NMENTS.

...Messrs. Harry Nicholls, Herbert ...Inch, Pitou, Henderson, Stanley, ...Duncan, Mayer, ÆNEA, Grey, ...10 to 5.

...Tree.)
...DOR. Mr. Tree, Messrs. F. Macklin, ...Clarke F. Harrison, J. S. Blythe, ...ousehold; Misses Rose Leclercq, ... Proceed, at 7.45, by THAT ...ardav, Feb. 27, at 2.30, MASKS ...NARD BEERE; Mabel Vane, ...ee, at 2.30.

...ring.)
...Henry Irving: Lady Macbeth, ...Howes, Haviland, Harvey, Johnson, ...man, Desborough, Coleridge, Ivor, &c. ...Letter or telegram. Carriages 11.

...Wyndham.)
...EEP. Mr. CHARLES WYNDHAM, ...Dargan. Miss MARY MOORE. ...TTY PIECE OF BUSINESS. ...ATERS RUN DEEP. EVERY

...at 2.30, THE DON. 25th Time. ...ANÇAIS, on SATURDAY NEXT.

...ere.)
... Acts, by W. S. Gilbert and ...ARD: or, THE MERRYMAN AND ...SIE. Doors open at 7. MORNING ... 2. Box-office open Ten-o'clock.

...d Managers.)
...Mr. William Terriss; Messrs. ...ry Tarver, J. Cairns, W. Esmond, ...a. A. Dacrelles, and Clara Jecks.

...Manager.)
...At 7.30, THE FEET. Mr. Thomas ...F. Grove. Preceded by Whitehead ...wood. Assist. Irish. Matinée Last ...ppen Dress 1.30. MATINÉE ... SATURDAY Overture at 2.30.

...UP TO DATE. Miss Florence ... Robina. Miss Jenny McNulty ...ounce, Miss E. Grenside, Miss M. ...n E. Harlow, and Mr. George Stone.

...Terry.)
...id-way between Cockspur-st. and Pall-...

...Piccadilly. 340th Time. Messrs. Edward ...ot, Sant Matthews, Prince Moller; ...anche Horlock. Doors open at 6. ...ffice open from 10 till 5. Telephone

...ge.)
...a Vaughan (specially engaged) as ...Gregory at Noon. In the second act, ...HARD III., new version, a Tragedy, ...ture of Mr. Mansfield.

...Mr. W. Duncombe.)
...supervision of Mr. Charles Wyndham, ...ney and G. Mancini Fawn. ...UTH'S ROMANCE. Box-office ...Y, the 20th inst., and FIRST

...Strand.

...OSCAR BERINGER.
...s, by Mrs. Oscar Beringer. Mr. J. ...mpton, W. Gorst, and J. G. Graham; ...Marsville, Miss Marie Seebar, and ... IX. Mr. Charles Collette, Mr.

...s Chapel-street.)
...ond.)
... DIVORCE, adapted by Sydney ...ed at 8 by COX AND BOX. Doors ... LAST THREE MATINÉES of

...ALL.
...Managers.)
...7.30, JOHN SMITH. Misses Agnes ...s, and Miss Wadman; Messrs. Harry ...e, and Frank Wyatt. MORNING

...Lessee.)
...dames Ellis Chaney, C. Somerset, ...n Downes, Fawcett Cook, Arthur ...At 7.30, WARRANTED BURGLAR ...7 WEEKS of DOROTHY.

...S at 2. MADGY. Mdlle. Vanoni, Mr. ...n Cadogan. Preceded at 7.30 by QUITS. ...Telephone 3,281. MORNING ..., Acting Managers.

NO GUNS!

WE commend to the respectful attention of the good people who met last night at Birmingham to protest against the proposal to spend more money upon the Defence of the Empire, the letter which Lord CARNARVON has addressed to the *Times*, and the article which Mr. BURDETT contributes to the *Universal Review*. Taken together, they constitute about as discreditable a picture of unpreparedness for defence as ever scandalized the world. The arming of our coaling stations is certainly not an aggressive measure. It is simply and solely for the protection of the gateways of our Empire. But here is what Lord CARNARVON, who knows what he is talking about, tells us of the condition of some of the most important naval positions in the British Empire:—

Gibraltar.—"Out of accord with the necessities of modern warfare."

Sierra Leone.—Forts built: neither guns nor gunners.

The Cape.—Forts built or building: one gun, if there be one.

Mauritius.—Only old muzzle-loaders.

Hong Kong.—Some modern guns, low calibre.

Singapore.—A few ditto; none as heavy as 9 in.

So far the Coaling Stations, now for the Navy. The following is Mr. BURDETT'S list of ships at present without guns:—

No. of Ships	Class of Ship.	No. of Guns wanting.	Calibre in Inches	Weight in Tons.	Value of Ship without Guns in £'s sterling.	Remarks.

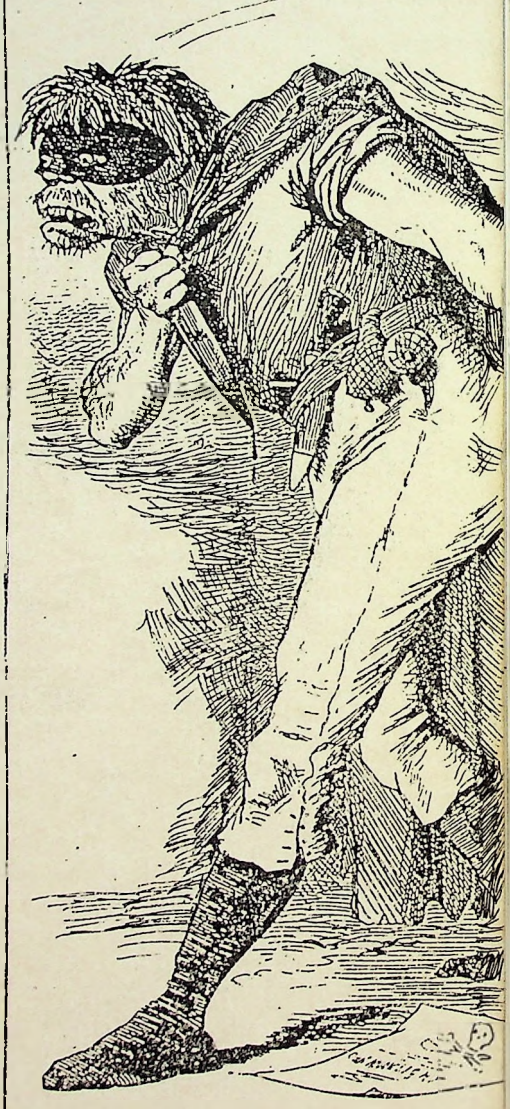
THE EVOLUTION OF THE STEREOTYPICAL IMAGE OF THE IRISH IN ENGLISH SATIRICAL PUBLICATIONS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY PAUL FRANCIS

In addition to the ships enumerated in the table, there are at least five twin-screw cruisers of the second class and one twin-screw sloop nearly finished, which will require between them thirty-eight more guns before the year is much older. The value of these ships without the guns may be put down as about £690,000. Fifty six-inch guns are required for the twin-screw belted cruisers. There would therefore be required, in addition to the guns enumerated, a great number of quick-firing and machine guns, which have not been included. What chance is there, then, with nearly a score of warships as useless as coal hulks for want of guns, that there will be any to spare for the defence of coaling stations and home ports?

This is a pretty state of things to find ourselves in. It is an Imperial danger, and a great administrative disgrace. Imagine for a moment that war broke out to-morrow or next week, or, for the matter of that, next year, and where should we be? Here in England, the very Vulcan among the nations, we have not got, and, what is more, under the utmost stress of war could not cast, cannon to arm our battle ships and defend the gates of our ocean highways until after the war was over! What the ordinary man fails to realize is that nowadays it takes almost as long to construct a big gun as it does to build a ship. If the order were given to-morrow for the construction of every gun that is required and every available furnace and factory in the country set a-going night and day, we could not get them manufactured in twelve months. No modern war in Europe has lasted so long.

The fault is in the system which leaves us no one. No one is responsible because every one is responsible. want is an authentic, live man who is charged by the coun the duty of seeing that we have guns and ships, and w cannot prove that he has publicly, and solemnly, and demanded the means for providing them, and has been as and solemnly, and formally refused, will, on the discover a state of things as is here set forth, be punctually hange



THE IRISH FRANKENSTEI

CONTINENT.

knows how to produce. A pair of Moorish shoes and a magnificent carpet were also among the presents to the Chancellor.

* * * * *

But the heart of the German Pharaoh was hardened in one respect towards the polite and cultured Orientals. For lo, and behold! when they received their first audience at the Imperial Palace, it appeared that they were excellent French linguists, while not a sound of the terse tongue of the Fatherland was familiar to them. At which discovery his Majesty frowned, thenceforth addressing his guests only through their interpreter, and not even when four of the white-robed attachés, returning from a visit to the Krupp establishment at Essen, stuck ignominiously in the snow—whereat the Prussian heart was touched—did one word come across his lips in the language in which the Emperor could personally have expressed his sympathy to his honoured guests.

for it has just been discovered at Marseilles that a cargo of birds ag over the germs of yellow fever from the swamps and lagoons of and other South American countries. The first to fall a prey to th germ were a couple of lovers and an old lady who had bought som plumaged chatterers. M. Pasteur will have to come to the re desolation in French ports would be great were the sufferers par appear from the streets.

* * * * *

General Boulanger has posed for many a character, but n ever been more admired and successful than in that of "snow man he has graced the squares and streets of Copenhagen during the It is the custom in Northern Europe to erect gigantic snow-m winter, which are modelled after some eminent personage, or

THE NATIONAL COLLEGE OF ART AND DESIGN

THE EVOLUTION OF THE STEREOTYPICAL IMAGE OF THE IRISH IN ENGLISH SATIRICAL PUBLICATIONS DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO:

THE FACULTY OF HISTORY OF ART AND DESIGN AND & C.S.

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE

BY

PAUL FRANCIS

MARCH 1988

TABLE OF CONTENT

INTRODUCTION

This thesis of five chapters will examine a social and political phenomenen which occured particularly during the nineteenth century. It will explore the visual stereotyping of Irish people in British satirical publications, especially the most popular of these, Punch.

It will also examine the pseudo-scientific justification for an Irish stereotype, which on closer examination was based as much on emotion and prejudice as it was on science. It will also look at the effect of these sciences, Ethnology and Physiognomy, and the stereotype of "Paddy" in the course of Irish history, or as L.P. Curtin wrote in Anglo-Saxons and Celts; "Behind the parliamentary rhetoric of the Unionist case lay the sentiment of those ethnologists and historians and poets, literary reviewers and cartoonists, who had contributed something to that Anglo-Saxonist stereotype called "Paddy" ".

Chapter I

Section I - "True French Spirit"

"True French Spirit"

'Give me liberty or give me death' was the popular catch cry of the insurgents in the French Revolution of 1789. They had reached that part of the road where all revolutionaries begin, that the threat of death is less than the suffering to which they have been subjected. That same catch cry would not have seemed out of place had it been heard on Vinegar Hill in the County of Wexford, almost two hundred years ago.

On the face of it, Vinegar Hill looked more like a county fair than on organised military camp intent on national revolution. It was an unusually warm and balmy September in 1748, and the insurgents were quite content to camp out on the hillside. It seemed to any observer that they would have put up with almost any climatic condition, motivated as they were by that most violent of human emotions - revenge!

In the past weeks, the Catholic peasantry of Wexford and indeed throughout Leinster had been subjected to indiscriminate interrogation and torture by the Protestant militia who, in their zeal to find weapons and United Irishmen (a large revolutionary organisation led by Wolfe Tone and other members of the Protestant ascendency, with French support, had resorted to flogging, half-hanging and hanging. The peasantry of Wexford had had enough and with what remained of their arms and organisation set to
camping out on Vinegar Hill eager for revenge.

It came swiftly in the form of the summary execution of thirty or so Protestants captured during one of the rebels' successful attacks. Twelve more were piked to death on that first day, others were burned alive or were simply shot where they stood. The cylce of revenge continued unabated for some days until the arrival of a Protestant landlord, Bagnell Harvey, one of the origianl 'United Irishmen'. He tried in vain to restrain those under his command from further acts of vengence, and turn them into a fighting unit capable of destorying a well drilled, disciplined British force. This was never to be: the same indiscipline which had led to the many barbarous acts of revenge on Vinegar Hill brought about their defeat on that very place.

What had started as a local Catholic insurgence intent on a measure of vengeance against the brutality of the local Protestant militia, ended in the death of 50,000 people all over the country, many of them women and children.

The British response to the revolt was as swift as the Catholic desire for revenge, not just in military terms, where they dealt the United Irishmen and the Catholic peasantry a mortal blow, but in political terms, where they silenced the Irish Parliament, taking all effective political power from the Irish Protestant Ascendency by the Act of Union which united the two kingdoms of England and Ireland. Gone was any hope of an independent nation, and gone was any hope of reconciliation between the English, the Irish Protestant Ascendency and the Irish peasantry, something Wolfe Tone had dreamt of, " a land for Protestant, Catholic and dissenter alike."

Gone also was the traditional image of the Irish as "Paddy" chronicled in Arthur Young's A Tour of Ireland of 1780, where he was portrayed as a figure of fun. He had a feckless devil-may-care air about him, and in his drunken state he was more a threat to himself then anyone else. Young, while pointing out the weaker traits of the Irish character, was quick to recognise many of the reasons for the backwardness and drunkeness he encountered; 'It is an illiberal business for a traveller to sit down coolly in his closet and write a satire on the inhabitants of a country. Some persons have given a very gross misrepresentation of the Irish nation. Many strokes in their character can be ascribed to the extreme oppression under which they live.'

it was this oppression served upon the Irish peasantry in the form of the Penal Laws which forbade Catholics to practice politics or a profession, to enter the army, the civil service, to own land and educate their children. That brought about the ill-timed insurrection on Vinegar Hill. The devil-may-care attitude described by Arthur Young in A Tour in Ireland was replaced by a vengeful, ruthless and pitiless image of 'Paddy'. The goal of Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland in the 17th century, of making the Irish conform as much as possible to the English working classes in repect of manners, dress religion and above all obedience to English law, was never to be.

The eighteenth century had been a particularly quiet one, having seen fewer revolts by the native Irish Catholic majority then any other since before the Elizabethan plantations. What the English had not counted on at the end of the 18th century was a native Protestant intelligensia capable of leading a nationwide revolt, backed by Napoleonic France, against English rule. The political beliefs of liberalism and the Enlightenment born in France but fostered in England had found their way to Ireland and out of them was born a union netween Protestant intellectuals dedicated to the idea of an Irish Republic and the Catholic peasantry striving not only for what they believed to be materially theirs, but an indentity which the Penal laws had sought to deprive them of for the last 100 years. The British would have

undoubteldy succeeded in this had the Penal laws been more stringently enforced. As it was the Catholic peasantry had their faith to cling to, and it was this more than anything else that prevented Mountjoy's ambition of conformity to all that was English.

It was this idea of identity and individual freedom which helped the Protestants regain power in England after the Glorious Revolution of 1690. The restoration of a Protestant monarch, William of Orange, guaranteed greater personal freedoms, including freedom of the press, which in turn gave a voice to the English public. It was also the idea of a national identity which spurred the English in their support of the Greeks in their struggle agianst the dominating Turks. Lord Byron's involvement ensured that the suffering of the Greeks at the hands of the Turks was seen by the British public through a veil of romanticism.

Given then the unqualified support by the British public to revolts in Greece and Hungary, why then did they not look westwards and see the struggle that was happening on their own doorstep in the same light?

Perhaps part of the answer lies in James Gillray's satirical cartoons of the Vinegar Hill rising of 1748. Satire had combined with caricature in the last decades of the 18th century to produce the satirical etched print of which the leading exponents were Gillray, Thomas Rowlandson and Isaac Cruckshank. Although the Irish had been satirised before both in literary and pictorial works, few of these earlier words and images reached the mass of an illiterate English public.

This means of communication revolutionised visual satire. The etched print on a variety of topical subjects was now made available in print shops, particularly in London where Hannah Humprehy's shop on St. James Street was the outlet for Gillray's work. If members of the public were unable to afford the luxury of a print, they could at least stand outside and view them displayed in the shop window.

It was outside the window of Hannah Humphrey's print shop on St. James Street that the English public got their first view of the Irish as prognathious, foul-mouthed, violent, unstable and undisciplined wretches. In Gillray's 'The United Irishmen on manoeuvres' (Fig. 1) the native Catholic peasantry are dressed up in the uniforms of an even greater enemy, the revolutionary French. They sharpen their sword and take firing practice at a straw model of an English militia man; their aim and their motiviation is no doubt hepled by 'True French Spirit' which they liberally devour in the public house close by.

Figure 1

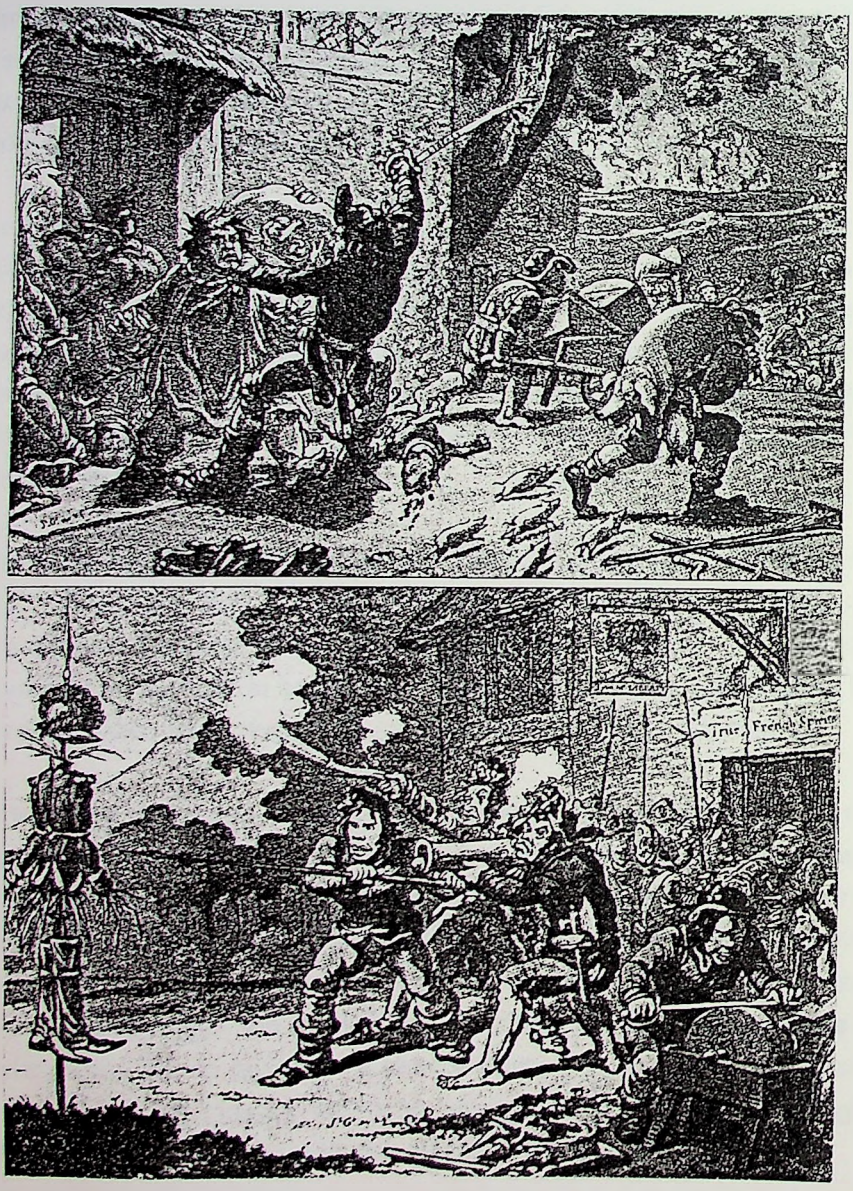


Figure 2

The revolution itself is a far cry from the mock determination of the manoeuvres (Fig.2).

The sword of liberty is raised agianst what is undoubtedly a defenceless 'John Bull' type figure. The sword carrier is the only one engaged in any sort of military action; the others are too intent on looting and raping, while a village burns ferociously in the far distance. There is little suggestion of an Irish people seeking independence or indentity. Here for the first time the English public confronts the 'Irish Barbarian' at its most merciless. Gone was feckless 'Paddy' more harm to himself than anyone else, replaced by a violent agitating 'Paddy' incapable of control and least of all self-government.

Missing from Hannah Humprehy's window was an Irish view of the 1798 rising. (Fig. 3). It depicts the British militia hanging a piper for playing 'seditious tunes". Extreme a view as this may be, extremism existed on both sides and there is no doubt that the print protrayed something close to the truth. However, there is also a measure of truth in Gillray's satirical etchings. The insurgents in their eagerness to extract revenge for the wrongs of the British milita sometimes lost sight of a disciplined campaign for national independence and killed innocent Irish Protestants instead.

The great problem for the Catholic peasantry of Ireland in seeking a true national identity lay not in the depiction of their extremism in dealing with victims of the revolt, but that they were consistently depicted as guilty of unprovoked murderous crimes. This one sided stereotyping of the Irish as barbaric and ruthless, capable of the most atrocious and unprovoked crimes was to change little over the next century in the British press.

While the idea of the Irish as a violent and indolent race changed little during the next century, the medium that carried this message changed considerably. The greatest changes came in technology, especially in the development of offset lithography which killed off the limited edition satirical etching during the 1830s. The advances in printing coincided with a growing literate middle class, whose demand for amusement in printed form brought about the comic weekly. Punch was the first and most influential of these, and it reached a far greater audience for far less then the satirical etching ever did. Other comic weeklies emerged, such as Judy, Mooshine, and Fun and Tomahawk, but none lasted as long as Punch, and all were directly influenced by its style and content.

Punch from the 1830s onward prided itself on its support of the underdog, whether it be the British soldier, 'John Bull', or the British sailor, 'Jack Tar'. For years it poured scorn on the British Government for its treatment of these heroes of the Empire. Where Ireland was

Figure 3

Figure 5 *(DETAIL)*

Figure 4
(DETAIL)

concerned it could be sometimes sympathetic, but when agitation reared its head and the Empire was threatened, nothing was spared in satirizing those it thought responsible. As Ireland was almost continually in the news during times of agitation, Punch more often than not focused its attention solely on the disturbance, and consequently it was not difficult for the British public to associate all aspects of Irish life with violence.

If the British perception of the Irish identity was one of violence how then could they be capable and therefore allowed to govern themselves. Much of British political opinion was now determined they would never get the chance.

Chapter II

Section I - "Dan and his Regulars".

While the Act of Union killed off all the hopes of the Irish Protestants for an independent nation, it was welcomed by many Catholics who hoped that they would receive a better deal as part of a United Kingdom. After all the position of the Catholic peasantry could only get beeter. Unfortunately this was not to be. Two decades later, few Catholics owned their own land, practiced a profession, or entered politics. It took Daniel O'Connell one of the few Catholic landowners in the country to reverse the laws which forbade all this. He became champion of the Irish peasantry, and during the two decades of political domination in Ireland he organised huge campaigns for Cathlic Emancipation and the Repeal of the Act of Union.

During that time he was to become the focus of English satire, becoming the satirists' primary source of inspiration whenever they looked west to the Irish problem. He also became to a great extent the national stereotype more in character then in physical appearance. He was accused of everything from deceit, indolence, threatening violence, provoking disorder, and was even tried for treason.

He was also the Irish leader of the 19th century who attracted the most bitter visual satirical attacks. While Parnell in the 1870s and 80s was constantly under attack by the British press and comic weeklies, these attacks usually refered to his political ideas rather then his personal appearance or character. The essential difference between Parnell and O'Connell was religious; Parnell was a Protestant and O'Connell a Catholic. While Parnell's facial features remained intact (fig.4) O'Connell was never so fortunate (fig.5). O'Connell entered parliament as the first Irish Catholic to have ever done so and as such was the victim of incessant scathing visual and verbal satire.

To the mass of Irish people O'Connell was not only a giant in ploitical terms but in physical terms as well. As the American Abolitionist, Henry C. Wright remarked;"Did you ever see a large barrel on two small sticks with a short thick neck and a buffalo's head, put it before an audience of five thousand, set it to bowing and the audience to shouting - and that is O'Connell. [1] While Wright's physical description may have been close to accurate, the size of the crowd on a good day would have been underestimated. At his greatest political 'monster meeting' to agitate for repeal, O'Connell himself estimated the crowd to be well over 1 million strong.

Such a figure was of course characterised in lore as champion of the Irish Catholic underdog, but despite this, his superb legal mind, generous heart and verbal dexterity, he was continually seen by the press and parliament as, at worst, an Irish Cathloic, and at best, as a landowner. What ever he personally was he formed an object of fear and loathing to the

British press which found its expression in satirical cartoons of the 19th century.

O'Connell was rarely put out, almost thriving on the bitter attacks from other members of parliament and the press from 1831 onwards. It was with superb assurance that he wrote to his wife;" I feel how cruel the Penal Laws are which exclude me from a fair trial with men whom I look on as so much my inferiors." [2] But it was he who was to put an end to the Penal Laws, and for the first time linked the Catholic Church with agitiation, namely through the creation of the huge Catholic Association. With a conservative government under Robert Peel in power for much of O'Connell's tenure, he knew that brave words in parliament would only get the Repeal movement a little further down the road of change. With the Catholic Association he could give a voice to the Irish peasant. They in return, payed a penny a month, with significantly more from wealthier members. The Association was, through the persona of O'Connell a favourite subject of satire for the British press and comic weekly. These publications considered the Association as a threat to the security of the growing Empire, while O'Connell was seen as an alternative Catholic Monarch.

In Ennis 1840 portrayal of O'Connell as 'The Irish Ogre fattening on the Finest Peasantry' (fig.6); these warnings are spelt out. O'Connell is seen sitting regally astride the 'Rent' money he had swindled out of the Irish peasantry whom he is now serving up in an agiation soup. Throughout the Repeal campaign O'Connell was continually seen as 'fattening his own calf' or as the Times of London described him; ' a greedy self-serving Satan'.[3] He is crowned by one of the most popular British Imperial symbols, that of a lion, which was a symbol of the British military and its dominance of almost one quarter of the world. In fig.6, the skinned lion lies limply on O'Connell's head, having succumbed to the large shilleagh in his left hand .

While O'Connell was consistently portrayed with shilleagh in hand, he abhored violence, believing that it lead only to greater suffering of the kind he had witnessed as a young man during th 1798 Vinegar Hill rebellion. However, he was not above making the British Parliament and public aware of the huge threat that went with an organised Catholic peasantry, which he alone restrained from violence. Between a peaceful struggle and an all out violent rebellion lay his word, and for this reason the British press and comic weeklies never trusted him.

Another of the restraining forces of the Association was the Catholic Church, which was satirized in "Dan and his Regulars" (Fig. 7). Although O'Connell had succeded in having removed many of the remnants of the legal discrimination against Cathlocis surviving from Penal days, there was widespread belief amongst the British public "that Rome was as

Dan and his Regulars.

Figure 7

Figure 6

THE IRISH OGRE FATTENING ON THE FINEST PISANTRY.

responsible for Irish grievances as any bad landlord could be". In "Dan and his Regulars" (fig.7), O'Connell leads, shilleagh in hand, a column of the clergy, while the Catholic peasantry kneel in subjugation. The Times of London saw the threat as closer to home: "Shall the delegates of these tribes, under the direction of the Roman priesthood, ride roughshod over our country, over England, Imperial England." [4]

Roughshod may have been the style of previous agitators, but this was no the way of O'Connell who was at the head of a large disciplined organisation. At the time of the famous 1828 election (which elected a Protestant to Parliament on an Emancipation stand), the Association supporters marched in columns to the election without the usual drunkeness or disorder that was typical of such occasions. Robert Peel, Home Secretary at the time, remarked "on a fearful exhibition of sobered and desparate enthusiasm." [5]
It was almost as if the authorities saw it in their own interests to keep the Irish drunk.

The comic weeklies in England were determined to ignore the peaceful intentions of the growing Catholic Association. From Punch in 1843, the supposed supporter of the underdog, came the "Irish Frankenstein" (fig.8). The Repeal movement and Catholic Association have become one violent flaying monster, which rears up, shilleagh in hand to attack a respectable John Bull. Punch has chosen to ignore its usual target of satire, O'Connell, and has returned to a more Gillray-like depiction of the Irish character. Here is not only the stereotypical dress, the clay pipe, and shilleagh, but in the face of the "Irish Frankenstein", there is more than a hint of ape like prognathism.

The "Irish Frankenstein" was published at a time when O'Connel was at the height of his power, and his control over the Irish peasantry was undisputed. Although the Catholic Association threatened English rule, by sheer force of numbers, this cartoon is wide of the mark, in suggesting a violent threat behind O'Connell and the mass of the movement for Repeal.

The greatest instrument of O'Connell's power was the Monster Meeting, which proved to be the greatest form of agitation to British rule. The greatest show of support was at Royal Tara in County Meath, when over one million people gathered to listen to O'Connell. The comic weeklies could not pass up this opportunity (fig.9); they placed O'Connell on a throne, under which lies the devil, who tilts the scales of justice to Ireland in favour of "Dan's Allowances". At his feet is the British Constitution, and a number of grovelling peasants , who one feels do not know what they are doing. Once again, O'Connell holds the ever-present threatening shilleagh, while his chain of office is made up of potatoes. The cartoon was followed in Punch by a written article which stated: " it is only by keeping the Irishman's head in ignorance of

THE IRISH FRANKENSTEIN.

Figure 8

Figure 9

KING O'CONNELL AT TARA.

what his hand and heart are led to do, that when he (O'Connell) sends round the hat, he can make sure of his shilling." [6]

The Monster Meeting at Tara was to be the last of its kind. The next meeting to be held at Clontarf was cancelled, due to government pressure. O'Connell was seen to have climbed down before official pressure. From here until his death several years later his power would rapidly decline, the Repeal movement taking on a more revolutionary role.

After 1843 and the cancelled Clontarf meeting his appearance in comic weeklies became fewer and fewer. One late exception was "Runt v Potatoes - the Irish Jeremy Diddler" (fig. 10). It is an attempt by Punch to discredit a by now powerless O'Connell in the last few months of his life. It was published during the blackest year of the famine, and portrays O'Connell as Jeremy Diddler, a swindler in an early nineteenth century farce. O'Connell is shown, demanding of the woman with hungry children: "you haven't got such a thing as twelve pence about you? A farthing a week, a penny a month, a shilling a year." The Punch cartoonists, even in the latter and declining part of O'Connell's career, were still not willing to let go. Even in his state of decline they place the responsibility for the famine firmly on his portly shoulders, contrasted as they are with the emaciated family that he seeks to take advantage of.

On his last appearance there was only a shell left; he had lost most of his support, a sick and dying man; " His final broken rambling was heard in pitying silence and awkward murmurs of pretended agreement". [7] The marvellous years of invention, verbal dexterity and virtuosity were gone.

For twenty years he had crystallised all that many members of the British parliament and press feared and loathed about Ireland. He occupied a special place in Punch, and was usually depicted on a full page cartoon, by a leading cartoonist., whether it be as a rogue monarch, or as a deceitful trickster. Wherever the Catholic majority of Irealnd was mentioned his name was seldom missing.

"RINT" *v.* POTATOES.—THE IRISH JEREMY DIDDLER.

Figure 10

Chapter II Footnotes

1. McCartney, The World of Daniel O'Connel (1981) Chapter 4, p56

2. ibid, p38

3. Curtis, Liz Nothing But The Same Old Story, (London 1986) p53

4. ibid, p62

5. Kee, Robert Ireland: A Televison History (Jarrold and Sons 1980) p.74

6. Curtis, Liz Nothing But The Same Old Story p.54

7. McCartney, The World of Daniel O'Connell Chapter 6, p87

Chapter III

Section I - "Paddy "

Section II - Ethnology

Section II - Physiognomy

Section I

"Paddy"

'Height of Impudence' (fig. 11) from Punch was published as the worst of the famine took hold of rural Ireland. It reflects to a great extent the official and popular view of the famine in Ireland. Although many of the comic weekles including Punch were sympathetic to the Irish plight, they refused to believe that the disaster that was afflicting the Irish at the time was anybody's fault but their own. O'Connell, landlords and the devil-may-care attitute of the Irish were as much to blame for the famine as the failure fo the potatoe crop. This sentiment was reflected in official circles, notably by Charles Trevelyn, head of the appointed commission to administer relief to the hungry in Ireland, whose predominant belief was that the Irish peasantry would become dependent and therefore take advantage of aid granted to them. This belief resulted in much suffering and many deaths as not enough relief was provided and any that was, came too late. [1]

There was also a predominant belief amongst the comic weeklies that much of the aid would go to help agitation groups, such as the Young Irelanders (a group which arose out of O'Connell's repeal movement, composed mainly of young middle class educated radicals). This prejudice is reflected in the question asked by 'Paddy' of 'John Bull'; Your Honour, sore, could you spare a few pince, for a bit of a blunderbuss" in 'Height of Impudence' (fig.11). Nothing could be further from the truth in famine Ireland: as most rural tenant farmers were more concerned with keeping themselves and their families alive then agitating for the Repeal of the Union. Gone was all organised Catholic peasant agitation, to be replaced by riots outside overcrowded workhouses and food stores, as people desparate for food sought relief from starvation.

'Height of Impudence' is also an excellent example of a contrast in national stereotypes. The 'John Bull' figure on the left appears to be prosperous, respectable and well attired, while 'Paddy' on the right is scrawny, scruffy and is mocking in his disrespect for 'Bull'.He holds his shillleagh in an almost threatening manner, while 'Bull 'uses his as a walking stick.

These visual national stereotypes were created over varying lengths of time, while successive artists added their own nuances and idiosyncrasies to the features of 'John Bull' and 'Paddy'. 'John Bull was the literal creation of John Arbuthnott in his 'History of John Bull' of 1750. It was James Gillray who developed the literal image into a visual image and so popular was

HEIGHT OF IMPUDENCE.

Figure 11

Figure 12
(DETAIL)

his version that it served as the popular was this version that it served as the popular model until the present day (fig.12), despite competition from Sir John English and Jeffrey Broadbottom.

Gillray can also take some of the credit for putting a stereotypical face on'Paddy' even if he did base it around his own images of 'John Bull' as a 'foul-mouthed clod'. [2] Gillray's 'The United Irishmen on Manoeuvres' (fig.1) have been based on many sources from the preceding decades, mainly from histories travel descriptions, plays , novels, newspapers and journals.

Gillray's stereotypical national images of 'John Bull' and 'Paddy' would in succeeding decades follow a diverging path of change. Fifty years later the Gillray 'Bull' in 'Height of Impudence' (fig. 11) has become somewhat less 'foul-mouthed', while 'Paddy 'has and will undergo vast changes from savage agitator, to anthropod ape, to Frankenstein's monster.

The stereotype was of course applied by British satirical publications to all British colonies, from China to Ghana. In 'Times Waxworks' (fig. 13) from Punch in 1881. Father Time introduces Mr. Punch to the latest and most dangerous exhibit in his waxworks collection, which is made up of 'Imperial problems'. In line with a dynamiting 'Paddy' is a Zulu warrior responsible for 'Imperial problems' in 1880. Next to the Zulu is India personified, relating perhaps to the Indian mutiny of 1858. Another cartoon from Fun in 1873 deals with the Asante tribe of West Africa (fig. 14) where an even more ridiculous stereotype is applied. The tribesman is wearing a teapot on his head, while he is half-dressed in the European style. The Lion, symbol of British military power, says: 'Don't bully me sir! I don't mind being kicked by one of my own size, but I'm not going to stand it from a little nigger like you!'.

This attitude was typical not only of the comic weeklies but of the British colonial Goverment which would put down native rebellions with ruthless efficiency and lack of understanding. Most non-white countries received a particulary bad representation in the British press, considered as they were to be violent, apathetic, lazy, ignorant and inferior. These are all characteristics of the representations of 'Paddy' in the same journals: however he seemed to defy the popular term 'the white man's burden'. Science soon provided the answer to this problem (read chapter III section III), as questions soon began to be raised as to whether 'Paddy' was white after all.

The animal as a national stereotype had been popular since the 17th century with each nation state adopting an animal as a national identifier which would best suit their aspirations. England was represented by the Bulldog, and the Lion (as seen in 'The British Lion aroused'

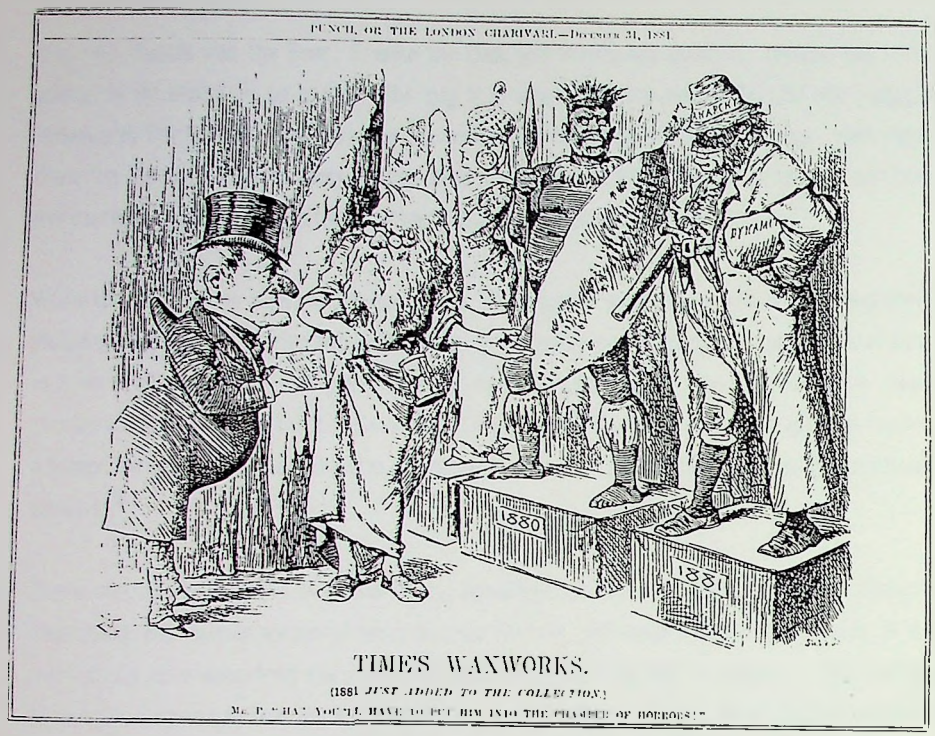


Figure 13

Figure 14

(fig.14), Russia was the Bear, France the Cock and Venice the Dolphin. Ireland had little choice in its depiction as a pig. The pig that won't 'pay the rent' (fig.15) and Punch's 'Essence of Parliament' (fig.16) are stereotypical images of Irishmen as pigs. Both come from the time of the Land League when tenant farmer agitiation was at its highest and both were a response by Punch to the seemingly endless lawlessness of the Irish.

While the veritable arsenal which surrounds 'The Pig that won't pay the Rent' is an undoubted statement about the violence and lawlessness of the agitating land leaguers, the choice of a pig is a very strong visual metaphor for how many English people saw how the Irish lived. Thomas Carlyle wrote in the middle of the 19th century that Ireland was a 'huge supparation, a human swinery, ...an abomination of desolation and a black howling Babel of superstitious savages. [3]

There can be little doubt that the living conditions of some of the Irish tenant farmers resembled the 'human swinery' described by Carlyle. However few of those critical of the Irish could have examined the laws that kept the tenant farmer in poverty. The law had always been aimed at keeping the tenant poor and therefore at heel, as an English landlord worte in 1766: " They were a disloyal and turbulent people, who could only be rendered harmless as long as they were disabled by poverty. [4] It was possible for a landlord to evict a tenant from his land, after the tenant had improved it, and then charge a higher rent to the next tenant for the improved land. [5] Little wonder then that there was indolence, apathy and violence amongst the large tenant population.

Nevertheless the stereotype was formed over centuries without a consideration of the unfair laws and the desparate living conditions. This ignorance of the Irish tenant situation reached even the highest office in England, as Benjamin Disraeli, Prime Minister in the 1870s wrote of the Irish: "They are a wild, reckless, indolent, uncertain and superstitious race who have no sympathy with the English character. [6]
Perhaps the best response to this stereotypical image of the Irish came from an Englishman who journeyed through Ireland in 1886:

> "We keep the Irish dark and ignorant and they wonder how they can be so entralled by superstition; we make them poor and unhappy, and then we wonder that they are so prone to tumult and disorder. We tie up their hands, so that they have no inducement to industry, and then we wonder that they are so lazy and indolent. No wonder that it should

THE PIG THAT WON'T "PAY THE RINT!"

Figure 15

(DETAIL) Figure 16

be part of the Irish character that they are careless of their lives, when they have so little worth living for." [7]

For every one report detailing the plight of the poeverty stricken Irish tenant, there was ten``` employing a more familiar stereotype of an indolent, ignorant and backward Celt [8], based on the scanty evidence of those who had been in Ireland, but had arrived filled with preconceived notions based on what they themselves had heard and read from the past. For many of the ruling and middle classes of Victorian England these stereotypical beliefs and attitudes served to mark a distinction between themselves and what they saw as Celtic Irish. Naturally many of them asked questions as to why the Irish Celt filled his stereotypical image, few asked why a stereotype existed in the first place, but most questions were asked from a safe distance in Metropolitan London, instead of the fields and dwellling place of rural Ireland.

Section II

Ethnology

The massive industrial development in England during the early 19th century led to many radical changes in British society and its class structure. The middle classes had long been the forgotten people of England, sandwiched between the powerful landed gentry and the huge mass of English rural peasants. With a voice in Parliament after the 1832 Reform Bill the middle and merchant class invested their time, money and skills in new industries and professions, many of which prospered.

The middle classes found their identity and assurance in education. The Victorian Age and its attention to education was to be popularly know as "the great march of the intellect" with useful knowledge to the people. [1] Dickens placed that sentiment in his fictional character from Hard Times, Thomas Gradgrind, MP for Coketown: "A man of realities, a man of facts and calculations, who believed that facts alone are wanted in life...you can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon facts." [9]

Similarly eminent middle class gentlemen were hard at work in London collecting large amounts of facts, dedicated to the science of Ethnology. A great deal of discussion could be heard in the 1840s and 50s between amateur 'Ethnologists' which centred on the 'race' and origin of peoples within the Empire. The greatest focus of attention was around the Anglo-Saxon race and its relation to all the other races. What motivated many of these ethnologists was their search for a reason for their political and economic prosperity as well as to justify colonial expansion overseas.

Certain basic beliefs circulated in these societies, namely that all members of a race were descended from a common ancestor, which accounted for the fall of a civilisation if certain mental and physical characteristics were passed from one generation to another. The most important written work on the subject came from Count Arthur de Gobineau. His essay on the "Inequality of the Human Races' of 1853, added to the ethnological societies pseudo-intellectutal fire. De Gobineau stated that it was not 'the absence of great men, fanaticism, an abundance of luxury or corruption which brought about the end of civilisations, but the adulteration of blood" or that the mixing of races was unnatural. [10]

Indeed many prominent people in British Victorian society believed that the gradual extinction of the inferior races was not only a law of nature but a blessing to mankind. [11] In 1865, the Times of London noted in one of its editorials that 'the Irish Celt was leaving Ireland and being replaced by 'Saxons'. The rich and fertile country was being cleared quietly for the interests and luxury of humanity... A Catholic Celt will soon be as rare on the banks of the Shannon as a Red Indian on the shores of the Manhattan'. [12]

For many in Victorian England, the white Anglo-Saxon was the highest branch on the aesthetic and intellectual tree of races: a pure and undilluted race, belonging to the Teutonic and Aryan family.

The facts they choose to ignore spoke of an England, peopled by a mixture of many races, amongst them as Daniel Defoe wrote:

> The Normans first with Julius Caesar came
> Including all the Nations of that Name,
> Gauls, Greeks and Lombards; and by computation,
> Auxiliaries or Slaves of ev'ry Nation
> With Hengist, Saxons, Danes with Sueno came,
> In search of Plunder, not in search of Fame.
> And Conqu'ring William brought the Normans o're.
>
> From this Amphibious Ill-born Mob began
> That vain ill-natur'd thing, An Englishman. [13]

Added to these were several less plunderous migrations, Huegenots from France, Jews from Russia and Irish migrant labourers who filled the fields of England in late summer and autumn.

The comic weeklies for their part chose to ignore all the other races that had dilluted the Teutonic invaders of the 4th century. John Tenniel of Punch in 1880 placed Galdstone, four times Liberal Prime Minister, on a ceremonial shield, clad in Saxon armour and supported by faithful knights (fig. 17). Here is Punch revelling not just in Gladstone's second election victory but in the present colonial domination of Britian and its glorious Saxon past. It is not unlike propoganda produced by the national socialist and fascist parties of Germany and Italy fifty years later in its angle of composition, its theme of righteous triumph and its evocation of ancient ceremonies.

Tenniel attributes the same righteous and defiant expressions to Gladstone and Salisbury in 'The Giant and the Pigmy' (fig.18) as the two stalk off to deal out 'law and order', 'coercion' and 'adequate remedies' to an agitating land league in Ireland. 1880 had been a bad year for Irish

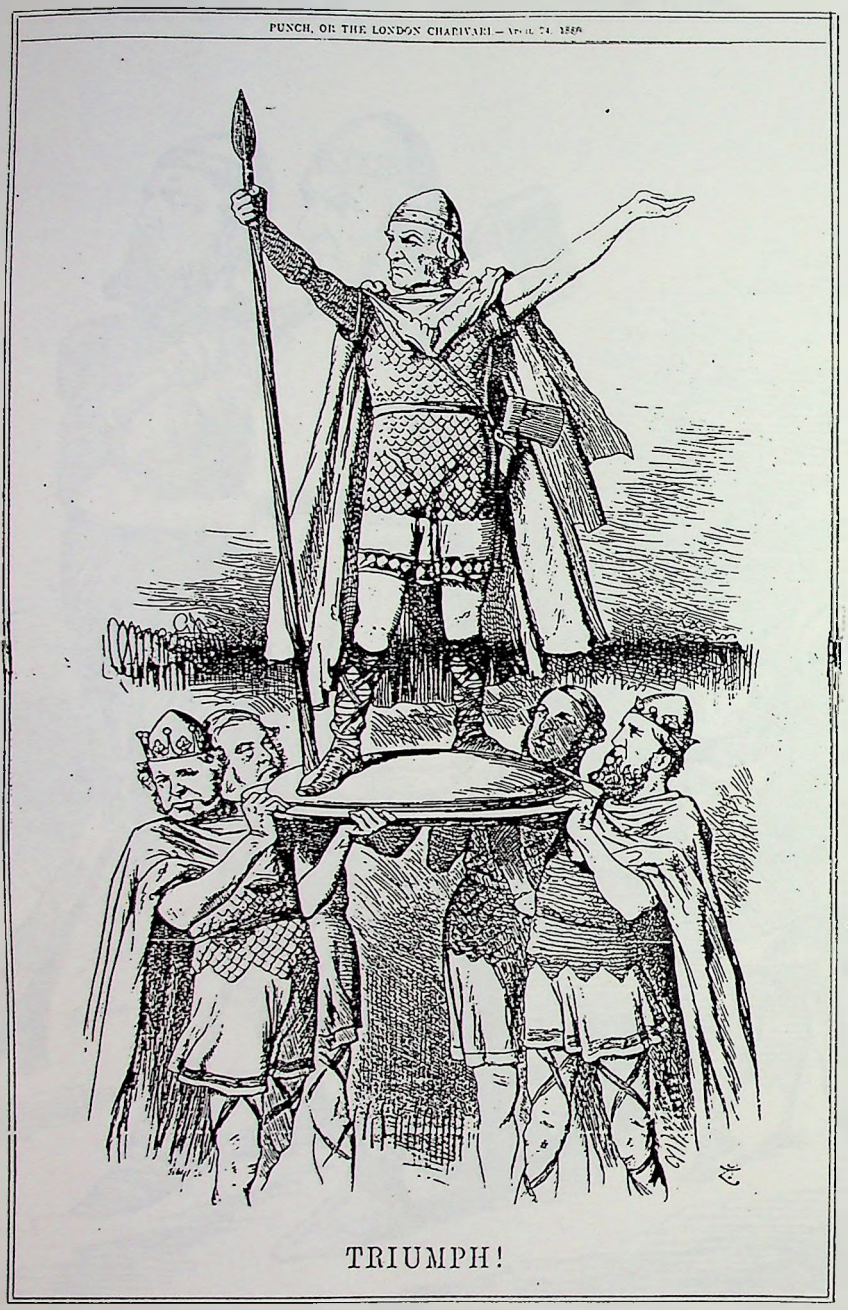


Figure 17

THE GIANTS AND THE PIGMY.

THE LITTLE FOURTH PARTY. "HAVE NO FEAR, VALIANT SIRS!—BEAR IN MIND THAT YOU HAVE *MY* SUPPORT!!"

Figure 18

tenant farmers; 10,000 had been evicted for non-payment of rent and as a result had started the famous 'boycott campaign' aimed at the landlords.

Tenniel's cartoon portrays the 'no compromise' position of British politicians (Gladstone was in many cases an exception). Here in fig.18 is a belief in British rule of law, justice, destiny and pedigree, or the true Anglo-Saxons marching to deal out punishment to the violently unstable Irish Celt. Where Tenniel's cartoon seeks to justify coercion through the use of ethnology, Salisbury's words betrayed his real prejudices and intent concerning Ireland: "You would not confide free representative institutions to the Hotientots; for instance, self government worked well only for the people of the Teutonic race". [14]

With similar disregard for the races of the world, John Constable of the American magazine Harpers Weekly illustrated the differences between the 'Irish Iberian' and the 'Anglo-Teutonic' and his similarities with the 'Negro'. His supposition is an old one in this illustration of 1900 taking most of its impetus from the Social Darwinist ideas of the 1860s and 70s. He blames the isolation of Ireland from the rest of Teutonic Europe for the low prognathious features of the Irish, while the opposite is true of the Anglo-Teutonic, who has competed in the 'healthy struggle of life' and according to the laws of nature has emerged as the superior race amongst all others (fig.19).

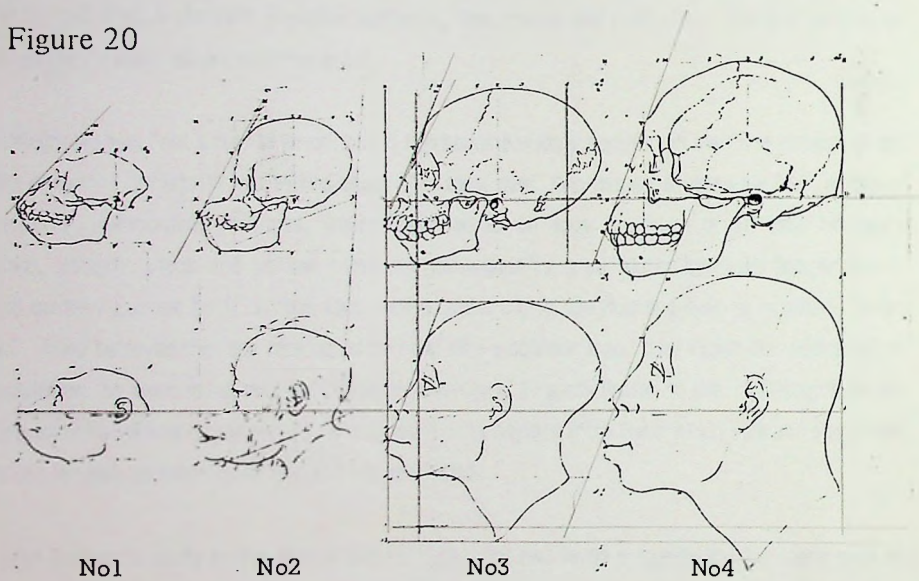
If the Anglo-Teutonic has competed and survived as a superior race, it naturally followed from the 'black and white' laws of ethnology that all other races were inferior, whether they be Negro, Chinese or Celt. These ideas found their way into all aspects of British life through the written word and drawn image of the comic weekly, or the spoken word of politicians like Lord Salisbury. Here was justification for the colonization and exploitation of one quarter of the world. A race that was indolent, contrary, unstable, emotional and violent required a heavy handed mother country looking after its concerns. The British government did not need to look any further then their domination of Africa, Australia, Asia and America, and most of the world's seas for evidence of their superiority over all other races. Here was the greatest Empire the world had ever seen, controlled and exploited by the gretest race, the Anglo-Teutonic.

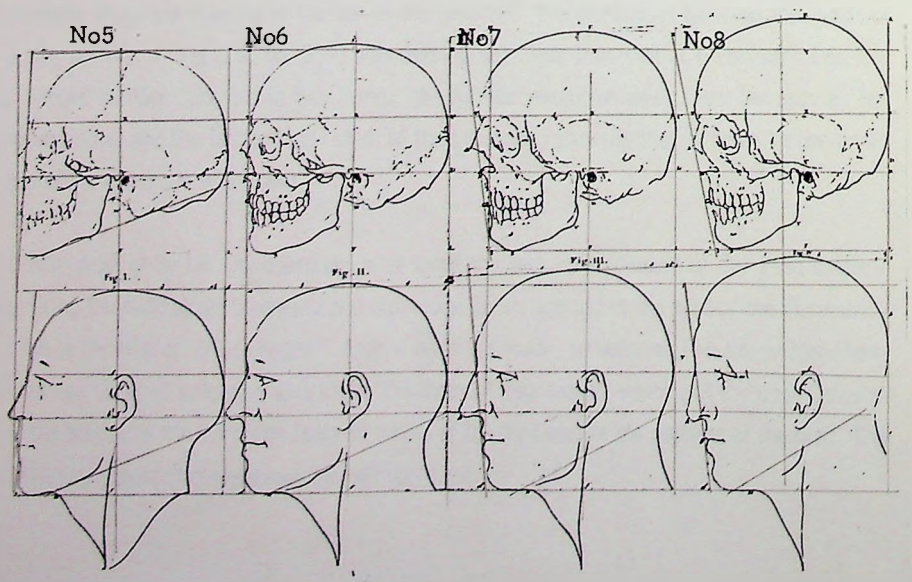
With a by now cold, refined and urbane John Bull (in stark contrast to James Gillray's 'foul-mouthed clod' of a few decades earlier fig.12) in charge of the colonies, and Jack Tar sailing undefeated on the high seas, the comic weeklies sharpened their wit for fresh attacks on that most hot-headed, rude and garrulous of subjects, the Irish Celt. Another science had emerged, during the early Victortian era, physiognomy, which would add thrust to the weekly satire on the perpetually agitating 'Paddy'.

The Iberians are believed to have been originally an African race, who thousands of years ago spread themselves through Spain over Western Europe. Their remains are found in the barrows, or burying places, in sundry parts of these countries. The skulls are of low, prognathous type. They came to Ireland, and mixed with the natives of the South and West, who themselves are supposed to have been of low type and descendants of savages of the Stone Age, who, in consequence of isolation from the rest of the world, had never been outcompeted in the healthy struggle of life, and thus made way, according to the laws of nature, for superior races.

Figure 19

Figure 20





Section III

Physiognomy

If ethnology centred around a middle class infatuation with the pedigree of the races within the world, and the reasons for their rise and fall, then physiognomy as a science was didicated more specifically to attributing a certain given set of physical and mental traits to a people. Based as ethnology was on scanty evidence and motivated by emotional needs, physiognomists claimed to be able to tell from a person's physical features, face, hands and body, their place of origin, as well as their temperament and character.

Physiognomy was "not a new science, but it had become widely popular in the first decades of the 19th century. Aristotle had talked about the 'ideal man' two thousand years earlier, a man of symmetry, harmonious features, which resulted in an equal measure of all four humours (blood, phlegm, black and yellow bile) and consequently a perfectly balanced temperament. 18th century Europe built on this idea, while centering on the face and eyes as 'windows to the soul'. They believed that the face could be read like a contour map. The Victorians added fact to speculation, by examining skulls (called phrenology); Francis Galton in the 1870s carried out work on criminals and murderers, which led him to believe from their skull size and shape that violent tendencies were inherited and not developed.

Pieter Camper's study at the end of the 18th century had layed a foundation for ideas such as Galton's to be accpted. He devised a scale according to the angle that a profile made. A vertical line was drawn from the forehead to the incisor, which intersected another link running horizontally from the opening of the ear to the nostrils. The distinction between the angles of say a negro (70 - fig. 20, no. 3,4) was considerably less then that of a European (no. 5). This, argued Camper, pointed to two things: the further evolution away from the apes by the European races, and the larger skull size of the European, showing that he had a larger brain and therefore was more intelligent.

The credit must go to Dr. John Beddoe, who spent the last three decades of the 19th century researching the field of physiognomy and ethnology for relegating in the eyes of the Victorians, the Irish to the title of 'White Negro". According to his study, he believed that the eyes and hair were the key to racial origins. He devised 'the Index of Negresence' which put the Irish Catholic Celt at the bottom of the European scale in terms of the darkness of the pigment of the skin. The Irish Celt was placed slightly above the Antropoid ape.

Beddoe also accredited acute prognathism to the Irish Celt, that is the protruding forward of the upper jaw. Other Celtic attributes according to Beddoe, were a large mouth, thick lips with a great distance between nose and mouth, and a short nose which was upturned with yawning nostrils. These features could also be accredited to the supposedly bottom of the scale Negro (fig. no. 3 and 4), and can be contrasted with the European (no.5) and Grecian ideal (no. 6). [15]

The figure of a simian or ape-like prognathious 'Paddy' in 'Two Forces' is a direct result of the popularity of Beddoe's, Galton's and Camper's theories (fig. 21). It took a very short time for the results and conclusions of these physiognomist and ethnologists to filter through to cartoonists at the comic weeklies, and through them to the public on a popular level. In a country that had become great through its application of science, it could be used to explain almost everything, and if the scientific findings fitted the needs and beliefs of people, why should there be a need to question it?

'Two Forces' was the work of the most famous and prolific anti-Irish cartoonist, John Tenniel, who worked all his life with Punch. He believed that the science of physiognomy was inseparable from caricature, contorting as he did for most of his life, the features of those unfortunate enough to come under the attention of his pen. It was on Wednesday evenings that the staff of Punch sat around 'the Table' to eat and drink, but also to decide the themes of cartoons to come. It was here that the influence of Tenniel was felt with the other artists: " The political and social cartoon possessed more thrust than a first of second leader in the Times of London". [16] What Tenniel was doing, Punch was doing and where Punch led, all the others followed.

'Two Forces' would have formed probably one of the only serious articles in the October 1881 edition of Punch. 'The Irish Problem' usually deominated Punch's Pencillings in each edition at significant times such as the Fenian Rising and the Land wars. In this Tenniel cartoon 'Paddy' conforms to all the principles of Beddoe's simian/negroid Celt. His use of a simian head upon a human body is infinitly more effective then the editorial cartoon of a year earlier (fig. 22). 'Paddy' as a complete anthropoid tended to look less threatening then a combination of human and anthropoid parts. This simian image is more intent on throwing a spanner in the works then violent agitation.

Tenniel also makes an effective contrast between the two Irelands: 'a violent paddy' and a more 'grateful Hibernia'. 'Paddy' stands threatening, his hand ready to throw rocks at a weeping Hibernia. His mouth is large and opened, his hair ragged an uncultivated. The angle of his face is sharply contrasted with that of the Aristotlian ideal of Britannia who stands defiantly, protecting Hibernia. Here on another level is good versus evil, the righteous sword of law against

TWO FORCES.

Figure 21

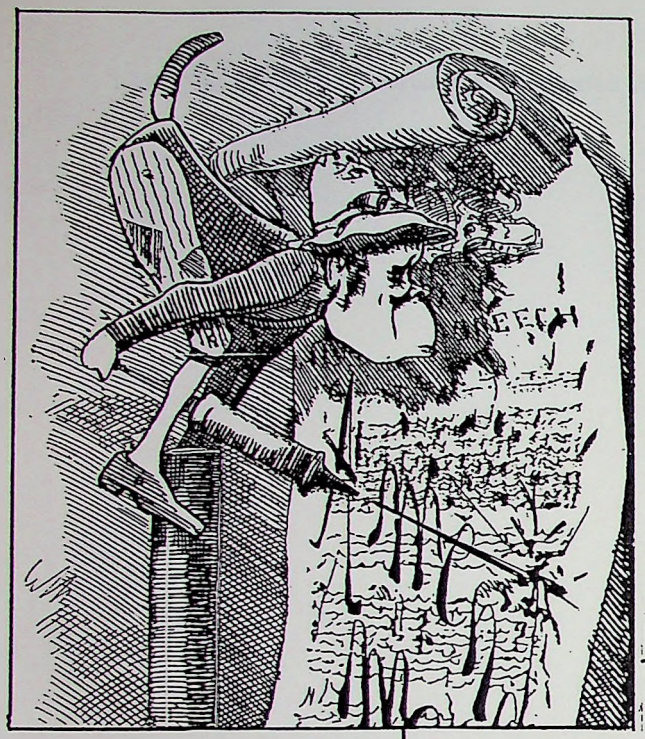


Figure 22 *(DETAIL)*

Figure 23

anarchistic rock throwing and Saxon England against simian Ireland.

Footnotes to Chapter III

1. Kee, Robert Ireland - A Television History Harold & Sons, 1980 Chapter 5, p117

2. Hill, Draper, The Satirical Etchings of James Gillray Dover Publication, 1976
Quote- "foul-mothed clod" from introduction

3. Curtis, Liz Nothing But The Same Old Story London 1986 "....Babel of superstitious savages, Thomas Carlyle, p56.

4. Ibid, p62

5. Kee, Robert, Ireland - A Television History p.134

6. Curtis, Liz Nothing But The Same Old Story, p54

7. Curtis, L.P. Anglo-Saxon and Celts (Smithsonian Institute) p93

8. Curtis, L.P. Apes and Angles Newton Abbot 1971 Chapter II, p20

9. Dickens, Charles Hard Times Signet Classics 1980 p1-3

10. Curtis, L.P. Apes and Angels ".....the adulteration of blood", Chapter II, p16

11. Curtis, Liz Nothing ButThe Same Old Story "....a blessing to mankind" Charles Dilke p58

12. Ibid, p58

13. Ibid, p40 Daniel Defore A Trueborn Englishman

14. Curtis, L.P. Anglo-Saxons and Celts Bridgeport USA 1968 "....the people of the Teutonic race" Lord Salisbury, p38

15. Further reading on the Science of Physiognomy

Curtis, L.P. Apes and Angels Newton Abbot 1970 Chapter 1

16. Ibid, p47

Chapter IV

Section I - "The Fenian Pest".

Section II - " The Irish Devil Fish".

Section i

"The Fenian Pest"

The largest revolutionary group since the Vinegar Hill insurrection came as a direct result of one of the most inglorious rebellions in Irish history, dubbed 'The Battle of the Widow McCormack's cabbage patch'. One of those who had gotten away after 'the battle' was James Stephens and the message of the 1848 disaster was not lost on him. Over the next decade he worked tirelessly to create 'the Fenians', a movement which would provide ample materials for those cartoonists who looked west to Ireland and saw nothing but stone-throwing anarchists.

By 1865 Stephens had 85, 000 men all sworn to secrecy and 'to renounce all allegiance to the Queen of England' and to take arms and fight at a moment's warning, 'to make Ireland an independent democratic republic'. [1] Secrecy was very difficult to maintain within such a large organisation and as a result both the English authorities and comic weeklies got wind of the Fenian intention of violent rebellion. What they did not know until just before the rebelllion was the leadership involved in the Fenian movement; this above all created the greatest fear and suspicion amongst the comic weekles. Without a face on the Fenian leadership, (as they had with Daniel O'Connell), they went scurrying for their ethnology and physiognomy text books, and for the next twenty years produced the most corrupted amd maligned images of the Irish seen in print.

One of Tenniel's first Fenian images was 'The Fenian Guy Fawkes' (fig.23). He increases the degree of prognathism in this stereotype, while playing on old anti-Catholic prejudices dating back to the Guy Fawkes gunpowder plot. The agitated Fenian is seemingly unaware, having lit the gunpowder fuse, of the fate of the mother and children, not to metion his own.

Fenianism, to the comic weeklies seemed to bring the beast out in the Irish. 'Paddy' it seemed, had not only become more violent in the decades before Fenianism, he was now reversing the evolutionary process. Where Mr. Punch had observed that the chief delight of the Irish 'seems to consist in getting into all manner of scrapes, for the main pupose of displaying their ingenuity by getting out of them again [2] ; twenty years later in the '60s, 'Paddy's sole aim in life seemed to be the mindless destruction of anything Anglo-Saxon.

Matt Morgan, the owner and chief cartoonist at the Tomahawk , famed for his satirical attacks on the Queen which were considered outrageous at that time, spared little sympathy on the Irish

Fenian. In the 'Irish Frankenstein' (fig. 24), Morgan portrays the Irish Celt at his lowest yet. Published two years after the unsuccessful Fenian rising of 1867, the Fenian monster cum Orang-utan, is very much alive. He sits idly with the expression of a village idiot, awaiting instruction from his master. All the features of 'a liaison between a gorilla father and a prognathious mother' are there [3]; a heavy jaw, a small upturned nose, a gaping mouth, and a large space between nostrils and mouth.

Where Morgan differed was in his portrayal of the Irish in general. He was in a very small minority when it came to having a measure of sympathy with the plight of the poor Irish tenant farmer. He drew the line when it came to violence, preferring concession and restraint as a policy toward Ireland. Perhaps this is why the Fenian master is portrayed in such a favourable light. He is sharply contrasted with the Fenian, his facial profile equal to that of Britannia's Athenian ideal.

Although the Fenian movement never actually died (it became the Irish Republican Brotherhood), there never existed within its circle a leadership who believed that the battle could be more successfully fought right in the heart of English territory, at Westminster. After the rising, the Fenian movement posed no major threat to English authority and elections as seen from this 1869 view (fig. 25) brought forward few candidates united in opposition to English rule. This hustings was typical of an Irish election; they were racous affairs whose outcome depended on bribery or the munificence of the candidates. Gone was the 'fearful exhibition of sobered and desparate enthusiasm', which Peel had observed in O'Connell's day. Although there was relative peace in the first half of the 70s due to good crops and high prices, the comic weeklies maintained their vigil happy that 'Paddy' had fallen back into idleness and apathy, but ready for the next assault on Anglo-Saxon law and order.

Figure 24

Figure 25

Section II

"The Irish Devil Fish"

The comic weeklies did not have to wait long. In 1879, the potatoe crop failed again. Scenes reminiscent of thirty years ago began to be re-enacted; evictions, disease and emigration. In the House of Commons, a young Protestant politician from Co. Wicklow, in his maiden speech seized the opportunity and declared his beliefs on the continual problems of Ireland. "Ireland is not a geographical fragment but a nation".[4] This was Charles Stewart Parnell, the man who would unite the political and agitation groups in Ireland against British domination. His reign as undisputed leader lasted over ten years, and would coincide with Punch's last great showdown with a prognathious and simian 'Paddy'.

It was Parnell's "Land League', set up in 1879 with Micheal Davitt, that spurred the cartoonists at Punch and the other weeklies into the final great showdown. Here again was an organised Catholic peasantry capable of bringing the fight for independence to the place where it would be best heard. Behind Parnell and the Land League, which did not approve of violence, was the Irish Republican Brotherhood, ex-Fenian men, who could and would disobey the League's orders and use violence against landlords and those who took the land of an evicted family. Parliamentary members were not above incitment. Joseph Bigger was quoted in the Commons as saying that' shooting of landlords was wrong because the assailant frequently missed and hit someone else."[5]

Although Gladstone, Prime Minister at the time, was sympathetic, he was also determined to restore law and order. Punch draws up a choice for Hibernia, between the dynamiting simian land leaguer or the more pleasantly portrayed Mr. Gladstone offering a revision of current land laws in the form of a bouquest of flowers (fig. 26). While ownership of land was a goal and a basic right of the tenant farmer, the real prize after 1881 was Home Rule, and it was this which spurred the agitiation groups to further acts of violence, a violence Mr. Gladstone could not accept, and so the Land and Home Rule escalated, and so too did the number of simian Irishmen in Punch's pencillings.

Tenniel produced a Frankenstein to rival Matt Morgan's earlier Fenian monster (fig. 27), coming as it did after the Phoenix Park murders which brougt the problem in Ireland directly home to the British public. Tenniel represents his monster as a deadly simian assasin, armed with daggers which drip blood. Its face mask cannot hide wither intent or origin, as the monster stands beside a death notice signed by Captain Moonlight, the legendary leader and organiser of Irish agrarian crime. The figure in the background is Arthur Balfour, the new Lord Lieutenant,

THE RIVALS.

Figure 26

whose problem is now to deal with the Land League threat. Tenniel indirectly pushes blame into the lap of Parnell: written beneath is 'yet was it not my master to the very extent that it was my creature?....had I not breathed into it my own spirit?....(Extract from The Works of C.S. Parnell, MP.)

Parnell was to escape visual distortion during his political career, even during his lowest moments, the Pigott forgeries scandal, and the O'Shea divorce case. It was not that he or his policies were above satirization, as he was continually attacked by the British press and comic weeklies during his career. But, the cartoonists at Punch, Judy and Tomahawk never saw fit to turn a wealthy Protestant landowner into an agitating simian Celt. That a Protestant (Parnell had very little Irish ancestory in him) could be a close relative of the ape was unthinkable. Other more subtle ways of satirzing and implicating were found as in Tenniel's "The Irish Frankenstein' (fig.27).

'The Irish Devil Fish' (fig. 28) summarized what the British saw in the Land League, which they saw as an extension of Fenianism. Tenniel depicts Willaim Gladstone, struggling with an octopus, the Irish Land League. The Irish question dominated the four term Liberal premiership of Gladstone, determined as he was to solve its problems. In truth, he struggled as much with his own party and the opposition Tory party as with Parnell and the Land League in his liberal reforms. The two Home rule Biils he introduced were easily defeated, while his Land Acts barely scraped through the Commons to become law. [7]

Tenniel portrays Gladstone entangled in the legs of the monster, each leg capable of upsetting English rule, whether it be by sedition, terrorism, rebellion, anarchy, outrage, intimidiation, obstruction and lawlessness. The Devil Fish's head is as simian as any other Tenniel 'Paddy', and it is here that Gladstone is aiming his blow. Underneath the cartoon is Tenniel's advice in how to deal with this menace, which comes from Victor Hugo's 'Toilers of the Sea': "The creature is formidable, but there is a way of resisting it.... the Devil Fish, in fact, is only vulnerable through the head."

The 'Irish Devil Fish' is clearly an attack on the Land League, and more importantly an attack on its leadership, which included Parnell and other leading Irish MPs. Tenniel's and Mr. Punch's answer to irish problems is far more unsympathetic then the answers provided by the Liberal Prime Minister, Gladstone. The depiction of 'Paddy' had altered considerably since Vinegar Hill eight years since, but the satirical press' answer remained the same - coercion!

THE IRISH FRANKENSTEIN.

"The baneful and blood-stained Monster * * * yet was it not my Master to the very extent that it was my Creature? * * * Had I not breathed into it my own spirit!" * * * (*Extract from the Works of* C. S. P-RN-LL, M.P.

Figure 27

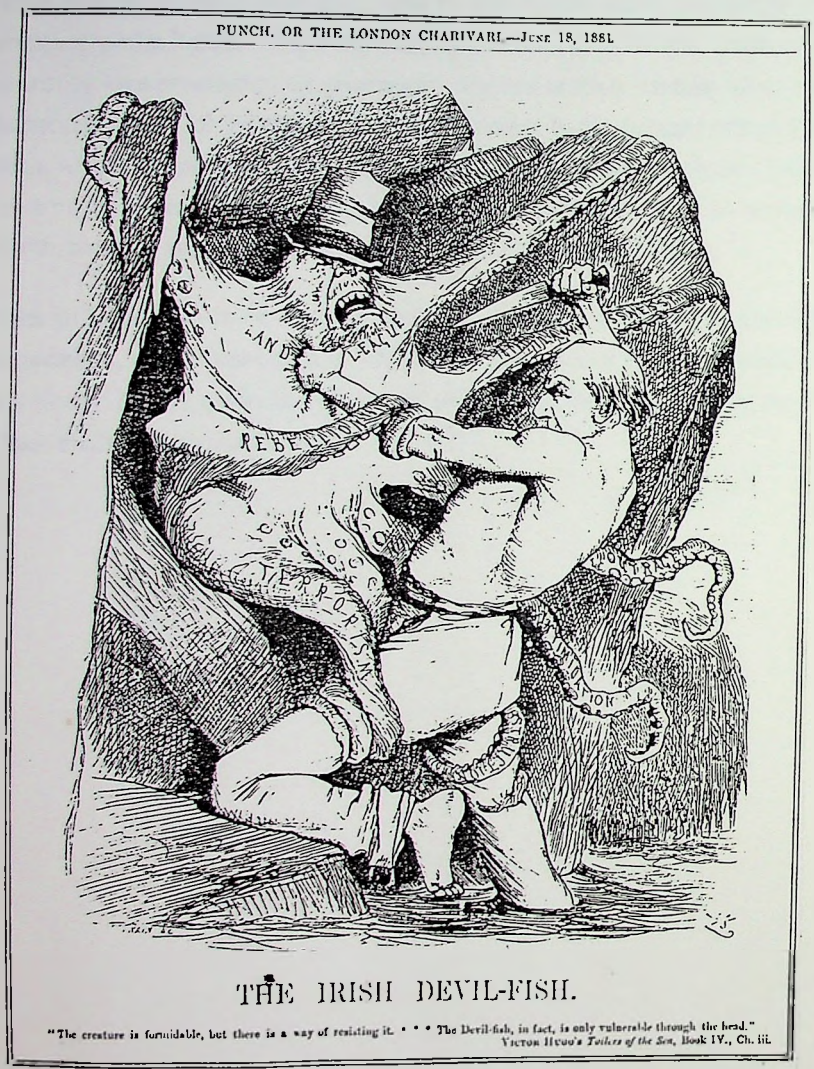

PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI.—JUNE 18, 1881.
REBELLION
THE IRISH DEVIL-FISH.
"The creature is formidable, but there is a way of resisting it. • • • The Devil-fish, in fact, is only vulnerable through the head."
VICTOR HUGO'S *Toilers of the Sea*, Book IV., Ch. iii.

Figure 28

The O'Shea Divorce case which lost Parnell the leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party, split the organisation in two and set the cause of Home Rule back several decades. For years after his death in 1891, Irish Parliamentary politics split into two factions, Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, and, to the delight of British government, could not form the same solid base that had characterised Parnell's leadership. Gone too with Parnell and the Land League was the proliferation of 'simian Paddies'. The Irish tenant farmer now owned his land, bought out from the landlords by loans provided by the government. The land problem had been solved, and the Irish farmer was content for the moment, and for the moment 'Paddy' disappeared from Punch's Pencillings, which was now given over to the new racial 'threat'; Jews and Eastern Europeans were now arriving in London in their thousands. Now there was not only the Irish immigrant to contend with, but other nationalities, many of whom could not even speak English. [7]

Ireland was still a problem in the minds of the British Government and coercion would always precede concession, until Independence in 1922. To the comic weeklies 'Paddy' would always carry a shilleagh (fig.29), dynamite and a gun and would always turn his back on the benefits of Anglo-Saxon civilisation and the Empire.

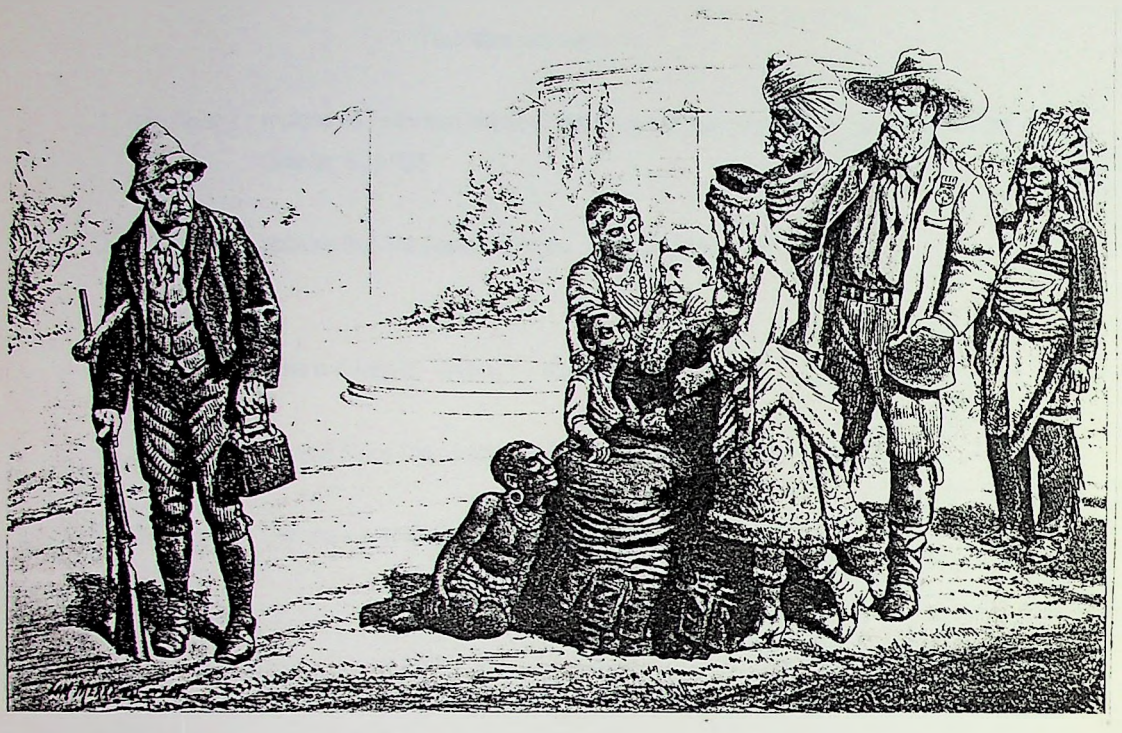


Figure 29

Footnotes to Chapter IV

1. Kee, Robert Ireland- A Televison History (Harrold and Sons Ltd 1980) 'Bold Fenian Men' Chapter 6, p103

2. Curtis, Liz Nothing But The Same Old Story London 1986 p53

3. Curtis, L.P. Apes and Angels 1971, Chapter VII p92

4. Lyons, F.S.L. Ireland Since The Famine The Chaucer Press 1981, p158

5. Kee, Robert Ireland - A Television History p124

6. Ibid., chapter 7

7. Curtis, L.P. Anglo-Saxon and Celts Smithsonian Institute 1968, p87

Chapter V

Response and Conclusion

Ironically it was into the past that Irishmen looked as Englishmen had done, to justify their own ethnocentric beliefs. Interest in Irish ethnology had grown partly as a reaction to the continual downgrading of the Celtic race by British ethnologists, and partly due to an increase in prosperity across all strata of Irish society in the very late 19th century. There had been a revival of things Celtic in the middle of the 18th century in England and France inspired by the translations of James MacPherson of Gaelic heroic poetry. However this revival included all Celtic nations except Ireland, largely because of the amount of prejudiced written material appearing in Britian about Ireland. The most influential description of Ireland in the 18th century came from another Scot, David Hume, the philospher who in his History of England wrote that: " the Irish from the very beginning of time have been buried in the most profound barbarism and ignorance. [1]

It took another hundred years for an Irishman, Standish O'Grady, to revive and record Irish heroic tales. Gradually other literary and political and sporting movements followed such as the Irish Literary Theatre, Sinn Fein, the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Games Association, all who looked to the past for inspiration. But just as Anglo-Saxonsim had its dark side so too did Celticism. The Celtic race was continually seeen with increasing purity and virtue, whose decline was a result solely of British aggression. One Dublin geneologist, John Hart, concluded that all Irish kings could be traced in an unbroken line back to Adam. In short, as L.P. Curtis wrote in Anglo-Saxons and Celts, that the Celts put forward "an idea of themselves that would have satisfied the Anglo-Saxon if it were them".

One of the positive aspects of Celticism was the reaction by Irish comic weeklies to Anglo-Saxon stereotyping. Although not as numerous or long lasting as their British equivalents, magazines such as 'Zozimus', 'Pat', 'Ireland's Eye' and 'The Weekly Freeman' provided in some cases as artistic, literary, humerous, and satirical a view of life as Punch, Judy or Fun. While placing Irish leaders on a plinth free from satirization they rarely if ever perpetuated the image of 'Paddy' as slow-witted and incompetent. Instead he was portrayed as handsome, rather than the Athenian ideal of the Anglo-Saxon self-portrait. The Irish comic weeklies were keen to point out the unfair and prejudiced portrayal of the Irish, as seen in 'Setting Down in Malice' (fig. 30). This view, possibly by Pat's chief cartoonist John F. O'Hara, pokes more then fun at the British cartoonist. It is a serious attempt at illustrating the prejudiced and preconceived view of the London comic weeklies. Unfortunately Pat, like all the other pro-Home Rule comic weeklies, reached only Irish homes, and this view probably changed very few Anglo-Saxon's ideas about the Irish. What it probably did do was stoke the nationalist fire of its readers, and provoke them into supporting revolutionary political or cultural groups.

One figure that was met with common approval by the English, Irish and Unionist comic weeklies

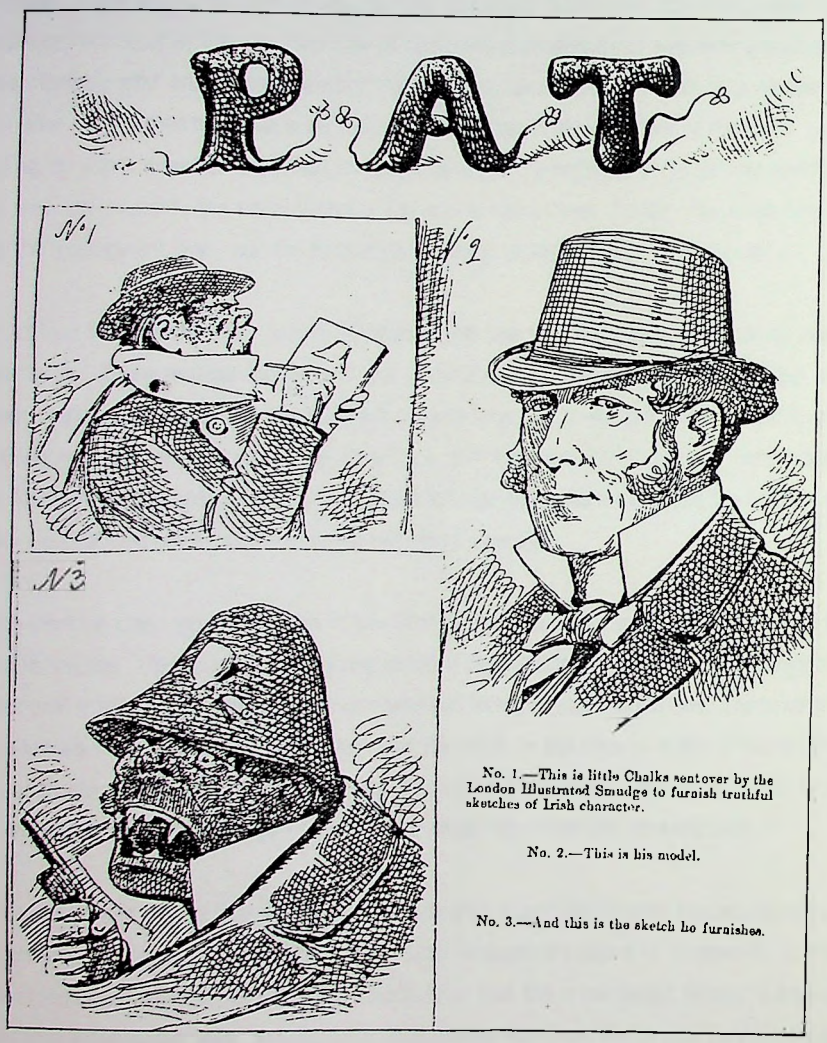

PAT
No. 1.—This is little Chalks sent over by the London Illustrated Smudge to furnish truthful sketches of Irish character.
No. 2.—This is his model.
No. 3.—And this is the sketch he furnishes.

Figure 30

was Hibernia or Erin (fig. 31). She was a young, beautiful and chaste maiden, who was depicted much of the time shedding tears over the state of Ireland while being sheltered and protected by her older sister Britannia, or by her uncle, John Bull in the English comic weeklies. She was continaully contrasted with the violent and bestial 'Paddy' at whose hands she continually suffered. She had many qualities, amongst them was a love of British order and law and was only too happy to conform to British policy, so that she could fullfill her potential under the guidance and protection of Britannia. This role of continual dependence and weakness placed her alongside a violent 'Paddy' and the incompetent 'Pat' when it came to entrusting self-government upon the Irish. She played her role with just as much incapability as either of the other two. Here the English comic weeklies and press stressed the point; no strata of Irish society could be entrusted with government; the revolutionary Fenians as the simian 'Paddy', the Irish tenant farmer as the incompetent 'Pat', nor the Protestant conformist Ascendency, as 'Hibernia'.

While in England there were many people deicated to the idea of Anglo-Saxon superiority over Celtic inferiority, there existed individuals and groups equally dedicated to the idea that all humans were equal, and it was the environment in which people lived that shaped their lives. Notable amongst these groups were the Chartists and Environmentalists who campaigned fervently for political and social reform in England but also uncluded Ireland and the Empire as places where oppression had brought about the decline of a people.

The English working class too would have in the first half of the 19th century been unaware of oppression in Ireland. Their position at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution was somewhat akin to the rural Irish farmer, underpaid, overtaxed and living in slum conditions. The breeding of the English working class was little better then the Irish in the view of many of the middle and upper class ethnologists, many of whom also claimed that the upper classes had fairer skin and hair, and therefore conformed more to the Anglo-Saxon ideal then the working class. [2]

However the position of the English working class improved significantly over the second half of the 19th century. Reforms, both social and political brought a mesure of prosperity to the English working class, while it was not until much later that the Irish tenant farmer achieved even ownership of the land he worked (fig. 32). This photograph from the turn of the century of a Teelin fisherman from Co. Donegal, shows the appearance of typical rural Irishmen. To the traveller they must have appeared dirty, underfed, and badly clothed. To the Victorian mind visual appearance told most of the story; that these people were poor, related more to their inability to make themselves prosperous then to the oppressive set of laws which governed their prosperity. [3]

JUSTICE TO IRELAND!

BRITANNIA (*to* HIBERNIA). "YOU'VE TROUBLES ENOUGH, MY POOR SISTER, WITHOUT *STARVATION*. *THAT* I CAN, AND *WILL*, HELP."

Figure 31

Figure 32

Figure 33

The idea of the Irish as lazy, indolent and ignorant prevailed into the next century. However the image of 'Paddy' as a prognathious simian ape was all but gone. As the British Empre contracted under native insurgence, so too did its ethnological beliefs; books such as Willaim D. Babington's Fallacies of Race Theories as Applied to National Character published in 1895 did much to undo the prevailing Anglo-Saxon ethnological prejudices. But more importantly for 'Paddy' was the demise of the comic weekly, only one of which, Punch survived the first world war.

The racial cartoon so predominant in the comic weekly was replaced by 'the Irish Bull' or "Paddy Joke', which was a milder form of racial attack and could be found in popular newspapers or as in Fig 33 on postcards and other printed material. Here in fig.33 the stereotpye is still applied in this 1910 postcard; 'Paddy' is still wearing the same type of clothing, together with clay pipe that he wore in James Gillray's satirical attack on the Vinegar Hill revolt. This type of publication represents a return to the pre-Gillray image of 'Paddy' as feckless, ignorant and more harm to himself then anyone else.

There can be very little doubt about the racial cartoon in the comic weeklies on British political and social policy in Ireland. It would though, be impossible to accurately measure that influence and therefore judge to what extent the British political mind was influenced in its prejudice toward Ireland. In mocking Parnell and his party, the MP Major Edward Saunderson stated; " I absolutely deny that any race has the right to be free. I say that history is on my side and that no race is free until it is strong enough and brave enoguht to be free.' [4] It is not known whether or not Major Edward Saunderson was a regular reader of Punch , Judy or any of the other comic weeklies, but those words uttered in the Hosue of Commons in 1886 reflect the same sentiments found in the cartoons of John Tenniel of Punch. Somewhere at sometime he and many of his fellow Conservative and Liberal MPs must have come upon the aggressive prognathious simian image of 'Paddy' and from it have drawn their own conclusions. Those conclusions rarely favoured the Irish Celt in his bid for prosperity and independence, as L.P. Curtin worte: "what really killed Home Rule in 1886 and 1894 was the Anglo-Saxonist stereotype of the Irish Celt".[5] Ironically what killed the Anglo-Saxonist stereotype of the Irish Celt were the measures of Land Reform and finally full independence in 1922, which the comic weeklies had so stringently and for so long declared would destroy any civilisation that existed in Ireland, so incapable was the Irish Celt of self-government.

Footnotes to Chapter V

1. Curtis, Liz Nothing But The Same Old Story London 1986 p52

2. Curtis, L.P. Anglo-Saxons and Celts Smithsonian Institute , Chapter IV

3. Ibid, chapter IV

4. Ibid, chapter V, p68

5. Ibid, chapter VI p101

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