tariffs played an important part in shaping a sense of Canadian identity.<sup>7</sup> It made Canada a stronger independent country. Therefore, questions about trade with the U.S. could raise concerns. However, Uncle Sam is not drawn as evil as in other cartoons before. He might look a bit eager to have Canada, but furthermore he seems rather harmless. Looking proper as a salesman, but not wearing his top hat and surrounded by sugar, tissue, and other products, he looks rather friendly. The message of the Liberal cartoonist, (J.W. Bengough's brother) is that Canada shouldn't be afraid to trade with the U.S.

During these days, the Liberals were aspiring unrestricted reciprocity (free trade). As the Americans were putting economical strains on Canada, such as with the McKinley Tariff, Canadians longed for better deals of trade with Americans and the Liberals gained power.<sup>8</sup> John A. Macdonald, the Conservative Prime Minister, tried to set up negotiations with Washington. This was approved by Britain, but James Blaine (President Harrison's secretary of state, close friend of the Canadian Liberals) prevented Macdonald to make the news public in Canada. Even worse for Macdonald, Blaine publicly denied any hopes for negotiations about reciprocity between the U.S. and Canada.<sup>9</sup> In order to still win the elections, Macdonald resorted to accusing the Liberals for their 'veiled treason', conspiring to lead Canada towards Commercial Union, and eventually to annexation.<sup>10</sup>

One of the several election posters (nr. 6.6) for John A. Macdonald showed Miss Canada as a helpless victim again. She is shown in need for protection from the evil Uncle Sam, this time accompanied by four other villains. As she runs



6.5. *The true state of her feelings.* Brother Jonathan (soliloquizing) "Ah, she loves me; I know it; I feel it in my very bones. She wants to jine me in the holy bands of political union." Miss Canada (overhearing the whisper) Mr. Jonathan, pray don't deceive yourself on that point. My heart is perfectly whole I assure you. I simply want to trade freely with you, that's all." W. Bengough, Grip, Toronto, 19<sup>th</sup> January, 1889.



6.6. *Miss Canada's Rescuer,* Conservative Poster for the elections in 1891, 1890. Macdonald is pointing guns at the evil Americans.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, 41.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, 47-51.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, 49.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, 50.

back through the opening in the gate, she is saved by John A. Macdonald carrying two guns, and a big lion representing Britain. The message is clear: John A. Macdonald is a strong leader who can protect Canada from the evil U.S., because he has good ties with Britain. If Canada would vote Conservatives, it would save itself from the evil U.S.

Thus; Americans should not be trusted, they are just awaiting their chances to take seize Canada. The fears for the U.S. are being used in this poster to appeal to the sense of true ‘Canadianism’: which meant being part of Britain’s power and rejecting the Americans, also in trade. It shows that portraying Canada as a weak country could have a lot of political influence.

Then, as the elections of 1911 approach, the themes around reciprocity and the fear of annexations became the main concerns again. Again, Canada was shown as Miss Canada who needed protection in cartoons. (As we saw in Chapter 4 and 6, Canada was often drawn as a defenseless animal, or a little boy during this period.) But there were also cartoons showing Miss Canada as a woman who does not need protection, like in cartoons nr. 6.9<sup>11</sup> – 6.12 from the *Montreal Star* and the *Vancouver World*.<sup>12</sup>



6.7. U.S. monopolies want to take advantage of Canadian natural resources, the tariff wall protects Miss Canada. *Edmonton Journal*, 1911.



6.8. Uncle Sam and reciprocity are a threat to Miss Canada. *Toronto Saturday Night*, Toronto, 1911.

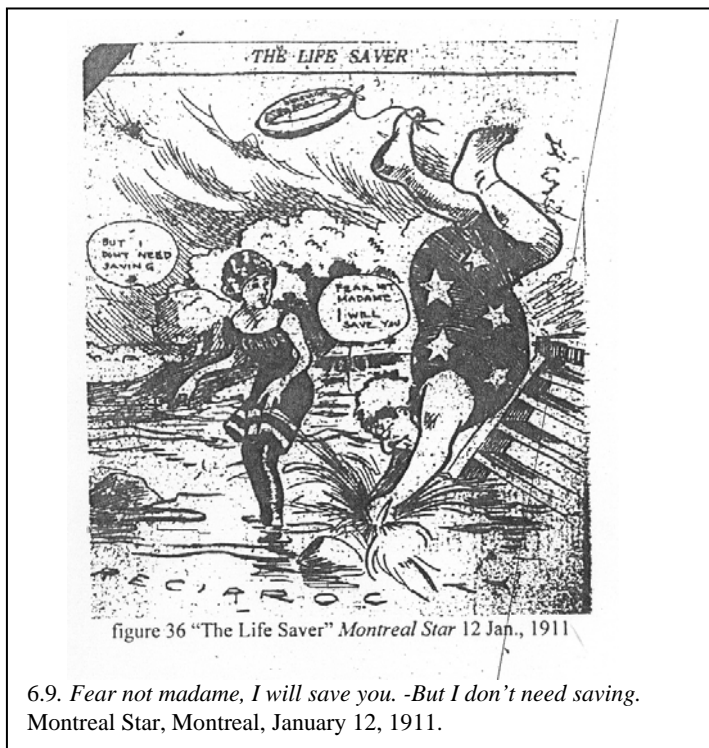
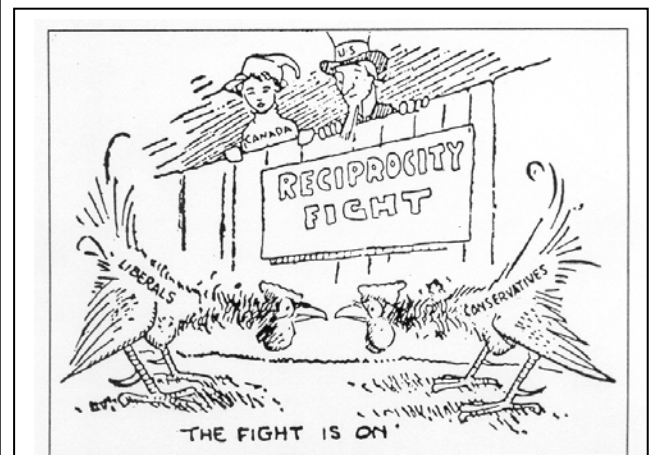


figure 36 "The Life Saver" *Montreal Star* 12 Jan., 1911

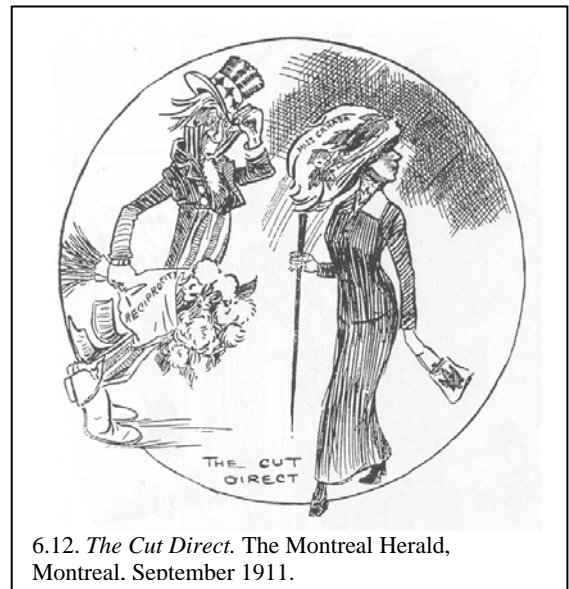
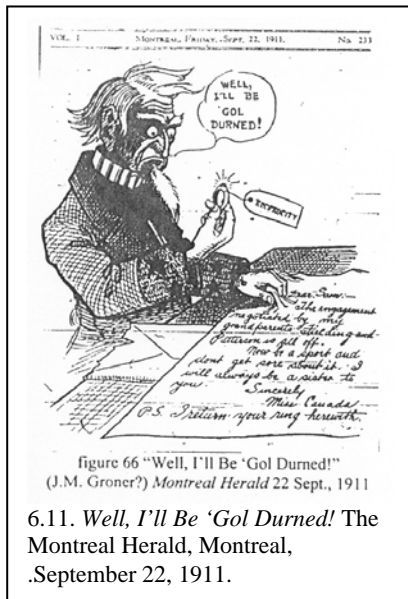
6.9. Fear not madame, I will save you. -But I don't need saving. *Montreal Star*, Montreal, January 12, 1911.



6.10. The reciprocity fight is not so much between Miss Canada and Uncle Sam but between Liberals and Conservatives. *The Vancouver World*, Vancouver, 1911.

<sup>11</sup> Fowler, Robyn. 2006. *Miss Canada and the allegory of nation*. Masterthesis. (Microform, Canadiana: 20062121510, Library and Archives Canada).

<sup>12</sup> The *Montreal Star* was the first Canadian newspaper to hire an editorial cartoonist, this was Henri Julien.

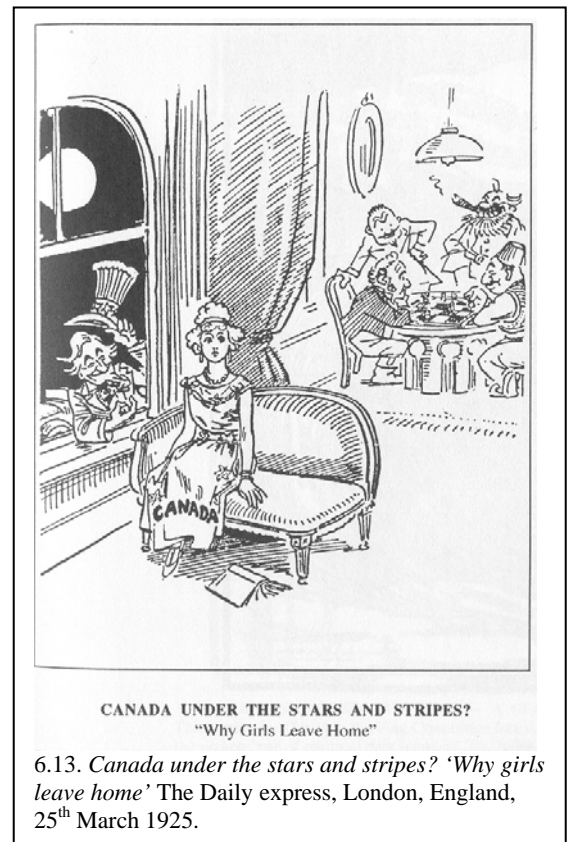


On the 21<sup>st</sup> of September in 1911, the Liberal candidate Laurier was defeated on similar grounds as when the Liberals lost the elections in 1891. The advantages of reciprocity couldn't match the fears for losing some Canadian autonomy, and thereby some part of the Canadian identity. Although Canadians weren't anti-Americans, they were however afraid to lose their independence and nationality.<sup>13</sup> But the fears were based on a deformed reality. The 'freer trade' deal did not mean annexation at all, the tariffs on natural resources would have remained the same, the reciprocity deal would only count for manufactured goods.

In September, the *Montreal Herald* published two cartoons in which Miss Canada is rejecting Uncle Sam's ring and bouquet of reciprocity flowers. Especially in cartoon nr. 6.12, she is shown as a modern, confident independent woman: she does not seem to need protection. The rejecting of reciprocity seems to have given at least part of the Canadian population confidence and pride; the sense that they resisted losing part of their nationality over trade agreements.

The Conservatives had won the elections by appealing to Canadian nationalistic feelings, and by presenting that nationalism to have been in danger. In order to spread this message, cartoons have been a way to reach more Canadians. And in an era without television, newspapers enjoyed a lot more status and influence than nowadays.

After the 1920's, Canada started to be less often represented in cartoons and prints. Cartoon nr. 6.13 was drawn in 1925 in Britain. It shows Miss Canada seated on the sofa, obviously bored (she has tossed her book



<sup>13</sup> Hillmer, & Granatstein, op. cit., 72.

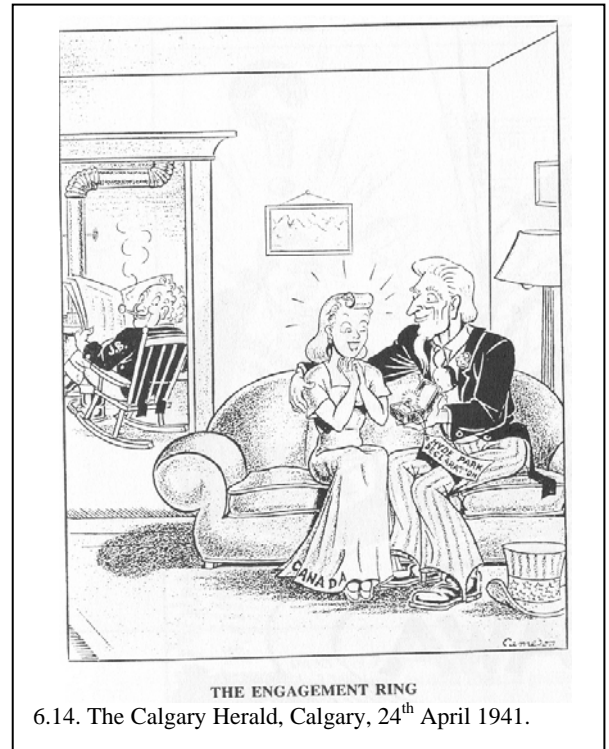
aside) while Uncle Sam invites her through the window to leave her British home. Her father, John Bull does not notice that he is about to lose his daughter as he is focussing on a game of chess with a Turkish and other European looking statesmen. The critical message was that Britain was losing to much interest in Canada, as it was more concerned with European matters. At the same time in the period between the World Wars, American interest in Canada increased. In Britain there must have been some concerns about losing influence in Canada.

Another important event in American-Canadian history is the Hydepark Declaration in 1941, as it allowed for more trade between the two countries. The cartoonist of cartoon nr. 6.14 must have been aware of the continuous flirtations between Uncle Sam and Miss Canada in cartoons throughout the years. He showed the Hydepark Declaration as the final engagement: a happy ending to the pursuit of Miss Canada, when Uncle Sam finally offers something worthy enough to Miss Canada to say yes to. John Bull is shown at the background, smiling and approving the engagement.

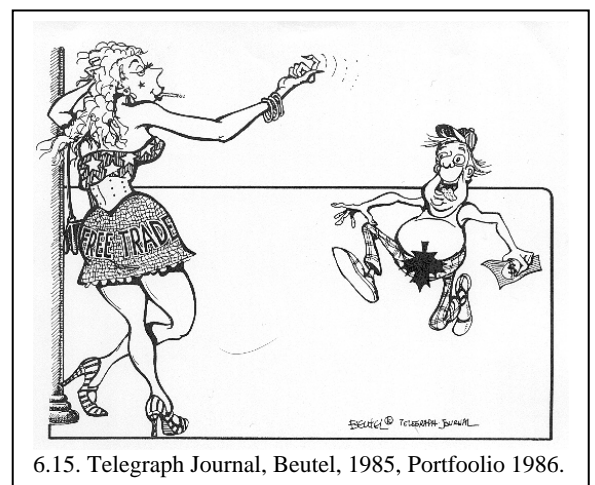
This cartoon was drawn during the Second World War: a very important period in which Canada, Britain and the U.S. had to come together to fight the Axis powers. After the war, the U.S. and Canada seemed to have more in common than European Britain. During the wars, Canada the U.S. and Britain had the same enemies, which allowed them to be more friendly towards each other.

Canada is shown as a female, needing protection that Uncle Sam as a polite man can give her. Uncle Sam looks younger and his hair is nicely combed back. The cartoon shows a positive appreciation towards Uncle Sam, he looks like he will be a good husband for Miss Canada. In the next chapter, we will also see that Uncle Sam was drawn as a friendlier man. The Autopact agreements of 1965 did not much raise Canadian nationalistic tensions.

It was especially the Free Trade Agreement of 1988 by Prime Minister Mulroney (elected in 1984) that made discussions about American-Canadian relations controversial again. Trading with Asian and European countries under Trudeau was simply not reliable and sufficient enough for Canadian economy. In the 1980s, the U.S. trade became more closed to protect its own economy. Canada was looking to open talks about free trade with the U.S., polls showed that many Canadians wanted this.<sup>14</sup> Because of this, the roles of pursuing were reversed in cartoons. In cartoon nr. 6.15,



6.14. The Calgary Herald, Calgary, 24<sup>th</sup> April 1941.



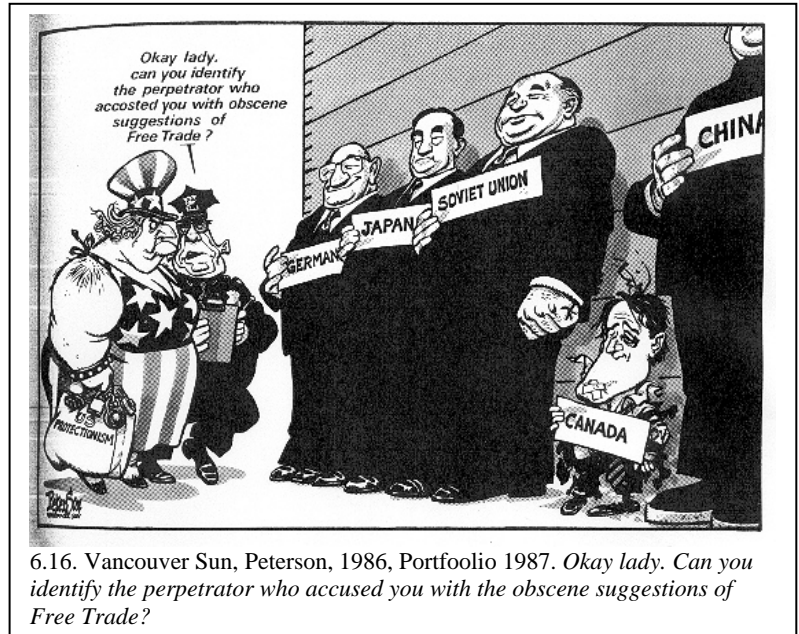
6.15. Telegraph Journal, Beutel, 1985, Portfolio 1986.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem, 278.

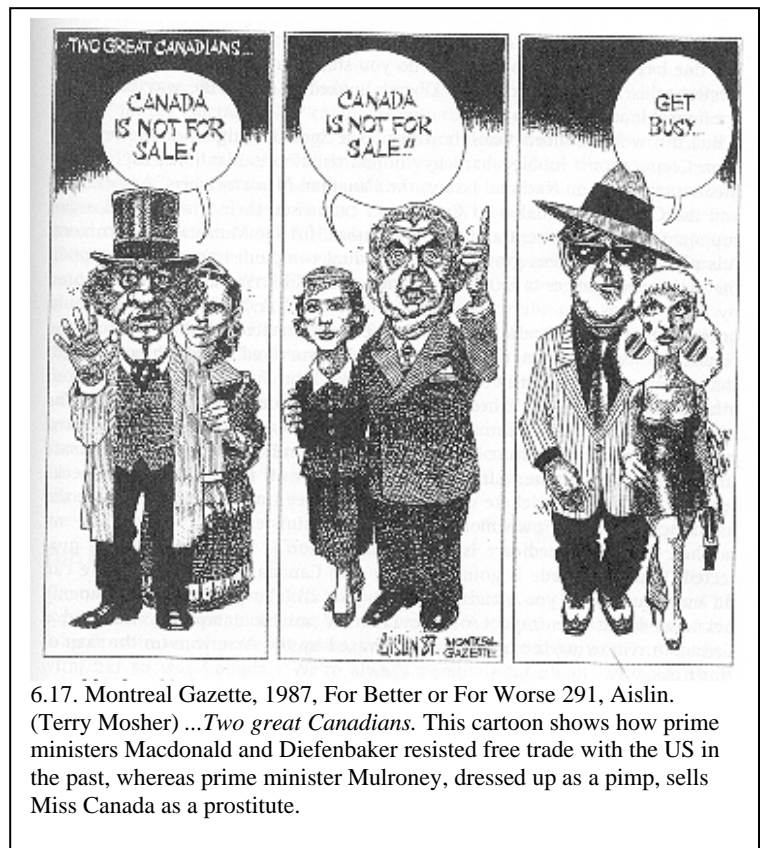
Canada is shown as an eager man, while free trade is represented by an American prostitute. Free Trade is portrayed as ‘cheap’ and ‘easy’. The cartoon shows quite a difference with the earlier cartoons. The U.S. is not shown as a dangerous predator: rather it is emphasized that free trade with the U.S. would ‘morally’ be wrong. The man representing Canada is not drawn very nicely, to show that the cartoonist is not proud of Canada’s intentions of the deal.

Cartoon nr. 6.16 shows a small Mulroney as perpetrator to a woman representing the U.S. She is drawn very buffed up and manly, not like an innocent pure lady like Miss Canada was, but rather a woman that Mulroney can not handle, (he got beaten up good by her) eventhough he wants to. The cartoonists tells us that a romance between the U.S. and Canada would be unbalanced, because the U.S. would be way too strong a partner. Other countries like Germany, Japan, the Soviet Union and China are drawn bigger and more respectable than Canada’s representation.

In 1987, Mulroney was drawn as a pimp in cartoon nr. 6.17, selling Miss Canada. The message is clear: Mulroney is a bad Canadian whereas former Prime Ministers Macdonald and Diefenbaker had been great at protecting the country. Still today, the name Mulroney has a tone of disapproval and mockery among Canadians. His image can be seen as the opposite of what Pierre Elliot Trudeau had meant for Canada’s image of itself. Despite all this, he had started his term in office as a very popular man.<sup>15</sup>



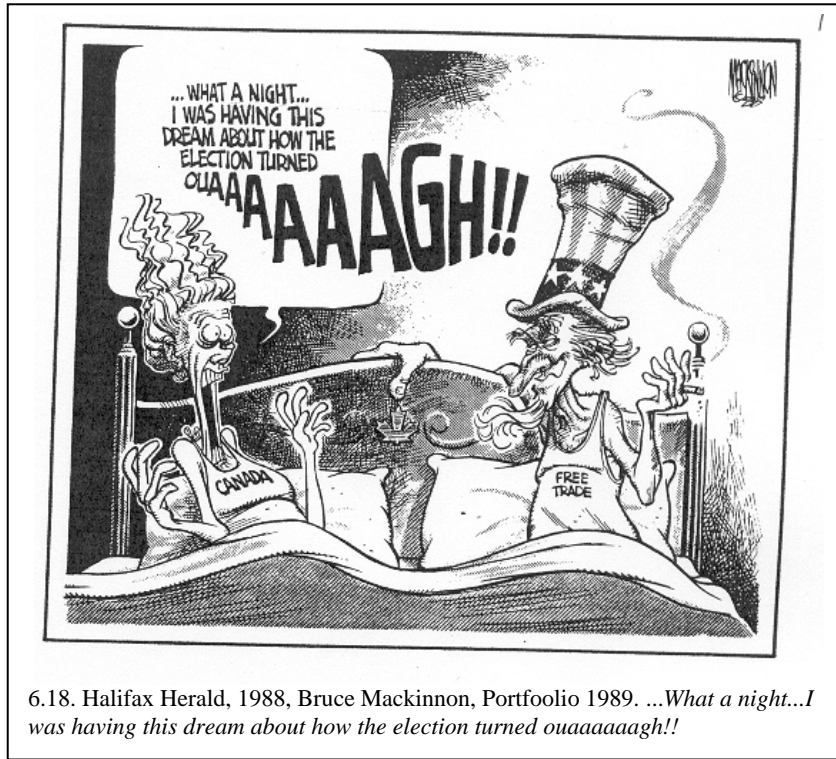
6.16. Vancouver Sun, Peterson, 1986, Portfolio 1987. *Okay lady. Can you identify the perpetrator who accosted you with the obscene suggestions of Free Trade?*



6.17. Montreal Gazette, 1987, For Better or For Worse 291, Aislin. (Terry Mosher) ...*Two great Canadians*. This cartoon shows how prime ministers Macdonald and Diefenbaker resisted free trade with the US in the past, whereas prime minister Mulroney, dressed up as a pimp, sells Miss Canada as a prostitute.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, 276.

In 1988, the Free Trade Agreement was made. The long running joke of Uncle Sam pursuing Miss Canada can be seen as 'finished' by Bruce Mackinnon who the cartoon below. (nr. 6.18). It won him the Atlantic Journalism Award in 1988. Uncle Sam and Miss Canada obviously had intercourse together so the union had become a fact. Uncle Sam is sleeping in Canada's bed, the maple leaf is visible between them. Unlike in earlier cartoons, Canada is now shown as an older, less attractive woman, as to reflect the cartoonist's feelings on her behaviour. Uncle Sam is not shown as a dangerous man, but he is older, sneakily grinning and unattractive: he should not have been a partner that Canada wanted.



In this chapter we have seen that Miss Canada was a very good symbol to show national insecurities in relation to the U.S. As Canada grew stronger over the years it probably wanted a stronger representation which it found in the years towards the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Jean Baptiste and Jack/John Canuck. In Chapter 7, I will discuss some other characters used by cartoonists to illustrate a weaker or stronger Canada.

## Chapter 7. Towards a manly country, 1867-1945

In this chapter I will discuss when and why Canada was represented as a little helpless boy, and other times as a confident mature man. This did not happen according to a clear chronological 'growth', but generally, Canadian nationalistic feelings of pride and confidence grew over time.

There are important events in which Canada especially gained national confidence. The way Canada measured its own national success was always compared to that of Britain and the U.S. The sense of Canadian nationalism often seems to lie in the resisting of different aspects of American culture but never of that culture on the whole. Canada gained confidence when it became close enough to Britain and the U.S. to be seen as a peer

### § 7a) Up to 1903



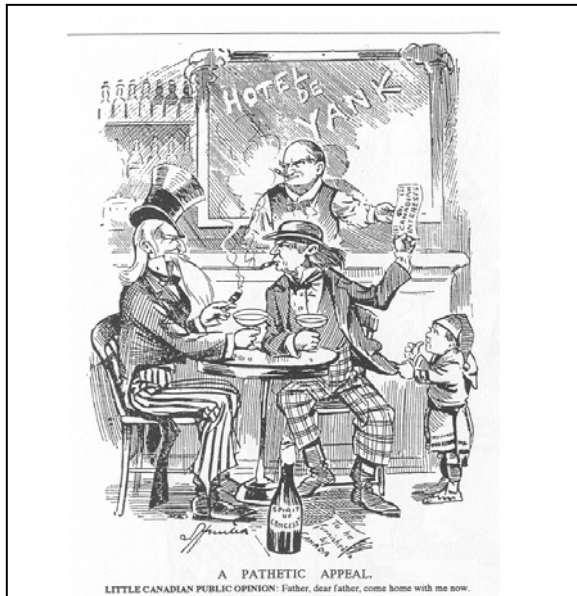
CHILD CANADA TAKES HER FIRST STEP  
MOTHER BRITANNIA: See! Why, the dear child can stand alone!  
UNCLE SAM: Of course he can! Let go of him, Granny; if he falls I'll catch him!

7.1. *Child Canada takes her first step. Mother Britannia: See! Why, the dear child can stand alone! Uncle Sam: Of course he can! Let go of him, Granny; if he falls I'll catch him!* Canadian Illustrated News, Montreal, June 1870.



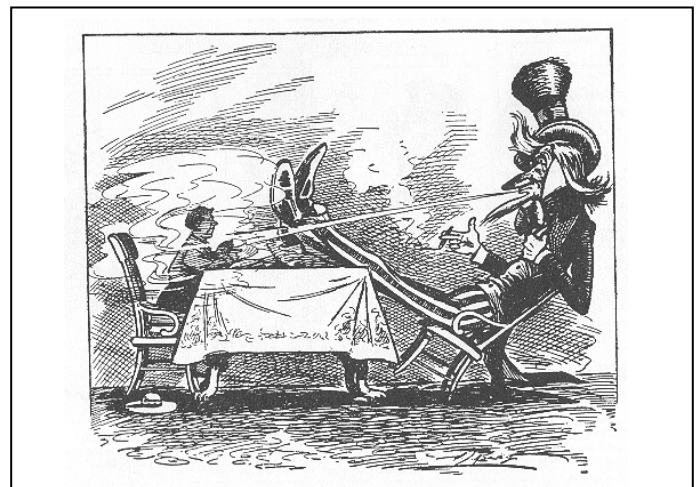
THE CANADIAN GARGANTUA  
This youngster has absorbed the whole of British North America to the wonder of all nations.

7.2. *The Canadian Gargantua. This youngster has absorbed the whole of British North America to the wonder of all nations. Canada received the Arctic Island from Britain in September 1880. This gave Canada more international prestige. Canadian Illustrated News, Montreal October 1880*



A PATHETIC APPEAL.  
LITTLE CANADIAN PUBLIC OPINION: Father, dear father, come home with me now.

7.3. *A pathetic appeal. Little Canadian public opinion: Father, dear father, come home with me now. The Toronto World, Toronto, December, 1898.*

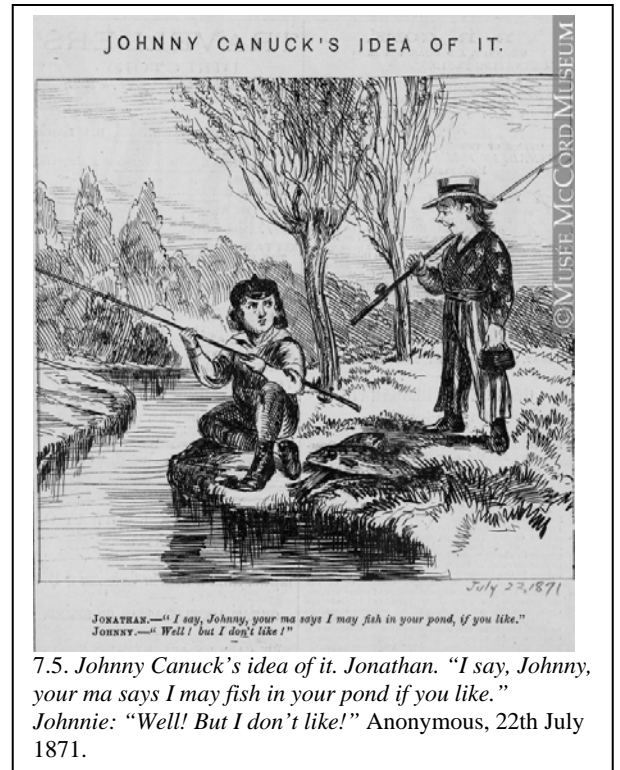


IF CANADA HAD TREATY-MAKING POWERS INDEPENDENT OF GREAT BRITAIN'S AID

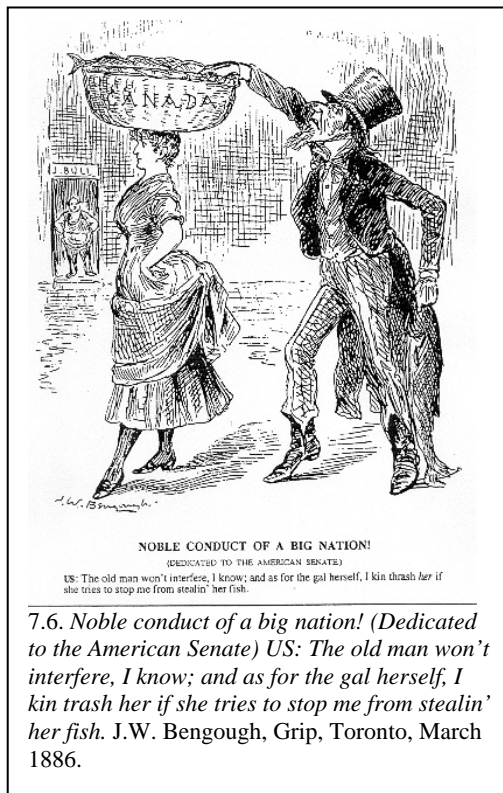
7.4. *If Canada had treaty making powers independent of Britain's aid. The Montreal Daily Star, November 1903.*

In 1818, the Americans signed an agreement with the Canadians and Britains that excluded the U.S. from fishing in the inshore waters of the Maritimes.<sup>1</sup> (In 1886 some American fisherman had been caught trespassing the boundaries between American and Canadian fishing territories). In cartoon nr. 7.5, we see Canada represented by little boy Johnny Canuck, talking to another boy, Uncle Sam. It is not clear whether it had been drawn in England or in Canada.

Cartoons nr. 7.6 and 7.7 show concerns about the fisheries conflict as well. Canada is then represented by a clumsy Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and a vulnerable Miss Canada, who resembles a chicken. These cartoons depict Uncle Sam as a menace, stealing Canada's fish, while John Bull is being accused for not intervening. The fact that the U.S. could get away with a lot of things didn't help much for Canadian confidence, but it did create more desires for more autonomy to protect themselves, as the British weren't always there for them.



7.5. Johnny Canuck's idea of it. Jonathan. "I say, Johnny, your ma says I may fish in your pond if you like." Johnnie: "Well! But I don't like!" Anonymous, 22th July 1871.



7.6. Noble conduct of a big nation! (Dedicated to the American Senate) US: The old man won't interfere, I know; and as for the gal herself, I kin trash her if she tries to stop me from stealin' her fish. J.W. Bengough, Grip, Toronto, March 1886.



7.7. Our solid footworth! J.W. Bengough, Grip, Toronto, June 1886.

<sup>1</sup> Hou, Charles & Cynthia. 1998. *The Art of Decoding Political Cartoons. A teacher's guide.* Vancouver: Moody's Lookout Press, 52.

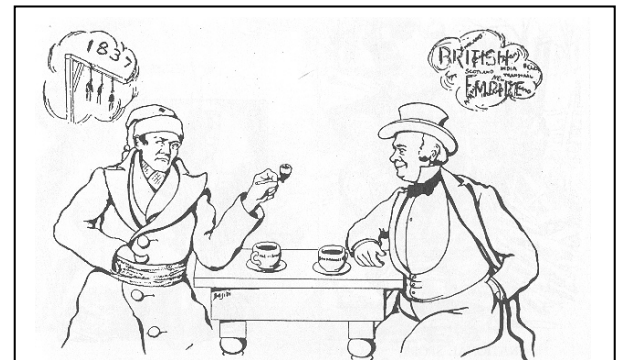


British Imperialism sometimes seemed like a burden. Despite the support of the majority, many Canadians opposed helping Britain in the Boer War under the leadership of political activist French Canadian Bourassa. In cartoon nr. 7.8, Bourassa is shown as a sort of knight, fighting a monster called imperialism. The monster has lady Canada as its prisoner, and Prime Minister Laurier, dressed as a knight, is hiding behind a rock. He says: 'I will show myself when the battle is over.' With this cartoon, the cartoonist is criticising Britain's control over Canada, which Bourassa fights, unlike Laurier. Indeed, Laurier was not unhappy with the protests of Bourassa, but as a Prime Minister, he was not able to criticise the British too much. Canada still needed Britain.

Jean Baptiste, a French Canadian representation of Canada, emphasizes in cartoon nr. 7.9 that he is not an imperialist, as he's remembering the executions of 1837 during the Rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada, when French Canadians were seeking French Canadian independence. During these days, it was especially in Quebec that Canadians wanted independence. French-Canadians did not want to fight for Britain's wars.



7.8. *The knight and the flag. Laurier: The important thing is to stay on good terms with the pretty lady. I will show myself when the battle is over.* Bourassa was a anti-imperialist, trying to save Canada from British Imperialism. Canada had just participated in the Boer War. Le Canard, November 1901.



7.9. *Jean Baptiste is no imperialist. Britain: So you're not an imperialist. Jean-Baptiste: obviously not.* Les Debats, Montreal, October 1901.

### § 7b) Alaska Boundary Dispute 1903

When Canada went into the 20<sup>th</sup> century it enjoyed a flourishing economy. This made Canadians more confident. But the outcome of the Alaska Boundary Dispute had made many Canadians very upset. Gold had been found in the area of the Yukon hills, and both the U.S. and Canada were claiming the land which gave access to it.

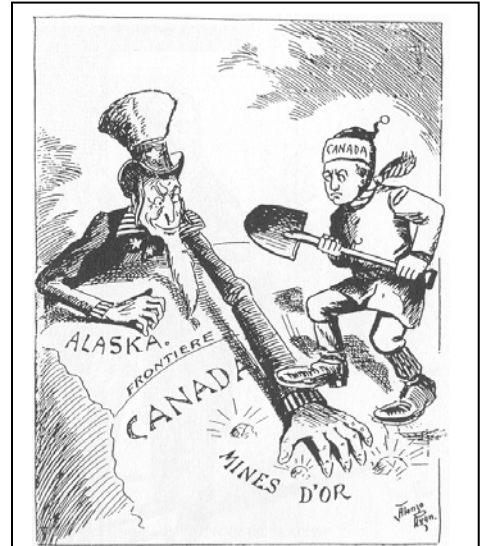
Laurier, the Liberal Prime Minister at that time of Canada, said he didn't want to compromise. But especially after the U.S. president William McKinley was assassinated and succeeded by Theodore Roosevelt, Canada's chances to win the case seemed to lessen. Roosevelt was threatening to take the Alaska territory by force if he had to. Canada still thought that they had Britain on their side.

However, Britain certainly didn't want any trouble with the U.S., since they had European conflicts and the Boer War in South-Africa to focus on. A Commission was set up, which was impartial on paper: its members were three prominent Americans, two Canadians and one British official. The outcome was that the disputed territories would belong to the U.S.

Although the U.S. had a better case since Americans had been using that area long before Canadians had, the Commission seemed a farce to Canadians. They felt like Britain had betrayed them, and that they never had a chance to win the case from the start. (As cartoon nr.7.15 says, 'as always'.)

In September of 1903, the *Canard* and the *Montreal Daily Star* published cartoons in which Canada is criticizing the U.S. On cartoon 7.10, a very annoyed Jean Baptiste tries to stop Uncle Sam from grabbing the goldmines on his Canadian territory by putting his foot on Sam's arm. Baptiste is holding a shovel, he looks like he's going to swing a mean hit on Uncle Sam's head. Canada is shown as a young man who is not going to put up with Uncle Sam's theft.

Cartoon nr. 7.11 shows a frowning John Bull and Uncle Sam playing poker. Sam is obviously cheating as John Bull puts in a lot of concessions. Furthermore, hidden cards are poking out of Sam's suit, but, he gets away with it. Uncle Sam is drawn as a mean sneaky man: his nose seems extra pointy and hawkish. Also, on top of the plate saying 'Alaskan Boundary Commission', we can find the three symbols for the countries involved: the lion and the eagle look at each other while the beaver seems smaller and stuck in the middle.



LA FRONTIÈRE DE L'ALASKA  
7.10. *The boundary of Alaska.* Le Canard, Montreal, September 1903.



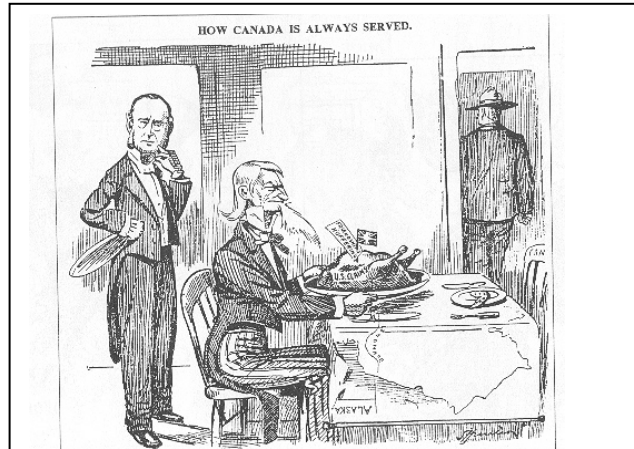
A LITTLE GAME OF "CONCESSION" POKER NOW GOING ON IN LONDON - FIND THE WINNER  
7.11. *A little game of 'concession' poker now going on in London - find the winner.* The Montreal Daily Star, Montreal, September 1903.

Then, in October, the Toronto Saturday Night and the Toronto World published cartoons in which it was clear again that Canada can not really fight the outcome of the Alaskan Boundary Commission. The beaver returns to his dam in cartoon 7.12. A Mountie (Jack Canuck) walks away from the whole matter with undignified feelings in cartoon nr. 7.13. Canada was not amused and turned its back at Britain and the U.S.



THE CANADIAN COMMISSION STARTS HOMEWARD.  
THE BEAVER: You fellows can purr and screech all you like over the result, but I'm going home to dam.

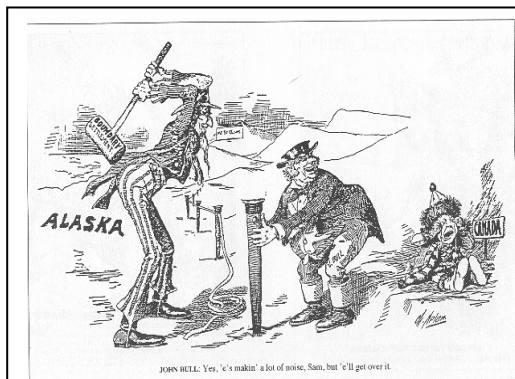
7.12. *The Canadian commission starts homeward. The beaver: You fellows can purr and screech all you like over the result, but I'm going home to dam.* Toronto Saturday Night, Toronto, October 1903.



WAITER ALVERSTONE (of the Fat-head Diplomacy Cafe): 'Oping you'll pardon, sir, the mutilation of your order, sir. I took the liberty off cutting hooff a wing for that colonial feller that's just gone hout.

7.13. *How Canada is always served. Waiter Alverstone (of the Fat-head Diplomacy Cafe) 'Oping you'll pardon, sir, the mutilation of your order, sir. I took the liberty off cutting hooff a wing for that colonial feller that's just gone hout. The Toronto World, Toronto, October 1903.*

The next two cartoons again show Canadian feelings towards the outcome of the Commission. Canada as a man can be enraged, and as a child he can cry, but there is nothing he can do against the U.S. and Britain together. Canada felt betrayed by Britain which was supposed to be its ally and parent. This whole event must have made Canada more eager to become a stronger and more independent nation. But Canada was more or less stuck between the two superpowers. Furthermore, it would not benefit if there would ever be big conflicts between Britain and the U.S. In that case too, Canada would probably be the victim of the struggle.



JOHN BULL: Yes, 'e's makin' a lot of noise, Sam, but 'e'll get over it.

7.14. *John Bull: Yes, 'e's makin' a lot of noise, Sam, but 'e'll get over it.* North American, Philidelphia, US, reprinted in American Monthly Review of Reviews, New York, US, December 1903.



ONCLE SAM: Adieu, John.  
JOHN BULL: Non pas adieu, mais au revoir. Surtout n'oubliez pas de venir de temps en temps goûter de la cuisine de mon fils le Canada.  
ONCLE SAM: En ami... n'est-ce pas?  
JOHN BULL: Comme toujours.

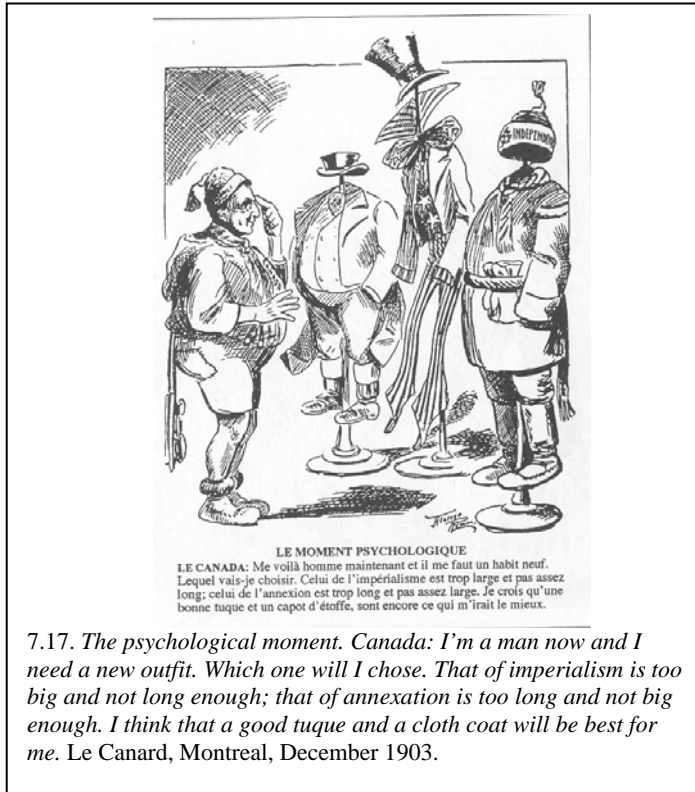
7.15. *Consummatum est. Uncle Sam: Farewell, John. John Bull: No, not farewell, but until next time. Make sure you don't forget to come once in a while to taste the food of my son Canada. Uncle Sam: As a friend...right? John Bull: As always.* Le Canard, Montreal, 1903.

**§ 7c) Rise of nationalistic feelings**

The next topic I would like to highlight is the economical growth around 1903. Combined with the anger about the Alaska Boundary Dispute, it seemed to have given ground for a new nationalism, as Baptiste shows in the following three cartoons. There is the suggestion of a national flag, in the second cartoon, the U.S. is represented as a little lamb (that could be annexed by Canada) and in the third cartoon, Baptiste is explicitly choosing a new (winter) outfit for himself that doesn't look like that of John Bull's or Uncle Sam's. Canada is shown searching for a stronger, own national identity.



7.16. *Our national flag.* There was a movement in Quebec proposing a national flag. This flag combines the three colours of the French flag with the maple leaf. Les Debats, Montreal, April 1903.

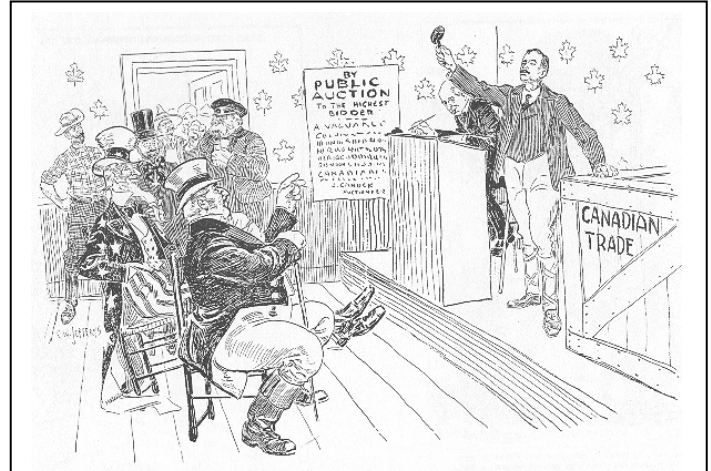


7.17. *The psychological moment.* Canada: I'm a man now and I need a new outfit. Which one will I chose. That of imperialism is too big and not long enough; that of annexation is too long and not big enough. I think that a good tuque and a cloth coat will be best for me. Le Canard, Montreal, December 1903.

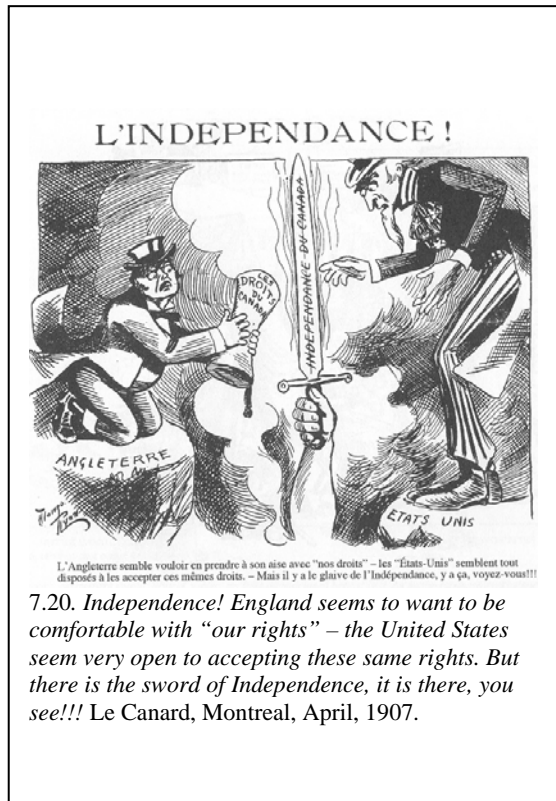


7.18. *Annexation.* Baptiste Canadian: Certainly, I'm in favour of annexation! Le Canard, Montreal, September 1903.

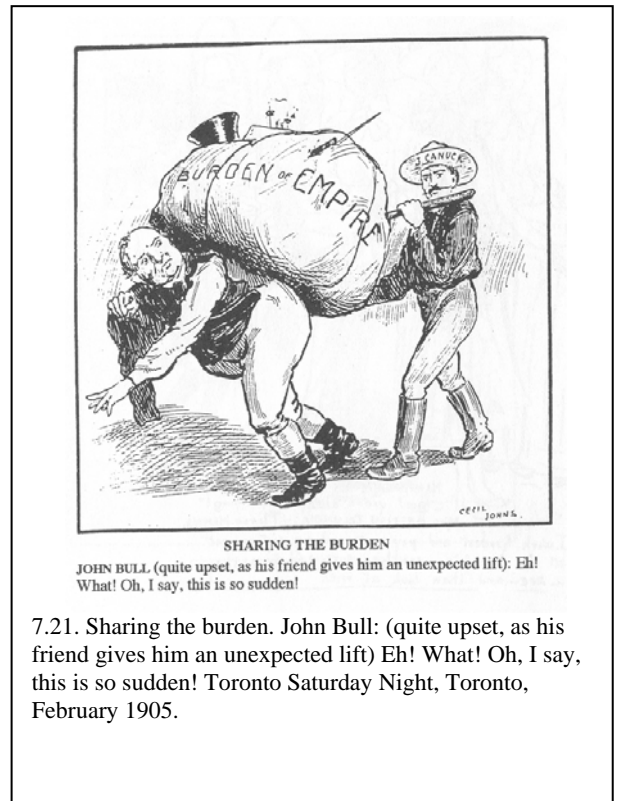
A lot of these nationalistic cartoons came from Montreal, but the two cartoons on the right are from Toronto, representing Canada with the manly and strong Jack Canuck, he looks matured. He can now even help to carry the burden of the British empire or do business with John Bull and Uncle Sam, as equals. In these cartoons, Baptiste and Canuck show strength: something that is harder to show through Miss Canada, as she is a soft woman. It wouldn't look logical to illustrate her in her white dress working, and lifting the burden of John Bull's back. Also, women were less associated with trade and businesses. To show an economically strong Canada is a message that was better carried by Johnny Canuck than by Miss Canada.



AUCTIONEER JOHNNY CANUCK: "Now, Gentlemen, make your bids. How much am I offered?"  
 7.19. Auctioneer Johnny Canuck: 'Now gentlemen, make your bids. How much am I offered?' A friendly auction. C.W. Jefferys, The Moon, Toronto, June 1903.



L'Angleterre semble vouloir en prendre à son aise avec "nos droits" – les "Etats-Unis" semblent tout disposés à les accepter ces mêmes droits. – Mais il y a le glaive de l'Indépendance, y a ça, voyez-vous!!!  
 7.20. Independence! England seems to want to be comfortable with "our rights" – the United States seem very open to accepting these same rights. But there is the sword of Independence, it is there, you see!!! Le Canard, Montreal, April, 1907.



SHARING THE BURDEN  
 JOHN BULL. (quite upset, as his friend gives him an unexpected lift): Eh! What! Oh, I say, this is so sudden!  
 7.21. Sharing the burden. John Bull: (quite upset, as his friend gives him an unexpected lift) Eh! What! Oh, I say, this is so sudden! Toronto Saturday Night, Toronto, February 1905.