The Sharper Image: Bringing Irish Nationalist Identity Into Focus, 1880-1923

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THE SHARPER IMAGE:
BRINGING IRISH NATIONALIST IDENTITY INTO FOCUS, 1880-1923

by

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B.A. May 2003, Davidson College

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Old Dominion University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
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ABSTRACT

THE SHARPER IMAGE:
BRINGING IRISH NATIONALIST IDENTITY INTO FOCUS, 1880-1923

Meghan M. Ferriter
Old Dominion University, 2005
Director: Dr. Maura Hametz

From 1880 to 1923, Irish nationalists created and sustained an independent cultural identity shaped by external and internal forces. British political cartoons reveal key external cultural perceptions of the Irish, while Irish nationalist writings endorse internal concepts of character and project political aims. Irish nationalists present an uninterrupted internal identity in pursuit of autonomy. Images published in *Punch, or the London Charivari*, provide external factors of identity that evolve from exaggerated threat to trivial concern while the nationalist political demands they represent escalate.

Identity is the product of complex interaction and compromise between external and internal definitions. Individuals and groups self-identify through processes of internal definition. Internal definitions emerge through an internal voice yet with the expectation of an audience. Irish nationalist leaders projected their internal identity in their writings, speeches, and activities. External definition assigns factors of identity to another group of people; it cannot be a solitary act because it requires interaction. *Punch*, representative of British media sources, imposed external characteristics and value on Irish issues.

Political cartoons convey messages more quickly and successfully than editorials to less literate readers while highlighting underlying societal assumptions on which the opinions expressed in the cartoon are formed. Presented over a period of forty years, the
Irish issues and characters in the images progress from threatening to inconsequential—sketches from the end of this period even seem to bear a modicum of respect. The images also develop from exaggerated caricatures to moderate sketches over this period—a subconscious reinforcement of cultural stereotypes.

Certain themes of Irish character are constant in nationalist works from this forty-year period, while the political aims they outline evolve greatly. These speeches and writings provide markers of an internal identity that attempted to refute elements of identity imposed by the majority culture. Irish nationalist goals evolved from demands for land control to an Irish Parliament within the empire to cultural and political liberation from 1880 to 1923. Irish nationalists emerged from this period with a tentative Free State and an independent cultural identity with which they developed economic, political, and cultural distinctiveness.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Ireland was never a nation; it is even true to say that the Irish never possessed a nationality.

H.O. Arnold-Foster, *Political Science Quarterly*, 1889

Our strength as a nation will depend upon our economic freedom, and upon our moral and intellectual force. In these we can become a shining light in the world.

Michael Collins, *The Path To Freedom*, 1922

These quotes reflect the diversity of opinion and the evolution of Irish nationalist identity—the debate over and control of Irish identity was bound to themes of history and the nation. From 1880 to 1923, Irish nationalists created and sustained an independent cultural identity shaped by external and internal forces. British political cartoons reveal key external cultural perceptions of the Irish, while Irish nationalist writings endorse internal concepts of character and project political aims. Irish nationalists present an uninterrupted internal identity over a forty-year pursuit of autonomy. Images published in *Punch, or the London Charivari*, provide external factors of identity that evolve from exaggerated threat to trivial concern while the nationalist political demands they represent escalate.

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This paper follows the format requirements of *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses and Dissertations 6th edition* by Kate L. Turabian.


The rise of nationalism coincided with the emergence of mass politics from 1870 to 1914. This period saw the rise of new and "modern" concepts of state, nation, and ethnic identity. The period of this study covers the century of intra-European peace and imperialism—as well as the cessation of that peace. The growth of Irish nationalist organizations such as the Gaelic League reflects a fundamental similarity to other nationalist movements in Europe that were dedicated to the rediscovery and revival of national pasts. In an international environment of modernization, technological advance, and restructured economic and political hierarchies, Irish nationalists reacted to internal and external catalysts to create a sustained identity.

**IRISH HISTORY**

The study of Irish history from 1880 to 1923, particularly in this period of pronounced cultural and political nationalism, is rich and diverse. Scholarship falls into the following categories: Irish history, Irish political nationalism, and Irish cultural nationalism. Further divided into chronicles of Anglo-Irish relations, scholarship examines nineteenth century Irish political strides, events of the Rising, Anglo-Irish and Civil War "military" endeavors, and analysis of the rise of the Irish Free State. Irish nationalism is typically cast as either political or cultural; the former discusses Land League and Home Rule efforts, the movement for Independence, and the establishment of

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the Free State.\textsuperscript{5} Organizations such as the Gaelic League or the Gaelic Athletic Association and movements like the Gaelic Literary Revival provided material for studies of cultural nationalism. Scholars scrutinize Irish revolutionary traditions with analyses of the Fenian movement, Sinn Féin, and the IRB and IRA. Biographies and research also examine efforts of individuals as diverse as Charles Stewart Parnell, Douglas Hyde, Arthur Griffith, John Redmond, Patrick Pearse, and Michael Collins.

Such scholars as John Hutchinson, D. George Boyce, Robert Kee, F.S.L. Lyons, and Tom Garvin appear regularly in scholarly journals and with publications that engage in debates about Irish history and culture. Hutchinson, Sean Cronin, and Lawrence J. McCaffrey, in particular, debate theories of Irish nationalism. McCaffrey notes the complexity of the origins and perpetuation of the Irish nationalist movement—which was fueled by more than sectarian, economic, or political divisions.\textsuperscript{6} Cronin discusses the development of Irish nationalist ideology over time, particularly the historical growth of various “strands” of Irish nationalism and their success and divisions.\textsuperscript{7} Hutchinson explains cultural nationalism as a phenomenon that emphasizes historical memory and the centrality of cultural symbols.\textsuperscript{8} Presenting a dynamic vision of the nation as a “high civilization with a unique place in the development of humanity,” the Irish nationalism that Hutchinson analyzes strived to recreate that nation. He stresses the appearance of cultural nationalism as a reaction to a “deep-seated crisis of identity.” Finally,


\textsuperscript{6} McCaffrey, \textit{The Irish Question}, 1-3.

\textsuperscript{7} Sean Cronin, \textit{Irish Nationalism: A History of its Roots and Ideology} (Dublin: The Academy Press, 1980), 3. Cronin emphasizing the differences between “nation” and “state”—noting the two need each other and distinguishing the nation’s “community” as lacking in the state.

Hutchinson identifies the goal of cultural nationalism as integrative, melding conflicting concepts of morality and order with modernizing influences to create a vision of a united community.⁹

Nationalist authors typically make passing reference to the emergence of and contributing factors to Irish nationalist collective identity. These sources acknowledge English presence and anti-English sentiment in Ireland, but do not necessarily delve into the dynamics of identity between these two geographically close nations. This study seeks to contribute to the debate on Irish history and nationalism by analyzing the sources and development of Irish nationalist identity.

IDENTITY THEORY

According to Richard Jenkins ethnicities or, more broadly identities, are established through a transactional process. Identity is the product of complex interaction and compromise between external and internal definitions. Individuals and groups self-identify through a process known as internal definition. Internal definitions emerge through an internal voice yet with the expectation of an audience.¹⁰ Irish nationalist leaders projected their internal identity in their writings, speeches, and activities.

External definition, on the other hand, assigns factors of identity to another group of people; it cannot be a solitary act because it requires interaction.¹¹ A primary group assigns value to select characteristics chosen to mark an identity for another group.

_Punch_, representative of British media sources, imposed certain “weighted”

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⁹ Ibid., 38-41.
¹¹ Ibid., 80.
characteristics upon Irish issues and representatives based on a comparative process.
This process of external definition was facilitated by Irish status as a “minority.” A power relationship emerges with externally conceived identities in which the majority group is able to impose characteristics upon the minority group. Irish issues and characters were particularly well suited to processes of external definition (i.e. an easy target for political cartoons) because of the proximity of the two countries and the dominance of “English” culture in Ireland.

British political cartoons, in publications such as Punch, or the London Charivari, maintain stereotypes of Britishness (internal identity) and Irishness (external identity) because they are delivered within a source that conveys a position of authority. These images use implicit power to impose definitions upon “Other”-ed groups within their frames, serving as markers of identity for the English. Irish nationalists incorporated social and cultural cues—from internal and external sources—embedded in cartoon images and refashioned them for their cause.

External definition plays heavily into the construction of identity. In the competition for primacy within a final, composite definition, internal definitions must either be reconciled with external definitions or supersede them. The internal competition is “resolved” by a process of comparison and trial-and-error via interaction with neighboring, external groups.12 Disseminating Irish history and myth and projecting images of the future, Irish nationalists were able to reject and supplement externally-imposed factors of identity with internally selected characteristics; these markers of identity overwhelmed those previously assigned by external forces. Evidence of this process can be derived from examining the writings of nationalist leaders and the

12 Hutchinson, The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism, 29.
escalation of political demands, representative of greater appreciation of an overarching identity.

NATIONALISM

Nationalism played a significant role in international events from 1880 to 1923. Forces of nationalism swept through nations in the World Wars and in the remains of colonial territories. It also threatened the precarious balance of Democracy and Communism in the Cold War. The modern debate on nationalism began in 1983 with the publication of a series of competing theories by Ernst Gellner, E.J. Hobsbawm, and Benedict Anderson. The criticism of nearly all theories—preventing any single definition of nationalism—is their lack of universally applicability. George Schöpflin identifies modern divisions in theories of nationalism; scholars can be divided among those that locate the roots of nationalism in ethnicity and those that view the role of the state and citizenship as paramount. In the context of this study, a more pertinent divide concerns views of the nation as invented or imagined. The prime advocates of the “imagined” camp are E.J. Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, and even, according to Schöpflin, Elie Kedourie. Ernst Gellner and Anthony D. Smith’s theories of nationalism further inform this study. Smith, in contrast to these other theorists, argues against modernism and emphasizes the ethnic bases and historical identity of nationalist movements.

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Benedict Anderson and E.J. Hobsbawm provide relevant theories of nationalism, invented traditions, and imagined communities. Anderson defines a nation as "imagined" because its members participate in a community in which they might never meet—they are linked by a common vision of deep, horizontal comradeship. This concept of community transcends the actual inequality that may exist within its limits. Leaders whose class and religion differed from the Irish majority were able to compel a sense of solidarity among their following and within this "imagined community." The community is also "limited" by boundaries—outside of which exist other nations.\(^{17}\) This concept is equally important to the creation of Irish nationalist identity, as those "other nations" such as England, provided markers to which internal elements of identity could be compared.

The nation, according to Hobsbawm, is the result of "social engineering." He identifies two processes in which traditions are "invented:" the first process finds old traditions and institutions adapted for new situations, while the second process creates entirely "new" traditions that inspire unity and order in periods of rapid social change.\(^{18}\) Irish myth and custom, and specifically the language, were adapted and reinvigorated in the period 1880 to 1923 in keeping with Hobsbawm's first process of invented tradition. The role of the Irish revolutionary tradition is equally significant in legitimizing Irish pursuits of autonomy, as emphasized in *The Proclamation of the Republic*, statements made by the First Dáil, and Michael Collins' *The Path to Freedom*. This revolutionary tradition emphasizes attempts to establish "an Irish republic by force of arms" in 1798,

\(^{17}\) Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6-7.
\(^{18}\) Özkririmli, *Theories of Nationalism*, 117.
1848, and 1867. The centenary of the 1798 revolution, for example, played a particularly significant role in the formation of nationalist ideology and identity in the minds of the second, post-Parnell generation of nationalists—such as Arthur Griffith, Patrick Pearse, and Joseph Mary Plunkett.

Kedourie explains that nations emerge in a world of diversity in which groups self-determine their identity. Essential to this self-identification, and key to Irish cultural nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is an original language. Lee Walker notes, “the determination of who is considered to belong within the group (i.e. definition if its boundaries) becomes largely a question of self-identification.” Nations and nationalism are derived from “an interactive set of processes involving ethnicity, state, and citizenship,” all central to the formation of identity, according to Schöpflin. Recognizing this essential interaction is necessary for a “holistic view (of) the dynamism of nationhood.” “Nationalism,” or more specifically organizations infused with nationalist sentiment, “became a substitute for social cohesion” in Ireland. These organizations and their leaders presented “a collective group of self-representations” so essential to identity in a period of social and political change.

Anderson explains that communities are imagined through two basic sources: the novel and the newspaper; these print forms establish the concurrent action of characters

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20 Kedourie, Nationalism, 56. Intriguingly, Kedourie’s title page features lines from W.B. Yeats, head of the Literary Revival: “We pieced our thoughts into philosophy/ And planned to bring the world under a rule/ Who are but weasels fighting in a hole” (1919).
21 Ibid., 62. Language, of course, is not the only marker of nationalism or identity, but Kedourie analyzes assertions made by J.G. Fichte’s Addresses to the German Nation (1807) that nations originate in language as internal boundaries from which external (and geographic) boundaries are determined.
22 Schöpflin, Nation, Identity, Power, 2-4.
23 Özkenli, Theories of Nationalism, 117.
in a “community” within the reader’s mind. An “extreme form” of the novel, the newspaper also allows for simultaneous mass consumption of material, or a “mass ceremony,” cementing the concept of community via shared experience. The mid-nineteenth century saw an explosion in the production of cheap, disposable literature that corresponded with, by the century’s end, a rise in literacy. Readership consumed penny comic weeklies like The Illustrated London News, Punch, Judy (1867-1907), and Funny Folks (1874-94), while participating in the community Anderson describes. This “imagined” community featured the same social divisions and stereotypes as daily social interaction and had perhaps an even greater impact through the lively illustrations on the pages of the papers.

CARTOONING

Founded in London in 1841 by Joseph Sterling Coyne, Punch, or the London Charivari, was a liberal politically focused publication that editorialized on international and domestic events. Punch regularly cast contemporary issues within historical, literary, and mythological contexts—clearly expecting its readership to be familiar with “classic” and historical narratives. It typically featured reports, illustrations, satire, and a centerpiece political cartoon. The images featured in Punch presented Irish issues and people within its pages, particularly during the Land War, in attempts at Home Rule, and other Irish efforts to secure autonomy.

24 Anderson, Imagined Communities, 24.
25 Ibid., 35-6.
In the first years of its publication, the Irish were presented as a submissive and amusing ideal. *Punch*'s inauguration occurred in the middle of a period of English social philanthropy, that began in 1800, with attempts to “improve the Irish character, develop the Irish economy, and ensure justice” to its neighbor. The resistance these efforts incurred, the rise of the Young Ireland movement, and what were perceived as extreme pleas for relief in the wake of the famine met with scorn from the publication.\(^{27}\) The Irish were subsequently presented as irrational, child-like, idle, and superstitious.\(^{28}\) By the time of the Land War (1879-1881), popular sentiment no longer sought to “transform Ireland and the Irish, but only somehow to govern them;” this viewpoint was reflected in the images of Anglo-Irish political and social interaction.\(^{29}\) The main cartoonists for *Punch* and in this study are Sir John Tenniel and Bernard Partridge. Tenniel did the most to affect change in the presentation of Irish issues and characters; he drew the differences between the English and Irish as that between man and beast, illustrating for *Punch* from the 1860s through 1901.\(^{30}\)

The recognized authority in the field of political cartooning and Irish representations is L. Perry Curtis, Jr. His work, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* is the primary material and analysis concerning British political

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\(^{27}\) Young Ireland grew out of the early nineteenth century movement calling for the repeal of the Act of the Union (1801-1922) which invalidated an Irish Parliament in order to unite England, Scotland, and Ireland. Presenting themselves emphatically during the Great Famine (1845-47), the Young Ireland group linked land with nationalism. Although clearly sympathetic to the plight of the peasant-farmer, most Young Irishers belonged to the Anglo-Irish middle class and had no direct experience with the sufferings in the countryside. Their efforts in the failed 1848 rising were influential for nationalists fifty years later, however, and their emphasis on Irish control of land—and ultimately Ireland—continued through the 1880s, cited in A.C. Hepburn, *The Conflict of Nationality in Modern Ireland* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1980), 15-18.


cartoons. Michael de Nie and R.F. Foster added to this analysis; de Nie examined British and American depictions of Irish (and Irish-American) issues and characteristics, while Foster’s critique of Curtis’s analysis contributed to extensive debate and revision. Lawrence W. McBride has also authored and edited a number of works on Irish political cartoons and imagery from the Irish nationalist cause.31

Political cartoons convey messages more quickly than editorials and more successfully to poorly educated or less literate readers.32 They can also highlight underlying societal attitudes and assumptions on which the opinions expressed in the cartoon are formed. “To succeed,” writes Curtis, “the ‘language’ of caricature must be understood by the consuming public.”33 Political cartoons sort characters into “knowable groups.”34 The readership must easily associate with the elements of character and issue in the depictions.35 This concept of recognition suggests the characteristics presented in the cartoons were commonly accepted within popular culture of this period. Prevalent British understandings of Irish characteristics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may be derived from cartoons based on this concept of familiarity.

Examining representations of Irish issues in the British popular press in the period 1798 to 1882, Michael De Nie suggests that British press, popular fiction, and political dialogue emphasized certain qualities that were considered “British... among them earnestness, prosperity, manliness, freedom, character, and civilization.” These features

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32 Curtis, Apes and Angels, 28.
33 Ibid., xvii.
were used in contrast to “almost every nation and people in the world, especially Ireland and the British colonies.”

The ideology that informed views on ethnic identities from 1880 to 1923 was a careful synthesis of scientific developments and social stereotypes. More than mere “popular” or “pseudo”-science, racial hierarchies influenced international and domestic relations. “Race” was not limited to differences in skin color in Great Britain in the Victorian period—cultural, national, religious, linguistic, and even class differences were considered valid markers of “race.”

The practices of physiognomy, or the attribution of physical and mental characteristics to a specific group based on physical features, were well established by the nineteenth century. It was believed that character and temperament could be derived from the appearance of the body and shape of the head, particularly the face. These ideas gained scientific credibility with the publication of studies that “proved” that certain skull shapes, forehead angles, and noses could be indisputably linked to character.

Cartoons established “essential moral, emotional, and intellectual qualities of their subjects.” The classification of physical traits became an intellectual endeavor, while its conclusions were cemented in the public mind through literature. Victorian novels regularly reinforced “race” and patterns of behavior by assigning characters certain personalities, then matching them with “corresponding” physical descriptions. With these works, the English justified their “natural” rank above their colonial conquests and above their

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37 Ibid., 233-234.
38 Curtis, Apes and Angels, 3.
39 Ibid., xix.
40 Ibid., 3.
backwards neighbor, the Irish. The social hierarchy established by these “academic” pursuits created “clear cut barriers” that limited social and economic mobility.

Most aspects of Irish life could not escape the “consequences of centuries” of English political and cultural domination in Ireland, including literature, politics, language, and religion. The effects of this control are indicated by the “complexity of Irish heritage.” From 1880 to 1923, “British Society” still included, in name at the very least, “Irish” society. In other words, Englishness was very present in “Irish” British life, whether or not Irishness was readily apparent in “English” British everyday life.

RELIGION, POLITICS, CULTURE

The modern Catholic-Protestant conflict in Northern Ireland often colors understanding of religious divides in the period of Irish independence. Events of 1880 to 1923 influenced the current relations and religion played a very intriguing role in shaping identities. Though distinct boundaries existed between Catholic and Protestant communities in Ireland in this period, Irish nationalism was committed to “liberal democratic” ideals and reflected persistent anti-sectarian views. Cultural organizations attempted to overcome these divisions in pursuit of autonomy for all of Ireland.

The reality of nationalist identity, however, was rooted in the culture that emerged from almost a century of political, economic, and social restrictions based on

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42 Curtis, Apes and Angels, 21.
confessional status. A symbol of power in Ireland, religion divided those with property from the dispossessed. Catholicism helped define Irish nationalist identity, but Irish nationalism was not a Catholic cause.

The Catholic Church provided a sense of community from which a sort of cultural homogeneity could be drawn in the southern part of the country. The northern region remained within the cultural fold of the English and was perceived as a Protestant stronghold. Assumptions of the relationship between Irish nationalism and Catholicism repelled the support of some groups of Anglo-Irish Protestants. Splitting the country along lines of identity—derived from religion, class, and cultural affiliation—the religious-turned-cultural schism became more clearly defined in this period as political division of Ireland hung in the balance. Irish nationalist fervor grew steadily as one traveled further south into more agrarian and Catholic regions like Cork. This region, Cork in particular, was a hotbed for Irish nationalist organization and became the setting for civil war between 1921 and 1923.

Communities and identity were further “imagined” and “invented” in a particular manner in this period. Two trends are apparent in the leadership and membership of Irish nationalist organizations. The first is the result of emigrant experiences, particularly in England. In cities such as London, Irish émigrés were placed in an environment in which the English “majority” clearly served as an inverse to their “minority.” The majority culture emphasized their differences, both real and imagined; day-to-day interaction and

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45 Ibid., 527.
47 Garvin, Nationalist Revolutionaries In Ireland, 8. Garvin notes that a disproportionate number of Irish nationalist leaders hailed from the southern province of Munster, in which Cork was the largest city.
48 Ibid., 81. Garvin examined journals of 32 early Leaguers and “Irish Irelanders.” Representing various social groups, occupation, and classes, at least seventeen of the authors had been emigrants; of those, at least twelve were involved with the League while living outside Ireland.
popular media representations reinforced external and internal factors of identity—or what was “English” and what was “Irish.” Some emigrants sought the community of subcultural organizations in London, such as the Gaelic League. The youth that spent time abroad returned to Ireland determined to praise and bolster the Irish identity; examples include Arthur Griffith (spent time in South Africa), D.P. Moran (London), and Michael Collins (London). Irish nationalist leadership that rose from non-Catholic, non-Irish origins to lead the emerging nation performed the second act of “imagination”; examples include Charles Stewart Parnell (son of Protestant landlord), Douglas Hyde (son of Protestant), W.B. Yeats (“Anglo-Irish”), and Eamon de Valera (American citizenship).

Both groups used external definitions from their experiences in majority culture to create or refine definitions of “IRISH” and “IRELAND.” Outlining Irish identity, they participated in powerful acts of choice, reclaiming and “imagining” or “inventing” factors of identity. In some ways, the reality of political and social events was less important than ways Irish nationalists perceived systems of status, cultural hierarchies, and economic and occupational opportunities. The “Ireland” that emerged from these organizations, via the experience of its leaders and membership, was the combined vision of insiders looking out and of outsiders looking in.

EXTERNAL IDENTITY AND PUNCH

Casting “Irish Catholic” as “other” allowed the English to compare valuable British characteristics with those considered undesirable, useless, and Irish. British concepts of Irishness were gathered from discussions and representations of Irish habits, manners, political activity, economic practices, and religious traditions in the nineteenth
century. Irishness was typically used to bolster qualities of Britishness, such as “hard work, sobriety, independence of thought, bravery, and cleanliness.” The Irish were the antithesis of the English: “superstitious, feckless, improvident, violent, lazy and given to drink.” English understandings of identity—their own and Irish—were a fusion of “lineage, class, and religion.”

Characteristics of “British-ness” and “Irish-ness” were often represented by images of “John Bull” and “Paddy.” John Bull was middle class, Protestant, and Anglo-Saxon, while Paddy was peasant, papist, and Celtic. The context of the cartoon provided clues to deeper understanding of the values assigned to these characters. The resulting dichotomy supported British superiority and Irish inferiority. Ireland was also represented by Hibernia, the younger sister of the powerful Britannia. Irish Nationalists drew cues for identity from British and Irish stereotypes; they highlighted traits that contradicted these stereotypes or presented other valuable group characteristics to assert a desirable internal identity.

Examples of external factors of identity can be derived from British political cartoons like those published in Punch. Ireland and Irish issues are presented in distinct thematic and recurring categories in this publication: the Irishman or Ireland cast as an animal, the depiction of the “wild” Irishman and Irish mob, and female representations of Ireland as “Erin” or “Hibernia.”

Presented over a period of forty years, the Irish issues and characters in the images progress from threatening to inconsequential—sketches from the end of this period even seem to show a modicum of respect. Characterization of Irish leadership

49 De Nie, “Medley Mob of Irish-American Plotters and Irish Dupes,” 235.
50 Ibid.
51 Foster, Paddy and Mr. Punch, 171.
reveals a similar evolution; Charles Stewart Parnell is an agitator, but Michael Collins is given "Full Warrant." Irish characters become physically smaller, though they also move further from complete English control. The images also develop from exaggerated caricatures to moderate sketches over this period—this is signals a difference in cartoonists and techniques, but also the subconscious reinforcement of cultural stereotypes. Over this period, the Anglo-Irish hierarchy does not change, though Irish people and issues become less sinister as political attention shifts to international combatants in World War I and maintaining control of colonies. Ireland is the focus of cartoons toward the end of the period, her citizens portrayed indirectly (though as the cause of her condition).

English representations of the Irish and Irish issues in Punch most commonly feature the pig to represent Ireland, Irish leadership, Home Rule, and Irish Agitation. The decision to depict Ireland as a domesticated animal is a deliberate assertion of Irish inferiority. Under the command of its owners, a domesticated animal becomes "stray" and a scavenger if it wins its freedom. The depiction of Ireland as an unruly pig suggests that, should it break free of English influence, Ireland would fall into even greater disorder and chaos, rendering civilized political and commercial interaction with the Irish impossible.

Interacting with human characters, the pig is further entrenched in a social and pseudo-scientific hierarchy. Irish Pigs are disobedient, base, wild, and agitated, while their English counterparts are composed or bewildered by the pigs' uncivilized behavior. The Irish should be deferential to their English peers, based on the context of the cartoons; rarely do the pigs meet this expectation. These images reflect a hierarchy and

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52 See "Full Warrant," fig. 40.
power structure in which *Punch* editors, if not their general readership, suggested Irish
and British interaction should occur. The Irish pig evolved over the decades from a
treacherous animal to a mere nuisance.

The Irishman Paddy was distinguished by prognathism (projection of the mouth
and jaw) and simianization (depicting characters as linked to gorillas, associated with
violence and a predatory nature), as explained by Curtis. This character is more prevalent
at the beginning of this period, although figures are drawn with only slightly evolved
features through the first two decades of the twentieth century. “Paddy” and the mob
threaten the order of Anglo-Irish politics and society. Paddy is typically an individual
representation of Land League or “Fenian” agitation, while “Fenian” aggressors that
wreak havoc on the physical and political landscape within the anonymity of the mob.

As Paddy, Irish male figures in *Punch* cartoons are aggressive, imbecilic, and
deceitful. Irish female figures, in contrast, are vulnerable and distressed. The female
figure is unique in representations of Ireland or Irish issues—typically virtuous, she calls
for readers’ sympathy. As “Erin” or “Hibernia,” she is instilled with the passivity and
obedience the English wish upon the Irish. Victorian codes of respectability of this
period are particularly important in these female representations.

Most female representations are barefoot; they are presented by illustrators as
provincial and locally restricted. They are also submissive to and protected by Britannia.
The Irish female figure, usually smaller than her English counterparts, is most often
vexed by the agitation and disobedience of the Irish people. The female figures presented
in these cartoons are also subliminally dangerous as exotic, sexualized women—
Hibernia, in particular, becomes less voluptuous over time. Despite their calls for aid and their mild appearance, these “women” were to be approached with caution.

Erin or Hibernia, typically a young woman crowned in a wreath of clover, possesses classical features associated with western civilization. The differences between the character of Paddy and Erin are reinforced by physiognomy, as well. While Paddy’s criminal nature could be derived from his facial features, Ireland’s female character was naturally handsome. Hibernia was “intensely feminine”—the plight of the Irish people was reflected in her “haunting beauty.” Hibernia also resembles figures like “Justice” and even the Statue of Liberty, clad in robes. Erin typically wears a skirt, apron, blouse, and shawl and carries or slings her harp over her shoulder; the harp is a key to Irish identity like the clover that adorns her head or clothing. Although most likely interchangeable in popular understanding, Hibernia appears more commonly to represent the country or nation in a political sense, while Erin represents the people and the national identity.

Changing perceptions of “race,” ethnicity, and stereotypes mark the twenty-first century. Components of identity, however ambiguously defined, remain significant tools in establishing personal and group relations. In the modern period, where media and cultural forms influence and educate the masses, much can be drawn from a study of the effects of both inadvertent and direct cultural messaging. Groups also assert ethnic, gendered, social and sexual affiliations in amorphous, globalized political and economic communities. International civil rights remain in the spotlight; identity is integral to the establishment and recognition of groups as autonomous units.

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Reflected in their membership in a variety of organizations, Irish nationalist perspectives are cast along a wide spectrum. Certain assertions of Irish character are constant in nationalist work from this forty-year period, while the political aims they outline evolve greatly. These speeches and writings provide markers of an internal identity that attempted to refute elements of identity imposed by the majority culture. The themes include: history of Irish resistance/resilience, cultural strength, Irish character ("natural," peasant virtue and strength), English misgovernment (external identity), and the need for Irish political and cultural autonomy. These arguments opposed assertions of their aggressive, inarticulate, disorganized, and submissive "nature." The themes they present are not uniquely, but merely considered innately, Irish. Irish nationalist goals evolved from demands for tenant rights and land control to an Irish Parliament within the empire to cultural and political liberation within this forty-year period.

The progress of external characteristics in cartoons and internal assertions of identity through writings, speeches, and political aims are explored in the following chapters. Chapter Two examines the rise of political nationalism and evolving demands through the first Home Rule Bill and the fall of Charles Stewart Parnell (approximately 1879 to 1892). The rise of political nationalism was complemented by an increase in cultural nationalist activity, presented in Chapter Three. This section covers the work of cultural organizations, the "passing" of the third Home Rule Bill, the outbreak of World War I, and the Easter Rising that proclaimed the Irish "free" (1890 to 1916). The fourth chapter (1916 to 1922) recounts the militarization, political negotiations, and cycle of conflict that accompanied the establishment of the Irish Free State. The second chapter assesses the external markers of identity and stereotypes imposed on the Irish by Punch.
The third chapter observes the assertion of Irish nationalist identity through rhetoric, organization, and cultural activity. Irish political goals and identity are reinforced by a combination of events emphasizing traditions of resistance, militarization, and Irish independent activity in the fourth chapter.

In the period 1880-1923, Irish nationalist identity was developed and refined; this was an identity that incorporated “Irish-ness,” political and cultural goals, and Irish history, as well as the influence of external social hierarchies. While perceiving their efforts as ultimately “unsuccessful” in achieving the political aims of two generations—first in establishing Home Rule, then failing to win an independent Republic—Irish nationalists emerged from this period with a tentative Free State and an independent cultural identity with which they continued to develop economic, political, and cultural distinctiveness.
CHAPTER II

IN LEAGUE WITH PADDY, IN PURSUIT OF HOME RULE

The Irish Question

_In a Nutshell._

Long centuries of idle ways;
An ever growing population,
That clings as fast as in old days
To acres lacking augmentation;
Much careless waste on ev’ry hand,
Alike in good and evil season;
Some small neglect by sister land;
Much passion void of sober reason;
Much want that honest Labour shuns;
No manufactures in the city;
A plethora of lazy sons;
So runs the Irish ditty.¹

Featured in _Punch, or the London Charivari_, in 1881, “The Irish Question” sets the stage for the ways in which the Irish and Irish political goals were perceived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Irish, cast as lazy and useless throughout history, are considered primitive—incapable of monitoring and matching their population to their production. The authors admit Britain’s negligence in allowing the Irish to be wasteful both in times of famine and relative abundance. The Irish are wild and violent, rarely “sober;” intoxicated both by anger and by drink. According to this “ditty,” they have labored hard in neither agriculture, nor in industry and manufacture. Citing a “history” of Irish waywardness, the poem faults the Irish for their misery. Unintelligible and beyond direct control by British agencies, the Irish in this ditty are outside the understanding of the English authors.

¹“The Irish Question,” _Punch, or the London Charivari_, 14 May 1881, 222.
THE ROADS TO HOME RULE

In the February 21, 1880 presentation of “Punch’s Essence of Parliament,” the American eagle in the background flies in the American Dollar. Erin, dressed in rags and viewed in profile, extends her arms to welcome any gift that comes her way (Figure 1).\(^2\) She grasps at the support of relatives working in and philanthropic offerings from the United States and England. Following the famine, Irish emigration to the United States, England, Australia, and Canada relieved the pressures of population growth. Demand for labor in these countries encouraged the emigration—immigrant remittances from these regions created a base for stability in economic and social conditions. Beginning in 1870, this stabilization translated into efforts at political progress in land acquisition and self-government.\(^3\) Irish-Americans, in particular, contributed economic support and political pressure toward Irish nationalist goals throughout this period.

GLADSTONE, PARNELL, AND HOME RULE CRISES

Prevalent in literature, language, agriculture, religion, urban life, and even everyday consumption and purchase of goods, politics shaped Irish culture in the late 1800s and early 1900s.\(^4\) From 1860, in a series of bills and acts, the Liberal policies led by Prime Minister William E. Gladstone brought Irish goals and expectations closer to realization.

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\(^2\) “Punch’s Essence of Parliament,” *Punch*, 21 February 1880, 82. Fig. 1.


The economic crisis that emerged in the years 1879 to 1881 was preceded by small gains for Irish tenancy. In 1870, the first Land Act provided state intervention in the often-tempestuous relationship between landlords and tenants. Legitimating the practice of “tenant right,” the act allowed tenants and expired leaseholders to pass farms to chosen successors if they held a heritable estate.\(^5\) Additionally, the legal assessment of ‘fair rents’ and security against arbitrary eviction transformed the nature of land tenure in Ireland.\(^6\)

Although the Land Act of 1870 was viewed as a step in the right direction, Irish tenants continued to hold many grievances against their landlords. The Irish National

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Land League (1879-1882) organized under Michael Davitt to form a national network that coordinated local tenant associations. Its members' primary concern was securing land tenure. All of the founders of the Land League were committed to a cause known as Fenianism, including Davitt. The incorporation of Fenian techniques such as non-payment of rent and non-compliance cost the League some popular support. It also firmly attached a reputation for violence and disorder to the Land League.

Dedicated to the establishment of an Irish Republic by whatever means necessary, the Fenian movement developed in the United States following Irish emigration to America from 1846 to 1866; the proposed republic was based on the American model. This new form of Irish nationalism was given the generic name of Fenianism, which would become a descriptor for all Irish Nationalist agitation in the British press—just as Sinn Féin would become the general term for post-Rising militancy in Ireland. Committed to independence as a resolution to the problems in Ireland, the Fenian Brotherhood was viewed as an international phenomenon and dangerous network. Irish nationalists operated in Ireland knowing they had the support of similar groups in the United States and Britain.

In “Friend and Foe,” Pat is faced with a dilemma: join his neighbors at the Fenian rally or care for his farm and family (Figure 2). Mr. Punch counsels him to stay home, while his wife—doubling as a beseeching Erin—encourages him to reap the rewards of his tenancy. The scene at home reinforces the rural, peasant setting of the Irish countryside. The children are on earthen floors, barefoot, in ragged clothing; Ireland’s

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7 Fitzpatrick, “Ireland Since 1870,” 179.
8 Cronin, Irish Nationalism. 86.
9 Ibid., 88-9.
population requires assistance rather than disturbance. The unrest that the agitator sows in the Irish population, Mr. Punch warns, will exacerbate conditions with its destructive course.

Fig. 2. "Friend or Foe." Source: *Punch*, 4 September 1880.

The scene from "Friend and Foe" was the result of three years of accumulated famine and drought losses from 1876 to 1879. These conditions depleted the savings and twisted credit, security, and loan systems in Ireland. The situation also sparked massive unemployment for agricultural laborers. Poor climate aggravated the situation, inciting

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10 "Friend or Foe," *Punch*, 4 September 1880. Fig. 2.
panic in regions like Connacht and Mayo that depended on turf for fuel. The “Land War” began in 1879 when an organized movement of resistance to landlords developed out of the social and economic stress of these exceptionally poor harvests. “Friend and Foe” reveals the public reaction, in the form of demonstration and demands for relief, to the widespread belief that the “Crisis of 1879” would result in devastating famine—perhaps surpassing that of the 1840s.

Panic escalated in this period fueled by the popular press. Media sources such as the press and political spokesmen regularly declared the crisis to be “without precedent” to an increasingly literate population. Benedict Anderson explains that increases in distribution and consumption of news in the form of newspapers creates a “mass ceremony” in which vast numbers of the population participated daily—thus reinforcing the “imagined community,” a set of shared values and boundaries of identity. Growth in newspaper circulation and literacy in Ireland and Great Britain created an atmosphere in which public opinion and popular resistance could be organized.

Conditions were primed for a mass movement; interests affected by the Crisis of 1879 included those of large and small tenant farmers, agricultural laborers, banks, shopkeepers, traders, and moneylenders. Memories of Irish suffering in the Great Famine and English misgovernment helped compel agitation toward a more adamant demand for tenant control of land. This proclivity for activity and organization contrasts greatly with the fatalism and passivity that marked the Great Famine of 1848.

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12 Ibid., 330.
13 Anderson, Imagined Communities, 35.
14 Moody, Davitt and Irish Revolution, 331. This suggestion by the press was, in fact, incorrect; an agricultural crisis from 1860-62 was more severe than the crisis of 1879 (cumulative years 1876-1879).
15 Ibid., 330.
crisis also garnered intense political reaction in England; for the next two years, the land movement challenged the authority and capabilities of Parliament at every turn.16

Presenting the chaos and destruction that accompanied the crisis of 1879 and the ensuing Land War (1879-81) these mob scenes promoted a fear of Irish Nationalist efforts. Rather than suggesting controlled and cooperative organizations—of both political and non-political scope—*Punch* presents Land Leaguers as a mob bent on destruction. The sign on the far right of “Justice to Ireland” reads “Parnell for (Ireland),” signaling Parnell’s approval of Land League actions.17 Although the mobs in these cartoons threaten frenzied attacks on their fellow citizens, Irish Nationalists like Charles Stewart Parnell and Michael Davitt articulated goals of the “mob” in rational, although propagandistic, terms from which activity and ideology could be derived.

“Justice to Ireland” finds Hibernia in anguish (Figure 3). Land Leaguers march in the background, while Irish families suffer just over the shoulders of Hibernia. The hazy conditions reveal the outlines of hats, sticks, and fists of Land Leaguers; their signs announce their demands: “Stick to Your Holdings,” “No Landlords, No Rent,” and “Parnell for Ireland.”18 Britannia’s pledge of humanitarian assistance matches private charity from America and Australia, as well as philanthropic traditions of Europe and the Church. These relief measures diffused the impact of the famine and saved the hardest hit areas from complete misery.19

The masses move behind Hibernia and Britannia at shoulder level. Their agitation, therefore, competes for attention with Hibernia. The signs are posted at head

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16 Ibid., 332.
17 “Justice to Ireland!” *Punch*, 17 January 1880. Fig. 3.
18 Ibid.
level, indicating that these issues fall within her field of vision and are a constant preoccupation.

Fig. 3. “Justice to Ireland!” Source: *Punch*, 17 January 1880.

Covering her face with one hand, Hibernia turns her back to her “troubles.” Britannia highlights English relief efforts and Irish trouble as she pledges humanitarian assistance to the ravaged country. As in “Friend or Foe,” the image suggests the people will bear the cost of Land League action; the scenes further undermine the validity of Land League political goals by associating them with extensive violence.
Observing the march of the mob, characters in “Law and Liberty” and “The Irish Inferno” attempt to quell the situation (Figures 4 and 5). Law cautions Liberty in her approach toward the crowd. Crushing the box of sedition, Law focuses on the disarray and clamor in the distance with a grim expression. *Punch* informs the reader that freedom follows order; the riots must cease before the Irish are to experience the reform of Land Laws.²⁰

The placement of signs in the background says much about the perception of the Land League. The hazy background, thick with smoke or fog, obscures the true demands or goals of the Land League. The reader must focus on the signs “No Landlords,” “No Rents,” and “No Taxes” to read them. Framing the cartoon with slogans of “Land League” and “No Surrender,” the legible signs indicate popular perceptions of the organization.

“The Irish Inferno” again cautions those who support Land League action.²¹ Mirroring the background of “Law and Liberty,” flags and signs, sticks and arms punctuate the air. Held above the crowd in “Friend and Foe,” “Law and Liberty,” and “The Irish Inferno,” persuasive Irish leaders are presented as instigators; they urge unsophisticated and desperate Land Leaguers to act.²²

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²⁰ “Law and Liberty,” *Punch*, 20 November 1880. Fig. 4.  
²¹ “The Irish ‘Inferno’,” *Punch*, 17 December 1881. Fig. 5.  
²² “Friend and Foe,” “Law and Liberty,” “The Irish ‘Inferno’,” Fig 2, 4 and 5, respectively.
Published while Irish tenants and landlords were embroiled in the Land War, "The Pig and His Peer" reflects legitimate concern over arbitrary eviction (Figure 6).

The agricultural and economic crisis of 1876-1879 left the Irish population fearful; with methods of acquiring income lost, tenants would not have the means to pay their rent. As this cartoon suggests, "gentlemen who pay the rent" are protected from eviction. The Irish tenant pig, we are led to believe, is not such a "gentleman."

The Peer, representative of English government and Irish landlords, contrasts sharply with the Irish pig. In a physical position of authority, the Peer stands a full head taller than the pig—he is better able to look down condescendingly at the pig from this

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23 Moody, Davitt and Irish Revolution, 329.
height. The shorter, heavier pig’s untied shoe and tattered clothing belie his efforts to appear as composed as his Peer. Obviously taking advantage of the pig’s earnest concern for his welfare, the peer offers a carefully crafted response to the pig’s naïve anxiety.\(^{24}\) This particular pig is presented as gullible and comical, yearning to be like his English Peer. He is not, however, depicted as malicious or threatening, unlike the dangerous “Pig That Won’t ‘Pay The Rint!’” (Figure 7).

Endowed with human characteristics, the “Rint”-dodging pig has a ghastly appearance. John Bull detains the Pig with relative ease; held only by the ear, the pig’s incarceration suggests that Irish agitators may be easily reined in. Nonetheless, Irish protests continue to disrupt and destroy.\(^{25}\) The menacing “Irishman” bears an assortment of arms, underlining his combative nature.\(^{26}\) Reinforcing the concept of the aggressive Irishman, the image of the armed pig is particularly effective at promoting suspicion of Irish tenants. The grotesque “Pig That Won’t Pay the Rint” consorts with the Land League and collaborates against landlords. This pig is a threat to landlords, but also ordinary citizens such as Pat depicted in “Friend and Foe.”\(^{27}\) This is the company about which Mr. Punch warns Pat. \textit{Punch} editors have clearly used the image to promote a fear of Land League anarchy.

\(^{24}\) “The Pig and The Peer,” \textit{Punch}, 7 August 1880. Fig. 6.
\(^{25}\) See “The Irish ‘Inferno,’” Fig. 5.
\(^{26}\) “The Pig That Won’t ‘Pay The Rint!’” \textit{Punch}, 12 March 1881. Fig. 7.
\(^{27}\) See “Friend and Foe,” Fig. 2.
Land League figures appear less evolved than their English counterparts in cartoons from 1880 and 1881. "A Daniel Come to Judgment!" presents two ragged, ape-like men prepared to fight with guerilla tactics, while "Collared!" sees Gladstone detain yet another troublemaker (Figures 8 and 9, respectively). The crouching men in "A Daniel Come to Judgment" are visited by the specter of Daniel O'Connell—the reader cannot see their eyes (Figure 8). The brim of their hats obscures the facial feature that

28 D. George Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland*, 3d ed. (New York: Routledge, 1995), 136. A lawyer from a Catholic landed family, Daniel O'Connell led a series of mass movements between 1823 and 1847. He was the leader of a group of professional, middle-class Catholics who sought Catholic emancipation and repeal of the Act of the Union—he is credited with rooting Irish nationalism in liberal, democratic traditions.
would most give them personality. They remain unintelligible, irrational, and cowardly. ²⁹

A comparison of the two figures in “Collared!” reveals Punch’s perceptions of “civility” (Figure 9). Gladstone—representing morality and English refinement—stands with his shoulders back and moves the Land Leaguer forward. Outfitted in a crisp uniform, Gladstone projects an air of unyielding authority. The Land Leaguer’s slouching and slinking, by contrast, suggest an unrefined nature. Both men have curled hands; their fists underline the combative nature of their interaction. Gladstone’s arm and

²⁹“A Daniel Come To Judgment,” Punch, 23 October 1880. Fig. 8.
fist are locked downward, gripping the gun; the Land Leaguer’s hands are crossed but appear to twist or resist. The fist clutches the Land Leaguer’s necktie, but the lines of the arm and position of the fist recall a punch to the Land Leaguer’s right jaw. Paddy’s “costume,” like those of the pigs above, was a key to easily identified Irish characters in Punch cartoons; these markers include a thatch or walking hat paired with patched and disheveled clothing.

Continuing themes of aggression and mob violence, Paddy bullies Hibernia in “Two Forces” (Figure 10). Threatened by the blows and deceit of the Anarchist Paddy, Hibernia buries her face in her hands, sheltered by Britannia. In this image, The Irish figure is entirely vulnerable. Hibernia’s hair streams down her back—the longest on any of the female figures in this study—giving her a young and fragile appearance. She is also barefoot, again leaving her powerless and immobile.

Paddy clutches a bundle of rocks in his left arm, prepared to inflict a blow upon Hibernia with the large rock in his right hand. His eyes are not visible, hidden by the brim of his “ANARCHY” hat. His choice of weapon highlights his primitive nature. Simian features and unkempt appearance make Paddy more terrifying and unintelligible.

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30 “Collared!!” Punch, 22 October 1881. Fig 9.
31 “Two Forces,” Punch, 29 October 1881. Fig. 10
Britannia wields the sword of "The Law" as a legislative barrier between the women and the dangerous Land Leaguer. She treads on the Land League pamphlet, crushing its legitimacy and merit. Intriguingly, she addresses Paddy specifically in this cartoon, rather than the threatening mob in the background. A thick, hazy background prevents the reader from making out anything more than the outlines of figures, hats, sticks, and banners.

Hibernia next fields bouquets of land legislation from the polished W.E. Gladstone and explosive agitation from the simian Paddy in "The Rivals" (Figure 11). Hibernia is caught between competing forces. Acquiescing to Gladstone’s plan for Irish
land control, Hibernia rejects Paddy’s promise of disorder. With her right knee bent, she
turns her hips and shoulders forward as a physical emphasis on her acceptance of
Gladstone’s offering. Hibernia is not forced into her decision, but rather submits willing
to Gladstone’s political maneuverings. The Fenian Land Leaguer is shorter than Hibernia
and Gladstone. This cartoon reflects Social Darwinian as the reader views the characters
from left to right.32

_Punch_ pitted Gladstone against the Land League in other contests, as well.
Gladstone’s legislative prowess overwhelms threats from the Land League. As Michael
the Archangel, he grapples with the three heads of the Land League Devil: Anarchy,
Terrorism, and Sedition (Figure 12). Gladstone grips the necks of Terrorism and
Sedition, but cannot control the shouts of Anarchy. He has dropped the club of Remedial
Measures in favor of direct action against the monster.33

Gladstone gains advantage over the monstrous Land League Devil-Fish that
braces itself against the rocks (Figure 13). It wraps Gladstone in its tentacles of
Terrorism, Obstruction, and Rebellion and braces against the rocks with arms of
Anarchy, Sedition, and Lawlessness. The remaining tentacles of Outrage and
Intimidation are posed in attack. Beyond merely dangerous, the Land League Devil-Fish
is grotesque with simian facial features and massive size. Gladstone, though in
immediate danger, prepares to land the final blow to the “head” of the Irish Devil-Fish.34

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32 “The Rivals,” _Punch_, 13 August 1881. Fig. 11.
33 “Strangling the Monster,” _Punch_, 5 February 1881. Fig. 12.
34 “The Irish Devil-Fish,” _Punch_, 18 June 1881. Fig. 13.
Controlling the leadership of the Land League, suggests *Punch*, is the best way to destroy the popular menace. The three-headed Land League Monster loses balance; legislation comes closer to felling the monstrous Land League demands.

Capping themes of danger and savagery in presentations of the Land League, Father Time presents his latest addition to Mr. Punch (Figure 14). The waxwork is a terrifying and shadowy representation of an Anarchist Land Leaguer. Added to the collection as “1881,” the figure possesses grotesque simian features and an array of
weapons. His mask identifies him as a Land Leaguer, yet he remains an objectified "Other."\(^{35}\)

The year "1881" stands wide-legged and menacing next to African, Indian, and Arab wax statues. Ireland is being "added" to the colonies and conquests of the Empire, as represented by the other figures in the exhibit. The Indian and Ottoman statues are viewed in profile, but the African figure looks directly at the reader. He is also the most primitive of the exotic figures on display.

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\(^{35}\) "Time's Waxworks," *Punch*, 31 December 1881. Fig. 14.
Difficult "acquisitions" for the Empire, the African and Irish figures reveal resistance to English conquest. Wide-legged and aggressive, they are sketched with corresponding simian features and equipped with weaponry. This cartoon reinforces social hierarchy—in that the Irish are cast as lower in the order and as an oddity or novelty for display. The Land Leaguer is as culturally exotic as the African "1880," but does not hold the same potential for economic and political development. Rather, as Mr. Punch suggests, Land League agitation provides nothing but irritation—the figure is better suited for to the "chamber of horrors."  

By the end of the "Land War" in 1882, the Home Rule body was tightly woven political party whose political strength rested in the threat of mass mobilization. The League gained confidence with American financial support and became a channel for parliamentary nationalism. The organization also worked to intimidate landlords and government through peaceful means of combination and boycott, its aims evolving to "self-government." The "Land War" secured tenant land control but its violence contributed to a cultural stereotype of violence and backwardness in the British popular press. Reorganized in 1882 as the National League, it was aligned with Irish Parliamentary Party aims and backed by the Catholic clergy. Chaos associated with Land League efforts from 1879 to 1881 haunted the National League in publications such as *Punch.*

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36 Ibid.
37 Fitzpatrick, "Ireland Since 1870," 180.
38 O'Brien, *A Concise History of Ireland,* 110-115. The Land League made an impact on the English language—regarding actions of social pressure exerted on a landlord's estate in Mayo county, for whom Captain Boycott was an agent; the "boycott" remains today a social, economic, and political tool in many countries.
Ramming the barrier of the Crimes Act, a Fenian steps menacingly into the lantern-lit room through “The Open Door” (Figure 15). His lurching figure appears larger than life as he climbs into almost the true center of the sketch; he demands the reader’s full attention. His features obscured by the mask of boycott, the Fenian’s belt identifies him as Capt’n Moonlight. The unchecked and uncontrolled violence of this period of social distress was known as “Capt. Mooney” or “Captain Moonlight” for its tendency to spill over into the twilight hours--its perpetrators also habitually broke the law under the cover of darkness. This Irish character remains a threat to Irish and English society in his disregard for civility and law.

Offering a similarly dark view of Irish political organizations in the 1880s, “Dr. M’Jekyll and Mr. O’Hyde” alludes to the violent nature of the National League’s past—and present (Figure 16). The cooperative face of the National League masks a monster within. Dr. M’Jekyll’s intentions are sincere; he appears to be the picture of civility with his carefully groomed appearance. He offers the scroll of the National League with his right hand while his left hand gestures a pledge. Lurking behind this refined presentation, however, is Mr. O’Hyde—the uncontrollable and treacherous desires of National Leaguers.

39 “The Open Door,” Punch, 10 October 1885. Fig. 15.
41 “The Open Door,” Fig 15.
The mirage-like Mr. O’Hyde crouches behind Dr. M’Jekyll, threatening malicious action. The next incarnation of Capt. Moonlight, Mr. O’Hyde prepares to strike with brute strength under the cover of anonymity and darkness—his features obscured by the mask and unkempt hair.  

A NEW POLITICAL NATIONALISM

Charles Stewart Parnell became the popular leader of the Irish nationalist politics in the 1880s. Young and aggressive, Parnell gathered Irish-Americans, peasants seeking

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42 “Dr. M’Jekyll and Mr. O’Hyde,” Punch, 18 August 1888. Fig. 16.
land, and middle class representatives into a well-disciplined party.\(^{43}\) His social status as a Protestant landlord made his political arguments particularly pointed for the predominately Catholic southern population.\(^ {44}\)

Following the election of more radical members, Parnell rose as chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1880. His leadership succeeded in three ways. First, he negotiated cooperation from Fenian elements, effectively organizing and drawing the Land League’s participation into popular politics.\(^ {45}\) Next, Parnell mobilized the Catholic Church in the cause of Home Rule. This alliance further cemented the idea of Home Rule as “Rome Rule” and ensured northern Protestant resistance to Irish self-government. Finally, Parnell secured a nominal balance of power in the House of Commons.\(^ {46}\)

Parnell’s willingness to cooperate with Fenians cast much of his political maneuvering as dangerous and led to mistrust of his causes for tenancy and Home Rule.\(^ {47}\) Fitzpatrick suggests that Parnell subdued this significant minority, rather than simply submitting to radical Fenian demands. The collaboration marked a period of unprecedented cooperation between forces of Irish nationalism resulting in relative success for land demands.\(^ {48}\)

The bat that hovers over Hibernia in “The Irish Vampire” bears the face of Parnell. Its wingspan reveals the words “NATIONAL LEAGUE” (Figure 17). The Vampire Bat’s mouth is parted to strike at the voluptuous Hibernia. Waking from sleep


\(^{44}\) O’Brien, *A Concise History of Ireland*, 112. Parnell was the son of a Protestant landlord leading the cause for a “Catholic” nation—his family history was marked by a streak of “anti-British” agitation, including his American mother’s father, Commodore Charles Stewart, who fought against the British in the War of 1812 and his great grand-father, Sir John Parnell, who voted against the Union.

\(^{45}\) Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, 157.

\(^{46}\) Fitzpatrick, “Ireland Since 1870,” 182.

\(^{47}\) Cronin, *Irish Nationalism*, 93.

or perhaps having been knocked to the ground, her pained expression confirms dreadful acquiescence. Facing the certainty of attack, Hibernia’s neck is exposed to the terrifying advances of the blood-sucking National League monster. Her body language implies innocence, yet invites the approach of the Vampire. Playing into sexual politics and fears of seduction prevalent in the Victorian period, the image breaks from the mold by failing to offer Hibernia rescue or protection, therefore, amplifying the impact of the image.49 Parnell, as “the Vampire Bat,” drains the life and spirit of the Irish people.50 Mirroring characteristics of Irish issues presented in *Punch* in 1880 and 1881, Parnell’s direct association with the Vampire menace reveals his efforts and character as predatory and malicious—and exclusively for his own gains.

*Punch* editors suggest Irish citizens are forced to wear a cloak of “DISCONTENT” to protect themselves from the harsh winds of Parnell in “The Wind and the Sun” (Figure 18). Driving its followers into agitation, Irish leadership fabricates dissatisfaction and persuades the Irish people into dissatisfaction. They will soon turn to the “warmth” of Gladstone’s policies.51

Parnell is presented as an agitator even when he is not physically represented in the cartoon, as in “Justice to Ireland”; the 1880 cartoon features a prominently displayed flag that reads “Parnell for (Ireland).” This suggests that the mob acts on Parnell’s words, perhaps even following his footsteps. He simultaneously incites further dissatisfaction and rallies riotous forces in the countryside; *Punch* suggests that his presence in politics fuels the discontent of tenant farmers.52

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50 “The Irish Vampire” *Punch*, 24 October 1885. Fig. 17.
51 “The Wind and The Sun” *Punch*, 10 July 1886. Fig. 18.
52 See “Justice to Ireland,” Fig. 3.
These images play against Parnell’s achievements. Rather than preying upon and railing against the people, Parnell intended to be their voice and propel them to empowerment and land control. Delivering speeches on Home Rule in counties Cork and Wicklow in 1885, Parnell covered the following themes: the need for Home Rule, mismanagement by English governing bodies, the history of Irish political action, the duties of Irish leadership and the Irish people in the pursuit of successful economic and political independence, and qualities of the Irish people.

Parnell’s speeches were published in The Freeman’s Journal, an Irish nationalist publication, and articulated grievances against English government while posing
alternatives for Irish autonomy.\textsuperscript{53} It was the "very much" said by English and Irish politicians regarding Home Rule that further encouraged Parnell’s support and pursuit of Irish self-government; the intensity of these debates led him to see the "near success of (Nationalist) efforts" in achieving that autonomy.\textsuperscript{54} Parnell lived to see the defeat of the first Home Rule Bill in 1886—the Home Rule objectives he outlines in these speeches were superseded by new nationalist objectives when the third Home Rule Bill succeeded in 1912.

The necessity of Irish self-government was clear to Parnell and English politicians such as Gladstone. Parnell explained, "our enemies... practically admit that things cannot be allowed to go on as they are: that it is impossible to keep an unwilling people and unwilling representatives in forced legislative connexion with the other two kingdoms."\textsuperscript{55} The English government "refused to concede the just rights of Ireland;" Parnell, therefore, continued to call for the support of the Irish people in pursuit of autonomy.\textsuperscript{56} Irish self-government was essential to the future of the country as "no parliamentary assembly will work satisfactorily which has not free power over Irish affairs."\textsuperscript{57}

British intervention in Irish government was one of Parnell’s chief complaints. The need for change was rooted in the mismanagement of Irish affairs by English legislators and administrators. English “adverse legislation” and “nefarious legislative action in times past” against Irish industry left a great hurdle for Irish manufacturing to


\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 284.


\textsuperscript{57} Parnell, “On Home Rule, Wicklow, 5 October 1885,” 284.
leap. Similar legislation established social and religious divides in Ireland earlier in the nineteenth century. Pointing to the past and a “record of English rule... a series of steps from bad to worse,” the speeches emphasized the constant and adamant Irish demand for full legislative separation from England.

The Irish people and Irish political leaders, Parnell reminded his audience, had been “encouraged to organize... and to depend upon the determination which has helped Irishmen through many centuries to retain the name of Ireland and to retain her nationhood.” Though depicted as amorphous mobs acting on emotions in the moment in *Punch*, Parnell confirmed an internal understanding of Irish nationalist action as organized and committed. Again, rejecting English political control, Parnell noted that “under 85 years of parliamentary connexion with England, Ireland has become intensely disloyal and intensely disaffected,” alluding to entrenched habits of discontent and protest.

Parnell identified the responsibilities of the Irish leadership and the Irish people in his 1885 speeches, as well. He opened his Cork speech by confirming his promise to oppose an English government that does not give Ireland full rights. Parnell pledged to continue, “as we have been struggling,” in his demands for the interests of Irish farmers. Leaving the Land Question, Parnell redirected his audience to the issue of “national self-government” and the responsibility of every Irish politician to consider these questions.

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58 Ibid., 284-5.
59 McCaffrey, “Irish Nationalism and Irish Catholicism,” 527.
Closing the Cork speech, Parnell asked all Irishmen to “resolve in our own hearts that we shall at all times do everything that lies within us to obtain for Ireland the fullest measure of her rights.” Parnell foreshadowed the early twentieth century fight for independence, asking Irish people and politicians to “struggle for it with the proud consciousness that we shall not do anything to hinder or prevent better men who may come after us from gaining better things than those for which we know contend.”

The speeches ascribed greater worth to Irish efforts and Irish characteristics. Parnell described his Parliamentary Party as a “determined band of Irishmen acting honestly upon these principles.” Identifying these Irish politicians as diligent representatives, his words highlight their commitment to each other and a specific set of pro-Irish values. Parnell lays out themes of peasant virtue in a period of modernization—protecting the Irish identity from the corrupting influences of modern progress. He explained that he and his fellow representatives could not pursue legislation without the “knowledge that behind us existed a strong and brave people”; Parnell further noted that “with their confidence… we should be prove to be in the near future, invincible and unconquerable.”

While identifying England’s “continued misgovernment of Ireland and persisting in the government of our people by a people outside herself who know not her real wants,” Parnell created an oppositional identity with which Irish leadership and nationalist goals may be compared. He also asserts external identity—imposing values and characteristics upon the English, particularly in their governing. Parnell and IPP members viewed these points as legitimate political grievances. Support of these

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64 Ibid., 283-4.
65 Ibid., 282.
objectives created a sense of solidarity and commitment to a cause from which identity was derived.

Working from concessions secured from Parliament, Parnell found collaborators in W.E. Gladstone and the Liberal Party in the mid-1880s. The Liberal-Nationalist alliance, tentative at first, was nevertheless strong enough to withstand party splintering in 1890 and hostility to Catholic social and political causes, like clergy-controlled education. While Conservatives implemented real reform in Ireland, Nationalists formed an effective rhetorical alliance with the Liberals. This partnership gave hope to the supporters of Home Rule in their quest for an Irish Parliament and governmental body that would rule Ireland without direct British interference. Irish gains, however, came at the expense of Gladstone's majority.

Rapidly establishing a new administration in 1886, Gladstone unveiled a “Home Rule” (Government of Ireland) Bill. Pooling their votes, Liberal dissidents and Conservatives opposed the legislation, defeating it with a margin of thirty votes. Gladstone was defeated in the next election in 1887. The Conservatives that came to power immediately adopted a coercive policy toward Ireland.

THE MYTH OF PARNELL

Personal scandal swiftly removed Parnell from a seat of power in 1890. Captain W.H. O'Shea, a Liberal associated with the dissident leader Joseph Chamberlain, cited Parnell as a co-respondent in his divorce. O'Shea’s wife, Katharine, and Parnell began

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68 Fitzpatrick, “Ireland Since 1870,” 182.
70 Ibid., 116.
an affair in 1880, living together with the children they produced out of wedlock for ten years. Parnell's refusal to defend himself against charges of this illicit nature led many to believe that he would resign. Others believed the case was another attempt to tarnish the reputation of the Irish Parliamentary Party leader.\textsuperscript{72}

Nationalists re-elected Parnell as their chairman in 1890. Confirming the truth of the rumor with indignant response, Parnell lost the support of Gladstone; the Nationalists deposed their chair. Parnell's situation outraged Catholic clergy and Parliamentary leaders alike. The Irish Parliamentary Party collapsed into two groups, Parnellites and anti-Parnellites. Parnell defended and married his common-law wife, Katharine. Unfortunately, the stress affected his already failing health. Parnell died on October 6, 1891.\textsuperscript{73}

A prime example of an "outsider" that drove Irish Nationalist ideals and goals, Parnell was the son of a Protestant Landlord and, therefore, outside the experience and stereotype of the Irish tenant farmer. He was well-educated and wealthy enough to fund political pursuits; this status allowed him to "imagine" an Ireland beyond the everyday reality experienced by tenant farmers. In the 1880s, he was adept at reading political and popular opinion; his public zeal for Irish control of land and government amplified his popularity, further fueling his cause.

Nationalist forces passionately pounced on Parnell's posthumous presence. His achievements and personality achieved mythical status in literary and cultural circles.

\textsuperscript{72} In April 1882, a band of assassins attacked T.H. Burke, Under Secretary at Dublin Castle, and the newly appointed Irish Chief Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish. Although Parnell expressed public disgust at the events, he was charged with complicity in the murders based on personal memos that seemed to condone them. He was cleared of the charges in just prior to the divorce scandal. Cited in James Loughlin, "Nationality and Loyalty: Parnellism, Monarchy, and the Construction of Irish Identity, 1880-5," in \textit{Ireland in Transition, 1867-1921}, ed. D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day (New York: Routledge, 2004), 40.

\textsuperscript{73} O'Brien, \textit{A Concise History of Ireland}, 118.
The Fenians’ support of Parnell during his fall from power legitimized their cause for future political and social leaders. They took to the Parnellite side while their parents followed anti-Parnellites. Tim Healy, one of Parnell’s greatest detractors, reflected, “We have the voters, but Parnell has their sons.”

The romantic nature of Parnell’s fall fed the appetites of nationalist leadership in the beginning of the twentieth century. The cult of the dead leader became a foundation for political agitation of the disaffected, ‘wild men and literary revivalists.’ William Butler (W.B.) Yeats would later tell the Swiss Academy that modern literary thought and “indeed all that stir of thought which prepared for the Anglo-Irish war” began with the fall of Parnell in 1891, as “a disillusioned and embittered Ireland turned from parliamentary politics.” Parnell’s fall may be viewed as one of the most significant events of this early period in the formation of future Irish nationalist identity.

Disunity and stagnation followed the division of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Irish political nationalism faded and Home Rule was effectively dead for more than a decade. Warring factions of anti-Parnellites, divided Liberals, Conservatives, and Parnellites contributed to a political environment hostile to Irish self-government. The divisions that followed Parnell’s fall were to be expected; it mirrored the political situation and nationalist disunity of the 1850s and 1860s. It was the unity of the 1880s was exceptional.

A re-elected Gladstone introduced a second Home Rule Bill in 1893, but the divided fragments of the former Irish Parliamentary Party were only strong enough to see

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74 Ibid., 118-9.
75 Fitzpatrick, “Ireland Since 1870,” 185.
76 O’Brien, A Concise History of Ireland, 119.
77 Fitzpatrick, “Ireland Since 1870,” 185.
the Bill through the Commons. The legislation was crushed in the Lords—and contributed to Gladstone’s resignation as Prime Minister and leader of the Liberal party. Conservatives and Unionists had opposed his efforts. Associated with the northern Irish region of Ulster, the predominately Protestant Unionism opposed Home Rule efforts; Unionist and Conservative influence and slogans surfaced in the projection of Nationalist programs and propaganda—particularly with the formation of the competing Ulster and Irish Volunteers in 1912 and 1913.

In the wake of the second Home Rule Bill in 1893, Unionist Lord Randolph Churchill argued that “Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right.” Unionist arguments against Home Rule focused on Catholic links—rejecting Home Rule as “Rome Rule.” Other opposition to the bill feared the dissolution of the British Empire following the excision of Ireland; these opponents did not believe Ireland was capable of self-government.

Following the defeat of the second Home Rule Bill, popular sentiment in Parliament focused on “killing Home Rule with kindness.” Conservatives that gained power after Gladstone’s departure believed that with improvements to social conditions in Ireland, Irish Nationalism would be smothered. Both conciliating and undercutting IPP objectives, the policies focused on and benefited land tenure, agricultural self-help and housing, university education, and local government. Under Chief Secretaries for Ireland Arthur Balfour, Gerald Balfour, and George Wyndham, Conservative plans modernized agriculture via the Congested Districts Board and Department of Agriculture.

80 Hepburn, *The Conflict of Nationality in Modern Ireland*, 54.
and Technical Instruction between 1887 and 1905. Conservatives also extended the franchise to parliamentary electors and certain women—and gave Nationalists control of local governments. The passing of the Irish Local Government Act in 1898 established county councils, urban district councils, and rural district councils; for the first time, women had the right to vote for these elected councils. Further legislation like the 1903 Wyndham Land Act encouraged the sale of entire estates, beyond merely small landholdings, to tenants by their landlords.

Ireland still lacked a means of true self-government along English lines in the final years of the nineteenth century. While presented as disorganized, unruly, and inferior to English in representations published by *Punch*, representatives of Irish nationalism were beginning to establish a committed and articulate identity. The wave of political nationalism in this period came crashing down following Parnell’s involvement in personal scandal in 1891. The stalling of political nationalism set the stage for Irish political and cultural change in the early twentieth century.

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81 Fitzpatrick, “Ireland Since 1870,” 183.
82 Boyce, *The Irish Question and British Politics*, 41. The Wyndham Act, in particular, was claimed as a portion of the “killing Home Rule with kindness” scheme, but was much more the work of local Irish negotiations than Unionist initiative.
83 Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, 12.
CHAPTER III

THE FALL AND RISING: CULTURAL NATIONALISM AT WORK

The nation that was once...one of the most classically learned and cultured nations in Europe, is now one of the least so...one of the most reading and literary peoples has became one of the least studious and the most un-literary...the present art products of one of the quickest, most sensitive, and most artistic races on earth are now only distinguishable for their hideousness.¹

Douglas Hyde, The Necessity for De-Anglicizing Ireland, 1892

THE GAELIC REVIVAL

While political support of Irish independence stalled with the fall of Parnell, the Irish cultural and social organizations that had ridden the wave of political enthusiasm in the last two decades of the nineteenth century continued to inform an Irish nationalist identity. Culture became a “surrogate for politics” in the vacuum left by Parnell’s death, inheriting the attention previously invested in the Land League and the Home Rule initiative.² This cultural movement drove self-determination and independence by educating the Irish population regarding its past—and by suggesting a new future.

Hyde’s speech “The Necessity for De-Anglicizing Ireland” called for a reinstatement of the language in order to fully educate the people in the achievements of Irish culture. Nationalists of this period believed that Ireland “must develop a historical self-consciousness, and awareness of its own language and traditions...to recover its own soul.” The use and instruction of the Irish language became essential to restoring an Irish

² Garvin, Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland, 81.
identity that was deemed essential for true sovereignty. Three significant movements exemplified cultural nationalism in the 1880s and 1890s: the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association, and the Literary Revival. Their leaders used themes of historical Irish achievement and symbols of the nation to bolster a new vision of Ireland and her people.

By the early nineteenth century, Irish had become a minority language. One of the first vernacular literary languages in post-Roman Europe, Irish was further weakened by the famine and cycles of emigration. By the end of the nineteenth century, Irish was spoken in remote, rural areas far from commerce. In 1893, an Ulster Catholic scholar and the Trinity College-educated son of a Roscommon Protestant clergyman founded the Gaelic League. Eoin MacNeill and Douglas Hyde dedicated themselves to cultivating a network of spoken Irish in Ireland. Hyde, the League’s president, was raised in a region of Irish speakers where he learned the language and focused on the literature and traditions of the people—dedicating himself to restoring their voice. By 1908, both Hyde and MacNeill held chairs at University College, Dublin – a branch of the new National University of Ireland. Preservation of the Irish language via academic endeavors became finely attached to cultural nationalism.

The Gaelic League formed to “de-anglicize” Ireland in preparation for a “pseudo-Gaelic social order.” Its membership grew steadily in the final years of the nineteenth century; by 1903, there were over 500 branches of the Gaelic League in Ireland with

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3 Fitzpatrick, “Ireland Since 1870,” 185.
4 McCaffrey, The Irish Question, 112.
5 Hutchinson, The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism, 153.
7 MacNeill and Hyde fit the “Outsider” mold; their personal histories and training set them apart from the masses they sought to educate.
8 McCaffrey, The Irish Question, 112.
more in large cities such as London. The League’s cultural gospel was that the “revival of the national language was an essential condition for the revival of the national sense of identity.”

Hyde’s belief in cultural vitality focused on the element of Irish culture that could distinguish it from English culture: the Irish language. The League encouraged Irish people to reclaim Gaelic and historical customs of song and dance, overlooked or forgotten by the late nineteenth century, in addition to the Irish language.

Lifting the stigma formerly associated with speaking the language, the League’s efforts offered a “psychological escape-route from the enervating sense of self-contempt, inferiority, and mediocrity” which the status system, based on markers of identity derived from religion and class, cemented in the population. These feelings stemmed from associations of the language to excessively backward, rural, and ignorant parts of Ireland. The development of a greater network of spoken Irish also allowed them to feel pride in their abilities and celebrate their Irish identity.

The League viewed the Irish language as an “expression of cultural values and a particular mindset,” in addition to a valid form of written and oral communication. The League promoted pride in the Irish language and culture while attempting to rebuild the fluency of the Irish tongue. Nationalist leaders believed instruction in Irish led to the development of character, as well as intellect. Encouraging the instruction of Irish to youth, the Gaelic League established a new foundation on which cultural and political advances could be built.

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Leaders of the Gaelic League, particularly Douglas Hyde, attempted to keep the Gaelic League independent of politics. An increasingly difficult task, it also allowed more people to join and support the Gaelic League, regardless of political affiliation. The League avoided association with any one party or organization that would deprive it and its efforts of universality. Just as they rejected affiliation with single political groups, early Gaelic Leaguers pursued anti-sectarian themes in order to unite Irish Catholics, Anglo-Irish Protestants, and Ulster Presbyterians under a common national “Irish” identity.

Most of the young men and women who restored militancy to politics in the first two decades of the twentieth century began their paths to nationalism as members of the Gaelic League. The League achieved greatest success with its ability to “establish in the imagination of some of the most ardent spirits of the new century a sense of shared endeavor in the restoration of life to something precious that had come close to extinction.”

The Gaelic League had an extraordinary appeal to young Irish emigrants living in London and New York. Many of the themes the League presented appear to have developed out of émigré experience and political feelings. The same is true of Yeats’ Irish and National Literary Societies. Working in clerical jobs in London at turn of century, many of these men and women emigrated from small-town and rural Ireland;

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16 Lyons, *Culture and Anarchy in Ireland*, 43.
17 McCaffrey, *The Irish Question*, 116. The Gaelic League, however, was not without intolerance; its members often criticized people indifferent to the language and those lacking appreciation of Irish customs as “West Britons” for their “favor” of English activities.
18 Lyons, *Culture and Anarchy in Ireland*, 43-5.
they were primed to absorb the language and folklore of the rural Ireland they left behind with "enthusiasm and earnestness."\textsuperscript{20}

Journalists D.P. Moran and W.P. Ryan received training in London. Irishmen in what they perceived as an alien, anti-Irish environment, their acute loneliness led them to contempt of English culture and manners. Moran and Ryan turned to Gaelic League branches in London for support. Young men and women like these returned to Ireland determined to advance the theory and the reality of an Irish Ireland.\textsuperscript{21} Others returned to Ireland to share their knowledge with others, even casting their efforts in a quasi-political attempt to "counteract the debasing influence" of English popular literature that was being absorbed by "the peasant classes in Ireland."\textsuperscript{22} The British culture in which they had been trained made them open to an economically modernized, as well as Gaelic, Ireland.\textsuperscript{23}

Douglas Hyde delivered his most famous speech regarding the Irish language at a meeting of the Irish National Literary Society in 1892. Speaking in Dublin, he encouraged his audience to embrace Irishness and the glories of the island’s past. Hyde assessed the situation of national identity as one in which the people have "cess(ed) to be Irish without becoming English."\textsuperscript{24} Hyde explained,

I wish to show you that in Anglicising ourselves wholesale we have thrown away with a light heart the best claim which we have upon the world's recognition of us as a separate nationality.... That we ought to be content as an integral part of the United Kingdom because we have lost the notes of nationality, our language and customs.

\textsuperscript{20} Garvin, \textit{Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland}, 87-8.

\textsuperscript{21} Moran was the editor and publisher of \textit{The Leader}, while Ryan edited \textit{The Irish Peasant}, both nationalist political papers. McCaffrey, \textit{The Irish Question}, 116.

\textsuperscript{22} Garvin, \textit{Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland}, 87.

\textsuperscript{23} McCaffrey, \textit{The Irish Question}, 112-3.

\textsuperscript{24} Hyde, "The Necessity of De-Anglicizing Ireland," 153.
Irish individuality and, therefore, Irish identity had been consumed by English majority culture. Baffled by the Irish paradox, in which the people claimed to hate the British, yet continued to imitate them, Hyde noted that the Irish had not been fully accepted into British culture because of their “Gaelic past... which is really at the bottom of the Irish heart.” It was this innate propensity toward Irish-ness that “prevents us becoming citizens of the Empire.”\textsuperscript{25} The Irish appeared to submit to the English, but their surviving culture hindered true assimilation.

Developing this concept of Irish resilience, Hyde discussed the history of the Irish people, describing them as a population that “developed naturally, free of Roman influence.” This is an assertion of the Irish power of resistance. Rather than surrender to the influences of conquering forces, Irish populations enveloped foreign pressures; drawing Danes and Normans “to the kindly Irish breast (they were) issued forth in a generation or two fully Irishised, and more Hibernian than the Hibernians themselves...”\textsuperscript{26}

Discussing English populations’ submissions to Roman influences and restructuring, he also established an external definition to which the Irish could compare themselves. Hyde’s statements provided markers of Irish identity with which elements of nationalist agenda was built in the twentieth century: a resilient, powerful and attractive culture that featured an established and celebrated language.\textsuperscript{27}

Recognition of “Irish-ness,” in the form of Irish language, literature, sport and domestic manufactured goods supported the unique and innate qualities of Irish natives.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 154.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 156.
\textsuperscript{27} The Roman influence in England was particularly strong in organizing trade and transport—the remains of which can still be viewed in London where a piece of Hadrian’s wall still stands near the Tower of London.
Parnell and Arthur Griffith called for the development of Irish manufacture, emphasizing the purchase of Irish manufactured goods and encouraging the Irish “to pay if necessary an enhanced price for Irish goods, and to use whenever possible none but Irish goods.”

Irish nationalists presented “Irishness” as a combination of traits including loyalty, courage, morality, piety (and religious justification) and heritage. The Irish language was not employed in a cultural vacuum. Rather, the proliferation of the language was central to the redemption of Irish folklore and history. Validating “traditional” Irish activities, the Gaelic League contributed significantly to the development of an independent Irish cultural identity.

The Gaelic League was most successful in urban areas, appealing to the middle class in cities such as Dublin. Cultural nationalism also grew in small towns, villages, and rural parishes via participation in the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA). The GAA, conceived by Michael Cusack in November 1884, promoted exclusively Irish sports in an attempt to reinvigorate the moral and physical component of the country. Cusack wanted to end the deterioration of athletic events that had continued since the famine. Nationalism was central to the GAA’s role in popular culture. An organization that brought portions of the population together in public, the GAA educated them in Irish traditions while providing competitive entertainment.

The GAA, led by Cusack, encouraged the liberation of Irish social life from English traditions. Emphasizing “national” sports, the GAA urged Irish young men to

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29 McCaffrey, The Irish Question, 113.
31 Hutchinson, The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism, 158-9.
participate in the games of their ancestors: hurling, football, running, leaping, hammer throwing, and wrestling. Young women were encouraged to play camogie, a version of field hockey. The English sports of lawn tennis, polo, croquet, and cricket were presented as antithetical to Gaelic sports, which were “racy of the soil.” Reinforcing concepts of an agrarian and pure Ireland, Gaelic sports were promoted as central to the spirit of the Irish nation.

The GAA achieved astounding growth and success in its first years coinciding with the “heady excitement” that accompanied the career and ended with the death of Charles Stewart Parnell. Developing in a period that was marked by the birth of modern sport, the GAA’s formation mirrored the codification of sport in England. It also served as an example of organization and moral outlining of athleticism. By February 1885, Gaelic athletics, football, and hurling had been codified. The organization of clubs and imposition of rules was immediate and its structure lasted through the next century.

Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) leaders within the GAA pounced upon opportunities to infuse sport with “high sounding rhetoric intended to invest the games with a high moral purpose.” Leaders of the GAA noted that sport could serve as a vehicle for nationalist ends so long as it became a viable popular entertainment. The concept of “selling seats” was paired with a revolution in organized games, compelling a transformation of sport.

The GAA’s initial success can be attributed to its appeal to nationalism, anti-English rhetoric, evocative club names, and participation. It was characterized from its

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32 McCaffrey, The Irish Question, 113.
34 Ibid., 104.
35 Ibid., 105.
early development as an instrument for the re-establishment and glorification of “the Gael,” or the prototypical Irish sportingman. The GAA adapted themes of the Victorian cult of manliness with an emphasis on “pluck, loyalty…and the idea of life as sport.” It also ascribed moral worth to physical activity by incorporating mottoes of “vigor, self-reliance, and self-control.” Fundamental to the ideal Irishman, these characteristics were declared evident in the ancestry of Irish sport and the character of the Irish peasant. The GAA further affirmed the “basic moral worth” of the rural population by highlighting their “sportsmanlike and obedient” nature, good temper, strength, and order. The GAA created a dichotomy in which the peasantry, their culture, and religion were pitted against forces of modernization, echoing themes of Parnell’s Home Rule speeches. This romanticism fed into similar currents running through the Gaelic League and the Literary Revival.36

Successfully adapting the English-implemented county system in Ireland, the GAA became a vehicle for Irish national, regional, and local pride. Establishing branches and representatives in Leinster, Munster, Connacht, and Catholic areas of Ulster, the GAA greatly contributed to local identities by facilitating competition between county teams. Each Irish district could cast their personal support to a local team while investing in Irish cultural advances. Parishes and counties organized hurling or football teams—and sometimes both. The GAA’s insistence upon “one parish, one club” promoted local and nationalist pride while falling in line with Catholic traditions of “one parish, one priest.”37 In this way, Gaelic athletics built upon the familiar and ritualized behavior of

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36 Ibid., 112-4.  
37 Ibid., 104.
Catholicism and Irish custom—perhaps unintentionally linking Irish nationalism further with Irish Catholicism.

Like the Gaelic League, the GAA fostered hostility toward British games and goods; those Irishmen and women who enjoyed English games were accused of promoting “West Britonism”—being merely an extension of English culture into Ireland. The GAA banned participation in English games. It also banned individuals representing the English government, such as Crown forces and police, from participating in the Association and its organized competition.

Divisions within GAA leadership and membership led to the faltering and stagnation of the GAA by the mid 1890s. While the GAA claimed to be expressly non-political like the Gaelic League, it was permeated by political agenda from its inception. Fenians infiltrated the GAA—it was a springboard for nationalist fervor and activity. Realigned with the reunited IPP in the first years of the twentieth century, the GAA reconciled with the clergy its revolutionary currents had isolated. This period also saw the return of the ban against English sports and agents, as well as a restoration of GAA financial success. Continuing to claim “non-political” status until 1916, the GAA remained a presence in Irish nationalism through the first decades of the twentieth century.

These Irish nationalist organizations such as the GAA and the Gaelic League had an appeal far beyond culture, recreation, and politics in an ordinary sense. They offered

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41 Ibid., 107-8.
psychological escape from the extreme restrictions and divisions of society. Members were encouraged to invest in the traditions of their ancestors and reclaim the validity of their identity by practicing these customs. Participation in organizations like the Gaelic League in particular—with its non-political manifesto and distinct educational-cultural focus—allowed an alternative marker of identity for its members. Catholic and Protestant, unionist and nationalist, and all class views were able to exist in relative harmony within the Gaelic League for a time. Irish Protestants found the League a viable way to stake a claim in Irish identity without converting or conforming to Catholicism.

The Gaelic League also allowed previously demarcated groups to interact within its boundaries. It provided a substitute for class distinctions by offering the common name of “Irishman” in its place.

THE LITERARY REVIVAL

Ireland did not experience the same industrial revolution or cultural “advance” as England—rather it suffered from a “primitive” culture in which its citizens failed to make significant contributions to art or literature. Having fallen a “seedy, dull, and provincial town,” Dublin was revived in the late nineteenth century as a major center for movements in literature and theater. The language revival was vital to this restoration of culture, yet a distinctive angle on Irish-Ireland that developed in London among poets and playwrights like W.B. Yeats was essential to Dublin’s cultural growth.

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42 Garvin, Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland, 86-7.
43 Ibid., 80.
44 Ibid., 87.
45 Lyons, Culture and Anarchy in Ireland, 37-8.
In December of 1891, Yeats launched the Irish Literary Society as a vehicle for cultural nationalism in London; it was matched by the establishment of the National Literary Society in Dublin in May 1892. These organizations led the charge of the Literary Revival—their ambitions included the promotion and proliferation of the literature, legends, and folklore of Ireland. The movement took inspiration from the language revival and scholarly interest in early-Christian Irish history and culture, as well as peasant lifestyles. Bringing greater awareness of literature, art, culture and language, the Literary Revival was inspired by a concern that Irish identity was eroding and disappearing.

Prominent Revival figures included Yeats, John Millington Synge, George Russell, and Lady Gregory. Though largely Anglo-Irish Protestants, participants in the Revival rejected much of the class, religious, and political prejudices of their background. Leaders condemned British rule and culture as an obstacle to Ireland’s progress while emphasizing appreciation of the distinct, creative, and significant native traditions of Ireland. The young writers of the Revival pitted themselves against “tyranny” in various forms—specifically British political and cultural influence and a “provincial, puritanical society.”

Attacking British industrialism, they found the Celtic genius in the uncomplicated and unrefined Irish peasant. Peasants had “resisted” foreign materialistic influences, holding onto their “racial souls.” The peasantry preserved the folk tradition, beliefs in supernatural forces—pagan as well as Christian—and the language. Rural Ireland held the key to the true spirit of the Irish civilization for Revival artists. Like

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46 Ibid., 38.
47 McCaffrey, The Irish Question, 114.
48 Boyce, Nationalism in Ireland, 233.
Gaelic Leaguers and members of the GAA, Anglo-Irish writers attempted to recall the virtue of ancient cultural values to the youth of their time.49

Yeats and his colleagues found Parnell a fitting hero; a symbol of resistance to colonialism and destroyed by popular culture, Parnell fell at the point of greatest power. He was a “classic tragic hero”—an “Irish messiah crucified by those he came to liberate.” The literati expanded the Parnell legend, preparing for a cultural savior that would release Ireland, and perhaps all of Western civilization, from “Anglo-Saxon materialism.”

Contributing significantly to western civilization for the first time in centuries via the works of Revival writers, Irish artistry became relevant internationally. Synge and Yeats taught influential people in Britain, the United States and on the continent about the culture and tradition of Ireland—as well as its peoples’ grievances and demands for freedom.50 While the Gaelic League and the Literary Revival sought similar rejuvenation of Irish culture, Yeats’ approach was fundamentally antagonistic to those of Hyde and other cultural nationalists. Yeats desired Irish literature that would make a global impact; he believed this could best be accomplished by the publication of Irish works in English.

The conflict between supporters of the Literary Revival and members of the Gaelic League became a question of art versus propaganda.51 More significantly, the Irish language became a symbol of cultural difference.52

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50 Ibid., 117.
51 Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism*, 182-3. Yeats’s Literary Theatre further isolate Gaelic Leaguers and the Catholic Church with the presentation of works that gave an uncompromising and “negative” view of the peasantry. Following the run of Synge’s *The Playboy of the Western World* in 1907, riots took over the area surrounding Abbey Theatre—the play’s themes were seen to reaffirm amorality, erotic revolt, murder, and violence and confirm external stereotypes cultural nationalists attempted to overcome.
52 Lyons, *Culture and Anarchy in Ireland*, 39.
SINN FÉIN

Arthur Griffith created Sinn Féin in 1905 in support of national self-sufficiency and passive resistance to British Rule. Griffith published Sinn Féin (translated “Ourselves”) to support Gaelic revivalists and promote patriotism. Along with D.P. Moran, Griffith “programmatically rejected the claims of external, supposedly autonomous” organizations (such as Punch) to evaluate self-expression and placed all authority in the nation. His program attracted intelligent and dynamic young people who were disenchanted with political nationalism. The sputtering progress of the IPP filled the youth with a desire to do something for Ireland. The first annual convention of the National Council of Sinn Féin was held on November 28, 1905. At a public meeting held following the convention, members passed resolutions that established authority in and for the Irish people. These resolutions circulated in The United Irishman.

The first resolution powerfully declared, “that the people of Ireland are a free people.” Further cementing the concept of Irish freedom, the resolution asserted, “no law made without their authority or consent is or can ever be binding on their conscience.” English legislation for Ireland, according to the Sinn Féin authors, held no worth if it had not been created or approved by the Irish people and their representatives. Carefully articulating their terms, the Sinn Féin members entrenched themselves in Irish politics.

54 McCaffrey, The Irish Question, 118.
55 McCartney, “The Political Use of History in the Work of Arthur Griffith,” 6-7. The United Irishman was Griffith’s first publication, a weekly that began circulation in 1899—its name is significant in linking his ideas with the Young Irelander paper of the same name, published in the 1840s.
The Sinn Féiners seized control of their political identity by rejecting English authority over Irish politics in clear, simple prose. The second resolution outlines elements necessary for Ireland's growth and success, particularly "the aid and support of all movements originating from within Ireland, instinct with national tradition, and not looking outside Ireland for the accomplishment of their aims." The call for cooperation marks an awareness of parallel objectives within Irish nationalist groups. These resolutions project Irish internal identity as a politically aware, organized, and self-sufficient community.

HOME RULE REVIVED

The Home Rule effort was revived with the election of a Liberal government in 1906. John Redmond, the IPP's leader, held the confidence of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and influenced his presentation of an Irish Council Bill in 1907. This bill proposed the transfer of powers from Irish departments to an Irish Council of 106 representatives. The Council would administer 8 of the 45 existing departments in Dublin. Campbell-Bannerman described his bill as "a little, modest, shy, humble effort to give administrative powers to the Irish people." Advocates of Home Rule derided this "effort"; popular opinion expressed itself against this small measure, derailing it at the National Convention. The Bill drew attention to Home Rule once again, while its withdrawal signaled Irish adamancy for self-government.

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57 Sinn Féin, "Resolutions Passed," 314.
58 Boyce, Nationalism in Ireland, 279.
60 Pauric Travers, Settlement and Divisions: Ireland, 1890-1922 (Dublin, Ireland: Helicon Limited, 1988), 82-4.
Representations of Charles Stewart Parnell’s “agitating” Irish leadership are replaced by comical visions of John Redmond, guiding the remains of Parnell’s Irish Parliamentary Party. The trivet of “LEADERSHIP” absorbs all of Redmond’s attention in “A Divil of a Game” (Figure 19). He must keep the game in constant motion; control of Irish affairs hangs in the balance.\(^1\)

Irish leadership is trivialized by the action in the cartoon. Rather than depict the balancing act as a serious, even life-threatening task, Redmond “plays” at leading the IPP. A relatively simple game, it can be easily manipulated and even put away. Redmond’s frown of concentration suggests that the leader takes his game too seriously; perhaps the game is deceptively simple and truly requires strategy and precision. Ultimately, it is a game of little consequence to Punch editors but holds great significance for Irish Nationalists.

Fig. 19. “A Divil of a Game.” Source: Punch, 25 September 1907.

\(^1\) “A Divil Of A Game,” Punch, 25 September 1907. Fig. 19.
A series of cartoons scrutinizes English policy-makers' control over Irish Nationalism in the first decade of the twentieth century. The Irish pig in “His Master’s Voice” disrupts travel plans for Irish Chief Secretary Augustine Birrell (Figure 20). Wearing a banner of “Irish Agitation” the pig jumps and leaps about, twisting his owner in his ropes. Birrell falters as he reaches for his first-class ticket for his holiday. On the floor are his golf clubs and luggage, symbols of luxury and wealth. If the pig “can help it,” the English government will not be enjoying a break from politics and Irish difficulties.\(^62\) Identified as the location for Birrell’s vacation, Ireland is merely a place for leisure, rather than significant business.

The reader must consider which character is truly in control: the pig or the “Master.” The size of the animal indicates that Birrell should have considerable advantage; the pig is significantly smaller than the menacing monsters of the Land League and the man-sized pigs of the Land War.\(^63\) At this moment, however, the Irish pig directs the Chief Secretary. Birrell is thwarted by “Irish Agitation,” physically manipulated, and unable to attend to his holiday. Although he cannot escape the control of his owner, this Pig is closer to freedom than “the Pig that Won’t ‘Pay The Rint.’” The physical space between “Irish Agitation” and the Chief Secretary allows the pig freedom of movement and leverage. The pig that failed to pay his landlord was held tightly by the ear; he was unable to move swiftly or disrupt the march to gaol without incurring significant pain.\(^64\) Bound merely by the leg, and with much less to lose, the Irish pig wreaks havoc in the station while Birrell remains startled and off-balance.

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\(^{62}\) “His Master’s Voice,” *Punch*, 4 September 1907. Fig. 20.

\(^{63}\) See “Strangling the Monster,” “The Irish Devil-Fish,” “The Pig and The Peer,” and “The Pig That Won’t ‘Pay The Rint!’” Figures 12, 13, 6 and 7, respectively.

\(^{64}\) See “The Pig That Won’t ‘Pay The Rint!’” Fig. 7.
The cartoon contrasts sharply with one titled “No Class,” published only four months previously (Figure 21). This image presents Chief Secretary Birrell in full command of an Irish Council Bill. The Irish terriers mock the small bill dog as insufficient. Merely the plaything of politicians, rather than a powerful piece of legislation, it does not offer the Irish enough autonomy. The tiny puppy trails behind Birrell on the way to Dublin for the “dog” show. Birrell clearly commands the dog—its diminutive size indicates its passivity and insignificance. While Birrell has firm control of political issues concerning Ireland, as he presents his Irish Council Bill to Parliament

65 “No Class” Punch, 15 May 1907. Fig. 21.
in May's "No Class," four months later he is befuddled by Irish Agitation in "His Master's Voice."

The two cartoons reveal that Birrell is capable of controlling legislation, but not Irish nationalist forces. The next year Punch suggests that Irish Nationalism can, in fact, be dominated. "Irish Nationalism" and brothers "Socialism" and "Anti-militarism" put British government to the test (Figure 22). While "Socialism" continues to pose challenges, "Irish Nationalism" cowers at the side of the cage. Its body language and averted eyes reveal its fear of the lion-tamer; its large shoulder blocks any impending blows from the master's whip.66

The lion-tamer is dressed for show—perhaps an attempt to prove to an international audience that these dangerous beasts have been tamed. The pig in "His Master's Voice" took small steps to control his situation by causing turmoil. Potentially much more dangerous than the "Irish Agitation" pig and the Irish Council Bill pup, the massive nationalist lion has been dominated by English efforts.

In 1911, a special committee met to discuss Home Rule. Prime Minister Herbert H. Asquith introduced the Government of Ireland Bill in 1912. The path had been laid by the efforts of Redmond, Asquith, and Irish Chief Secretary Birrell. Birrell, the longest-serving Irish Chief Secretary in this period, worked tirelessly to ensure that the bill was received by Parliament with aims acceptable to most Irish nationalists—following the terms of Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill as closely as possible.67

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66 "A Question of Mastery," *Punch*, 20 April 1908. Fig. 22.
The bill incurred massive hostility from Northern Ireland, spurring militant resistance and the formation of the Ulster Volunteers. Ambiguities remained, most significantly whether or not Ulster would be included or “protected” by built-in clauses. The implementation of Home Rule was delayed in order for the act to receive Royal Assent un-amended, becoming law in September. The Irish Question appeared to have its answer, but the outbreak of the Great War further delayed its enactment.

IRISH IN THE GREAT WAR

In the first decade of the twentieth century, John Redmond led the reunited Irish Parliamentary Party. Redmond defended Parnell’s memory and was admired for his debate and leadership skills. Although considered a respectable leader, Redmond failed to be a commanding presence in a period of renewed Irish political identity that

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emphasized complete Irish autonomy. Individuals who believed in the necessity of complete Irish independence turned away from the IPP in pursuit of more effective political representatives.  

Sir Edward Carson led the Unionists of Ulster in a number of mass rallies against Home Rule. Carson was a southern Unionist who wanted to save more than merely Ulster from Home Rule; his ultimate goal was to protect all of Ireland from the introduction of Home Rule. Conservatives MP James Craig and Andrew Bonar Law joined Carson in the fight against Home Rule, threatening violence in their resistance. The Ulster Unionist Council guided the creation and training of the Ulster Volunteer Force in 1913. This military force drilled openly in preparation for defense against Home Rule and excision from Britain. The Ulster Volunteers were prepared to resist the inclusion of Northern Ireland in an Irish Parliament—by force if necessary.  

The Irish Volunteers (IV) also formed in 1913 to support national self-government for Ireland, spurred by the emergence of the Ulster Volunteer Force. The southern Irish Volunteers were established as a defensive, rather than revolutionary, paramilitary unit. The official purpose of the IV was “to secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland.” The IV split over participation in the war the next year—the majority joined together as the National Volunteers under John Redmond. The remaining force maintained the title Irish Volunteers and was maintained by the Irish Republican Brotherhood.  

The British War Office created two Irish Divisions, the 10th and the 16th, from which Nationalist Volunteers were drawn. Occasionally under the command of Irish  

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72 Walsh, *Ireland’s Independence*, 35.
officers, the troops rarely received leadership with “Nationalist” loyalties. Ulster Volunteers, on the other hand, were permitted to control their own troops organized as the 36th Division. Despite the inequity in these situations, 50,000 Irish regulars and reservists were mobilized in August of 1914 and complemented by over 90,000 enlisted men before 1916.73

_Punch_ mocks Redmond’s leadership of the Nationalist Volunteers in “The Sincerest Flattery” as a cheaper and less innovative version of Ulster’s Volunteers (Figure 23). In tattered costume, Redmond rests his rifle on his knee in an effort to make it appear as large and powerful as the musket in the poster. Redmond’s sword, however, hangs off his belt and drags behind him, adding to the absurdity of the scene. Redmond appears self-important and foolish posed in an effeminate stance. Backed into a corner, Redmond scowls at the poster on the wall and places his hand upon his puffed chest as validation of his efforts.74

Redmond wears the “HOME RULE” banner across his chest, despite the repudiation of Home Rule as a legitimate aim of more uncompromising Irish Nationalists. Redmond’s political agenda was unpalatable to Unionists and revolutionary Irish Nationalists; the cartoon reinforces the vanity of his attempts. “Flattery” will get Redmond nowhere with the Punch editorial staff.

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73 Fitzpatrick, “Ireland Since 1870,” 194-5.
74 “The Sincerest Flattery” _Punch_, 10 June 1914. Fig. 23.
Redmond and IV leaders pursued different avenues of nationalist expression. Redmond believed that the patriotism and sacrifice of the enlisted Irish troops would "prove" their capacity to effectively govern themselves. When it became apparent in 1914 that massive numbers of troops would be needed for the war effort, Redmond pushed his National Volunteers forward. He also wanted to appease Unionists and receive recognition from the British government for the specifically Irish militia—who would then return from war as an established unit to defend their country. Redmond called upon Irish to enlist and protect Ireland "wherever the firing line extends, in defense of right, of freedom and religion" in the war and in pursuit of Home Rule objectives.

Redmond, as the IPP leader and director of Nationalist Volunteers, aspired toward English respect in order to achieve Irish independence, while nationalist groups like the IRB and Sinn Féin demanded immediate emancipation from English "occupation." As
previously discussed, more radical nationalist groups considered the bulk of “Home Rule” objectives obsolete by the time they were won.

IRB members infiltrated much of the IV with plans to establish an independent Irish republic.\(^\text{75}\) Individuals such as Patrick Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh, and John Plunkett—integral to the events of the 1916 Rising—received IRB cultural and political training in organizations like the GAA and the Gaelic League prior to their involvement with paramilitary IV forces.\(^\text{76}\) Pearse was active in the cultural revival, promoting Irish language and Irish education, before his involvement in the fight for Irish independence. Pearse was particularly invested in the Gaelic Revival’s language and education movements. He was educated and lived in Dublin in the 1890s—here he was exposed to the growing Irish cultural movement. Prior to his entry into University and between the ages of 16 and 18, Pearse founded the New Ireland Literary Society, joined the Gaelic League and published *Three Lectures on Gaelic Topics*.\(^\text{77}\) He also established St. Enda’s School at which all instruction was presented in Irish. Pearse’s enthusiasm was marked by an active interest in the mythology of Irish Nationalism and romantic efforts of previous nationalist leaders like Parnell.\(^\text{78}\) Sworn into the IRB in 1913, Pearse was active in the planning and execution of the Easter Rising.\(^\text{79}\)

Erin anxiously watches the Eastern horizon, waiting for the break of dawn (Figure 24). *Punch* suggests it could be the end of the darkness of violence and unrest by which

\(^{75}\) Porter, *P.H. Pearse*, 32.

\(^{76}\) Walsh, *Ireland’s Independence*, 40-41.

\(^{77}\) Porter, *P.H. Pearse*, 17.

\(^{78}\) Pearse is also recognized in writings with the Gaelic spelling of his name Padraig. With the use of this version of his name, Pearse reaffirmed his commitment to Irish language and tradition.

\(^{79}\) Porter, *P.H. Pearse*, 32.
she has recently been engulfed. She ventures a half step forward, with bare feet and ankles emphasizing her immobility and vulnerability. Erin clutches her chest with her right hand; her left hand shields her brow, emphasizing her plight and aiding her vision across the water.

Macardle, The Irish Republic, 112-115. The cartoon was published in the week that followed a successful delivery of contracted arms from German sources. Known as the Howth Gun-running, the weapons were delivered to the Irish coast and distributed to Irish Volunteers who then began to march toward Dublin; the arming was meant to match similar military demonstrations and open marches in Belfast by the Ulster Volunteers. Dublin Castle administrators intervened and the march was obstructed. News of the interference reached the people later in the day; jeering at and stoning Crown forces in Bachelor’s Walk, they incurred fire from the unit. Three civilians were killed while thirty-two were wounded.

“What of the Dawn?” Punch, 29 July 1914. Fig. 24.
THE EASTER RISING

Revolutionary leaders associated with the IV viewed the war between Great Britain and Germany as an opportunity to either steal or force Irish independence. Committed to the theme “England’s Danger: Ireland’s Opportunity,” a committee that included Patrick Pearse, Joseph Plunkett, Eamon Ceannt, Sean MacDermott, Thomas MacDonough, Tom Clarke, and James Connolly met from May 1915 to April 1916 under extreme secrecy. At the end of 1915, James Connolly and his Irish Citizen Army (ICA) proposed Easter 1916 as the time for insurrection. The committee expected to arm members of the IV, ICA, and IRB, as well as auxiliary organizations Cumann na mBan and the Fianna, with munitions contracted from German sources.

Elaborate plans for a national rising required perfect timing of volunteers and soldiers using finely tuned communication networks. Leaders hoped that an uncontrollable uprising would begin in Dublin, spreading throughout Ireland. Coinciding with fighting in Europe, the British would be unable, in theory, to defend both the East and the West. This would force them to pull out of Ireland entirely following the Easter weekend. The power of the movement would rest with the Irish Volunteers, who remained uninformed of the Rising until the last possible moment. This threat of mobilization mirrored the group, or “mob,” activities of the Land League in 1880 and 1881.

Unfortunately for the leaders of the Rising, a miscommunication with German suppliers resulted in the arrival of the German ship, the Aud, three days early. Evading

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82 Lee, Modernisation of Irish Society, 154.
83 Cronin, Irish Nationalism, 116-117.
84 Walsh, Ireland’s Independence, 45.
85 See “Friend and Foe,” “Justice to Ireland,” “Law and Liberty,” and “The Irish Inferno,” figures 2-5, respectively.
capture until Good Friday, the ship was discovered by British patrols and its munitions seized. Believing that they had quashed the chances of the rumored rebellion, Dublin Castle administrators planned to arrest leaders following Easter Monday’s Bank Holiday.

Cutting Irish losses, Eoin MacNeill cancelled the scheduled countrywide gathering of Volunteers at 4:00 p.m. on Sunday, April 23. Contradicting this order, the military council of the IRB sent out an order late Easter Sunday to all Volunteer units that could be reached that they should report to formation Monday morning. Thus the nationally planned event became localized in Dublin. A rushed, though optimistic, Rising was undertaken instead of the carefully calculated, armed insurrection.

On Monday morning, the rebels took strategic points in Dublin. From the command center of the General Post Office (GPO), the Irish tricolor was raised and Pearse read a proclamation, asserting the establishment of the “Provisional Government of the Irish Republic to the People of Ireland.” British troops were quickly called in from such posts in England as Liverpool and Aldershot as martial law was declared on Tuesday in Dublin. It spread nationwide by Thursday, April 27. The Rising leadership lacked proper personnel, sufficient ammunition, and an effective communication network. Chaos engulfed Dublin and impoverished citizens looted the inner city. British troops killed civilians on sight, while Irish fighters caused great destruction and injury. After six days of witnessing battle and civilian casualties, Pearse called an end to the resistance and surrendered.

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88 Walsh, Ireland’s Independence, 50.
It has been argued that the leaders' "strategy" involved buildings that would maximize social disruption and death. Rising leaders did not select locations that would have effectively immobilized the key institutions of Irish government. Hasty mobilization was the most likely source of "tactical mistakes"—notably the failure to continue the siege on Dublin Castle, weakly guarded on this bank holiday. This analysis is also based on the writings of Pearse and Plunkett that featured "blood-letting" prophesies and emphasized the symbolic nature of the Rising movement. The shedding of blood, for the most extreme of the nationalists, was a "cleansing and a sanctifying thing." Focusing on the rewards martyrdom might bring the Irish nationalist cause, these young men also cast their efforts and sacrifices within the revolutionary context.

Following the containment of hostilities, the public responded with disgust at the human and material waste. It is estimated that 1,500 people were killed between Monday and Friday, including large numbers of civilians. Martial law remained in effect over Ireland and tensions continued to mount. Trials of the Rising leaders were held in secret; the accused had neither legal representation nor opportunity for defense. Ninety leaders were condemned to death, but the sentences were stayed after 15 executions.

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89 Fitzpatrick, "Ireland Since 1870," 198. Trinity College could have served as a particularly effective stronghold with its thick walls.

90 Walsh, Ireland's Independence, 45-6. Other public buildings in and around the center of the city were seized, including City Hall, Boland's Mills, Jacob's Biscuit Factory, the South Dublin Union, and the College of Surgeons.

91 Ibid., 45.

92 Fitzpatrick, "Ireland Since 1870," 198.

93 Ibid., 198-199.

94 Walsh, Ireland's Independence, 51. Fourteen leaders from Dublin were shot: Patrick Pearse, William Pearse, Tom Clarke, Thomas MacDonough, Joseph Mary Plunkett, Edward Daly, Michael O'Hanahan, John McBride, Eamon Ceannt, Michael Mallin, Con Colbert, Sean Heuston, James Conolly, and Sean McDermott; the fifteenth was Thomas Kent, executed in Cork.
Liberals, moderates, and Conservatives alike were repulsed by the brutality of the events that followed the Rising.\textsuperscript{95} Popular opinion coalesced in the nine days of executions that followed the Rising—public support for British methods of “controlling” the rebels was lost. British representatives perceived their tactics as reasonable suppression of a traitorous rebellion. The Irish public opinion changed as it understood the Rising to be a genuine assertion of Irish desire for independence.\textsuperscript{96} The legitimacy of the Rising became less important than the cause for which people gave their lives, specifically the recognition of Irish sovereignty, made explicit in the Proclamation of the Republic.

On April 24, 1916, Patrick Pearse read The Proclamation to passers-by in Dublin, establishing the provisional government of the Irish Republic. Initially only legitimate to the small group of extreme nationalists that organized the Rising, the government and sentiments expressed in the Declaration would be embraced by nationalists in the months following the event. The Proclamation of the Republic was written in Irish unmistakably linking it with the Irish cultural movement and placing it within the context of the Gaelic League’s efforts to inspire a unique Irish identity.

The declaration immediately asserted the nature of the envisioned Irish government. Broadening the political base from which support could be drawn, the Proclamation addresses both “Irishmen and Irishwomen.”\textsuperscript{97} Punch illustrations had cast Ireland in the female form of Erin and Hibernia—linking her with immobility, passivity, and vulnerability. Simultaneously projecting the strained state of Irish affairs and the

\textsuperscript{95} Some of the executions were particularly cruel—James Connolly’s severe injuries sustained in fighting required that he be strapped into a chair to be shot.

\textsuperscript{96} Walsh, Ireland’s Independence, 51-2.

ways in which Irish citizens should behave, Erin was submissive and patient. Depictions of political events, including decision-making and mob violence, were the domain of men alone. The Irish authors of the Proclamation included the Irishwoman in their endeavor—women were empowered and encouraged to join the fight for Irish autonomy. This element of the Proclamation was further reinforced by participation of women in the Rising in which Dr. Kathleen Lynn and Helena Moloney led Cumann na mBan, the female counterpart of the IRB, to occupy Dublin’s City Hall.

The initial line of the proclamation reinforced concepts of Ireland as pious, but not expressly Catholic. The Rising leaders invoked blessings over their cause, the establishment of the Republic, and their arms. Staking their claim of independence “in the name of God and of the dead generations from which (Ireland) receives her old tradition of nationhood,” they recalled the roles of former nationalist leaders like Tone Wolf, Daniel O’Connell, Charles Stewart Parnell, and O’Donovan Rossa. The authors cast their proclamation and the ensuing battle as an extension of the revolutionary traditions of 1798, 1847, and 1867. This set their fight within the framework of the historical struggle for Irish autonomy. “In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty,” wrote the leaders of the Easter Rising; many of these men (and woman) were young participants in the centennial celebration of the 1798 Revolution. Further basing their actions in the historical fight for freedom, they noted that “six times during the past three hundred years (Irish people) have asserted it in arms”—and this raising of arms is a “fundamental right” of the Irish people.98

The Irish history of resistance is exemplified by Irish rejection of foreign control, presented at regular intervals by nationalist leaders such as Charles Stewart Parnell and

98 Ibid., 317.
Douglas Hyde. The Irish, read the Proclamation, are entitled to “unfettered control of Irish destinies.” The revolutionaries declared “the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland... to be sovereign and indefeasible,” noting that the “long usurpation” and regular denial of that right has not diminished it. Echoing Parnell’s statements in Cork and Wicklow, the declaration suggested “foreign people and government” may achieve true control over Irish affairs only upon the “the destruction of the Irish people.”

The Proclamation outlined the expectations of the Irish republic and what rights its citizens will enjoy. Again claiming “the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman,” the republic “guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights, and equal opportunities to all its citizens.” Alluding to the class and religious divisions imposed by English culture, the leaders planned to deny “differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.” The republic would instead secure “the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation... cherishing all of the children of the nation equally.” Commitment to Irish freedom became as a new way to overcome divisions and establish “Irish-ness.” “Irishmen and Irishwomen” were called to help Ireland “prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.” The Irish nation had great valor and discipline for these revolutionaries; its people were dedicated, just, and patient.

The Proclamation acknowledged the sacrifices its participants would make not as an vain attempt to force martyrdom, but rather as a series of personal sacrifices on which the foundation of Irish independence could be built. The Rising leaders called Ireland’s

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99 Ibid.
100 Ibid., 317-8.
people to show "readiness... to sacrifice themselves" for their nation. The Proclamation authors were aware of the revolutionary tradition and importance of historical memory to the Irish people. They entered the 1916 Easter weekend fully committed to the Republic, pledging "our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations."101

Rising leaders also identified Ireland as a mother. Her virtue and distinction were in jeopardy with foreign presence and government; her children, the Irish people, were called upon to protect and honor their mother nation. Emphasizing obligation and collaboration, "exiled children in America" and "gallant allies in Europe" lent monetary, as well as intellectual, political, and cultural support to the Irish cause. Rising leaders "proclaim the Irish republic as a sovereign independent state" with belief in Irish strength and "full confidence of victory." The Proclamation closed with the signatures of key participants in the Rising, pledging the "readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good."102

POST-RISING

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the IRB desired separation from England and the establishment of an independent government by whatever means necessary.103 Evolved from the Fenian movement, the IRB was associated with the same acts of violence, murder, and protest as the Land League events of the 1880s. Drawing young and radical individuals into its membership, it was restructured between 1907 and

101 Ibid.
103 Macardle, The Irish Republic, 47.
1912. The organization was marked by fluctuating use of militancy, yet all members were ultimately committed to the goal of Irish independence.\textsuperscript{104}

IRB membership was heavily involved in the Rising siege, while Sinn Féin had no direct involvement. Wrongly credited with organizing the Rising, many Sinn Féin members were imprisoned. Even greater numbers were compelled to join the party in protest against these arrests and treatment of the movement’s leaders. Much of the mass media and British authorities confused the IRB with Sinn Féin.\textsuperscript{105} In the years following the Rising, “Sinn Féin” came to be an umbrella term for all pro-independence nationalist movements and individuals in Ireland.\textsuperscript{106}

Intriguingly, the only \textit{Punch} cartoon to deal directly with the Rising was published immediately following the event in May 1916 (Figure 25). Wielding his staff like a weapon, “St. Augustine Birrell” draws back from the monstrous “SINN FÉIN” that slithers up the rocks beside him. Turning away from the Irish “reptile,” Birrell doubts his ability to effectively handle this menace. The scene recalls the Irish region from which his “brother saint” St. Patrick drove the snakes of Ireland.\textsuperscript{107}

The serpent represents British concern over Irish nationalist, or “Sinn Féin,” and German collaboration. The snake-like features reveal SINN FEIN as a deceitful and conniving organization. Referencing attempts to contract arms from German sources, the body of the dachshund and helmet suggest Sinn Féiners are national traitors. In the context of World War I, affiliating Irish nationalists with the enemy clearly aligns them

\textsuperscript{104} Walsh, \textit{Ireland's Independence}, 35.
\textsuperscript{105} Garvin, \textit{Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland}, 98.
\textsuperscript{106} Lee, \textit{The Modernisation of Irish Society}, 157
\textsuperscript{107} “Wanted—A St. Patrick,” \textit{Punch}, 3 May 1916. Fig. 25.
with immense disloyalty. Irish revolutionaries attempt to undermine the British government for the "selfish" goal of autonomy.

Although depicted as aligned with Germans and a startling monster, the snake-dog remains a concern of moderate proportions. Larger than typical varieties, the snake is not a towering monster like the "Irish Devil-Fish." The facial features are unnerving, but not terrifying. The choice of dachshund, a relatively small dog, suggests this is a fairly easily controlled beast. The "German" features also suggest that the foreign influence leads the monster—perhaps even compelling nationalist resistance.

WANTED—A ST. PATRICK.
St. ANDREW BISHOP. "I'M AFRAID I'M NOT SO SMART AS MY BROTHER-SAINT AT DEALING WITH THIS KIND OF THING. I'M NOT TO TAKE THINGS TOO EASILY."

Fig. 25. "Wanted—A St. Patrick." Source: Punch, 3 May 1916.

108 See "The Irish Devil-Fish," Fig. 13.
*Punch* editors reflect a view within popular press at the time—that Germans coerced Irish nationalists in order to undermine British war efforts. In reality, the British press was correct to categorize Rising leaders as traitors—they manipulated international circumstances in order to cast off the British control and presence in Ireland. This moment of international chaos seemed to afford the best chances for successful liberation. The cartoon calls for a figure that can rid Ireland—and England—of the Irish nationalist menace, the German connection, and discontent. The fact that the cartoon was the only direct reference to the Rising and that the event was not a focus of *Punch* editors highlights, again, the discrepancy between the value of the declaration of goals and identity to Irish Nationalists and British popular media (and, by association, its readership).

Fig. 26. “Irish Sergeant.” Source: *Punch* (5 January 1916).
Also in the context of the First World War, conflicting views of Irish troops were presented in the British media in 1916. In a sketch from *Punch*, an Irish Sergeant warns his men to take care (Figure 26).\textsuperscript{109} The Irish characters are cast as ignorant and naïve.

Irish troops, on the other hand, are praised within pages of reports on the Rising in the *Times*. Reporting the “Irish Division’s Fine Work,” the *Times* concedes “gallant fighting of the 16\textsuperscript{th} Irish Division broke up the German attack,” which had been raging for over a day under the cover of gas.\textsuperscript{110} Four months later, Irish troops were again praised in *The Illustrated London News*, which described their head-on rush into the German line and trenches. Within this praise, however, were characteristic markers of “Irishness”—their brute strength, unorthodox fighting styles, and their wild nature. The author writes, “bayonet, butt, and fist were freely used,” by the “company of Irish—tall, swarthy men.” The article reports with awe that the homogenous Irish unit “behaved with the greatest dash and gallantry.” Their actions were simultaneously compelling and incomprehensible to the other British troops. With a yell, the Irish soldiers rushed the trenches in one of the “most astonishing feats in the war;” the British forces that fought alongside the Irish noted that they had never seen anything like the Irish “wild and irresistible assault... it was like a human avalanche.”\textsuperscript{111}

Only four months following the Rising, the “The Non-Stop Car” recommends “Home Rule” move out of the path of England’s drive toward war (Figure 27). Walking away from Erin and into oncoming traffic, the obstinate “Home Rule” pig causes her difficulty in the face of WAR. Britannia and the WAR car speed toward “Home Rule,”

\textsuperscript{109} “Irish Sergeant,” *Punch*, 5 January 1916, 17. Fig. 26
\textsuperscript{110} “Gallantry of Irish Division” *Times* (London), 29 April 1916, 8.
threatening to flatten it. Struggling to control nationalist meanderings, Erin also finds herself tangled with a domestic problem when she should be helping in war efforts. The Irish Question effectively sidelines Ireland; she appears foolhardy and unreliable in the face of “serious” international issues.

The “WAR” car dwarfs the “Home Rule” pig. The insignificant animal does not effectively gain the attention of English government in this time of conflict. Restrained only by a hind leg, “Home Rule,” like “Irish Agitation,” is nearly beyond Erin’s control. Erin, representative of the people, wisely recognizes that the life of the Home Rule issue is at stake. The movement risks losing its gains if it is overrun by the war effort. *Punch* warns leaders of the Home Rule cause to remain on the shoulder of the road until WAR has passed.

Britannia, unlike Erin, is prepared for war. Preoccupied Erin stands barefoot in work clothes and attends to the “Home Rule” pig, while militarized Britannia drives to war. The faces of these female figures reflect concern, but the scope of their anxiety and perspectives differ. Britannia marches to war; Erin is hobbles with Home Rule.

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112 “The Non-Stop Car,” *Punch*, 2 August 1916. Fig. 27.
113 See “His Master’s Voice,” Fig. 20.
Irish forces serving in the war expressed their frustration and outrage with the Easter Rebellion. Betrayed by the acts of the revolutionaries, they believed their service was bringing Ireland closer to Home Rule, through cooperation and sacrifice.

"Another Injustice to Ireland" discredits the citizens who have not yet stepped forward to fulfill their responsibility to the crown and Empire (Figure 28).

An Irish farmer is nearly compelled into military service in "Another Injustice to Ireland." The title references the farmer's apathy in the wake of the Rising "treachery." The citizen farmer's profile, with few refined features, perpetuates

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114 As it was known in the British press, the "Irish Rebellion" was an externally imposed title for the event. The designation "Rebellion" is imbued with themes of disloyalty and insurrection. Irish sources typically refer to it as a "Rising" or "Revolution." A similar dichotomy of labels accompanied the "American Revolution," with its participants self-identifying as "revolutionaries" and being labeled "rebels" by loyal British subjects.

115 "Another Injustice To Ireland," Punch, 11 October 1916. Fig. 28.
characteristics associated with Land Leaguers. Commenting that he’d go to war, “if only they’d compel me,” the farmer reinforces the stereotype of idle, selfish Irish citizens, as described in “The Irish Question.” The cartoon does not suggest, however, that the farmer has been involved in Sinn Féin activities or that he is committed to the “rebel” cause. He is simply a farmer, waiting to be called to fight. The cartoon plays into a pattern of Irish characteristics of Irishmen in *Punch* representations: lazy, inhibiting the goals of the kingdom, a basic simpleton.

The “Gallant Irish Soldier” represents the ideal Irish citizen. The soldier has charged the enemy—combating the German nemesis in step with English soldiers. His smart appearance emphasizes his more “civilized” nature, presumably from contact with English military order. He can take pride in the fact that he has been wounded in his attempts to defend the kingdom and Europe from foreign menace. His sacrifice further cements his loyalty to crown and country. The soldier has fulfilled his duty of service and has left the battlefield with dignity.

The physical arrangement of the characters also reveals their hierarchy. While Paddy rests on his wall and pitchfork, the Soldier stands above him—this emphasizes his higher social status (to the English) and his physical strength. Paddy peers up at the Soldier; there seems to be greater value placed in soldiering than farming in this image. The Soldier’s confident posture and presence overwhelms the slope-backed, wide-legged farmer. Closer to a sketch than a cartoon, the interaction in “Another Injustice” may have had a greater subconscious impact on the reader.

“The Golden Moment” affords one solution to the conflict and an alternate view of Ireland (Figure 29). As a mediator, Erin is empowered to unite Mr. John Redmond

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116 See Chapter Two, “The Irish Question.”
and Sir Edward Carson in the war effort. Harp slung over her shoulder, Erin is prepared to entrench herself in battle if necessary. This cartoon suggests the Irish could reach an accord, if they turned their attention to a common enemy (Germany) instead of one another. Carson and Redmond pause to consider her suggestion. Punch avoids reference to the violence and events surrounding the Easter Rising, focusing instead on the military forces available for service to the crown in war. It also avoids associating Irish forces with German forces, as suggested by media sources like The Times following Irish attempts to contract German arms in 1914 and April 1916.

Fig. 29. "The Golden Moment." Source: Punch, 24 May 1916.

117 "The Golden Moment," Punch, 24 May 1916. Fig. 29.
Following the Rising, the IPP fell rapidly into decline. It maintained status as a part of the English political establishment as long as they continued to fill seats in Parliament. Although the capable John Dillon succeeded John Redmond in March 1918, the IPP had lost its figurehead. The IPP's participation in the British system and support of Home Rule also undermined the party's chance at "revolutionary" appeal—large portions of IPP support shifted their allegiance to Sinn Féin.

The Irish nationalist cause established an alternative identity to that offered by external sources. The activities of the Gaelic League, GAA, and even the militarization of the IV can be viewed as an essentially "integrative force that sought to unite warring groups by 'reviving' them with a love and knowledge of their common culture." The internal identity was actualized and staked in the public domain with the events of the 1916 Rising. The conflict and compromise that followed would mark the division of the forces that sought to create a common cultural identity.

118 Walsh, Ireland's Independence, 53.
CHAPTER IV
FREE IN MIND, FREE IN POLITICAL BODY

I. Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the community of nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, with a parliament having powers to make laws for the peace and good government of Ireland and an executive responsible to that parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland
6 December 1921

The period following the Easter Rising to 1923 saw the actualization of Irish nationalist identity in the form of political and military maneuvers. The Irish Free State outlined above fell far short of the evolved political demands of Sinn Féin nationalists, but reveals the success of continued assertions of identity aligned with political goals. In the months following the Easter Rising, Sinn Féin won legitimacy with sound political strategy rather than insurgency. Upon winning the seats of Irish Parliamentary Party representatives, Sinn Féin reinforced their separatist policy by refusing to fill them. Elected in East Clare in 1917, Eamon de Valera rose as a political figure based on direct association with the Rising and his status as a survivor of the event.¹ De Valera’s death sentence had been commuted to one of life in prison in the weeks that followed the Rising.²

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¹ Lee, The Modernisation of Irish Society, 158. De Valera was elected following his release from prison, one of many “Sinn Féiners” arrested for participation or complicity with the Easter Rising. David Lloyd George followed Asquith as Prime Minister in 1916 and released all remaining prisoners of the Rising by June 1917. Imprisonment became a badge of commitment and legitimization for a new group of political representatives in this post-Rising environment.
² Walsh, Ireland’s Independence, 51.
In 1917, at the Ard-Fheis (annual convention), Arthur Griffith stepped aside so that de Valera could be elected President of Sinn Féin. Also elected President of the Volunteers, De Valera articulated Irish expectations at the end of the gathering: “Sinn Féin aims at receiving international recognition of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic. Having achieved that status the Irish people may by referendum freely choose their own form of government.”

This statement was in keeping with the democratic principles outlined in the 1916 Proclamation. Sinn Féin’s power was complimented by the regrouping of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), the Irish Volunteers, and their female counterpart, Cumann na mBan. The IRB came under the control of Michael Collins, another Rising survivor.

The Irish Home Rule, or National, Convention was held from July 1917 to April 1918 to allow Irish political parties—Unionist and Nationalist—to reach a consensus over the status of Irish government before the end of the war. The significance of the Convention lies in its incorporation of members outside the traditional Irish Parliamentary Party. An effort to attain legitimacy, this was recognition of the diversity of political goals of nationalist groups.

Punch editors suggest Ireland has legitimate grievances that must be artfully articulated in “Erin Takes a Turn At Her Own Harp” (Fig. 30). They also insinuate that her audience will eat her alive. In this cartoon, Erin concentrates on bringing her grievances to the trios of lions that encircle her. Each trio represents the set on the

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3 Ibid., 53.
4 Fitzpatrick, “Ireland Since 1870,” 201.
English crest. Wild-eyed with hunger and brandishing sharp teeth, they strain to hear her melody with long tongues dangling.⁶

Fig. 30. “Erin Takes A Turn At Her Own Harp.” Source: *Punch*, 30 May 1917.

Following Asquith as Prime Minister, David Lloyd George offered “Home Rule” to the Irish during the Great War and post-Rising. The controversial move was nearly agreed upon as a *temporary* solution but the measure was blocked. The IPP was further discredited by their concession to the agreement and its failure to produce “any real

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⁶ “Erin Takes a Turn at Her Own Harp,” *Punch*, 30 May 1917. Fig. 30.
result." Irish nationalists of all stripes now deemed Home Rule an insufficient substitute for independence.

In the on-going battle for the continent and under pressure to supply more troops following the American entrance into the war, Lloyd George announced intentions to introduce legislation which would allow for Irish conscription.\(^5\) As early as 1916, "Another Injustice to Ireland" implied that conscription may be necessary to drive Irish citizens to support the war effort, but the Irish had not been included in conscription codes that applied to other British citizens.\(^9\)

The announcement immediately gathered vehement opposition. Delegates from Sinn Féin, organized Labour, the Irish Party, and dissident nationalists met at the Mansion House in Dublin on 18 April 1918 to organize a plan of resistance to conscription. De Valera and John Dillon, the IPP head, worked a plan of propaganda that won the support of Catholic leadership: resistance by "the most effective means at our disposal."\(^10\) Outside churches in Ireland, people signed petitions that denied the "right of the British Government to enforce compulsory service in this country."\(^11\) With non-violent acts like these, Irish citizens rejected the commands of a "foreign" government. Separating Irish political goals from British political objectives allowed Irish to invest themselves in an act of dissent. The act reveals greater confidence in the Irish power to demonstrate disapproval. It also indicates an evolution of political methods from the tactics used by Land Leaguers in the 1880s. English expectations of Irish participation in the war served as an external catalyst for an assertion of internal Irish objectives.

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\(^7\) Fitzpatrick, "Ireland Since 1870," 200.
\(^8\) O'Brien, *A Concise History of Ireland*, 142.
\(^9\) See "Another Injustice to Ireland," Fig. 28.
Arrests of many Irish Volunteers in association with another alleged "German plot" followed the summit. Attempts to physically remove individuals most likely to be resistant to conscription, the detentions also backfired on the English as Sinn Féin gained greater support. An alternative to conscription in the form of a quota scheme of voluntary recruitment allowed the government to avoid further conflict. Compulsory Irish participation in the war was avoided by extension until the November 11 armistice.\(^\text{12}\)

THE FIRST DÁIL

The election of May 1918 in East Cavan deepened the rift between Sinn Féin and the IPP. Arthur Griffith, Sinn Féin's founder, was elected from gaol. Sinn Féin continued to gain influence as the IPP's status markedly declined. In keeping with their separatist policy and refusing to fill seats in Westminster, Sinn Féin members made plans to call their own Irish Parliament. All newly elected members were to attend this first meeting of Dáil Éireann (Assembly of Ireland), held on January 21, 1919. The gathering consisted exclusively of members of Sinn Féin because elected Unionist and Irish Parliamentary Party representatives refused to participate; attendance was further limited because thirty-six elected Sinn Féin members remained incarcerated.\(^\text{13}\)

At the first Dáil, representatives ratified the *Proclamation of the Irish Republic* announced in 1916, gave the Dáil exclusive power to create binding laws for the Irish people, and demanded the departure from "our country of the English garrison."\(^\text{14}\) They also passed the Irish Declaration of Independence proclaiming their understanding of

\(^{12}\) Fitzpatrick, "Ireland Since 1870," 203.

\(^{13}\) Walsh, *Ireland's Independence*, 58.

\(^{14}\) O'Brien, *A Concise History of Ireland*, 143.
their roles and power as elected representatives. It asserted, much like the *Proclamation* of 1916, the “right” of the Irish people to be free and the historical continuity of their rejection of “foreign usurpation.” Recalling “seven hundred years” of unwelcome subordination, the authors repeatedly tie the pattern of English rule, its basis in “force and fraud,” and “long centuries of ruthless tyranny” as grounds for their autonomy. The Declaration maintains that “foreign government” is an “invasion” of the above declared natural right to self-government; the Dáil representatives confirm that they “will never tolerate” this invasion while demanding the evacuation of all English forces.\(^5\)

In this first meeting, representatives also presented a Democratic Programme meant to guide government in protection and care of citizens. These representatives took the first steps to actualizing their goals of self-government. The British government did not recognize the Dáil; it was committed to the partitioning of Ireland. Parliament planned to hold tight to six northern counties: Fermanagh, Tyrone, Armagh, Derry, Antrim, and Down. Unionist leaders believed Protestant Unionists could safely hold this region. Sinn Féin leaders, on the other hand, demanded independence for the whole of Ireland.\(^6\)

Drawing attention to Irish issues, a provoked Irish pig leaves his “master” off-balance in 1920. “The Experts” observe the pig’s ability to frustrate his owner (Fig. 31). Prime Minister Lloyd George receives ambiguous advice from Farmers Asquith, Grey, and Morley as “Ireland” the pig bucks at his feet.\(^7\) “Ireland” tangles British leadership in Irish interests, wrapping his “master’s” legs with rope—much like the disobedient pigs


\(^6\) O’Brien, *A Concise History of Ireland*, 143.

\(^7\) “The Experts,” *Punch*, 13 October 1920. Fig. 31. Former Prime Minister Herbert H. Asquith, Former Foreign Secretary Viscount (Sir Edward) Grey, and Chief Secretary John Morley.
"Irish Agitation" and "Home Rule." Rowdy and agitated, the Irish Pig is not a real danger to Ireland; rather, it is an annoyance, easily brushed aside. Its impulsive behavior highlights the tenuous domestication of pigs—and Irish "pigs" in particular.

"Neighbors" Asquith, Grey, and Morley fail to provide physical assistance to Lloyd George; they remain behind the garden wall and offer vague advice. The Prime Minister appears dismayed by his inability to rein in political issues. Characterizing Ireland as a rowdy pig and English leaders as country folk emphasizes the nature of the Anglo-Irish relations. Ireland is a possession, like the conquered African, Ottoman, and Indian figures of "Time's Waxworks"—seemingly under the command of the more

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18 See "His Master's Voice," and "The Non-Stop Car," figures 20 and 27, respectively.
advanced England and its “Expert” Ministers. Like the African figure, the pig resists complete domination by the English leadership. This cartoon alludes to notions of Social Darwinism and hierarchies in the animal kingdom familiar to Punch readers. It is also an assertion of the nature and development of Ireland as both an idea and a place; Ireland remains chaotic and unrefined.

This “Ireland” is an unsophisticated, abrasive animal. Ireland’s grievances are not carefully articulated; the British simply see commotion. “The Experts” reinforces the social and political inferiority of Ireland by placing Ireland in a physically subordinate position. Lloyd George, or the liberal English government, towers over the pig nearly falling on top of it. The pig confirms the agrarian stereotype of the island.

A VICIOUS CYCLE: CONFLICT, TRUCE, PEACE, AND RENEWED CONFLICT

Guerrilla warfare began in Ireland in 1919, sparking two years of conflict known as the Anglo-Irish War, or the War of Independence. This long battle and the ensuing Irish Civil War incurred great violence and deaths of key revolutionary leaders. Much of the early fighting occurred between a group of Volunteers in County Tipperary that came to be known as the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC). The latter group represented British peacekeeping efforts. A conscious effort to act as a defensive force for a republic that was not yet internationally recognized, the IRA serves as a particularly intriguing and effective projection of Irish internal identity. The IRA

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19. See “Time’s Waxworks,” Fig. 14.
20. Again, the distinction of titles by two groups indicates the perception of the event. Irish sources recall the conflict from 1919 to 1921 as the War of Independence, while English sources refer to it as the Anglo-Irish War.
was composed of remnants of the IRB and IV—their efforts were attempts to simultaneously force and prove their legitimacy.

Police and RIC forces in Ireland were often drawn from local populations. IRA and Irish citizens exerted social and physical pressure upon these men and their families to discourage further recruitment of forces. The ban on participation of crown forces in the GAA, established in the 1880s, continued in this period. In 1920, former British soldiers known as the “Black and Tans” arrived along with an Auxiliary Division (the “Auxies”) to reinforce the RIC.

Violence became a feature of life for soldier, officer, and civilians alike. In “Exiled,” the family of an RIC man has been ostracized and driven from home (Fig. 32). Punch explains that the British government removes married men and their families to Great Britain or Ulster for their protection. This sketch suggests that even, or especially, officials designated to maintain peace are unable to avoid the devastating effects of violence perpetrated by Irish insurgents. Ordinary loyal citizens still living in the Irish countryside were equally at threat.

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22 Walsh, Ireland’s Independence, 18-19.
23 The “Black and Tans” were named for the mismatched military and police uniform tops and bottoms in which they were outfitted. They became involved in an escalating cycle of conflict with the IRA forces.
24 “Exiled,” Punch, 10 May 1922. Fig. 32.
The IRA force that numbered only 5,000 at any one time faced police and RIC forces of 40,000. Groups of twenty to thirty armed men were organized by the IRA into “flying columns” and operated in the countryside, predominately in County Cork. Successfully attacking and fading into the civilian population, these men attained a reputation as “elusive, unpredictable, and tough” in pursuit of their goal of Republic; they also brought non-discriminating attacks upon the civilian population into which they faded.25

A cycle of attack, reprisal, and counter-reprisal was established in which innocent civilians were often the victims. The bloodiest portion of the conflict occurred in 1920.

One of the most notorious events of the Anglo-Irish War occurred in Croke Park in

November 1920. Black and Tans retaliated against the assassination of eleven suspected British intelligence officers by firing into a crowd of football fans, killing twelve innocent citizens. Police forces burned houses and dairies in an attempt to extinguish support for insurgency. Black and Tans and Auxiliaries also set fire to the city center of Cork as retaliation against an ambush by Tom Barry's flying column in 1920.26

While the Anglo-Irish War raged, politicians in England and Ireland attempted to find a suitable resolution. The figures in "The Great Postponement" attempt to balance the Government of Ireland Bill (Fig. 33). Trained by Lloyd George, the pig expresses his exasperation with the English government. Though voicing his frustration, the pig continues to "obey" the direct commands of the Prime Minister. It does not make an attempt to move or disrupt the balance of the bill. His exasperated outcry does little to make him even a nuisance—unlike other pigs "Irish Agitation" and "Ireland." The English government firmly commands the Irish cause in this cartoon.27

The theoretical partitioning of Ireland began in 1920 as Lloyd George presented the Government of Ireland Act. The legislation provided two different Home Rule-style parliaments—one in Dublin and one in Ulster. These two parliaments would be linked by a Council of Ireland. The partition would continue until both parliaments agreed it should end. Ulster Unionists accepted this arrangement to maintain a link with Britain; southern Nationalists, on the other hand, rejected this arrangement as "too little too late."

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26 Ibid., 187. The death and martyrdom of Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, in Brixton prison in London following seventy-three days of hunger strike drew further world attention to the state of affairs in Ireland.

27 "The Great Postponement" Punch, 21 December 1919. Fig. 33; See "His Master's Voice" and "The Experts," figures 20 and 31, respectively.
This compromise fell outside of the intent of Irish Nationalists to establish a fully free Irish Republic, as reflected in “A Test of Sagacity” (Fig. 34).  

The animal challenged in “A Test of Sagacity” has taken on a completely new demeanor. No longer unruly or mischievous, the bespectacled Irish pig calmly attempts to solve the riddle placed before him. This marvel of a pig is characterized by unnatural intelligence and patience. Merely present for entertainment, it shares the stage with props for basic animal tricks. Presenter Lloyd George gives the pig a set of letter cards and narrates its progress as though it cannot comprehend the commentary. 

The pig sits with his back to the audience struggling to spell out his desires. Lloyd George has offered cards spelling “HOME RULE.” The pig indicates the cards he needs are missing, as Ireland will not be satisfied until it achieves a Republic. *Punch* implies that the Irish would be wise to accept the cards they have been dealt—Irish leadership’s search for a Republic is obstinate. *Punch* illustrators suggest that the pig is on display—perhaps on a world stage—presented as a novelty by British leadership. *Punch* editors clearly recognized that Nationalists wanted a republic, beyond merely an Irish Parliament.

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28 “A Test of Sagacity,” *Punch*, 18 February 1920. Fig. 34.
THE ANGLO-IRISH TREATY

In 1921, Ireland was locked in stalemate. Eamon de Valera spent most of the Anglo-Irish War in America gathering support for Irish Independence and economic assistance to fight the war. On his return to Ireland in 1921, Lloyd George met him with an offer of truce. De Valera, IRA, and Sinn Féin representatives met with British representatives Under-Secretary Andy Cope and Commander-in-Chief in Ireland General Macready on July 9, 1921. Two days later, Crown forces and the IRA signed a truce, though peace with Britain would be difficult to secure.29

The effects of conflict in Ireland are reflected in two cartoons in 1921. In “Her Own Task,” Ireland (as Erin) prays for mercy from the pattern of murder and violence on her island (Fig. 35). St. Patrick refuses to perform any miracles for the Irish; he faults the Irish people for their predicament, suggesting she make strides to quell the agitation. She must “help” herself before she will receive any intervention. Ireland is on her knees before the saint—representing her desperation and vulnerability. As she pleads with her patron saint, the snake she references prepares to strike. The serpentine “MURDER” lunges forward, fangs exposed, from its coil around a barren tree.  

Fig. 35. “Her Own Task.” Source: Punch, 16 March 1921.

Fig. 36. “The Promise of Rain On A Parched Land.” Source: Punch, 13 July 1921.

30 “Her Own Task,” Punch, 16 March 1921. Fig. 35.
Two days following the signing of a truce on Irish soil, Ireland lies in a valley that bears no resemblance to the lush vegetation for which Ireland is known. Her hands are clasped in a position of prayer—the heavy rain cloud of peace hovers on the horizon. She prays for the release of the rains in this distressed environment (Fig. 36). The cartoons imply the vanity of Catholic practices, as a Saint refuses to intercede and prayer may not be enough to secure the truce. No longer requiring a female representation such as Hibernia or Erin, Ireland is explicitly herself. Ireland’s harp is cast aside in both images, emphasizing the extreme state of affairs in Ireland. Ireland, exhausted and desperate, has endured terribly adverse conditions and now requires political and humanitarian assistance.

The truce that took effect on July 11, 1921 offered Ireland Dominion status within the empire—without its six northeastern counties. The Second Dáil that met in August found this offer unacceptable. A committee selected by President de Valera was sent to London to negotiate a peace compatible with independence goals. “A Forgotten Patriotism” reveals Punch’s opinion of these demands as excessive and narrow (Fig. 37).

Eamon de Valera looks over his shoulder, ripping the offer of Dominion and Home Rule, as the ghost of Charles Stewart Parnell admonishes his obstinacy. Parnell suggests that de Valera “loves” his country and is therefore unwilling to accept anything less than independence. Parnell concedes that he would have accepted the Home Rule “half” of the offer de Valera now rejects. Dead for nearly thirty years, Parnell’s stern words bear potent authority in the nationalist cause. Considered a mythical and romantic

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31 “The Promise of Rain on a Parched Land,” Punch, 13 July 1921. Fig. 36.
33 “A Forgotten Patriotism,” Punch, 24 August 1921. Fig. 37.
leader, Parnell’s achievements inspired the minds that began the Easter Rising from which de Valera emerged as a nationalist leader. Both leaders envisioned an Ireland in which the Irish exercised the power to govern themselves. Obstinate, but appropriately committed to his cause, de Valera receives more respectful representation than Redmond in *Punch*.

De Valera’s committee arrived in London led by Arthur Griffith. Its members included Michael Collins, Robert Barton, lawyers George Gavan Duffy and Eamon Duggan, and secretary Erskine Childers—a group representing a wide variety of views on Irish self-government. Three issues were at stake: the nature of the Irish state that would emerge and its relationship with Britain, the Northern question, and safeguards for Britain.
in times of war. The committee maintained communications with de Valera in Dublin, but signed the Anglo-Irish Treaty without his consent on December 6, 1921.

In the details of the treaty, 26 of 32 Irish counties gained the constitutional status of Dominion, similar to the Dominion of Canada at the time. This conglomeration of counties would have its own army and navy. The leadership would control the Free State’s affairs at home and abroad. It was subject to membership of the British Commonwealth and to an oath of loyalty to the king. The remaining six counties, temporarily suspended from the Irish Free State, were to make a decision for or against joining their sister counties after one month. They chose not to join the Free State and remain united today as Ulster or Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom.34

The two groups at the negotiations perceived the treaty quite differently. British officials saw the treaty as a solution to the “ancient problem” that plagued relations between Ireland and England. Irish leadership viewed the agreement as disappointingly short of expectations and knew it would not be well-received. Michael Collins reflected, “… I have signed my own death warrant.” The new state would not be called the “Irish Republic,” but rather the “Irish Free State.”35

Two aspects of the treaty for the new Irish Free State are commonly overlooked. First, the representatives from the southern portion were invited to negotiate terms to match the “national aspirations of Ireland” to the British Empire. These individuals were recognized as full representatives of a nation: Ireland. Secondly, in order to be suspended from the Irish Free State, the six northeastern counties had to be included in a state with

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35 Ibid.
at least theoretical existence. In negotiating the treaty, in other words, British officials recognized the projected political aim of Irish nationalist representatives—Ireland as an independent state. This was a political goal that accompanied their internal perceptions of the Irish nation; this internal validation, unfortunately, did little to alleviate the controversy surrounding the actual terms of the Treaty.

Published a month before the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, Miss Ulster’s expression in “A Cabinet Picture” represents the dissatisfaction of all parties involved in its negotiations (Fig. 38). The signatories from the Irish Nationalist camp, and President de Valera, believed the form of the proposed Irish Free State was too remote from the Republic they desired.

In contrast to representations of the lower Catholic Ireland, Ulster is portrayed as a young girl in “A Cabinet Picture.” Pouting about the impending Irish peace, but aligned with British interests, Ulster is portrayed as a female child rather than livestock. The large chair in which Miss Ulster sits reveals Ulster’s fledgling political status in 1921. She may grow into this seat, at which time she will engage in independent political action.

Miss Ulster poses for photographer Lloyd George with her arms crossed over her chest. This childish version of resistance is more easily overcome than leaping pigs or treacherous snakes. Miss Ulster wears modern dress, complete with socks and shoes—a clearly civilized, although juvenile, representation. Whether or not she wants to come to peace, she will submit, as Britain is her “guardian.”

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36 Ibid.
37 Boyce, Nationalism in Ireland, 327-8.
38 “A Cabinet Picture,” Punch, 16 November 1921. Fig. 38.
In 1921, St. Patrick's deed is again recalled—this time St. David believes he has successfully driven the last serpent off the island of Ireland (Fig. 39). Using the staff of the "IRISH FREE STATE," Lloyd George completes the work of St. Patrick. As Lloyd George rids Ireland of this "last and the worst" snake, he reveals the English understanding of negotiations. The snake that is driven into the sea is marked by "MISTRUST," indicating that the English government has finally won the confidence of the Irish people.  

Fig. 38. "A Cabinet Picture." Source: *Punch*, 16 November 1921.

Fig. 39. "For This Relief Much Thanks." Source: *Punch*, 14 December 1921.

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39 "For This Relief Much Thanks," *Punch*, 14 December 1921. Fig. 38.
Again emphasizing the Catholic tradition of the island and reaffirming the miraculous quality of St. Patrick's deed, Lloyd George concentrates on the expulsion of "MISTRUST." Lloyd George prays with extended hands and fingers spread wide—there is an element of magic in his accomplishment. Lloyd George conjures with the ease of a wizard, linking the Catholic miracle with superstition and magic.

As Michael Collins noted upon the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, nationalists were predominately dissatisfied with the arrangement of partition. The provisional government was composed of members of the previous administration, but the infant government of 1922 lacked control over any sufficient army, police force, or court system. Before these organizations could be developed, conflict led to civil war. Volunteer resistance to the Treaty was prevalent in southern regions of Cork and Tipperary; guerrilla tactics that had worked successfully against crown forces were now applied against neighbors. President de Valera called for an end to hostilities on May 24, 1923.

Deaths in the Irish Civil War surpassed numbers from the War for Independence (Anglo-Irish War) with losses totaling more than 800 troops and thousands of "Irregulars" and civilians. Losses of key leaders in 1922 affected the remaining nationalist leaders; Griffith suffered a heart attack, while Collins was ambushed in August.\textsuperscript{40} Collins' death was seized by the nationalist cause, adding to the group of martyred nationalist leaders. His political involvement and young death also reflected the popular memory of Parnell—although Parnell died of illness, it was believed that it was brought on by the stress of his commitment to Home Rule and Irish nationalism. As civil war ravaged the country, it divided Volunteer forces. Collins was killed by former

\textsuperscript{40} Fitzpatrick, "Ireland Since 1870," 213-5.
comrades; the mutiny appeared to mirror the way in which Parnell was abandoned and attacked by his deflated constituency.

Collins appears to have been relatively well respected by *Punch* editorial staff. In the following images, Collins is entrusted with authority to control IRA organization. This implies that he is not only capable and a formidable presence, but that he commands the respect of a wide variety of nationalist forces.

John Bull gives Michael Collins the “Full Warrant” to control the IRA presence on the border of the Irish Free State and Ulster in March 1922 (Fig. 40). John Bull notes that Ulster has been able to control the violence on their side of the border and prevent border crossing; Collins responds that he has not had the authority to control it. Bull presents Collins with the Irish Treaty Act, as a gesture transferring power and confirmation of respect.\(^4^1\)

Michael Collins makes a firm stand against the monstrous “Evil Genie,” the IRA (Fig. 41). This cartoon presents Collins favorably as he attempts to rein in the Irish Republican Army he encouraged and allowed to grow. His position is one of strength as he stares down the genie. Collins holds the confidence of the government in his left hand—with right bicep forward in a sign of strength and hand curled into a fist. He is in a position of power, rejecting the chaos that follows the genie and seeking control over the monster.\(^4^2\)

Like the earlier depictions of the Land League, the IRA is drawn as a menacing creature. The Genie begins to charge with arms and legs pumping at Collins, who stands resolutely. Caught in a swirl of smoke, the IRA menace is presented as a swarthy, dark

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\(^4^1\) “Full Warrant,” *Punch*, 29 March 1922. Fig. 40.

\(^4^2\) “The Evil Genie,” *Punch*, 12 April 1922. Fig. 41.
skinned creature—bent on conflict with Irish leadership and goals. The proportions of the monster to the Irish Nationalist leader are telling. Unlike the Sinn Féin monster in “Wanted,” this threatening monster is larger than Collins—this is a problem that one man may have difficulty controlling. It also reveals the level of admiration/respect the *Punch* staff has for Collins. He is heroic and bold in the face of peril.

These cartoons reveal *Punch* understands of the diversity of opinions of Irish Nationalist groups and leadership. Rather than submitting to the platform and techniques of the IRA, Michael Collins intends to rein them in. Through three months, Collins gains legitimate power from the English that he is expected to use to control IRA violence and planning. Modern and respectable—he is given a commanding presence in these cartoons, even when he does not yet have full control of IRA activities.

Collins confirmed nationalist thought concerning Irish independence and revels in the Ireland’s successes and leadership in *The Path to Freedom* (1922). His interjections of Irish national character rejected and reinforced some of the external factors influencing Irish identity. Collins also made assertions of English characteristics and attempted to impose definitions, while identifying key components of Irish internal identity. His words carefully emphasized certain characteristics and portions of Ireland’s history and people.

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43 See “Wanted—A St. Patrick.” Fig. 25.
45 Ibid.
In the section entitled “Distinctive Culture,” Collins discussed the “nature” of the Irish people, the differences between the English and Irish populations, and the need for a new national identity. Collins explained that the “Gaelic civilization” of Ireland was misplaced by British armed occupation—but also as a result of the “loss of nationality itself.” Ireland for the last century, according to Collins, had been “a nation in little more than name.” The national identity that was “lost” in the period of occupation was perhaps not actually missing, but dormant. Douglas Hyde voiced similar opinions while promoting the proliferation of the Irish language, suggesting the Irish should be “content” to be a part of Britain because they had lost Irish “notes of nationality, our language and customs.” The native culture of Ireland was not meant to “wear” the “ill-fitting”

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46 Collins, The Path to Freedom, 95.
English civilization. Collins wrote, "English civilization made us into the stage Irishman, hardly a caricature" via the destruction and isolation of the Irish language, whose revival Collins adamantly promotes. He rejected the imposition of English culture and civilization in favor of more appropriate features for "natural" Irish national character.

The nature of the Irish people, according to Collins, was constant throughout historical time. The native Irish culture was resilient and resistant—particularly to the colonization efforts of the Roman Empire. It featured a highly developed social system and economic organization, including trade networks with Roman merchants. The Irish remained pure of foreign influence because their character and roots on the region did not allow them to be captive. Groups that came to Ireland in conquest were won over by the beauty and strength of the Irish systems and were absorbed in Irish culture, according to Collins. Again, Collins revealed himself as a student of Hyde, echoing the latter's opinions on the "Gael-ization" of would-be conquerors. Irish success—winning the end of British occupation—was the result of a return to "natural" roots: attempts to speak their own language and govern themselves.

Ireland also benefited from a strong and harmonious system of rights and laws—a democratic system. Although propagandistic, Collins established a framework in which contemporary political objectives could be set. Collins emphasized the Irish commitment to the community and the nation, as their social structure, national system of education, and economic practices supported spiritual and social unity. Collins wrote that a "democratic social polity, with the exaltation of the things of the mind and character, are

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48 Collins, The Path to Freedom, 100.
49 Ibid., 95-6.
the essence of ancient Irish civilization, and must provide the keynote for the new.”50 He suggested the construction of a new Irish identity. Rather than attempt to adapt and understand the culture that has been affected by English domination, Collins urges the Irish populace to return to its roots to build a credible and “strong spirit of the Irish nation.”51 This is Collins’ attempt to reinforce myths of Irish history and tradition; recalling the features of past versions of Irish society allowed Irish leaders to adapt social practices and political objectives to bolster their goals. This process is a version of the “invention of tradition” suggested by Hobsbawm.

Collins attempted to impose an external identity on Britain—one that featured an easily subdued and influenced culture and one that promotes imperialism via “her love of conquest.” Refusing to view the Irish as a fully subdued or subjugated people, Collins suggested that English culture was overcome by conquering influences—it was as much consumed by as it learned from these forces. England was affected by every subsequent wave of invasion that crashed on its shores; according to Collins, the nation and its people are a reflection of those visitors. The Roman Empire could not persist in conquered areas because it was not rooted in the people.52 English civilization, according to Collins, is equally unfit for Ireland.

The Irish in 1922 are “free in name” but must make strides to secure actual freedom. “The strength of the union will be the strength of the spirit of the whole people,” Collins explained, “our civilization will be glorious or the reverse, according to the character of the people.” The government and the nation’s economy must be

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50 Ibid., 98-100.
51 Ibid., 101.
52 Ibid., 97-98.
democratic, an “expression of the people’s wishes.” The native language must be restored; Collins highlights this as one of the most difficult challenges.

![A SON OF LIBERTY.

Eamon de Valera and Michael Collins make a great show of the “opportunity” for representative elections (Fig. 42). Arm in arm, the two leaders bow to the Southern Irish Elector and present his choices—which have already been decided for him. Punch mocks the validity of Irish true self-representation, suggesting the people have not actually been given the opportunity to voice their opinions. Collins and de Valera remind the elector that he is a citizen of “the greatest and most intelligent nation on Earth;” Punch’s choice to include this statement in the context of the cartoon cancels its validity.53

53 “A Son of Liberty,” Punch, 31 May 1922. Fig. 42.
Collins and de Valera represent Dublin’s Irish Nationalist leadership and closer ties to “civilization”—made clear by their mode of dress. The Southern Irish elector appears as the Irish everyman, as a farmer or laborer, happy for independence. The elector also stands with his hat in his hands and with feet together—his is a timid, passive, and respectful stance.

August 1922 finds Erin somber and fatigued; her harp strings are broken at her side as she sits in wait. *Punch* editors present an uncertain future for Ireland at the end of “The Darkest Hour” (Fig. 43). The Free State that stumbled out of the Anglo-Irish

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54 "The Darkest Hour,” *Punch*, 30 August 1922. Fig. 43.
peace slowly sorted out its tasks and faced continuing turmoil. W.T. Cosgrave became President of the Executive Council of the Free State in 1923; his Cumann na nGaedheal party stabilized Ireland through the implementation of a relatively conservative program. The reality that did not exactly match the vision of nationalists would continue to be reshaped in coming years, following the rise of de Valera’s Fianna Fáil party.

The events described above were the result of and helped influence an independent cultural and political identity for Irish nationalists. The rise of nationalism in Ireland in the 1880s culminated in the birth of the Irish Free State in 1921. Both the goal and identity projected by Irish nationalists were reshaped and revised repeatedly between 1880 and 1923. Irish nationalists failed to achieve an Irish republic, but the independence they won was far greater than the meager demands they made for Home Rule in the late nineteenth century. It also gave the Irish people a greater awareness and confidence in themselves as they pursued further reform of the political structure—their increased demands were accompanied by a constant assertion of an Irish identity that contradicted nineteenth century representations of their character as inferior. The eventual recognition of an independent Irish political identity was reflected in changing cultural assumptions regarding the Irish, as evidenced by changes in the presentation of Irish issues in *Punch.*
The evolution of Irish political issues is clearly displayed by these images from 1887 and 1920. *Punch* editors seem to suggest that Sisyphus may have had an easier task than those who deal with Irish political issues; the Irish Question never ceases to tax politicians.\(^1\) Presented in the forms of cumbersome boulders, these Irish issues were physically and psychologically demanding problems.\(^2\) The title of the issue has evolved from 1887 to 1920. While Salisbury struggled with “IRISH DIFFICULTY,” Lloyd

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1. Albert Camus, “The Myth of Sisyphus,” translated by Justin O’Brien, [http://stripe.colorado.edu/~morristo/sisyphus.html](http://stripe.colorado.edu/~morristo/sisyphus.html) created 1996 (accessed 03/07/2005), 1-3. Sisyphus, the “wisest and most prudent of mortals,” also angered Pluto when he refused to return to the underworld after being granted a posthumous visit back to the mortal world (to chastise his wife for an uncommon display of obedience to him). He was seized by Mercury, returned to the underworld, and forced to ceaselessly toil—his task was to roll a massive boulder up a mountainside, only to see it fall back on its own weight following his efforts.

2. “Salisbury Sisyphus” *Punch*, 9 April 1887 and “The Resources of Civilisation” *Punch*, 20 October 1920, Fig. 44 and 45, respectively. The first cartoon portrays Lord Salisbury, Robert Cecil, as the mythological character; Salisbury was leader of the Conservative party and Prime Minister (before and after Gladstone).
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

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George and Bonar Law attempt to raise the "IRISH GOVERNMENT BILL." The Irish legislation, by comparison, garners the attention of two politicians—Lloyd George and Bonar Law combine their efforts and employ the leverage of "COALITION." These cartoons very subtly acknowledge the efforts of Irish nationalists in making their political goals known, as well as the identity attached to these endeavors.

Ireland, following its revolution and subsequent civil wars, developed much as it had before the fight for self-government. While partition of the island had practical benefits, it segregated the northern Catholic population from the rest of the Irish population in the aftermath of the Anglo-Irish Treaty; it became a significant casualty of political compromise. Independence made a major difference, but "not the kinds of differences" separatists imagined. The Ireland that emerged from the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 was scarred from the battles waged in cultural, political, and physical war. The terms of the Treaty were wholly unacceptable to some nationalists and members of the Dáil, while others like Arthur Griffith believed that, although disappointing, the Treaty gave Ireland freedom on which they could build. Pitting former comrades against one another, the divisions over the issue had driven factions into civil war. These divisions ended a period of common vision and affiliation in which various nationalist groups focused on a shared goal. There was little recognition of the gains the nationalist movement made over this short forty-year period, precisely because of the evolution of a variety of political goals within the movement.

In a period in which social hierarchies were adapted from theories of biologically determined animal hierarchies, representing Irish issues and characters as "pigs" clearly

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3 Fitzpatrick, "Ireland Since 1870," 211.
4 Garvin, Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland, 11.
cast them as lesser beings. The Irish Pig evolves from a man-sized threatening and
comical character to a more realistic proportioned figure over this period. By the end, it
is no longer a deliberate menace—rather it has become an irritant and a greater danger to
itself than England.5 It is possible, however, to read cartoons like “His Master’s Voice”
and the “Experts” as suggesting “Ireland” exerts small measures of control over its
masters. While this small moment of control cannot be sustained, its suggestion
recognizes the impact of continued agitation. The Irish pig also evolves as a
representation of men to a symbol of political issues over this period.

Paddy and the mob are depicted on a spectrum of unruly to idle; they inspire
terror as dangerous, destructive, unintelligible characters with prognathous and simian
features that highlight these “innate” traits. Their activity is irrational, chaotic, and
unorganized. The presentation of Paddy and the mob is most prevalent in association
with the Land War and early Home Rule objectives. Irish male figures in Punch cartoons
are aggressive, imbecilic, and deceitful; Irish female figures, in contrast, are in need of
protection and assistance. Erin and Hibernia reflect the passivity and obedience the
British wish upon the Irish. In the context of the Victorian behavioral codes within which
they were drawn, Erin’s chastity was to be closely guarded from the ravages of the Irish
mob.6 Ireland, the nation and her people, generally progresses as represented by Hibernia
to Erin to explicitly Ireland. She and the Irish pig can be contrasted with Miss Ulster of
“A Cabinet Picture.”7

5 See “His Master’s Voice,” “The Non-Stop Car,” and “The Experts,” figures 20, 27, and 31,
respectively.
6 Before and during the Land War, Gladstone’s cooperative relationship with Ireland was ridiculed;
images showed Gladstone “wooing” Erin, as her savior in a series of thrilling rescues, and even an
eroticized Erin attempting to seduce Gladstone. Examples include Figure 11, “The Rivals”; “Out of the
Wood!” Punch, 27 August 1881; and “Hibernia Consolatrix” Punch, 5 June 1886.
7 See “A Cabinet Picture,” Fig. 38.
Much like the pigs and the monsters presented above, *Punch* representations of Irish Leadership evolve from treacherous characters to fools, eventually earning begrudged respect. Comparison of four key figures—Charles Stewart Parnell, John Redmond, Eamon de Valera, and Michael Collins—reveals the progression and perception of Irish leadership. English figures depicted as operating in the Irish political arena, such as Prime Ministers Gladstone and Lloyd George and Irish Chief Secretary Birrell, are viewed as struggling with, saving, and confounded by Irish issues and characters.

The actual British political cartoons, and the elements of identity they ascribed to Irish issues, impacted the construction of “Irish-ness” by Irish nationalists less than the atmosphere in which they were distributed and the ways in which they were perceived. The “interpretation of these characteristics by the cartoonist and his ‘readers’” influenced the social interaction between the groups ranked by the images. The attitudes of the time—liberal and conservative, Irish and British—were drawn in the record of political cartoons. With easily understood symbols, the images held established meanings in the minds of readers. The Irish had been long been encouraged to identify with the English because the characters that represented Irishness were harmful or shameful. The pictures—the innumerable social and political understandings they represent—were worth a thousand words.

As self-identification is based on social and cultural cues, some of the characteristics Irish nationalists ascribed themselves directly opposed the images and concepts put forth by representations of Britishness and Irishness in British popular publications. The Irish nationalist movement motivated its followers by appealing to an

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8 Appel, “From Shanties to Lace Curtains,” 373.
identity based in a common past and seeking to achieve a vision of Irish independence. These appeals were based on myth, "history," and traits commonly associated with the Irish population, such as virtue, peasant purity, organization, resistance, and dedication. Recognition of historically relevant figures and events allowed nationalists to justify their actions within an acceptable revolutionary context.9 The Irish concept of freedom integrated political, civil, personal and religious aspects of cultural life into a political movement.10

The vehicles of nationalist coordination, such as the Gaelic League, the GAA, and the Literary Revival, contributed markers of identity to the movement and activities that expressed those characteristics, "dramatizing the lessons of its historical experience and thereby inspiring future generations to individual and collective self-realization."11 Through language, literature, and sport, a "national consciousness or personality could be made to discover and celebrate itself."12

History and myth, then, structured and cemented Irish nationalist identity. Inspiring commitment to the revolutionary tradition, nationalists such as Pearse and Collins disseminated a message that encouraged cooperation: "if Irishmen could work together in the past, then they could do so again."13 Celebration of historical figures and themes of past movements further allowed Irish nationalists to cast a unified past that glossed over their former divisions—contextualizing and validating their current reality.14

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11 Hutchinson, The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism, 197.
12 Duddy, "Thinking Ireland," 14-5.
14 Ibid., 25.
Viewing the history and evolution of relations from the Irish popular perspective and from the perspective of the leaders of Irish nationalism provides deeper insight into modern elements of national character. The roles of politics and culture in relations between neighboring nations can also be derived from this study, including the nature of perception, "understood" social distinctions and rules, as well as the direct and indirect impact of media messaging. The ways in which identities are formed remain vitally important—particularly in an age of globalization in which the borders of state and nation no longer serve as absolute boundaries of identity.

This analysis is merely one study of the cultural forces that influenced generations of Irishmen to stake new identities; they chose to view themselves as individuals and groups of an internally established character. The exercise of "choice" remains essential to the establishment of political and cultural autonomy. Rather than accept the identity proposed by external forces, Irish nationalists looked to root themselves in language, history, and myth. Irish nationalist goals evolved over this forty-year period, allowing for a spectrum of organizations and individuals to contribute to their character. Basing their efforts in rhetoric and image, the Irish nationalist movement viewed external and internal characteristics through a critical lens in order to bring their identity into focus.
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