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EAMON DE VALERA
THROUGH CARTOONS
1916 to 1945

by

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Contents

LIST OF PLATES

Illustrations are presented in fold–out section.

Fig.1	1919	Grace Gifford Plunkett, National Library of Ireland
Fig.2	1916	**Eamon De Valera-a Biography** M.J.McManus
Fig.3	1922 April	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.4	1922 April	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.5	1923 June	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.6	1926 Dec	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.7	1929 April	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.8	1932	National Library of Ireland
Fig.9	1928 Feb	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.10	1931 March	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.11	1934 May	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.12	1935 March	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.14	1938 Feb	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.15	1936 Nov	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.16	1938 Aug	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.17	1937 Nov	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.18	1937-38	National Library of Ireland
Fig.19	1940 Dec	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.20	1941 Sept	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.21	1942 Dec	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.22	1929 Jun	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.23	1922 April	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.24	1923 Feb	**Ireland's Eye**
Fig.25	1931 Feb	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.26	1929 April	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.27	1925 March	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.28	1931 April	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.29	1933 June	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.30	1934 May	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.31	1935 Dec	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.32	1938 Feb	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.33	1938 April	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.34	1938 July	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.35	1939 Feb	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.36	1939 July	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.37	1941 Nov	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.38	1922 April	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.39	1922 May	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.40	1922 June	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.41	1922 Aug	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.42	1927	National Library of Ireland
Fig.43	1930 Aug	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.44	1933 Aug	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.45	1935 Feb	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.46	1935 Sept	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.47	1937 April	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.48	1937 June	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.49	1937 Dec	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.50	1938 Dec	**Dublin Opinion**

Fig.51	1922 May	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.52	1922 April	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.53	1922 May	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.54	1922 June	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.55	1923 Feb	**Ireland's Eye**
Fig.56	1927 June	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.57	1932 Feb	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.58	1932	National Library of Ireland
Fig.59	1934	National Library of Ireland
Fig.60	1936 Sept	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.61	1936 Dec	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.62	1938 April	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.63	1938 June	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.64	1935 Feb	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.65	1938 Dec	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.66	1939 June	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.67	1949 April	**The Irish World**
Fig.68	1933 Jan	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.69	1936 Jan	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.70	1936 May	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.71	1938 Oct	**Dublin Opinion**
Fig.72	1924 June	**Dublin Opinion**

Chapter One

Introduction

Before the Anglo/Irish Treaty of 1922, Irish cartoonists had already received a long education from publications in British journals such as **Punch** on how to caricature an individual. These British cartoons have been analysed before on numerous occasions. To my knowledge, Irish cartoons dealing with the split with Britain and the emergence of Ireland as an independent state have not been looked at before. Due to the importance of Eamon de Valera I have chosen him as the focal point for my analysis. Research into the depiction of de Valera in newspaper cartoons found that newspapers of the day rarely carried illustrations of this type. But humourous journals such as **Dublin Opinion** were rich with examples, providing well over 200 cartoons of him to choose from. Propaganda posters of the time revealed a more crude portrayal of de Valera in cartoons. Research also included reading historic accounts of de Valera's life written both by contemporaries and more recent biographers. Books about cartoons/caricatures gave a basis for examining cartoons of de Valera. Since there are no books dealing with Irish cartoons of this period much of the analysis is my own interpretation of the drawings, backed up by sources from my research.

With this research, I intend to look at how accurately this band of brand-new acidic artists portrayed de Valera and his life. Standing head and shoulders above everyone else of his generation, bespectacled, with foreign and somewhat ugly features, even mediocre caricatures could easily be recognised as the de Valera. It was in the attempt to depict his public persona, his political stance, the opposition to his policies and his vision of Ireland that kept Irish cartoonists working on their doodles of the 'Long Fellow' throughout a very extended career.

Chapter One

The Irish cartoonists' attempts to capture the public persona of Eamon de Valera

In this chapter I will look at the public persona Irish cartoonists depicted of Eamon de Valera and the accuracy with which this compares to historians' accounts of the same.

> "Is it not the caricaturists task exactly the same as that of the classical artist? Both see the lasting truth beneath the surface of mere outward appearance." Annibale Carracci.
> (Heller and Anderson, 1992, page 10)

Caracci's attempt to underline the role of the caricaturist or cartoonist seems very straightforward, but how were cartoonists in Eamon de Valera's time supposed to see the "lasting truth" in a man whose strength of character made it possible for him to dominate Irish politics for over thirty years? His physical image has been well captured by cartoonists of his day but his staying power and influence can be seen by the sheer number of cartoons made of him. Was the "lasting truth" in the case of Eamon de Valera his "outward appearance"?

The character of an individual can often be traced back to their youth. Born in New York City in 1882, de Valera's Spanish father, Vivion de Valera, died when he was only two years old. As a consequence, his Irish mother sent him to her hometown of Bruree in County Limerick. After the usual free schooling, he won a scholarship to University College, Blackrock in Dublin, where he became highly interested in mathematics. He took part in political debates there, but was surprisingly conservative proposing that 'a constitutional monarchy was preferable to republicanism.' *(T.Ryle Dwyer 1980, page 6).* Gradually he joined organisations such as the Gaelic League, became fascinated with the Irish Language and with his teacher Sinead Flanagan, whom he married. He joined the Irish Volunteers in 1913 and eventually the I.R.B. (Irish

Republican Brotherhood). In the 1915 Rising, de Valera was a Commandant and had control over the men stationed at Bolands Mill. They were the most successful and effective force in the Rising due to de Valera's natural expertise as a leader . After threatened hanging, imprisonment in England and eventual release, de Valera came home as the remaining hero of Easter Week, 1916, to the people the following year.

Suddenly there was a need in the Irish public to find out who was this Eamon de Valera. In *Which* (Fig. 1) by Grace Gifford Plunkett, de Valera is the subject of a piece of 1917 propaganda, probably originally published as an illegal leaflet. The defiant statuesque pose of the soldier with his augmented dimpled chin, his minuscule nose, muscular neck and body seem ridiculous beside the photograph (Fig. 2), of his arrest by the British in 1916. But the photograph of this scrawny figure reveals his defiance of the British through his solid if not adonis-like facial expression. Gifford has captured his character of defiance - even in the face of the death sentence. Her idea to draw de Valera as if he were a modern day Greek God complete with W.B.Yeats-like spectacles for added intelligence, reveals the public's belief that he was 'the accepted leader of the men of Easter Week' *T.Ryle Dwyer, 1980. Page 12.* From this heroic, war-hungry image, the next cartoons of de Valera did not appear until 1922, with the first publishing of **Dublin Opinion**, a humourous journal full of jokes and stories and sometimes a political comment. For the next twenty years, this journal was almost the sole publisher of cartoons for the adult Irish population. Newspapers rarely used a cartoonist and when they did it was highly conservative. Even de Valera's own newspaper, **The Irish Press**, launched in 1931, shied away from the Opposition through cartoons. So when **Dublin Opinion** was launched it had an image–starved audience in waiting.

After Plunkett's simple line-drawn caricatures came Arthur Booth's view of the Anglo-Irish Treaty proceedings in 1921. Long gone is the steadfast soldier. In its place, Booth draws de Valera as a woman overcome with

grief in "M...M...Must we part?" (Fig.3). To describe De Valera's character as feminine seems strange. Perhaps he is cast as the female in the parting since Griffith, due to sporting a moustache, could not? But perhaps Booth is trying to convey a sort of softness or flaw in de Valera's character for being weak-willed throughout the Treaty negotiations, preferring to stay in Ireland and let Griffith and Collins take the blame for not gaining a 32 county Ireland. De Valera's uglier features, such as his nose, are exaggerated to the extreme, while his angry eyes and scattered hair make him look dangerous and scheming.

Booth has outdone himself in his 1922 rendering de Valera as the devil (Fig. 4), complete with horns and hooves. How could a mild-mannered mathematics teacher turned war hero suddenly be caricatured as the most evil of creatures? This view of de Valera after attending a Free State meeting reveals that a section of the population saw de Valera as an evil man intent on bringing Sinn Féin, the I.R.A.'s party, to power. This perception of de Valera worsened as the 1920s progressed. De Valera had split from Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins due to the inclusion of the Oath of Allegiance in the Anglo-Irish Treaty and not, as many have since thought because of the Partition of Ireland. This 'little sentimental thing', as de Valera called it, led to Booth's idea that de Valera was just being dogmatic (Fig. 5), one of the more obvious traits in the man. To spend five years 'in the wilderness' *MacManus, 1962, page 242*, politically must have taken quite a lot of dogmatism over that sentimental thing. By 1926 de Valera's character was portrayed as that of a jester or harlequin (Fig. 6), swinging Document No. 2, his own idea of what the Treaty should contain, like a madman.

In 1927 with a new party, Fianna Fail, and growing support, Eamon de Valera was on his way back. The Opposition's propaganda started attacking his character all over again. In Fig. 7 he is seen as Nelson's Pillar - lording over the city with an angry expression, still out of control and now politically out of control. Before the general election of 1932 the Opposition

Party, Clan na nGaedhal, attempted to bring down de Valera's popularity by painting him as a wimp. (Fig. 8) being controlled by a gun-toting I.R.A. man. In this mass-produced poster the cartoonist attempted to draw de Valera's face as one of distrust and limp-wristed friendliness. His clothes are loose and sloppy as he lazily leans on the gun at his back – hardly the man to lead Ireland through post-depression years. But de Valera's own propaganda machine had awoken. Since his failure to gain a majority with Fianna Fail in 1927 had been blamed on the lack of a daily newspaper supporting their cause, de Valera set off to America to raise funds. In Fig. 9, Charles E. Kelly, of **Dublin Opinion**, drew this rather worried picture of de Valera asking for American funding. De Valera had collected money in America nine years earlier to 'support the Irish freedom cause'. This reveals one of de Valera's more basic characteristics. when he believed in his campaign strong enough, he was willing to beg to see it through. The worried face in the cartoon is not one of greed for self, but genuine concern that the launch of his newspaper might not be possible. But his new paper did come about. **The Irish Press**, launched in March 1931, was seen as an angry baby under the parental care of de Valera (Fig.10). This supposedly private view of de Valera as a family man in his pyjamas and slippers, walking the baby is an ironic contrast. Although he has married in 1910, his wife Sinead soon got used to not seeing him for long periods, such as when he was imprisoned by the Free State Government (1923) and the Ulster Unionists (1924). Even his seven children knew him by his nickname 'Dev'. So as a fatherfigure/parent he failed. Too caught up in the affairs of the Irish people at large, his own family lost out.

Fianna Fail won control of Dáil Eireann in the 1932 election. Almost immediately, de Valera ordered the end of paying land annuities to previous British landlords, which began the economic war between the two countries. Ireland refused to sell its agricultural products to Britain, while they stopped all coal shipments to Ireland. The witty Frontline cartoon (Fig. 11) by

C.E.K. - Charles E. Kelly - draws parallels between the Northern Ireland border and World War 1. De Valera is in the G.H.Q. and is of course the general in charge, plotting the routes for sneaking cows over the border. Yet again, de Valera is portrayed as the defiant soldier leading his country to victory. He is definitely out of the so called 'wilderness years' and back in control. Throughout the 'thirties his control of the media demonstrated in Fig. 12 which shows him broadcasting on television, was very strong. This was not due to the imposition of political censorship but rather through de Valera's own strength of character which over-shadowed his opponents at this time. The hypnotic eyes and forceful stare on the screen do not really portray de Valera, who reputedly (McManus and Dwyer agree on this) was not naturally gifted for oration but who swayed the crowd by the sheer honesty in his voice. His honesty is reflected in his wish for equal honesty in the people he had to deal with such as Neville Chamberlain who in Fig. 13 is accused of attempting to lead de Valera 'up the garden path'. But, of course, de Valera is obstinately refusing. Obstinance is another of de Valera"s characteristics revealed through the cartoons of him in the 1930s. According to Seán Lemass "The new President's style of leadership was to seek agreed decisions on overall policy by relying upon the force of physical exhaustion to get agreement." (*T. Ryle Dwyer, 1980, page 80).*

In other words, he would argue all night in order to gain agreement as in Fig.14. The devout trust his party had in him is evident throughout the 'thirties. Charles E. Kelly produced a large amount of cartoons depicting de Valera as the father figure to his Ministers or in the case of Fig. 15, the Snow White to a collection of dwarfs. This happy scene is an indication of the respect the Ministers had for de Valera, who appears to be brushing the cobwebs away oblivious to the fact that a foreboding witch-like shadow of partition is at the door.

With the ever-present Northern problem de Valera is portrayed

as someone with other things on his mind - his own vanity. For the post of the first President of Ireland the new constitution stipulated that the candidate should have a clear conscience. **Dublin Opinion** had this rather vain-looking de Valera explaining who the right man was for the job (Fig.16). I think vanity is an unfair and untrue trait to lay at de Valera's door. True, he had achieved great things but he was also too insecure about his own background and ancestry to be concerned about vanity. For example, during the Blue Shirt rallies of 1932-33, de Valera was accused of being a Spanish Jew, which he fervently denied:

"There is not, so far as I know, a single drop of Jewish blood in my veins".

(Dwyer,1980, page 90).

Anti-semitism had not only gripped Germany, so de Valera with his irregular features, would not get away lightly. Although no historians have painted de Valera as anti-semitic or outwardly racist, fig 16 suggests a pre-occupation with his own human and perhaps racial superiority. This artistic comment is unjust as even after six years of economic warring with Britain de Valera held no malice towards his British counterparts.*(McManus, 1962, page 238).*

Opposition posters in the election of May, 1938, lack any real sense of de Valera's failures. In Fig. 17 for example, de Valera's head is stuck to the body of a chicken. The obvious animal connotation is unrealistic. De Valera had done everything but chicken out of the troubles around him. "The empty formula" refers to de Valera's political policies of his five years in office such as the Economic War. Policies which the opposition parties had by this stage agreed to and were adding to their own manifestoes. William T. Cosgrave's Clan na nGaedhal party continued to lose seats with every election in the 1930s.

The public face of de Valera remained much the same during the war years but, due to censorship of the press political, comment was kept to a bare minimum. Fig. 18 attempts to reveal de Valera as a liar or 'lyre' as the

case is here. Perhaps this was the cartoonist taking a jab at the overpowering outwardly honest face of the leader, who was not showing the troubles of staying neutral to his people. The comical, smiling, mask-like face seems to say 'there's more to me than what you see'. Indeed, his international dealings during the war were unseen by the general public. Fig. 19, he was like 'Big Brother in George Orwell's novel **1984** with nobody really sure as to what he was up to.The two men on the bus whisper about his whereabouts, while the man himself is sitting behind them, a god-like creature who is everywhere but cannot be seen. Fig. 20 expresses the same feeling of an unseen controller. De Valera is drawn as if he were some kind of black wizard with an extra long neck and hidden eyes. The three men at the table turn around in fear. The cartoonist portrays de Valera as something to fear. This 'Big Brother' persona seemed to dog him in the latter years of his career - larger than life, a living legend. This public characterisation reinforced the idea that he was becoming out of touch with his flock. Fig. 21, 'Up in the clouds' seems an unfair judgement of a man who fought for Ireland's neutrality for the full five years of war. The cartoonist has modelled the pose of de Valera on Rodin's sculpture **The Thinker** to portray him as a man lost in his own ideas, oblivious to other peoples opinions. De Valera did press strongly for his plans to be used during the war but he was not completely deaf to others. When he was writing out the new constitution de Valera received much advice from the public, especially the Roman Catholic clergy*(Dwyer, 1980, page 64).*

In my opinion, de Valera would in the words of T.S.Eliot's **The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock,** "Prepare a face to meet the faces that we meet". To the British during the Anglo/Irish Treaty debates de Valera was obstinate (Fig. 5). To his fellow party members he was the caring father figure (fig. 15). To the public at large, during the war he was the hidden controller, activities unknown (Fig. 20). Cartoonist's rarely hinted at his more personal side preferring to venture no further than his love of mathematics such as in Fig. 22, a

cold and calculating pastime. But reading about his Presidential years 1959-1973, revealed that guests to Aras an Úachtarain, the Presidential residence, were surprised when: "that charm, so often lost behind his austere public image would blossom forth, and he would reveal himself an excellent conversationalist with a keen sense of humour". *(Dwyer 1980, page 147).* This was a side to the man's character which cartoonists did not even hint about, revealing that cartooning often ends up with a biased view - a fault not just in the art itself but in the use of it.

Chapter Two

Chapter Two

Irish cartoons portrayal of de Valera's political leadership and political stance.

In this chapter I will discuss the Irish cartoonists' comment on de Valera's' political responsibilities and their reaction to his decisions.

"With a few strokes, - the caricaturist - may unmask the public hero, belittle his pretensions, and make a laughing stock of him", Ernst Kris.

(Heller and Anderson 1992, page 12).

In 1920 de Valera started off as a public hero, as Grace Gifford Plunkett's 1919 cartoon suggests. But soon, due to his 'dealings' with the I.R.A. and his involvement in the civil war cartoonists gleefully belittled his achievements (Fig. 3) and made a laughing stock of him. This is a good example of how strongly influenced cartoonists were by de Valera's changing political stance in their opinion of his right to leadership.

In Fig. 23, while the Treaty was still being discussed, de Valera's running singlet is marked I.R.A., while Arthur Griffith is running for the Free State. The Treaty is humourously seen as a ball and chain around de Valera's ankle holding him back. This is a sharp premonition of how the Anglo-Irish Treaty would be the downfall of de Valera as a leader in the early 1920s. Although the vast majority of Irish voters were pro-treaty, de Valera continued to push for support of his Document No. 2, his own version of the Treaty that was similar in every way except for the omittance of the 'Oath of Allegiance'

He did have some followers as this cartoon from **Ireland's Eye**, a short-lived humourous journal of the time, reveals (Fig.24). De Valera is portrayed as a leader with issues of public importance as his prime concern. But how did he justify his press release in that year, which he referred to "rights which a minority may justly uphold, even by arms, against a majority."(Dwyer, 1980, page 66). This, among other blundering remarks at the time, revealed

de Valera not as the upstanding righteous politician as in the cartoon (Fig.24) but more a man who had burnt his bridges with the Treaty controversy and was making matters worse by seeming to support civil war. At a rally in Thurles on St. Patrick's Day he spoke of having 'to wade through Irish blood,....in order to get Irish freedom'. (Dwyer, 1980, page 63).

Although de Valera was still the leader of Sinn Fein, he was becoming more an outcast to the public as the 1920s wore on. **Dublin Opinion**'s 1925 front cover (Fig. 25) shows de Valera as having grown too big for the journal and, frankly, too big for the Irish people. Over the past three years he had constantly been in and out of prison and his physical cartoon image has started to transform from a mild-mannered politician (Fig. 24) to a frowning- faced beanpole (Fig. 25). He is suspected of high treason due to his arrest after travelling to Derry City when Northern authorities had refused him a travel permit. Another two months in jail, but in Booth's caricature de Valera continues to frown at the injustice of it all. The leader has his head bowed, not through sorrow but because lack of space forces him to do so. Booth has made a rather weak link between de Valera's extraordinary height and his "high" crime. Even the way the word 'humourous' plays on his head seems to be making a laughing stock of him, a fallen angel no longer in control.

Even up to 1929, Eamon de Valera was still seen as one of the wilder men of Irish politics, a leader behind bars. His face in Fig. 26 looks as though it has given up. He did think of retiring while in prison. Realising that he was moving in a different direction to Sinn Fein, he split from the party and set up Fianna Fail. Having abstained from the Dáil when leader of Sinn Fein due to the Oath of Allegiance, de Valera signed the oath with his new party. From this point on de Valera changed his political stance from that of far left nationalist fighter to near left republican moderate *(McManus,1962, page 164).* He even worked with William T. Cosgrave, leader of the Opposition party Clan na nGaedhal, on certain issues such as the taxing of imported butter, Fig.27. This

lively sketch of the two leaders endeavouring to keep each other balanced shows how equal de Valera had become with his old enemy in the Dáil. In the election of 1927 Cosgrave's Clan na nGaedhal party held 61 seats while Fianna Fail held 57. It was a race for power in the 1932 general election. De Valera made sure the public heard his new moderate views by setting up the **Irish Press**. Fig.28 is a humourous portrait of how de Valera wished to be seen in his new paper. Calm and in control, de Valera poses for the paper's cartoonists with one hand outstretched in a Christ-like gesture as if he were calling for peace. A cartoonist in front of him depicts the leader with a halo. The perfect man to rule our country. This contrasts sharply with the opposition poster (Fig.8) which shows a sloping figure with his hand lazily signifying the shape of the I.R.A. gun behind him.

When de Valera came to power in 1932, he had promised many changes. His political stance, when it came to ties with Britain were beginning to loosen, as can be seen by Grace Gifford Plunkett's cartoon Fig.29. A statue of Queen Victoria, probably the one outside the Fourcourts, is being carted away by a gleeful de Valera. Plunkett seems to have placed de Valera in the role of the aggressor, a far cry from her propaganda poster (Fig. 1) of 1922. A rather rubbery looking de Valera is being observed by W.B. Yeats who seems to be lamenting this historic event. The cartoon give the impression that de Valera is destroying Ireland's relationship with Britain."The old lady says 'Woa'" is telling de Valera to slow down and to not make any rash decisions.

Later that year (1932), quick decisions were needed when the Blueshirt leader General Eoin O'Duffy was given the reins of the Clan na nGaedhal (Opposition) party and the Centre Party. This pseudo-fascist party was dealt with swiftly by de Valera as can be seen in Fig.30. Cosgrave and Duffy's gang are portrayed as the followers of Brutus in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, while de Valera is an enormous shadow clutching his 'A Wearing of Uniforms Restriction Bill'.As the title suggests, the bill forbade the wearing of

unofficial uniforms in public. The 'Blueshirts' were instantly stripped of their identity and name, a master political stroke by de Valera. This is the only front page cartoon (Fig. 30) **Dublin Opinion** published referring to the Blueshirts which shows how swiftly they were dealt with. Leaving the opposition in complete disarray with no proper leader or direction, this was the beginning of de Valera at his best political strength. Coupled with his power abroad, no wonder one of his earlier biographies was called **Unique Dictator** *(Dwyer, 1980, page 98).* In reality de Valera saved Ireland from autocratic rule with the elimination of the Blueshirts. In truth he was just a natural leader who could convince everybody that he was right without the need for physical force. As can be seen in Charles Kelly's 1935 Christmas cover for Fig. 31. As the cartoonist has imagined de Valera was like a play producer. He set about giving his ministers and party members specific jobs to do, or parts to play like in the pantomime and expected everyone to have learnt the lines he had written for them.. One minister on the right side of the cartoon carries a back drop for the show with "Transformation scene 1932-1935". Before this transformation occurs Clan na nGaedhal have to be made a laughing stock of . Hence, William Cosgrave and his deputy are given the horse costume. De Valera has got things moving in this country and Charles Kelly has framed his 'dictatorship' in a lighthearted pantomime.

This unquestioning belief in their leader was also mirrored in the aforementioned Fig. 14, where the members of his party feel there is no reason for him to read them his new constitution. When forced into the Anglo/Irish Economic Reform talks of 1938, de Valera refused to back down from his earlier stance that Britain's interference in the State was a bad thing. In Fig. 32 he and Neville Chamberlain are seen to be equilibrists, de Valera on a par with his opponent as he has , established himself as the true leader of his people and is willing to fight for it. In this cartoon Charles Kelly also equates de Valera with the other European leaders/dictators of the day namely Mussolini,

Stalin and Hitler. However, "De Valera, who could probably have made himself a dictator without very much difficulty at anytime during the past nine years, remains the resolute democrat that he always was." *(T.Ryle Dwyer, 1962.Page 319).*

Was de Valera a leader of this calibre? The cartoonists certainly saw him as such (Fig. 33). When there was a rumoured Cabinet split in 1928, the cartoonist has a solitary sketch of de Valera with copy underneath indicating that he represents the entire Cabinet. The cartoon does not mean that de Valera was the soul controller, just the binding force of a strong government. These rumours of a split were completely unfounded when a month later Fianna Fail was fifteen seats over the necessary amount to rule the Dáil. Charles Kelly reflected this solidarity in his cartoon, Fig.34 which depicts de Valera and Cabinet; as musclemen confronted by an over-taxed civilian. Although taxation remained a problem, this show of political stability was the perfect front for a country wishing to remain neutral in the impending World War 2.

It was, of course, de Valera's decision to stay neutral. To him neutrality would signify to the International community the end of British influence in Irish affairs. At home, people were prepared to tighten their belts with the rest of Europe. **Dublin Opinion**'s front cover in February 1939 reveals how the war, with its much more terrifying possibilities, made problems such as high taxation and unemployment of lesser importance (Fig. 35). Unlike in Britain, where Chamberlain was ousted by the more war-capable Winston Churchill, de Valera remained in power throughout the War. He was at his 'dictatorship' best. He had, as already discussed, developed a 'Big Brother' persona in public circles. War censorship acts such as the one over-emphasised in Fig. 36, kept people in the dark. Such was the dictator-like stance of de Valera that even Charles Kelly was driven to make a comment (Fig. 37) on how the Dáil operated with de Valera as leader. When a backbencher dares to contradict de Valera fellow party members dive for cover expecting the worst, while 'Dev' is

shocked that anyone would dare do it, hardly a democratic process. Being contradicted did not sit well with de Valera as already seen by his confusion after losing support in the 1922 Anglo/Irish treaty. In this cartoon Kelly suggests that de Valera was given a free rein by his colleagues in the Dáil for fear of his reaction,especially if he were questioned by someone in his own party.

In my opinion, Eamon de Valera was a man who could not bear to be contradicted. Judging from the early cartoons of the 1920s he could not handle his defeat over the Treaty, and consequently fell into 'the abyss' *(The Earl of Longford and O'Neill,1970, page 215)*. When he did gain power, however, cartoonists shied away from provoking comments about his mildly autocratic ruling due mainly to the conservatism of cartoons of this time . His leadership qualities of honesty and thoroughness crop up again and again throughout the 'thirties, whether he is dealing with rival factions such as The Blueshirts (Fig. 30) or his own party (Fig.31) but the Economic war (Fig.32) which brought suffering and hunger to many Irish was never cartooned as being his fault. Finally, in the war years, cartoonists seem to have agreed with him that his, neutrality policy was, our safest bet (Fig.35). He may have safeguarded his leadership into the next decade, but he also saved Ireland from much of the terror of World War 2.

Chapter Three

Chapter Three

De Valera and his vision of Ireland

This chapter deals with de Valera's' views on the Ireland of the future and how Irish cartoonists satirised/applauded such ideas.

".....fields and villages would be joyous with the sounds of industry, with the romping of sturdy children, the contests of athletic youths, the laughter of comely maidens; whose firesides would be forums for the wisdom of old age." De Valera speaking on St. Patrick's Day, 1943. *(MacManus 1962, page 41).*

Throughout his career, de Valera had ideas of what his ideal Ireland would be. His dream of 'comely maidens' and such has received much mockery down the years, and not without some justification. Back in 1922, de Valera had a simplified view of Ireland when Arthur Booth drew him captured within an Irish Round Tower (Fig. 38). The tower, a symbol of our ancient history, reveals that even then de Valera was attempting to mould Irish people's identity. Booth has merely shown what a good prison this obsession makes for de Valera.

Eire, which is always portrayed as a girl/woman features in a number of confrontations with de Valera and Arthur Griffith in 1922. In Fig. 39 they vie for her affections, leaving her looking bewildered. In Fig. 40, having made a temporary coalition with Griffith and the Free State, de Valera worriedly looks on as Eire takes to the water being kept afloat by rather untrustworthy floats. The cartoonist has obviously decided that Eire and what she stands for is de Valera's prime goal. If he cannot woo her, then he will keep her afloat until she comes round to his way of thinking. The cartoonists' use of a woman as the symbol of Ireland harks back to British **Punch** cartoons of the previous century. At a time when all politicians were male, having a female figure to work with gave a sexual tension to the cartoons. As seen before,de Valera had already been portrayed as senile in 'Must we part?' (Fig. 3) but having a female country gave unending possibilities to the cartoonist for humourous situations, such as

the swimming scene in Fig.40. Fig. 41 displays another use for this female Eire. The cartoonist has her performing the miracle of making peace between Michael Collins and de Valera. The cartoonist knows that these men are far from reconciliation and places Eire in the role of an angel of peace. The reaching out pose of Collins contrasts sharply with the disinterested hand in pocket view of de Valera, hardly a man who was fighting for his belief of what direction Ireland should take. Was the cartoonist prophesising de Valera's fall from power, pulling his vision of Ireland down with him? The **Dublin Opinion** Christmas cover of 1926 by Charles Kelly (Fig. 6) portrays de Valera and his dream in a sorry state. De Valera is part of a troupe of ballet clowns being conducted by Eire. She desperately tries to conduct both sides at the same time. The clowns are in confusion, too many parties, too many directions. Clan na nGaedhal had not come up with any guidelines for Eire to follow. With them on the stage are two Buckingham Palace soldiers and a Unionist demonstrating the enormous influence Britain had in Irish life.

In the 1927 elections, the first election Fianna Fail contested Clan na nGaedhal attempted to use de Valera's 'visions of Ireland' against him Fig 42, a political poster from the opposition, shows Mother Ireland 'Eire' accusing de Valera as the murderer of heroes such as Michael Collins and Erskine Childers, who died in the Civil War. The angry Erin, another name for Eire, drags him by the cuff of his sleeve to make him face his own evil. It is a very dramatic but for the most part untrue view of what Erin could accuse de Valera of. He did, of course, provoke some people into taking part in the Civil War, but to blame him for the death of these men is unfair. This is a very negative view of what Erin stands for. According to the documentary, **Mother Ireland** Erin is not supposed to be a symbol of what has gone by, but an ever-present symbol awaiting a better future. De Valera's vision of Ireland is truer to this form.

In Fig. 43, de Valera and Cosgrave anxiously watch the country

turning the corner in the "Grand National Motor Race". Charles Kelly has made the car seem slightly out of control with a superfluous amount of speed lines. The car/country is turning into the next decade having survived the first eight years. Although de Valera is watching, Kelly portrays him in his anguish because not in control of that car.

One of de Valera's main visions of the future for Ireland was that she would be self-sufficient, able to feed her people without imports, especially from Britain. The Economic War proved a perfect reason to become self-sufficient. A Turf Development Board was set up and de Valera advised people to cut their own turf instead of burning coal, which they had previously bought from Britain. Fig. 44 is a wry look at how burning turf in the Dáil could change things. De Valera's ideal of 'cosy homesteads' is reflected in this mockingly humourous sketch by Kelly . A few old women wrapped in shawls seems to suggest that De Valera's view of Ireland would bring the country back to the poorer times of the century before. But overall the cartoon gives a feeling of unity in the Dáil, something that had not occurred since before 1921.

The Economic war also gave Fianna Fail the means to convince livestock farmers to change over to tillage. Tillage provides more employment than cattle and sheep farming. Also, to survive Ireland needed to be able to produce her own wheat, barley and other cereal products. In Fig.45 de Valera and his Ministers are chasing one of the more stubborn ranchers. Indeed, at the time one Opposition Front Bencher argued that "he would not insult his land by attempting to grow wheat or beet." *(MacManus, 1962, page 308)*. This cartoon reveals that he was not afraid of making people 'squeal' when following his path to a modern Ireland. He told the people "they would have to tighten their belts" and as usual, they followed his lead. He reduced the salaries of all government officials so that the people could see he was tightening his belt too (McManus, 1962, page 143). With the drafting of the new Constitution, de Valera had the perfect opportunity to shape the Ireland of the future. Fig. 46

was drawn in 1935. Eire is represented by a woman visiting her doctor Eamon de Valera. He asks her to "Say '98", a reference to Wolfe Tone's rebellion for Irish independence in 1798. The poorly Eire is obviously going to be cured by Doctor de Valera's new Constitution. In Fig. 47 Charles Kelly uses another symbol of Irish independence, the ghost of Robert Emmet. Here Kelly portrays de Valera's refusal to proclaim a republic with the new Constitution as an insult to men such as Emmet who fought for it. In the next issue, Fig 48, of Dublin Opinion , Kelly. points to another sore point in the Constitution the rights of women. The Constitution states "to endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home." George Bernard Shaw and prominent feminists of the time attacked this article and Kelly merely gave a historical viewpoint. Queen Maeve and Gráinne, two legendary Irish leaders interfere with de Valera's vision of women being content sitting by the fireside rearing 'athletic youths and comely maidens.' But Kelly's fears were unfounded according to M.J. MacManus who wrote six years later that "no woman has had cause to complain that the Constitution has debarred her from making a livelihood," a rather pro-de Valera view but his constitution was accepted by the public in the 1937 general election and was copied by numerous new countries, such as Burma, as a sound base to build on.

In Fig. 49, due to the success of de Valera's Constitution, and his success in ending the Economic war without paying land annuities, Kelly presents de Valera as the hero of a pantomime with Eire by his side. He has won her hand, his vision is her vision and he can do no wrong. Kelly seems to have absolved him from all his sins. The "above politics" sign refers to the position of President of Ireland Created in the Constitution which critics at the time thought de Valera made for himself. As can be seen by the pair of stripe-trousered legs in the top right hand corner, de Valera did not take the post. Clan na nGaedhal party were caricatured wearing trousers like these and it was

from their party that the first President of Ireland was picked. One issue that Eire could not have been happy with de Valera over, was partition as seen in Fig. 50. Miss Rosaleen, Eire, is incomplete. Doctor de Valera is on the job again, but he has no cure for this illness. One of Fianna Fail's obligatory election manifestoes was to end partition but by the beginning of World War Two, it's leader was nowhere near this goal. Cartoonists did not cover de Valera's vision of Ireland during the war years, except perhaps Kelly's view of him 'up in the clouds' (Fig. 20) removed from the reality of present day Ireland below him.

For Ireland, I think de Valera's belief in his dreams were a good thing. For example, in Fig. 39, his vision of Ireland was seen by the cartoonist as something to fight for, which was an inspiration for future politicians. Because of the vision's idealistic qualities it was easy fodder for satirical cartoons such as Fig. 42. Cartoonists in the 'thirties such as Charles Kelly failed to see the underlying reasons for his actions, preferring to use the "Éire" icon as part of a running joke on de Valera's success (Fig. 49). He set the country on the road to realising his vision with his Constitution but with little criticism, for or against, by cartoonists of the day .

Chapter Four

Chapter Four

The cartoonists' view of de Valera and his opponents

This chapter analyses de Valera's dealings with his opponents through the eye of Irish cartoonists.

"Most political cartoons are a form of journalistic comment designed to influence viewers with regard to specific political events of the day "

(Press, 1981, page 17).

In 1922, the specific political event, i.e. the Anglo/Irish Treaty, was viciously documented by Irish cartoonists. Their influence over the Irish citizens view of political opponents such as de Valera and Lloyd George must have been felt. In Fig. 51 Arthur Booth paints Lloyd George, or "that Welsh Wizard" as Michael Collins called him, as the man who held all the cards in the Treaty negotiations. In the role of St. Peter, he holds the key to the Irish Free State. Booth sees Lloyd George as the dividing force of the Sinn Fein leaders, since Griffith and Collins decided to enter the Free State , while the heroic de Valera decides 'immediate and terrible war' would be far more desirable. The tyrant Lloyd George is seen with a halo over his head yet with his right hand hovering over a gun by his side. De Valera's decision reveals how he was ready to stand up to this opponent even if he did threaten to use that gun. De Valera said that "If war is the alternative we can only face it, and I think that the sooner the other side is made to realise that the better." *(MacManus, 1962, page 52).*

In the following edition of **Dublin Opinion**, April 1922, Lloyd George is gaining the upper hand on de Valera. In Fig. 52 a confident, hand-shaking Arthur Griffith smiles as the wily Lloyd George convinces him of his point of view. The other face of Griffith fills with confusion as de Valera, hands in prayer, pleads with him to fight his battles for him. The strain in Dáil Eireann is symbolised by the snapping leg of the table underneath Griffith. Using

Griffith as a go-between was a cruel ploy by de Valera. De Valera had already had talks with Lloyd George before the Anglo/Irish conference, and realised that Britain would never concede to letting Ulster go, or to withdrawing the 'Oath of Allegiance'. Therefore he sent Griffith and Collins as the plenipotentiaries, so that they would receive the criticism.

This resulted in Griffith changing from ally to opponent of de Valera as shown in Fig.53. 'when turned upside down, the two leaders appear to be shaking hands or presenting a united front. But the 'angel of peace' who unites them upside down, divides them when seen the right way up. Booth has fitted them into a skull and crossbones to reveal this sham in the face of the Civil War. A more subtle cartoon of this growing rift is Fig. 54. De Valera and Griffith seem at first to be just two little boys fishing who have got their lines slightly entangled. Perhaps it as just a minor disagreement. But read the passage below reveals that the opposing views of the 'little boys' is obviously more serious. De Valera wants to catch the big fish, signifying a complete independent Ireland, while Griffith is satisfied with the small fish, or an incomplete 26 county country which is part of the British Commonwealth. The cartoonist illustrates here how the pathetic circumstances of this rift and its consequences has lost both leaders the trust and backing of the Irish public. They are reduced to acting like children with childish temperaments.

In 1923 nothing much had changed. In Fig. 55 William T. Cosgrave battles with yet another feminine representation of de Valera. drawn by Tom Taylor for **Irelands' Eye**, the cartoonist asks what the obstacle preventing the two leaders from working together towards peace in Civil War gripped Ireland. Peace dangles from the ceiling in the form of mistletoe. But de Valera, unlike Cosgrave, has proclaimed his allegiance not to the crown but to the men of violence or the I.R.A. When the I.R.A. took over the Four Courts in Dublin in 1922, de Valera stated that: "They - the I.R.A. - are the best and bravest of our nation, and .....are not willing that Ireland's independence should be aban-

doned under the lash of an alien government." *(Dwyer, 1980, page 67).* Cosgrave, on the other hand, had fully accepted the Treaty and was reputedly in agreement with the Northern Unionists, so in reality this cartoon was slightly naive about the relationship of these opponents.

Fig. 56, a piece of Fianna Fail propaganda from its first general election in 1927, further illustrates the opinion de Valera had of Cosgrave. A 'slight' change of wording - from debit to credit - and Cosgrave's Government appears to have been successful. De Valera wants to make it perfectly clear that Cosgrave has not got a clue about what he is doing, hence the proud figure pointing to the size of our national debt. An even more interesting piece of Fianna Fail propaganda (Fig. 57) depicts a horse race for the general election of 1932. De Valera, confidently astride a lithe, healthy horse called Fianna Fail speeds ahead of a stationary, patched-up nag with a sheepish looking Cosgrave on its back. Here the cartoonist has emphasised the latter's supposed dealings with the Ulster Unionists. The horse is being tempted with unionist oats as though Clan na nGaedhal - Cosgrave's Party, survived on Unionist support. The Unionist M.P.s Redmond and Heffernan attempt to push the party into the lead, but to no avail. The message is clear. Cosgrave and his party are a spent force, make way for his mighty opponent Eamon de Valera.But Cosgrave's party were just as competent in destroying their opponent's image. They did this primarily by dragging up de Valera's past and using it against him.

In Fig. 58, a propaganda poster from the 1932 General Election, de Valera is not only blamed (as in Fig.41) for the Civil War, but also the National Debt. De Valera is sporting a tie with a shamrock on it, to poke fun at his nationalist leanings and is shown as the creator of the our Civil War. The price tag is 33 million pounds. This was the sum of the Irish National Debt in 1932, a figure which had almost doubled since Cosgrave's government took over in 1923. Therefore, it seems idiotic of the cartoonist to include a reference like this which is more likely to remind the public of Cosgrave's mistakes instead

of de Valera's.

Another propaganda poster by de Valera's opposition in 1934 attacks his plans to bring in the new constitution. Fig. 59, 'Don't let this happen,' campaigns that the constitution will encourage the return of the 'gun' in Irish politics. De Valera is portrayed as a weak-kneed, ageing politician not in control of his actions. Document No. 2 sticks out of his jacket pocket as another reminder of his early disasters. This cartoon, although worrying and thought provoking, seems a bit dated for release in 1934. De Valera has been in Government for two years, has quashed the Blueshirts, stood up to Britain over land annuities and has formed a strong democratic party. The thought of him turning around to support radicals like the I.R.A. seems a bit far-fetched.

The push for a new constitution did however, create new opponents for de Valera. Fig. 60 views the constitution as yet another sparring partner for de Valera. Judging by the number of partners who have already been floored, the cartoonist Charles Kelly obviously believed it would only be a matter of time before the new constitution would throw in the towel and become yet another de Valera conquest complete.

Opponents within Fianna Fail could have caused problems for de Valera. Fig. 61 depicts the President catching a member of his own party trying to sneak a look at the new constitution. The man, shivering with fear, should in reality be just as involved with forming the constitution as de Valera. But the party leader kept its formation to himself with little or no say by his party comrades. Another cartoon, Fig 62, suggested a possible split in the Cabinet which was fervently denied. The cartoon depicts Eire knocking a 'wooden' cabinet emblazoned with de Valera's Caesar-like head to see if it is still sturdy, while Sean Citizen - a character much like Joe Bloggs representing the everyday Irish citizen checks the cabinet for dry rot. But by June of that year Kelly conveys the message that all is well, even with the opposition. In Fig. 63, the cartoonist sarcastically imagines the comments of the two parties to each

other before the 1938 election fight. As if it were an old boys club, Kelly seems to suggest that the election campaigning has become a charade, where both end up screaming the same thing as can be seen by the two sets of cartoons at the base of this picture.

One issue that both political parties agreed on was the necessity of the Economic War. Throughout the six years, de Valera had to contend with a series of British opponents such as J.H.Thomas, the British Dominions Secretary, seen performing a highly entertaining circus trick with de Valera in Fig. 64. although Thomas was involved in the fruitless negotiations with de Valera, it was his old enemy Lloyd George, by then a back- bencher, who voiced most opinions about de Valera's actions. Advising that negotiations would be wasted on de Valera, Lloyd George declared that: "He is that type; he will never change right to the end." (McManus, 1962, page 289. Lloyd George's words rang true, as after six years of facing defiance from 'this strange Irishman' the war was halted by the more agreeable Neville Chamberlain, who in Fig. 65, realises that de Valera as an opponent, will not just disappear. In the cartoon, de Valera peeps in the window with a broad grin. He has just won the Economic War and the leader of the Northern unionists, Lord Craigavon, is getting worried that Chamberlain will hand over the North to the Free State. But the British Premiere "did not feel his position strong enough to give the settlement the finality that only the abolition of Partition could bring about."*(The Earl of Longford and T.P. O'Neill,1970, page 242).* Hence, the cartoonist Maskee, presents Chamberlain as the mother figure, trying to keep the peace. Fig. 66 shows how badly de Valera handled the partition debate. Instead of extending the hand of friendship to the Northern Irish, which is still only beginning in present day Ireland, de Valera made sure Craigavon and his supporters would never join the south. De Valera and his right-hand man Sean T. O'Kelly play cowboys and Indians around a self-shooting Lord Craigavon, who is adamant to hold onto British trade subsidies, a dead horse in this case, The approaching

World War provokes Kelly to include the message that while the Free State is vying for neutrality, the Unionists are making sure that they are included in the war. During the war itself de Valera had several international opponents, but a united neutral front at home must have helped him. I have not found one cartoon dealing with de Valera's international relationships during the war, which is probably due to the stiff press censorship. An example of this censorship is revealed when in 1943 the **Irish Independent** referring to the sinking of a passenger ship, including one Irishman, by a German submarine in the Mediterranean, could only state that the Irish citizen had died in a 'boating accident'. One final opponent was the association with the British Dominions was removed in 1949 with the declaration of independence. Kelly symbolises this with the removal of yet another of the many statue of Queen Victoria (Fig.67) that were scattered throughout Dublin. 'Begob Eamon', she says, 'there's great changes around here'. A stern-faced de Valera below looks up as if to say 'not everything changed, I'm still here.'

Chapter Five

Chapter Five

De Valera as an International symbol of Ireland

In this chapter I will analyse the remarks made by Irish cartoonists on de Valera's performance as a representative for Ireland internationally.

"Eamon de Valera has been compared with many historical figures such as his own contemporaries Ataturk, Hitler, Franco, Salazar and de Gaulle, or earlier leaders like Napoleon and Abraham Lincoln." *(Dwyer,1980, page 1).*

And why not? De Valera had the strength of character, focussed view and, most importantly, vision that helped create all of the above leaders of the world. Even so, he may have remained a great reader in Ireland, but an unknown abroad had it not been for the League of Nations. When Fianna Fail came to power in 1932 it was the Free State's turn to act as President to the Council of this organisation. De Valera, represented Ireland.

At first he received a cool welcome, due to the League members' remembrance of his campaign in America in 1919/20, not to support the setting up of this organisation. But, after his premiere address to the League, newspapers around the world praised de Valera. Fig. 68 is an opposition poster from the general election in 1933. De Valera is mockingly compared with another historical figure, Julius Caesar. The poster's wording seems to suggest that perhaps the new, internationally known de Valera was becoming too big for this country. But the caricature of de Valera's face does not seem satirical enough to reinforce this message. It is as if the cartoonist secretly admires the man and his accomplishments as President of the League's Council. Also, on a more subliminal level Caesar was murdered by his opponents, which could put the people who paid for this poster in a bad light, with the voters. Also, putting de Valera's head on a coin could easily be misinterpreted as equating de Valera in office with increased wealth for the country. De Valera received criticism at home for supporting "the old enemy" Britain on motions in the League of

Nations while still embroiled in an economic war with them. Fig. 69 illustrates this changeover in attitude to Britain by de Valera. This cartoon was drawn in 1935 when Italy under Mussolini invaded Ethiopia. Britain pressed for sanctions and de Valera supported the idea. The representation of Britain as 'John Bull' with his bulldog is a deliberate reference to the use of that character in **Punch** and other journals of the nineteenth century when Ireland was ruled from Westminister. Often Ireland did not fare so well in these cartoons. Kelly obviously believes in the phrase 'a leopard cannot change his spots', and neither can a bulldog. But de Valera smiles on inanely, without fear. De Valera himself, felt that his role in the League was completely separate to the leadership of the biggest party in the Dáil. Sadly, Britain, with France, backed down from imposing sanctions for fear of antagonising Mussolini. With this failure de Valera began to see the League of Nations fall apart.

Fig. 70 shows the league as a merry-go-round. Mussolini has taken over Ethiopia and the organisation's limp sanctions caused him hardly any trouble whatsoever. In the cartoon, fairground music fills the air, except this is the music of aggression. The horses, each carrying a different member of the League head off in different directions. 'Procrastinations', meaning putting off until tomorrow, is a fair judgement of the League's main fault. De Valera, bent at the knees, is made a laughing stock of by the cartoonist. De Valera has become part of the failure of the League.

Then, in the last year before the war, the League of Nations makes a final plea to Hitler (Fig. 71). De Valera represents the fight for peace in Europe. The Geneva summit held in October 1938 saw the pulling out of Germany from disarmanant talks and of the League itself. On the left-hand side of the cartoon Kelly drew Neville Chamberlain and Adolph Hitler in Berchtesgaden. The British Prime Minister agreed to let Hitler take over part of the Sudetenland before the Geneva Summit. Therefore, de Valera's meaningful strides up Mont Blank' seem like a waste of time. He carries a white flag of

peace with 'Excelsior' written across it, referring to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem of that name. Popular at the time, the poem is about a man travelling with a flag like de Valera's,and shouting the word 'Excelsior' at everyone he meets: a poem with no meaning or sense, which reflects de Valera's peace-attempt all too clearly. The collection of men in the bottom righthand corner could be other members of the League, or Irish businessmen, contemplating financial ruin due to de Valera's failure to keep the peace in the international market. By this stage de Valera had lost complete faith in the League,and concerned himself primarily with letting the rest of Europe know that the free State would be staying neutral in the upcoming World War.

As seen before, few political cartoons were made during the war, and none were made of de Valera's dealings with the Axis and Allied powers, which is a great pity. Despite the failure of the League of Nations, it did give de Valera the chance to make sure the world knew that Ireland was a separate state, and had an opinion about how things should be run, was specifically de Valera's opinion. De Valera portrayed the Irish as 'a peace loving people'. In his book **Eamon de Valera** The Earl of Longford declares that he was 'the greatest Irish statesman'. And so he was, managing to juggle international problems with internal ones.

CONCLUSION

According to the cartoonists, Eamon de Valera's public persona underwent numerous changes over this thirty year period. To his fellow party members he was seen as a caring father figure, someone who always knew best (Fig 15). But to the general public he diversified from being portrayed first as a hero (Fig. 1) and then as a 'wildman' (Fig. 6). Later, when he regained power, de Valera was once again a war hero(Fig. 11), leading the country through the Economic War. In the years leading up to and during World War Two, cartoonists began depicting de Valera as a hidden controller, unseen and unknown by the ordinary citizen (Fig .20).

Cartoons of de Valera dealing with his political leadership and stance reveal a man who functioned best when he was in charge. Fig. 23 portrays the respect cartoonists had for him before his fall into 'the wilderness years'. **Dublin Opinion** and other comic journals delighted in illustrating his confusion (Fig. 25) at losing support. His gradual rise to power was at first greeted with caution (Fig. 29) by cartoonists such as Grace Gifford Plunkett. But his success at the end of the Economic War (Fig. 32) and the public support he was given during the war years convinced many cartoonists that his leadership and political stance worked (Fig. 35).

De Valera and his vision of Ireland proved very useful to cartoonists of his era. Controversy over the Anglo/Irish Treaty, de Valera's push for a republic and his dream of controlling Ireland's future provided much scope for poking fun at him (Fig.39). Later, opposition propaganda artists used this vision against him (Fig. 42). The symbol of Ireland, Éire, a beautiful woman, is used again and again in relation to de Valera. Mainly she is used as a pawn in the cartoonists' satirical humour; for example, doctor and patient (Fig. 46). She is also used when a cartoonist praises de Valera's achievements (Fig. 49), such as when he is wedded to his vision of Ireland.

Lloyd George was one of de Valera's first political opponents. At this stage Irish cartoonists saw Ireland as united against this aggressor (Fig. 51) but de Valera was seen as the most war-like of the Irish leaders, prepared to take to arms if necessary. His arguments with opponents such as William T. Cosgrave gave cartoonists the opportunity to denounce both in the eyes of the public (Fig. 55). Opponent's propaganda posters attacked de Valera through his past (Fig. 59), attempting to link his name with the I.R.A. and other banned organisations. But while in power cartoonists became more concerned about his dealing with British opponents during the Economic War (Fig. 65). Cartoons like this reveal that he was more than a match for his opponents.

Eamon de Valera as an international symbol of Ireland was at first something to be celebrated, according to cartoonists. Fig. 69 throws a satisfactory dig at Britain's change of face through the eyes of de Valera. But by the late 1930s the League of Nations, which was first seen as a giant step forward in international relations, is made look like a joke (Fig. 70).

The years I have discussed were difficult times for Ireland and it was only fair that de Valera should give cartoonists plenty of trouble. His unusual features (Fig. 72) provided boundless opportunities for a funny drawing but as discussed, de Valera's personality was far too deep for one caricature. His political stance varied dramatically over this period,while his opponents presented him with different challenges to be dealt with in different ways making it all the more difficult for cartoonists to pinpoint him politically. His vision of Ireland gave cartoonists plenty of images to play around with which they regularly used to mock him. Finally, the idea of Eamon de Valera as an international symbol seemed too far removed for most Irish cartoonists. Very few cartoons deal with this side of ' the great statesman'.

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