Irish Political Cartoons
During the Home Rule Period
1886 - 1914

Joseph O' Herlihy

Degree in Visual Communication

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IRISH POLITICAL CARTOONS

DURING THE HOME RULE PERIOD 1886-1914

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ART & DESIGN & COMPLIMENTARY STUDIES

AND IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE

FACULTY OF DESIGN BY JOSEPH O'HERLIHY

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"A good carricature, like every work of art, is more true to life than reality itself" [1] Annibale Carracci (1560-1609)

This essay investigates the Irish political cartoon of the Home Rule period from 1886 - 1914. The divisions made are in respect of the three Home Rule Bills - 1886, 1893 and 1912-14, with particular emphasis to the principal characters during the political history of the time. This essay purports to examine the development in the presentation of the principal characters throughout these years, with reference to the cartoonists approach in treating the changing political climate.

Before examining these cartoons it is necessary to explain what is meant in this instance by 'political cartoon', as well as defining the role cartoonists played in publications of this period.

Cartoons can be categorised into three divisions; [2] comic, social and political. In the first category the cartoonist attempts to simply entertain the reader with humour - whatever the particular type. In the second, (social cartoon), the approach is more 'humourist' than 'comic'. It comments on daily life which "raises a smile of recognition". [3] In the third category, the political cartoon, the cartoonist presents a "comment championing a specific political faction or point of view". [4]

When compared then, it is obvious that political cartoon encourages the cartoonist to be the least objective of the three categories. Although it can be argued that both social and political cartoons are presenting some form of comment there are marked differences in the direction they take. The political cartoon "seems to do more than amuse or make one sigh out a 'well that's life';

it tries to influence the viewer to a particular viewpoint and predispose the reader to a particular political action".[5] The political cartoon is in this case, then, an implicit appeal to do something political. This definition, however, must rule out the general or specific social-moral cartoon which also implies an appeal to action-the border where both types of cartoons meet. Perhaps the singular difference is that the social cartoons (belonging to this border group) intend to provoke individual moral action, whereas the political ones provoke a more specific type of action - political action which can be, at times, inclusive of mass moral action also. These two divisions, then, meet where moral social comment appeals for political action. For the purpose of this essay I shall include the latter as political cartoon.

The particular role of the cartoon has been, and generally remains, that of protagonist. "From the start of art, the political cartoon has always worked best as witness for the prosecution".[6] The force of the cartoon is emphasised by the use of caricature - "With the aplomb of Greek Gods, cartoonists blithly transform enemies into clowns and political parties into animals".[7] The justification for the artist to deliberately commit himself to a one sided viewpoint of the events witnessed seems to be in the nature of the attack alone. "A cartoon cannot say, 'On the other hand'. On the other hand, why should it?"[8] Objectivity is not a virtue bestowed on any successful cartoon, irrespective of how unwilling a political cartoonist may be to align himself to any political party. The action and resulting scenario of any politican is, ideally, what the cartoonist's preoccupation remains. "No attempt is made to be fair and balanced, because events are not fair and balanced ..... All that remains consistent is exaggeration".[9]

Furthermore, the cartoonists themselves see their own criticism of the political scenario as above that of the petty politics and the resulting consequences. The cartoonist's role seems to fall

between self-proclaimed prophecy and anarchic voyeurism. Gerald Scarfe believes "all politicans are fallible .... I point out to those in power that they may be wrong".[10] As Terry Mosher, calling himself a 'paid buzzard', cynically puts it, "Our role is to go after whoever is in power"[11] More non-chalantly, Jaques Faizant says "...I live off the misfortunes of the nation".[12]

The implication here is that in contemporary cartoons both the actual cartoon itself as well as the cartoonist, act as independently as possible from outside political pressure. In the case of the cartoon, it attempts to state more than editorial policy, whereas the cartoonists themselves never wish to betray their personal political loyalities.

This contemporary role of the cartoon was not shared by the papers of the Nationalists and Unionists during the Home Rule period in Irish history that this essay explores. Home Rule was a political campaign to repeal the Act of Union (1801) and establish an Irish Parliment under Westminster. In 1877 this campaign came under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell. It received the support of the Liberal party in the 1880's, under the leadership of William Ewart Gladstone, and lead to the introduction in 1886 of the First Home Rule Bill, when Gladstone was Prime Minister. It was opposed by the Irish Unionist M.P.'s and by the Conservative party in Westminster. This pattern of party political division over Home Rule continued during the three occasions on which Home Rule Bills were put before the House of Commons - 1886, 1893 and 1912-14.

The political cartoon, particularly in the early parts of this period, was very different in conception from today - it was a deliberate facet of political propoganda strictly in line with the loyalities of the editorial to a specific political party or policy. The cartoonist was indeed critical of his subject but in a marked politically biased way which existed only to promote the views of the favoured

political party. It must also be remembered that many of the papers that published these cartoons, were set up by political parties origonally. The main interest was with the politican's actions and the results of these actions, rather than the character of the politican himself - even though the latter could not be avoided when dealing with caricature. Interest here was only in the effect of the politican's actions taken in the light of a pro or anti-Union stance. This was the central focus of the composition. For this reason the emphasis of the cartoon remains on analogy and allegory rather than caricaturisation. I will return to this approach and development of the political cartoon during each period of Home Rule in more detail later on in the essay. The aim here is to emphasise the difference between how cartoonists now see their role and how during the period of this essay the cartoonists primarily served the political bias of the papers they worked for.

All political comment is historical, and in this way it is tied to particular events and characters. For this reason it is necessary to outline the historical events and characters they record, including the state of political parties and their emergence, before elaborating on the cartoons themselves by way of introduction to the periods referred to in the main body of the text. Here however, it is necessary to elaborate on the role this historicity plays in the choice of cartoons taken.

Some political cartoons are tied so close to political events it is necessary then for the event itself to have historical importance if we are to understand it in the main. This is the crux of the problem in attempting to analyse any political cartoon. Furthermore, no contemporary of the nineteenth century has written a commentary on political cartoons dealing with this period, other than one in 1832, which dealt with English cartoons. The captions used were largely allegorical, hence creating further complications for readers today. For this reason, although reference will be made to the caption, my main focus will be on the rendition of characters and the analogy used in each case. This has complexities of its own, of course: recognition of the minor characters as well as a necessary

familiarisation with the political system of the time.

In my approach to the Irish political cartoon in both nationalist and unionist papers, as well as other forms of printing cartoons (in weekly and monthly periodicals as well as postcards), I have decided to examine them from an aesthetical viewpoint, with particular reference to the development of caricaturisation of the politicans who were the key figures portrayed. My secondary interest is in the use of analogy and composition, which was naturally adapted from the conventions in expression of the late Victorian age. The decision to focus on certain papers, magazines or postcards belonging to the particular periods was made not only on the availability of surviving cartoons, but on the ability of some to better illustrate the development of certain characters as well as those which satrised the prevailing political climate. My selection, then focuses not on the development in printing methods of various publications with their use of cartoon, but on those which exemplify best the political temperature of the time, particularly with regard to newspapers which were presented with a markedly nationalist or unionist bias. Even though the nature of the cartoons was in many cases purely propagandist, the success of this use will not be gauged here in great detail, although reference to it cannot be ignored. The particular pieces chosen are relevant to the time scale, particularly with regard to the dates of the three home rule bills, but also include other important dates of political developments. For example, the **Times** (**London**) letter scandal with Parnell, 1887 - '89, in which the English paper accused Parnell of various crimes, is of importance. along with his rejection as leader of the party in 1890, closely followed by his death in 1891. These particular incidents allow one to trace the changes in cartoonist's portrayal of Parnell, both in caricaturisation and use of analogy, which is what this essay intends to investigate with respect to the various characters that dominate the political scene.

1 Lionel Lambourne Caricature page 7

2 Dunn's category as found in
Charles Press The Political Cartoon page 13

3 Ibid page 12

4 Ibid page 13

5 Ibid

6 Time Magazine Sept. 12 1988 Mighty Pens page 90

7 Ibid

8 Ibid

9 Ibid

10 Ibid page 93

11 Ibid

12 Ibid page 91

The style of presentation in victorian cartoons and its effect on the Irish political cartoons.

The tradition inherited by the cartoonists of this period, the latter half of the Victorian era, was firmly established by their predecessors - Gillray, Cruickshank and Hogarth. That these artists lived in the Georgian age is a fact not to be dismissed lightly. The social climate of that time encouraged cartoonists to savagely attack politicans with a markedly pointed satirical approach. This approach was to represent the "great men of their time in the most indecent situations".[1] However, with the dawn of the Victorian age in the 1830s the "unrespectful"[2] cartoons were soon a thing of the past. "Times and tastes change ... the reaction had set in ... People became more 'proper'".[3] The approach to caricature, previously one of little reverence but much relish, was epitomised in the reference to this discipline itself - "the rebirth of propriety could be made clear by a rechristening".[4] The rechristening was an attempt to remove the cartoonist from the previous stigma of vulgarity "inherited with the old descriptive label of 'caricature'".[5] The latter were now referred to as 'cartoon '.[6] The new approach insisted in clearly marking a difference between "respectful and disrespectful political art".[7]

"The other stream (respectful cartoons) begins in what seems like fairly tame comment"[8] of the leading politicans of the day. Even Punch the principal organ of political and social cartoons in nineteenth century Britain, felt the force of Victorian etiquette - although the lighthearted and nonsense type of humour continued. Fictionalised characters were used to portray actual events rather than use the more pointed caricature.[9] The high tide of Victorian dominance came in the 1870s, thus influencing the approach to political cartoons favoured by both Unionists and Nationalists. Those who were to be caricatured were to be done so in a self-conscious and controlled manner which owed little to the school of Gillray and Cruickshank,

whose approach nevertheless established the 'tongue in cheek' acceptance of peers to be cartooned as an effective way of comment. The axiom that "It is bad for a politican to be caricatured. But it is worse not to be"[10] still rang true.

However, the caricatures contained in the cartoons of the time were treated in a more and more stylistic manner. The analogies could be as bizzare as possible in a 'respectful' sense but the characters became more like fixed masks rather than renditions of exaggeration and distortion that could envelop a whole range of 'hidden intentions'. The faces were given a particular fixed treatment which remained unaltered irrespective of which mood they were to portray, resulting in a standard, near iconic, technique. That the Irish papers should readily adopt such a technique, so prominent in the English publications, is hardly surprising. The influence of the style was very familiar with an Irish audience. Many of the Irish publications, such as **The Lepracaun** and **Pat**, were directly attempting to negate the perception of the Irish and Irish political objectives as portrayed in English publications widely read here, such as **Punch**. The 'proper deference' adopted by many of the English cartoons no doubt encouraged the younger, newly established papers to imitate this style.

Most of Dublin's largest newspapers such as the **Weekly Freeman** and **United Ireland** had a colour supplement with them by the early 1880s. Due to the printing limitations of the time it was more reasonable to print the cartoon on separate sheets - known as broadsheets - and insert them into the newspaper, rather than actually incorporate them into the main body text of the paper itself. Such a development was to come in the papers and periodicals of the early 1900s, such as the **Lepracaun**, in time for the third Home Rule Bill . All these insertions were chromolithographs, many using colour to great effect, although differing in size usually 10" x 16.5" or 20.1" x 13.3". They were effective organs of propaganda for their respective causes, depending on the editorial policy of the paper - either encouraging support for the Home Rule party

and their policies, fomenting bias against certain politicans; or, firmly defending the union of Ireland and Britain established in 1800, accusing Home Rulers of anarchy and disloyalty to the crown.

The actual format of these cartoons was chosen to encourage the reader to keep them, as one would a printed poster. Many homes throughout Ireland used broadhseets as decoration. It cannot be overemphasised how powerful an image these must have created in the reader's mind. No previous political message had been relayed quite as effectively as this before in Ireland's chequered political history. Although the effectiveness of this use of propoganda is not what I wish to pursue here, to display its ability to impress one should draw attention to a particular incident in 1893 by way of gauging to some degree the force of such imagery.

On May 6, 1893, shortly after the passage of the second Home Rule Bill, a nitroglycerin bomb was thrown into the quadrangle of the Four Courts in Dublin. Amidst the debris of the canister and fuse the police found a copy of a cartoon from the United Ireland's Christmas edition of 1889. The actual illustration was of Hibernia and Britannia standing in sisterly love, with a border surrounding the two which placed Gladstone at the top in crusader's armour. He held a battle-axe, labelled Home Rule, preparing to slay the serpent with'Tryanny, Coercion, Eviction and Rack Rent' on its coiled body. The caption read 'Peace on Earth - Goodwill Towards Men'. Because of the timing of the explosion some newspapers purported that this indicated the "undesirability of the perpetrator to the then constitutional agitation".[11] Whatever the interpretation, its significance here lies in the cartoon's inclusion at the scene of the incident and its obvious key role in influencing the perpetrator.

The presentation of the message, for both Nationalists and Unionists, was a deliberate attempt to influence the readers' approach to the politics of the day, as well as reinforcing the policies of

the political parties they chose to recommend. That this particular cartoon should resurface after so many years gives some indication of the success this mode of visual communication achieved in terms of permeance if nothing else.

An important point to remember, particularly with regard to the Nationalist cartoons of this period, is that they were conscious of addressing themselves to not only those familiar with the policies endorsed, but also to those in favour of them. The readership of these Nationalist publications were Nationalists - They were meant for an Irish nationalist audience. These papers sold to a Nationalist public (in both Ireland and England). It was, somewhat comparable to the Unionist cartoons readership. They were popular not only in the sympathetic homes of those in the South as well as in Ulster, but also with a Unionist readership in England. Although reference is made to both Unionist and Nationalist cartoons throughout the Home Rule period, I only use both to show the development of particular characters. I am not attempting to compare nationalist cartoons with unionist ones . They are included to show the primary focus of Unionist and Nationalist approaches to tracing the characters development. The presentation of any form of propaganda to a 'home crowd' inevitably sees examples of stereotypes, and in the period these cartoons were published it took several forms, perhaps the most symptomatic of all being simianisation.

When writing on the influence of, and the rise of simianisation in cartoons one realises that "cartoons .. sometimes tell us more of the criticisers than of the criticised".[12] With the wide exposure given to Darwin's theory of evolution, the class structure, so prevelant in all aspects of English culture at this time, favoured the association of the lower orders to that of inferior animals. That such extreme shifts in perception of man should influence the cartoons of the day should come as no surprise. Cartoon as a discipline must,

in order to be interpreted clearly, reflect the social trends and prejudice of contemporary social order (whether or not the cartoonist chooses to condone or condemn such trends). Hence, the "Victorian Englishman's concept of his own place in the world comes clearly into view, personified ... by the immense superiority of the Englishman over the ape-like Irish".[13] The readily published cartoons of the simianised Irishman in periodicals such as Punch in England supports this intent of the Victorian Englishman's social adaptation.

Nevertheless, the simianisation of the Irish in English cartoons was ingrained on the ego of the Irish reader, although Irish cartoons mainly refused to copy such an approach even when the tone of the cartoon might be strongly anti-English. The Irish Nationalist and Irish Unionist cartoonists were neither "as systematic nor as scientific in their treatment of the 'enemy' as were their opposite numbers in London".[14] The Irish cartoonist, judging from the faces of Unionists in the Nationalist cartoons, and those of the latter in the former's cartoons, preferred to portray their enemies in a less simianistic manner, albeit brutal and, on several occasions, prognathous. "Relatively few gorillas and orangutans inhabit Irish political cartoons between the 1860s and the 1920s."[15]

Although reference to simianisation cannot be ignored because of the effect it had on cartoons during this period, I do not wish to investigate exhaustively its inclusion in these political cartoons. My approach is not to examine how cartoonists presented races but how they treated individual characters in the light of political prejudice. For that reason my selection of political cartoons follows the development of caricaturisation of specific politicans primarily.

Finally, reference is made throughout to the various cartoonists responsible for their respective cartoons but only when it is possible to accurately give this credit.

1 Lionel Lambourne Caricature page 17

2 Tenniel drew the comparison between "respectful and unrespectful political art" in
Charles Press The Political Cartoon page 345

3 David Low in The Listener 19 Jan. 1989
The Purpose of Caricature page 24

4 Ibid

5 Ibid

6 Ibid

7 Charles Press The Political Cartoon page 345

8 Ibid page 341

9 c.f. Ibid 344
Characters such as 'Government Gus', 'Dilly & Dally', replaced caricaturisation of particular politicans to make a political point.

10 Time Magazine Sept.12 1988 No.37 Mighty Pens page 91

11 Lewis P.Curtis Apes & Angels page 82

12 Lionel Fleming The Irish Times Apr.22 1971
Paddy the Simian

13 Ibid

14 Lewis P.Curtis Apes & Angels page 82

15 Ibid

First Home Rule Bill 1886 - The Development in Gladstone's presentation in cartoons.

In 1800 the Act for legislative Union of Ireland with Great Britain was passed by both Irish and British Parliments. 1801 saw the first year of this formally established union begin. From this union to the presentation in Parliament of the first Home Rule Bill, there were several important historical dates which, by way of introduction to this period, should not be ignored. Ireland's attempt at displaying the Nationalists distaste of this bill was seen in the 1803 rebellion under Robert Emmet. The failure of armed insurrection turned Nationalists attention to parlimentary reform. With Daniel O'Connell, the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed in 1829. Until then, Catholics were not allowed to enter Parliament. Gladstone formed his first cabinet in 1868 and by the time he advocated Home Rule for Ireland he was Prime Minister for the third time. Gladstone favoured reforming acts in his various administrations, including various legal reforms relating to Ireland: The Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, 1869; Land Acts, 1870 and 1881, culminating in his committment to Home Rule by the Bills of 1886 and 1893. Gladstone's First Land Act, 1870, coincided with the launch of the Home Rule movement by Isaac Butt, who was replaced as leader of the Home Rule party in 1877 by Charles Stewart Parnell, who remained leader for more than a decade. With the introduction of the first Home Rule Bill in 1886 by Gladstone, the Liberal Prime Minister, the cartoon s of the day were already familiar to the Irish readers, with the principal characters in the cartoons presented with true Victorian respectability. What I wish to primarily investigate is how these characters were drawn in cartoons shortly before 1886 and how, with the presentation of the Bill, the approach to portraying Gladstone shifted emphasis to remain in line with the propagandist intent of the cartoons.

Although Gladstone had presented himself as favourable to legislative change for Irish interests since 1870, he was depicted, by and large, by the Nationalist papers as someone doing so only to appease the Home Rulers and distract them from their main intention. He was very much a character that Parnell could influence with the weight of the popular vote, but not one to be trusted to act in Ireland's nationalistic favour.

The Land war lasted from 1879 - 82 in Ireland. It was principally over land rights for tenant farmers, and because of much agigtation the government introduced various coercian acts in an attempt to contain any insurrection. With Parnell's elevation to leader of the newly formed Irish Parliamentary Party in 1880 clear demarcation lines were drawn for the representation of characters who were to be treated favourably and otherwise by the Nationalist publications.

Pat, the periodical based on the same format of the English Punch, enclosed double page spread cartoons in 1881 which depicted Gladstone's coercion laws by punishing the majority for the crimes of the few (1.1). This categorises him as a character whose actual bias against the Irish is revealed (1.2). He cloak of 'benevolence' falls to reveal a sword of 'martial law'. Even though Gladstone later introduced the Land bill of 1881, he nevertheless is treated in an unsympathetic way by the Nationalist cartoonists. The Weekly Freeman, a Nationalist paper that enclosed broadsheet cartoons in colour, drew a rather eloquent analogy between Gladstone's bill and the "powerful influences" which encouraged him to present it. Pat, who along with Erin symbolised the Irish Nationalist patriot, wields the 'Land League' club menacingly over Gladstone's head (1.3). Gladstone's successful passage of his second Land Act did not alter the Nationalists perception of him. He remains the mechievous figure - this time a dark knight on the British steed, dragging Erin behind in a display of Liberal triumph, rather than the attaining of any higher ideals (1.4). With the subsequent murder of Cavendish

PUNISHING THE VICTIM.
(AS USUAL)

THE GENIUS OF THE BILL.

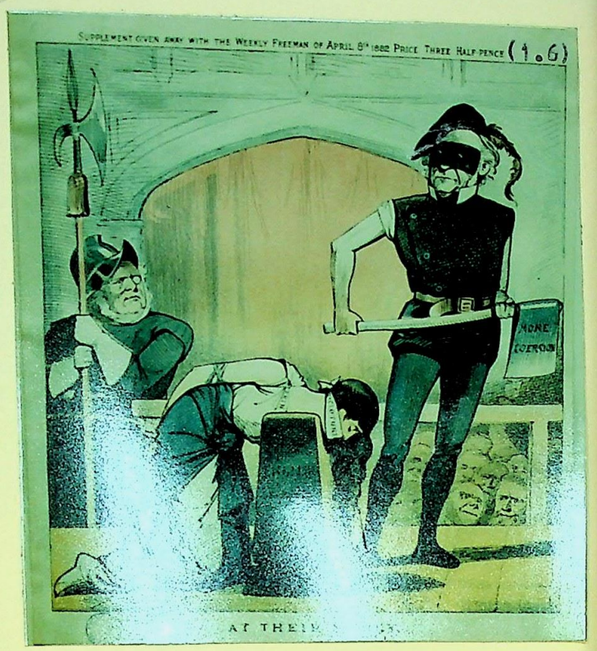
The above Picture accurately represents the "powerful influence" under which Mr. Gladstone drafted his new Land Bill.

(1.1) 'Punishing the Victim', 1881 Pat
(1.2) 'Unmasked), 1881 Pat
(1.3) 'The Genius of the Bill, 1881 Weekly Freeman
(1.4) 'His Latest Triumph', 1881 Weekly Freeman

UNMASKED.

The Cloak and Mask having been removed, we now see the real man.

HIS LATEST TRIUMPH!



(1.5) 'Politico-Meteological Observation', 1882 Pat
(1.6) 'At Their Mercy', 1882 Weekly Freeman
(1.7) 'Will You Be My Valentine', 1884 Weekly Irish Times

and Burke, chief secretary and under-secretary respectively to Ireland, in the Phoenix Park, 1882. Gladstone readopted coercion laws for Ireland. His portrayal as one opposing Irish interests (1.5) develops into one of blatent disregard for Ireland (1.6). The marked difference in use of analogy between the two cartoons underlines this pointed disfavour of Gladstone.

The careful use of analogy in these cartoons established the precedent for the tone of cartoons throughout this period. Even casually comparing the analogies used in cartoons (1.3) and (1.6) for instance, both used a pretty tame and controlled approach to the portrayal of characters. It is tempting to imagine how Gillray would have used the portrayal of the same analogy. The seated Gladstone in 'The Genius of the Bill' would have coweered just that little bit more disturbingly. Gladstone's axe lacks the immediacy of intent positioned as it is in 'At Their Mercy'.

In both the above cases although Gladstone's character dramatically changes role, from victim in the former to agressor in the latter, the actual depiction of his physiognomy alters very little. This lack of extreme change in his caricature is even more noticable in later cartoons in Nationalist publications when Gladstone is perceived in an altogether more favourable light. This timid use of analogy presents a nonetheless clear message to the reader, even though it is couched in 'respectability'. The almost coy way the cartoonist approaches subtle changes in Gladstone's features, being careful not to shift dramatically from the iconic treatment of the caricature is effective.

A further example of this iconic approach to caricature becoming established can be seen when the cartoons of the anti-Home Rule papers is investigated. Gladstone's features suffer no more at the hands of the Unionists than they did at those of the Nationalists.

(1.5) 'Politico-Meteological Observation', 1882 Pat
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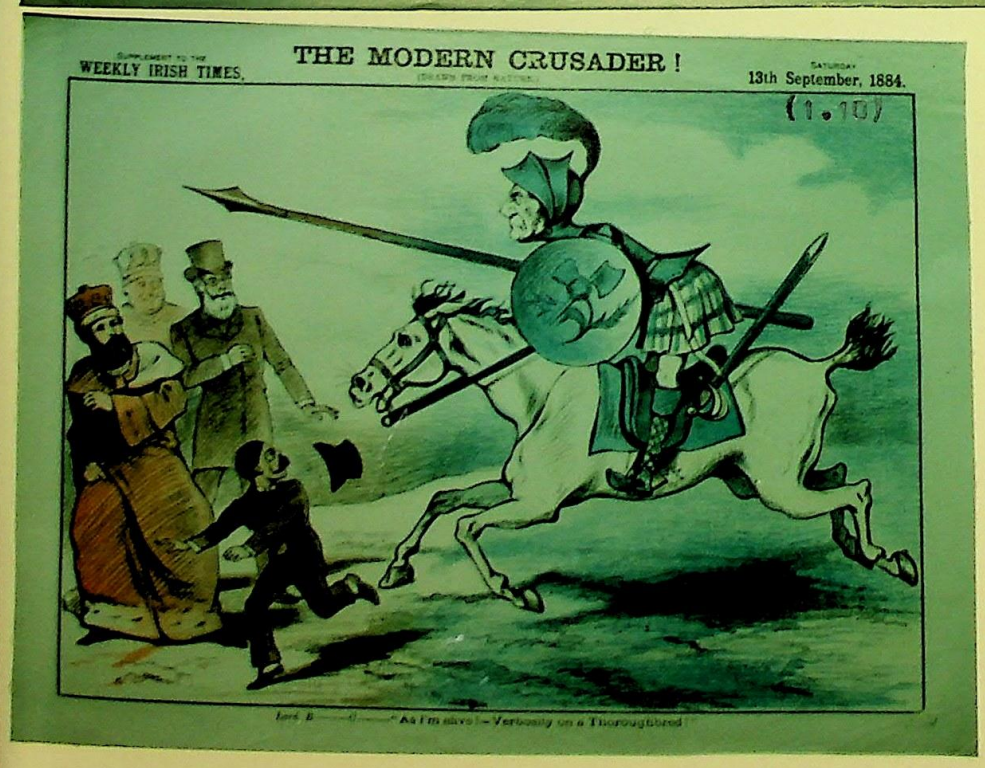
Although it might be countered that the Unionists had been "reluctant to condemn Gladstone out of hand'[1] until 1893, the treatment of his caricature did not signal whether or not the cartoon was favourable to him or not. The use of analogy in Unionist cartoons before 1893 show Gladstone as one who endeavors to satisfy Erin (1.7) without turning his back on the Union. In the Weekly Irish Times, a Unionist paper from Dublin, Gladstone is shown (1.8) attempting to introduce reform in an effort to prevent dissolution. Here, as in the other cartoons using similar analogies (1.9), one's sympathy is directed at the Union. Scorn is directed against the ungrateful Pat. Although pro-Union in their content, they are not, as yet, contemptuous of Gladstone. The closest the Unionists come in the days before the second Home Rule Bill is perhaps best exemplified in 'The Modern Crusader', 1884 (1.10). Here Gladstone is presented as the opposer of the Conservative policy to the Union which, although hardly news, was an attempt to highlight serious reservations about conditional support for Gladstone. The mocking allegorical text directed at Gladstone, ' Verbosity on a Thoroughbred', is also a subtle knock at the latter. Disraeli (Gladstone's earlier Conservative opponent) described Gladstone as "a sophisticated rhetoritican inebriated with the exuberience of his own verbosity".[2] It is interesting to compare this portrayal of Gladstone as a crazed Scottish (a reference to his constituency) Don-Quixote figure to an earlier cartoon (1.11) of the same paper by a different cartoonist Conn, where Gladstone's many other obligations prompts Parnell to quip, "Let us go over to the Tories". This was an attempt by the Unionist paper to tacitly suggest that Salisbury, leader of the Conservatives, and later G's successor as P.M.)., could, in the days before the first Home Rule bill, reach a compromise which would be delivered in the Nationalist's interests.

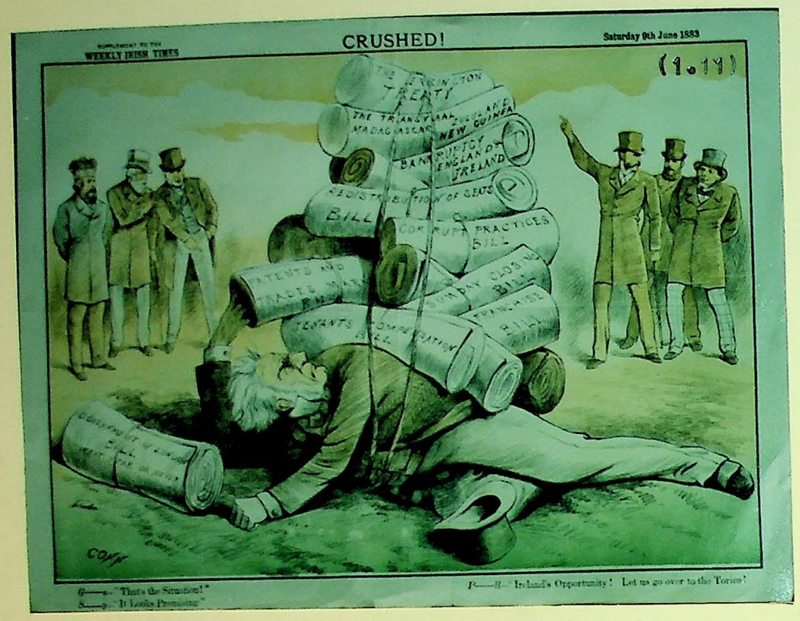
In the General Election which followed, June 1885, the Conservatives formed the next government. However, within months another election was called (November) and by December of that year it was clear



(1.8) 'Stuck in the Mud', 1884 Weekly Irish Times

(1.9) 'Lend a hand O'Connor Power', 1884 Weekly Irish Times

(1.10)'The Modern Crusader', 1884 Weekly Irish Times



G——"That's the Situation!"
S——"It Looks Promising"

P——"Ireland's Opportunity! Let us go over to the Tories!"

(1.11) 'Crushed', 1883 Weekly Irish Times
(1.12) 'At His Old Games', 1885 Pat

that either party could lead the House with the support of the Irish Parliamentary Party's 85 votes. Despite contemporary assessments that he favoured Home Rule, the Conservative cartoons were quite wary of depicting the Grand Old Man in Tory colours. Indeed by virtue of his seventy years (and a newly fashionable high Pat was worldly wise about giving weapons to a party who is beseiged with some sore Tiring. Cartoonists working in the Weekly Freeman are still more wholehearted and prone

All of this, however, changed dramatically when Gladstone actually introduced the first Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons in April 8, 1886. Gladstone is now transformed from the scurrilous knight of a previous cartoon (1.4) in the noble defiant knight (1.14), trampling the Unionist opposition underfoot. In place of the Union Jack draped on his horse, he holds the green flag with 'Home Rule' emblazoned on it in gold. The features of Gladstone's caricature change very little - it is merely the cause of heroism replacing that of less-noble calling that can be detected. It is only to be expected that if caricature of this period would not reach the extremes of Gillray or Cruikshank, when portraying a character in an unfavourable light, that it would hardly abandon this safe middle-ground when drawing characters favourably. Nevertheless the difference, although subtle, was perceptible. To dramatically change the actual caricature was alien to these cartoonists. To adopt enthusiastically dramatic, though undeniably Victorian, analogies to best portray an extreme shift in the presentation of the same caricature was, however, not.

Gladstone's role as victoriously advocating Home Rule in the face of opposition is a theme that recurs in the Nationalist cartoons. Gladstone intervenes to prevent a flag carrying protestor in a United Ireland cartoon (1.15) drawn by J.D. Reigh. This paper, as other Nationalist publications, prefered to give the main credit and centre

(1.11) 'Crushed', 1883 Weekly Irish Times

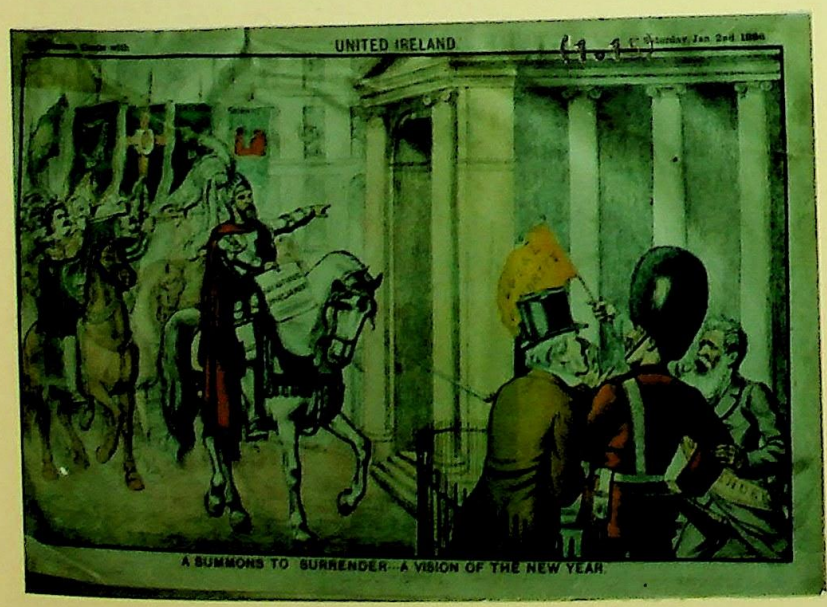
(1.12) 'At His Old Games', 1885 Pat

that either party could lead the House with the support of the Irish Parliamentary Party's 86 votes. Despite Gladstone's announcement that he favoured Home Rule, the Nationalist cartoons were still quite wary of depicting the 'Grand Old Man' (G.O.M. - so called by virtue of his seventy seven years) in a wholly favourable light. Pat was worldly wise about giving allegiance (1.12), while Erin is beseiged with some more 'flirting'. Gladstone's features in the **Weekly Freeman** are still more mischievous than gallant.

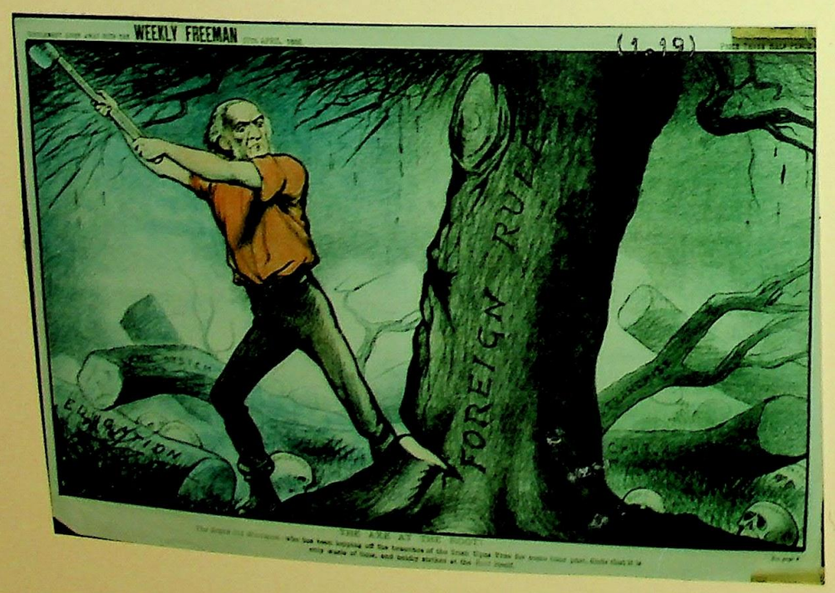
All of this, however, changes dramatically when Gladstone actually introduced the first Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons in April 8, 1886. Gladstone is now transformed from the scurrilous knight of a previous cartoon (1.4) to the noble defiant knight (1.14), trampling the Unionist opposition underfoot. In place of the Union Jack draped on his horse, he holds the green flag with 'Home Rule' emblazoned on it in gold. The features of Gladstone's caricature change very little - it is merely the sense of heroism replacing that of less-noble calling than can be detected. It is only to be expected that if caricature of this period would not reach the extremes of Gillray or Cruickshank when portraying a character in an unfavourable light, then it would hardly abandon this safe middle-ground when drawing characters favourably. Nevertheless the difference, although subtle, was perceptable. To dramatically change the actual caricature was alien to these cartoonists. To adopt enthusiastically dramatic, thoughy undeniably Victorian, analogies to best portray an extreme shift in the presentation of the same caricature was, however, not.

Gladstone's role as victoriously announcing Home Rule in the face of opposition is a theme that recurs in the Nationalist cartoons. Gladstone intervenes to prevent a flag carrying protestor in a **United Ireland** cartoon (1.15) drawn by J.D. Reigh. This paper, as other Nationalist publications, prefered to give the main credit and centre

(1.13) 'Flirting Again', 1885 Weekly Freeman
(1.14) 'Gladstone's Crusade', 1885 Weekly Freeman
(1.15) 'A Summons to Surrender', 1886 United Ireland
(1.16) 'The Modern Champion of Ireland', 1886 United Ireland



(1.17) 'The Cabinet Trick', 1886 United Ireland
(1.18) 'Weekly News, 1886
(1.19) 'The Axe at the Root', 1886 Weekly Freeman



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The effective opposition to Gladstone's Bill, even within the ranks of the Liberal party, was effectively expressed in the 'Cabinet Trick' cvartoon in February the same year (1.17). Gladstone's opposition ranged from 'Anti Conspiracy' to 'No Popery' on the ropes tieing him down. Gladstone's presentation is set in more noble tones in the Weekly News, April (1.18), with Gladstone before Brittania and Hibernia - 'Now, ladies you have to decide'. This passive fatalistic Gladstone is redrawn at the same time in the Weekly Freeman cartoon, 'The Axe at the Root' (1.19), in a more heroic manner. The analogy chosen is a reference to Gladstone's favourite pastime of felling trees.

Gladstone was not able to summon enough support to pass the Bill in the House and it was soon obvious that his crusade for Home Rule was to cost him his third government (1.20). The 'Grand Old Man' is now the 'Grand Old Stag', a much more favourable analogy for portraying a character with dignity and high ideals - the now established rendition of Gladstone. However, the transformation was not complete. Gladstone's image was to develop even further to replace the lost heroic figure of Parnell in the future Home Rule Bill of 1893. That the Nationalists had no politican to present in this role is a testimony to the intervening seven years in Irish history. That such a role was available to an Irish politican is due to the establishment of the hero-figure central to the political cartoons of this first bill, Parnell. It is precisely this development that I wish to explore before tracing the direction

(1.17) 'The Cabinet Trick', 1886 United Ireland
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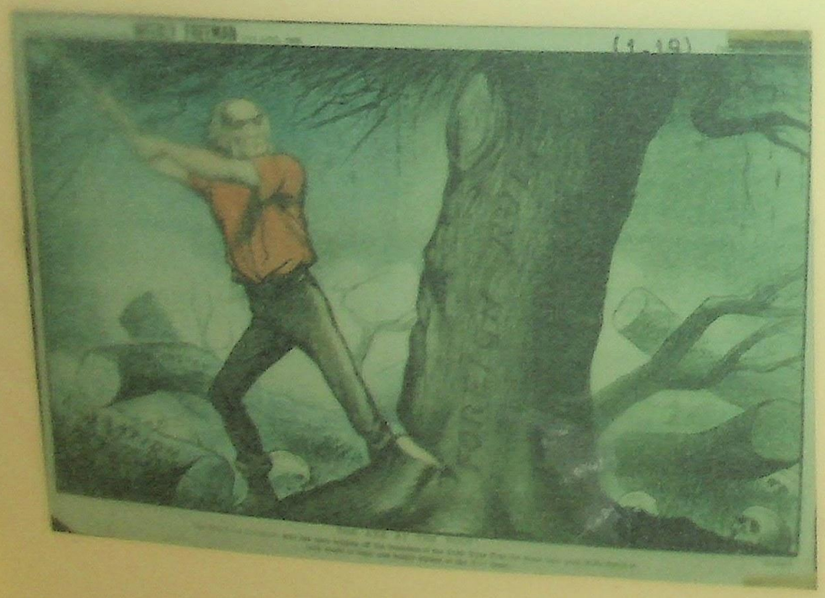

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(1.20) 'The Grand Old Stag At Bay', 1886 United Ireland
(1.21) 'Dignity and Impudence', 1886 Weekly News
(1.22) 'The King of Brobdingag and Gulliver', 1803 by James Gilray

It follows then that if an iconic approach to political caricaturisation can serve either a favourable or critical analogy, then the caricature itself must be relatively neutral in its presentation of a figure. This owes much to the Victorian ethic of respectibility and proper deference.

1 Patrick Buckland Irish Unionism 1885-1923 page 272

2 Speech made by Disraeli on 27 July 1878

3 Charles Press The Political Cartoon page 28

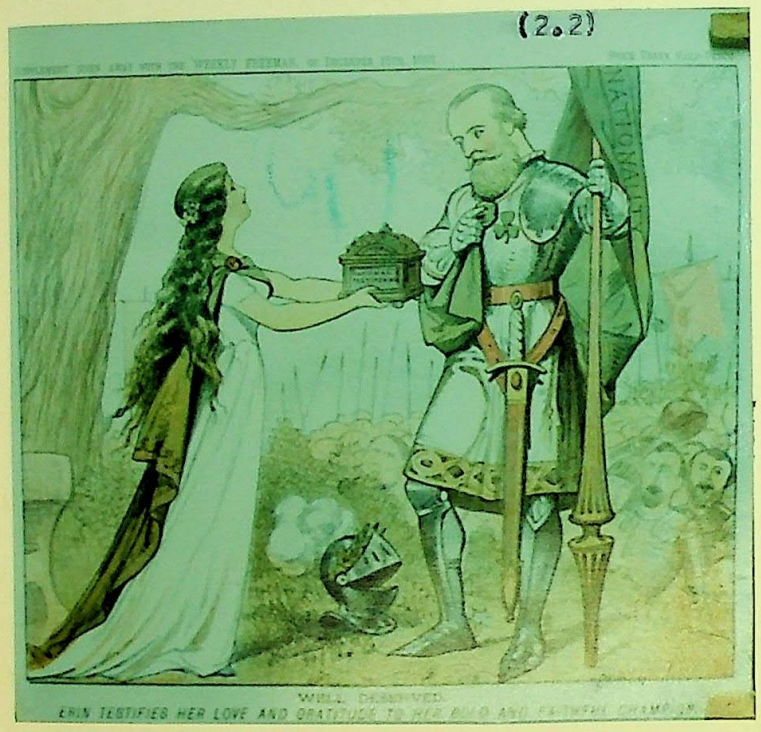
First Home Rule Bill 1886

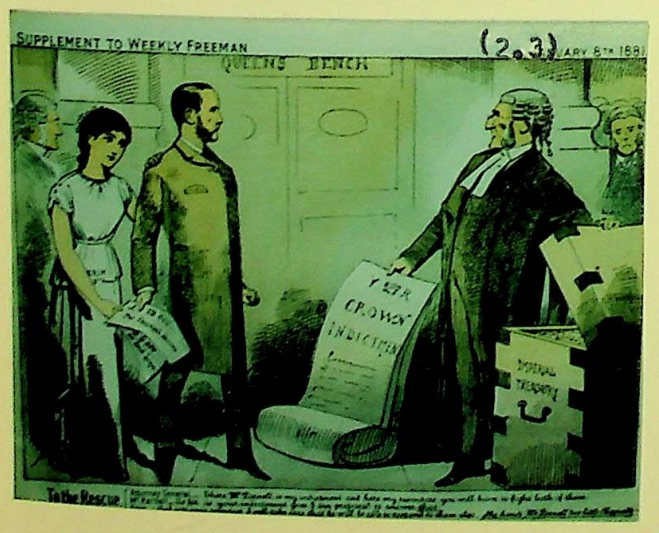
The development in Parnell's presentation in cartoons, from the First Bill to his death in 1891.

In the general election of 1874, the first to be fought under the new conditions of secret voting, Isaac Butt's new Home Rule movement won more than half of all Irish seats. One of the newly elected M.P.s was a protestant landowner from County Wicklow named Charles Stewart Parnell. By 1877 Parnell was elected president of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain in place of Butt. Parnell's involvement in the 'Land War' 1879-82 enhanced his prestige and popularity with the Irish voters. The Irish Parlimentary Party, whose interest was the reattainment of legislative independence for Ireland, elected Parnell chairman in 1880. The discipline of the party was perfected and the whole national movement, which included the supporters of the agrarian reform, consolidated under Parnell's leadership in preparation of the general election of 1885.

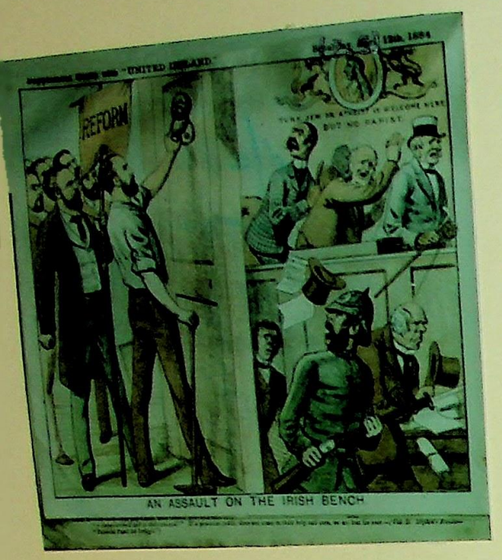
Clearly Parnell's character impressed itself on his contemporary cartoonists who portrayed him as a man of dignity and reserve. Even though Unionist cartoons were unsympathetic to his cause, the caricature of him in the **Weekly Irish Times**, as the 'Irish Sphinx', 1882(2.1) by Conn, is just as respectful and favourable to Parnell's finer points of demeanour as in the **Weekly Freeman** cartoon (2.2). Although the analogies are representative of the respective politics of the two papers, which obviously differ in ideology, the actual rendition of Parnell's caricature differs very slightly.

Parnell was to enjoy the role of Ireland's favourite son, either being cast as a Erin's defender (2.3), or wise commander, firmly





(2.1) 'The Irish Sphinx', 1883
Weekly Irish Times
(2.2) 'Well Deserved', 1883 Weekly Freeman
(2.3) 'To The Rescue', 1881
Weekly Freeman
(2.4) 'The Night Before The Battle', 1884
United Ireland

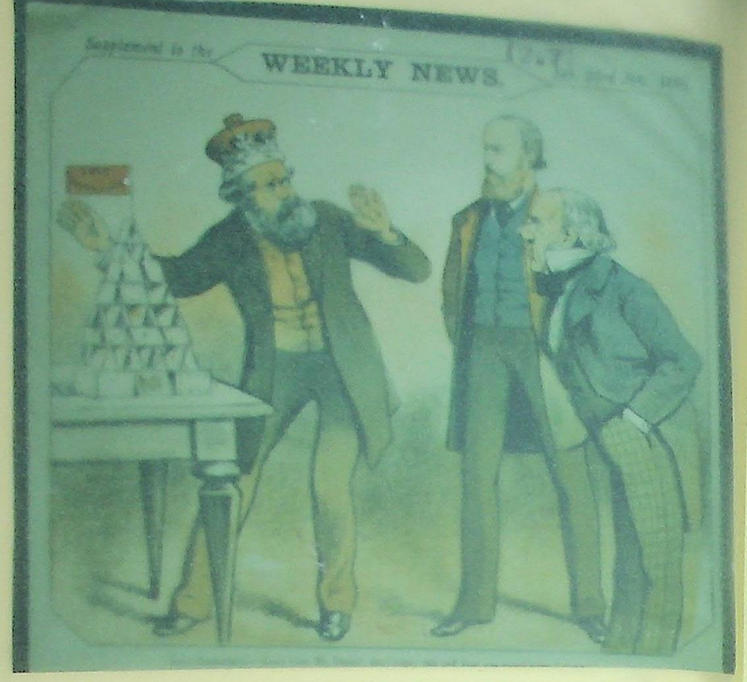


(2.5) 'An Assault on The Irish Bench', United Ireland 1884
(2.6) 'A Game Two Can Play ', 1886
Weekly Freeman
(2.7) Weekly News 1886

in control of the parlimentary army (2.4), in 'The Night Before the Battle'. He was just as compelling without the uniform of authority, representing the working man (2.5) in shirt sleeves from whom even the Royal Irish Constabulary turns and runs. Parnell's central role is established as the focus in cartoons of the Nationalists as well as the Unionists. What followed was a stronger association between Gladstone and Parnell that even the Unionists could not ignore, as was attempted in earlier cartoons (1.9 and 1.11). Once established this strong association between the two politicans, particularly as portrayed by the Nationalist cartoons), gave the cartoon a strength of composition that was exploited to further the aims of the propoganda machine in the later cartoons. The Conservative opposition could be effectively diminished by the proven formula of 'two against one'.

Initially, however, this close association of Parnell with Gladstone was not readily adopted (2.6) in a 'Game Two Can Play At', 1885. Parnell accuses Gladstone of '.. knocking me down for years' in an attempt to express the intention that the Nationalists support for Gladstone was not unconditional.

Salisbury's short lived government after the 1885 general election (this government was defeated in January 1886, and replaced by Gladstone, who introduced his first Home Rule Bill on April 8) saw the initial steps of the cartoonists pairing of Parnell with Gladstone. In the Weekly News Salisbury pleads with Parnell not to align himself with Gladstone, which would result in governmental collapse (1.7). This elequent use of analogy the government as a h ouse of cards - is quite sophisticated. The cartoonist's desire for economy of image was not confined solely to using Pat, Erin or John Bull. The cruder images used in their analogies gave way, at times, to sharper graphic symbols which achieved a finer point of satire.



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(2.8) Weekly News 1886
(2.9) 'Foiled', 1886 United Ireland
(2.10)'A Flag of Truce', 1886 United Ireland
(2.11)'The Times Hoist oniits Own Petard', 1887 United Ireland

(2.12) 'Truth Prevails', 1887 United Ireland
(2.13) 'Bull Blunt and Balfour', 1888 United Ireland
(2.14) 'United Ireland A Nation- I, 1888 The Union
(2.15) 'Ireland A Nation- II', 1888 The Union

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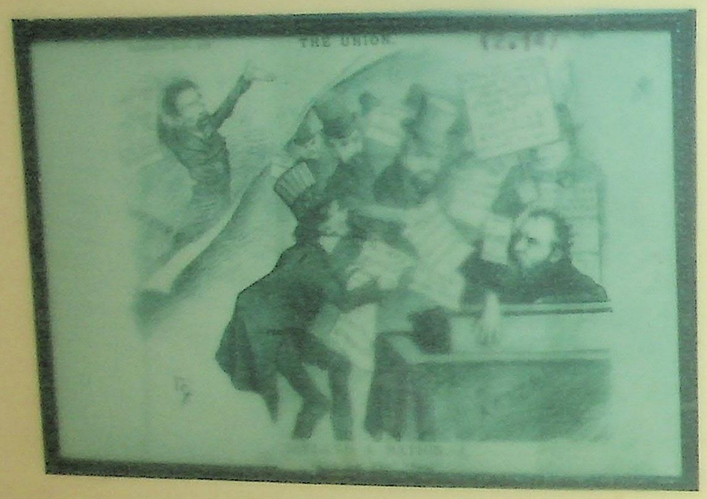
The Nationalist cartoons approached the articles of The Times with obvious bias in favour of Parnell. Although the special commission did not recognise the letters as forgeries until 1889, the Parnellites were convinced of this as early as 1887. The United Ireland of April 1887, has 'The Time Hoist On Its Own Petard' (2.11). This rather crude analogy is soon replaced by a more sophisticated one in May (2.12), 'Truth Prevails'. Here Parnell's horse crushes the shield and weapons of the fleeing 'Tory Party' knight, bearing the image of 'The Times'.

The iconic Parnell caricature is reproduced almost line for line in 1888, when the same paper shows Parnell caught in a trap with 'Coercion Court' written on it (2.13), from the earlier 1887 cartoon (2.11). This shows how determined the cartoonist, J.D. Reigh was to keep to a particular formula of caricaturisation, even at the cost of instilling any flavour of reaction to Parnell's expression, which in turn would have added to the drama of the cartoon.

In the latter cartoon it is John Bull who, with a birch of 'Righteous Indignation', prepares to whip Balfour (the Irish Secretary in Salisbury's government and in time Conservative party leader and P.M.). Already the swing in British popular opinion was permeating the Irish cartoons. However, this was not shared by the Unionist cartoons of the same year.

In 'Ireland a Nation-1', Parnell is drawn by Lex in a rather dishevelled manner (2.14) in The Union, 1888. Rather than addressing



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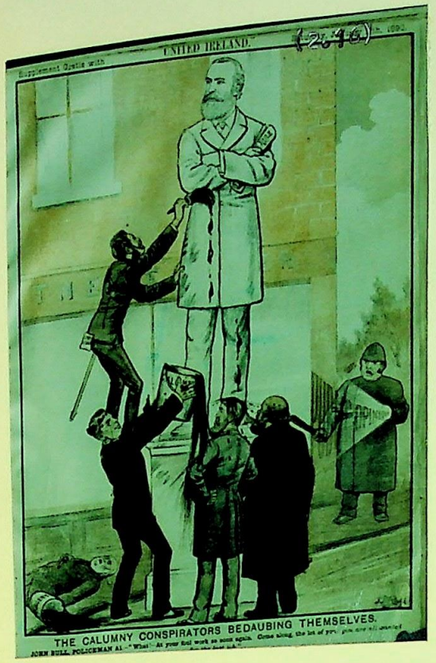
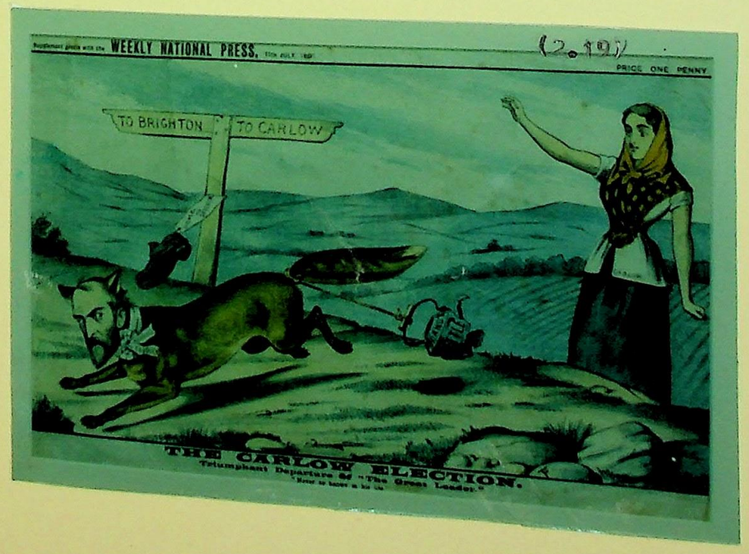
itself to the particulars of the case against Parnell at the time **The Union** prefered to satirise what they saw as Parnell's costly demands of support from the ordinary Irishman (2.15). In both these black and white cartoons 'Lex', the cartoonist Thomas Moynan, caricatures Parnell in an unfamiliarly harsh manner - even by Unionist standards. Compare this to those in the **Weekly Irish Times** seen earlier, and one can gauge how much more effective these analogies must have been. Parnell receives a more cutting caricature. Here his hair resembles horns in the first, while 'Ireland a Nation-11', (2.15) portrays him with bleary eyes, thanks to his drunken state. The latter is quite successful at removing itself from any more complimentary analogies that fail to ridicule him (as in the case of 'The Irish Sphinx', which would hardly have caused much discomfort to a Parnellite supporter), irrespective of their intent.

In less than a year the political advantage gained from the exposure of the Pigott fogeries was nullified by the revelation in the divorce courts of Parnell's adultry with the wife of a former Home-Rule Party member, W.H. O'Shea, in November, 1890. The immediate reaction was an unprecedented hostility towards Parnell's leadership in both Britain and Ireland. Gladstone recommended that Parnell temporarily retire from his position. Parnell saw this as an ultimatum- he rejected any such advice from an English politican, whether it be from Gladstone or any other, and dangerously miscalculated his support at grass root level, as well as within the party itself. The Irish party was deeply divided about the issue, resulting in a ruinous split, after the famous Committee Room 15 debate which rejected Parnell as leader. It was deemed intolerable that the Home Rule cause should be deprived of a decisive section of its liberal supporters. Parnell campaigned in favour of Parnellite candidates at local by-elections, openly opposing candidates selected by the party. Parnell's health suffered during such campaigning and as a result he died in 1891, leaving what was once a united national movement, split apart, in his wake.





(2.16) 'The Calumny Conspirators Bedaubing Themselves', 1890 United Ireland
(2.17) 'Pitched Out of the Barrow', 1890 United Ireland
(2.18) 'Under Which Flag', 1890 United Ireland
(2.19) 'The Carlow Election', 1891 Weekly National Press

Cartoonists seemed to be able to reject Parnell's previously heroic image just as calmly as they were eager to adopt a more positive one for Gladstone in 1886.

That any politican should be portrayed in such unfavourable light is not uncommon to us today - what interests me here is that any cartoon could lend such allegiance to any particular figure and then reject him out of hand. This, if nothing else, is testimony to the close association between the editorial and the cartoon so necessary for this form of an efficent organ of propoganda.

The analogy used (2.18) although sufficiently removing Parnell from his heroic role, failed to detract from the very characteristics that epitomised successful leadership nonetheless. His dignity and sense of purpose, albeit 'misdirected', remained. This cannot be said for the cartoons appearing in the newspaper to appear in Dublin, the **Weekly National Press**, set up as an organ of support for the anti-Parnellites.

In 'The Carlow Election' cartoon Parnell, who failed to summon support for his candidate, is caricatured as a fox (2.19). Although the actual caricature emphasises a sharpness of feature previously unseen, his head is more or less 'stuck' over where the fox's head should be. The Fox ears attached to Parnell's head to rememble horns is rather pointed in its demoniac overtones. Parnell is now being hounded out of town by a Carlow maid, reminiscent of Erin herself, throwing an old shoe with the tag 'Home to Brighton' (Parnell's English home) attached. The caption spits venom; 'Triumphant Departure of 'The Great Leader'.' The polarisation of feelings as a result of the split in the party can clearly be seen here in a cartoon drawn in a paper, ardently nationalist.

The cartoons of this time witnessed a dramatic reversal in approach to their subject matter. What was previously established as a strict approachg to Nationalist politicans - "Dublin cartoonists tended to draw the Parnellites as though they were angels on earth"[2] - was no longer true. However, the need to portray a central, heroic character was still intrinsic to Irish cartoons, established though it was in favour of Parnell. With the success of the passage of the second Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons the cartoonist returned to eulogising Gladstone's contributions to Irish nationalist interests. It is true to say, though, that this code of practice had been established with cartoons of the first Home Rule bill. What I suggest is that the lack of any Irish political character to depict in the way that was established with Parnell, cartoonists had no other choice but to highlight Gladstone's achievement in a more extreme manner than they would have done, had Parnell's popularity remained intact.

In place of any central Irish politican, cartoonists returned to portraying representational figures more than was previously practised. Erin, and particularly, Pat became the centre of focus for sympathetic association for the reader.

1 T.W.Moody & F.X.Martin
The Course of Irish History page 292

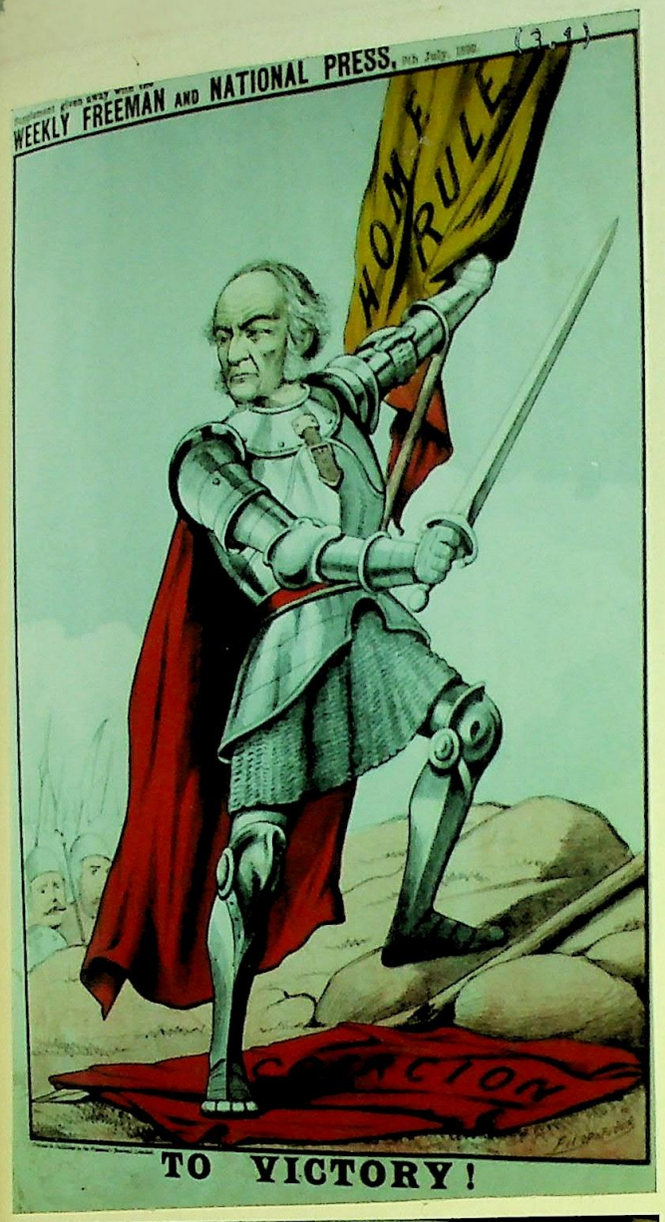
2 Lewis P.Curtis Apes & Angels page 76

Second Home Rule Bill 1893

Further development in Gladstone's presentation.

1886 became a landmark in Anglo-Irish relations because of Gladstone's willingness to present a home rule solution to meet the demands of the Nationalists. From then on it "committed a large majority of the Liberal party to Home Rule, and thus fundementally altered the conditions of Irish and British politics".[1] The British could no longer be depicted collectively as the 'national enemy', while the Irish party was in the "strongest position it had ever held, no longer the alien 'third force' in the British Parliment".[2] Gladstone continued to fight for Home Rule until the end of his public career, 1894. With the general election of 1892 Gladstone formed his fourth administration, after defeating the Conservatives. The following year, in February, he introduced the second Home Rule Bill. Although the bill passed the House of Commons it was overwhelmingly defeated by the House of Lords, on September 8. Gladstone was now eighty four years old, and in March the following year he retired from politics leaving Lord Rosebery as Prime Minister. With an election in 1895 the Conservatives held power for the next eleven years, effectively burying the possibility of Home Rule until the Irish held the balance of power after the election of 1910.

With the election of July, 1892, Gladstone was depicted once more as the champion of Home Rule reform in Nationalist papers by Thomas Fitzpatrick (3.1). He breaks the flag of Conservative 'Coercion' underfoot, holding the flag of 'Home Rule' aloft, sword in his other hand, ready to do battle, with the caption 'To Victory' underneath. With the division in the Irish Party, Gladstone was the only politican cartoonists could depict in this heroic manner. Gladstone now is presented as majestically about to free Erin of 'Tryanny and Coercion (3.2), so different to his earlier depictions



(3.1) 'To Victory', 1892 Weekly Freeman & National Press (W F & N P)

(3.2) 'Erin's Deliverer', 1893 W F & NP

(3.3) 'Breaking Them Up', 1893 W F & N P

(3.4) 'The Harvest of Home Rule', 1893 W F & N P
(3.5) 'Pat's New Suit; Trying It On', 1893 W F & N P

of abducting her himself (1.4), as he introduces the Second Bill to the House in February. The sword of 'Martial Law' (1.2) is replaced with that of 'Home Rule'. Gladstone is unresevedly Ireland's 'Deliverer'.

The Irish political element is noticeable by its absence in the cartoons which followed closely the stages of the Bill through the House. In 'Breaking Them Up' (3.3), Gladstone gives the orders for 'Full Speed' to an aide at the Home Rule wheel, as he stands stolidly by the 'Second Reading' flag aboard the 'Home Rule' ship Gladstone captains as the 'Grand Old Pilot'. No Irish politican is present, the opposition being crushed under a ship with only an English crew.

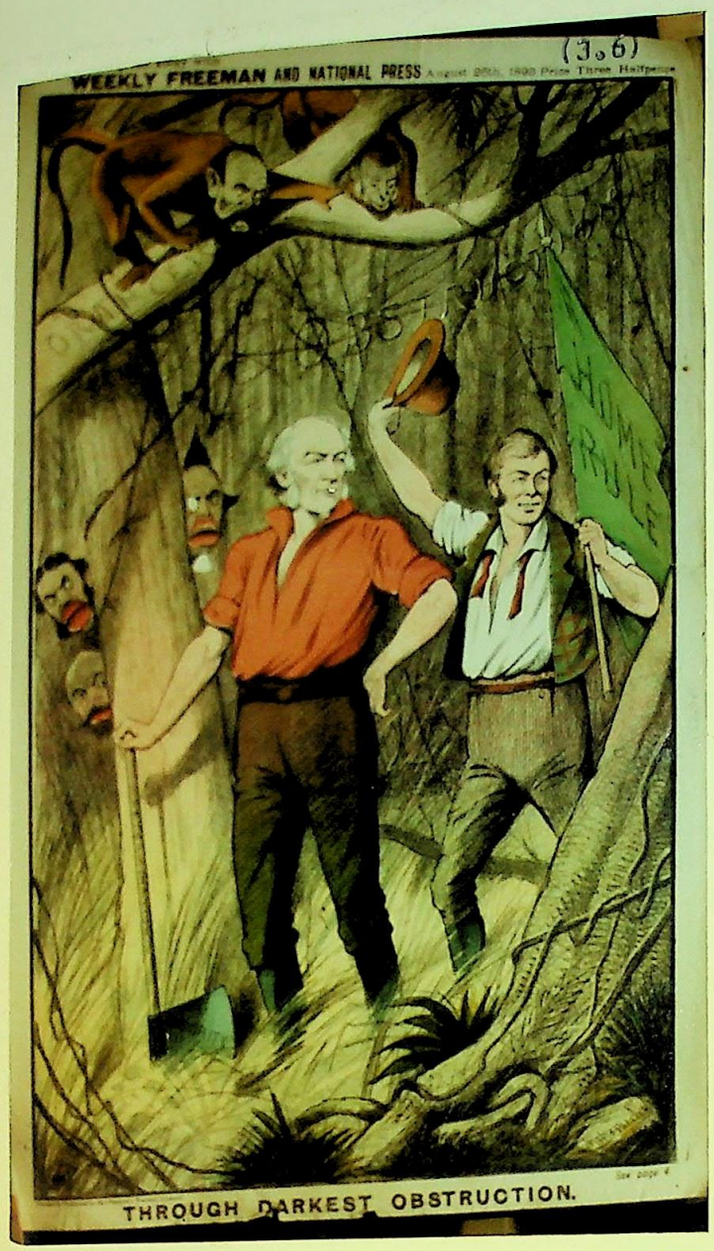
Among these being crushed by Gladstone's progress is a caricature of Col. E.J. Saunderson, with the caption 'Orange Boleism'. This draws attention to the upcoming role of opposition played by Unionists in Ulster. Saunderson was one of the most outspoken of Unionist MP's and future leader of the Irish Unionist party, who along with many others saw Gladstone's refusal to accept any view of Irish Unionists as "underlining the futility of hoping for any favourable consideration from the Liberal party",[3] in March 1893. This saw the beginning of caricature representation of Unionist politicans in Nationalist cartoons. This was an indication of the res istance of Ulster Unionists to Home Rule and its better organised opposition to these Bills, which was missing in the 1880's . Their effective use of cartoons as vehicles for their propoganda and the Nationalists recognition of this is something I will return to in a later chapter. Its inclusion here highlights the recognition in Nationalist cartoons of the rise in this effective opposition which previously they were able to gloss over. More and more it became obvious that for Nationalists, opposition from English Conservative politics and Irish Unionists along with the Irish Party's split could deprive them of their goal.

(3.4) 'The Harvest of Home Rule', 1893 W F & N P
(3.5) 'Pat's New Suit: Trying It On', 1893 W F & N P

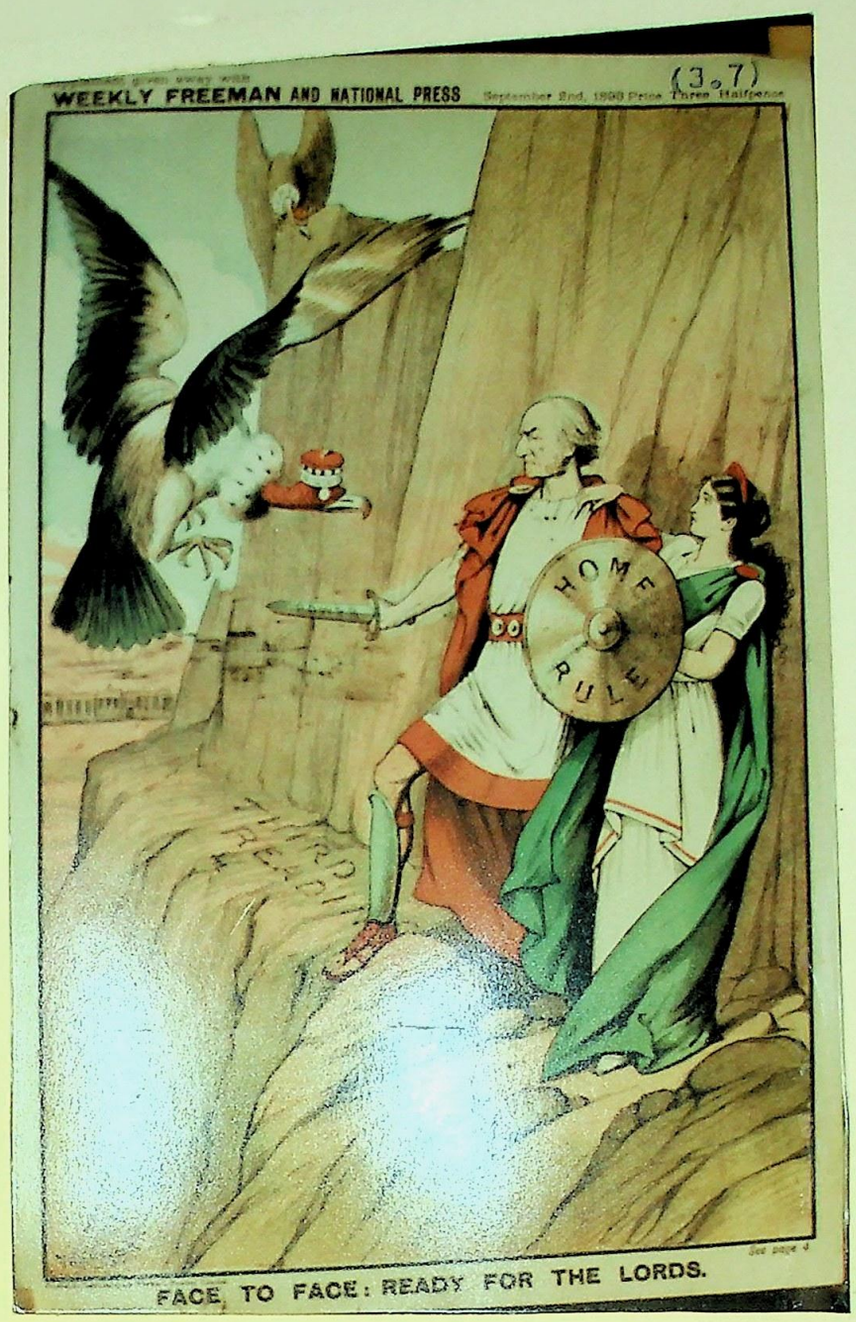
of abducting her himself (1.4), as he introduces the Second Bill to the House in February. The sword of 'Martial Law' (1.2) is replaced with that of 'Home Rule'. Gladstone is unresevedly Ireland's 'Deliverer'.

The Irish political element is noticeable by its absence in the cartoons which followed closely the stages of the Bill through the House. In 'Breaking Them Up' (3.3), Gladstone gives the orders for 'Full Speed' to an aide at the Home Rule wheel, as he stands stolidly by the 'Second Reading' flag aboard the 'Home Rule' ship Gladstone captains as the 'Grand Old Pilot'. No Irish politican is present, the opposition being crushed under a ship with only an English crew.

Among these being crushed by Gladstone's progress is a caricature of Col. E.J. Saunderson, with the caption 'Orange Boleism'. This draws attention to the upcoming role of opposition played by Unionists in Ulster. Saunderson was one of the most outspoken of Unionist MP's and future leader of the Irish Unionist party, who along with many others saw Gladstone's refusal to accept any view of Irish unionists as "underlining the futility of hoping for any favourable consideration from the Liberal party",[3] in March 1893. This saw the beginning of caricature representation of Unionist politicans in Nationalist cartoons. This was an indication of the res istance of Ulster Unionists to Home Rule and its better organised opposition to these Bills, which was missing in the 1880's . Their effective use of cartoons as vehicles for their propoganda and the Nationalists recognition of this is something I will return to in a later chapter. Its inclusion here highlights the recognition in Nationalist cartoons of the rise in this effective opposition which previously they were able to gloss over. More and more it became obvious that for Nationalists, opposition from English Conservative politics and Irish Unionists along with the Irish Party's split could deprive them of their goal.



(3.6)



(3.7)

(3.8)

(3.6) 'Through Darkest Obstruction', 1893 W F & N P

(3.7) 'Face To Face; Ready for The Lords', 1893 W F & N P

(3.8) 'Keeping An Eye On Them', 1893 W F & N P

Gladstone's second bill brought him unforseen popularity with the Nationalist press, earning the admiration of Erin and Pat (3.4), in 'The Harvest of Home Rule by Fitzpatrick. Gladstone is the principal focus now of Irish admiration in the parlimentary struggle for Home Rule, effectively replacing Parnell's role (2.3). Gladstone's principal aim is to facilitate the Irish nationalist in his endeavors (3.5), as seen in 'Pat's New Suit: Trying It On', in the **Weekly Freeman & National Press** (as the **Weekly Freeman** after 1892), in August. There is no doubt here that Gladstone's crusade is seen without any scepticism on the Nationalists side.

The caricatures of the Conservatives and 'Orange' Unionists is particularily interesting in 'Through darkest obstruction' (3.6). The caricatures of Balfour and his associates strikes quite noticeably at the common racist depiction of negros. They lurk comically behind one of the many trees that Gladstone is about to chop down. The analogy here is treated with greater charm and composition than Fitzpatrick used in his earlier, similar cartoon (1.19). Once again the Ulster Unionist element is present in association with the Conservative opposition, posing as a perturbed monkey on a branch entitled 'Orangeism'.

After the Bill's successful passage in the House it was referred to the Upper House, the House of Lords, in September. The bill was seen as having little chance of survival here, but it gave the cartoonists great scope in romantic analogies for Gladstone and his crusade. In 'Face to Face: Ready For The Lords' (3.7), Fitzpatrick takes great delight in both the heroic image of Gladstone defending the petrified Erin and his depiction of the House of Lords as a couple of vultures with crowns. The humerous element in this cartoon makes the analogy work much better - the message is not stuffy or overbearing in its choice of characterisations because the humerous element coupled with the rather yet again staid warrior

figure of Gladstone allows the satire rise above the political message. What I particularily like is the added details of the vultures monacle along with its little crown, effectively making it at once ridiclous and caustic.

The more restrained cartoon, 'Keeping An Eye On Them' (3.8) is more subtle in its underlying message. Although Gladstone with his G.O.M. on the collar, witnesses the Lords' silhouetted conspiracy he is powerless to prevent it. He must remain outside and be ineffectual to the Bills passage, simply because of its submission to the upper house. The House of Lords resoundly defeated the Bill and the following March 3, 1894 Gladstone quit politics for good.

The cartoons of the first and second Home Rule Bill show clearly the development of Gladstone's changing reception by the Nationalist papers. Although this progression was begun in 1886, with his acceptance of following a policy of granting Home Rule to Ireland, it came to its peek with the successful passage of the Second Bill through the Commons in 1893. Gladstone's changing role, from tyrant to defendor of the Bill, as Ireland's champion in place of Parnell, traces not only his progression but the change in portrayel of what had previously been simply Ireland's enemy - the English. The political cartoon showed itself to be able not only to convey the differing roles of various characters, but of also conveying complex developments in political history. The enemy was no longer the English politican but the Irish Unionist and English Conservative . It not only bore witness to such changes but helped form them, thus showing how indespensible a part of the political mouthpiece of the day these political cartoons had become.

1 T.W.Moody & F.X.Martin
The Course of Irish History page 291

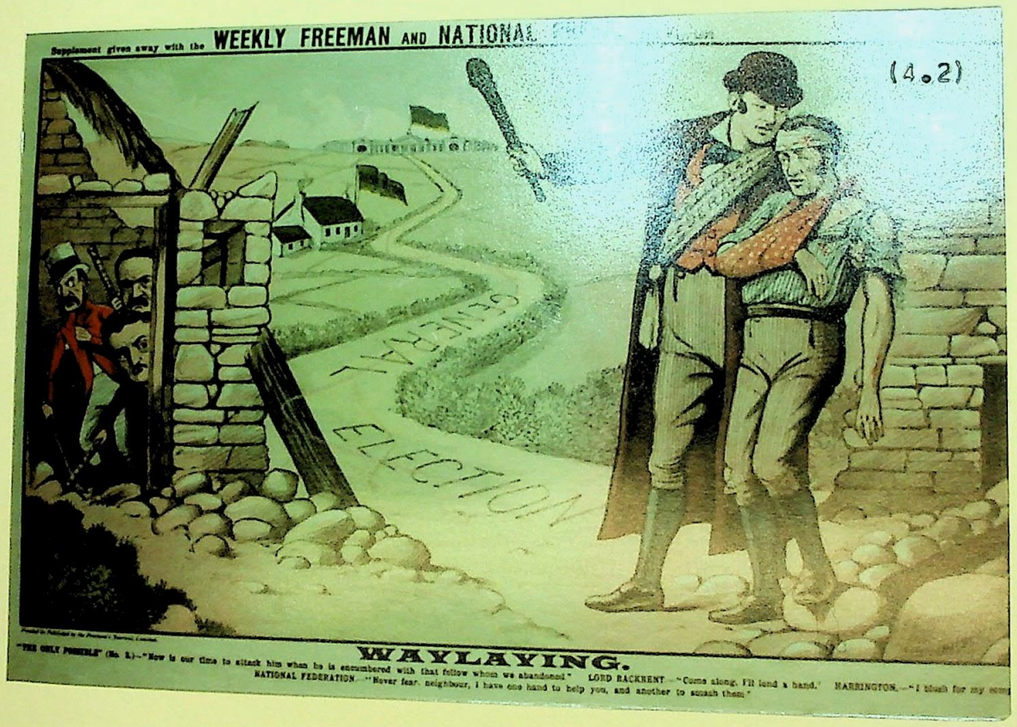
2 Ibid

3 Patrick Buckland Irish Unionism 1885-1923
page 272

The Home Rule Party in the years after Parnell and the emergence of Redmond, 1891 - 1894.

After the split within the Irish parlimentary Party in 1890, and until the party's return to playing any influential role in the presentation of the Third Home Rule Bill after the election of 1910, the Nationalist cartoons bore witness to the internal wranglings between the Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites - the category given to the remaining members of the party. The result of this was "a decade of political division and ineffectiveness".[1] Although Redmond became leader of a reunited Irish party in 1900, he remained cast in the unpopular role bestowed on him by Nationalist cartoonists, until the introduction of the bill in 1912. Even then, Redmond failed to capture the heroic image his predecessor enjoyed - "Redmond .. was no Parnell".[2] With the election of 1906 the Liberals once again controlled the House of Commons, after more than a decade of Conservative rule. Even though Home Rule had become an issue in this election it was not until after the 1910 election (in which the Liberals retained power) that the government, finding themselves dependant on the support of the Irish party votes, brought Home Rule nearer its achievement.

Redmond became leader of the Parnellite faction of the Irish party in December 1891, after the death of parnell. This was the smallest of the three groups that the party divided itself into; the other two being led by T.M. Healy and Justin McCarthy (who was replaced by Dillon after 1896). Ostensibly the division was still between those who sided with Parnell and those who went against him, however the anti-Parnellites clashed over differences ranging from personalities to rival concepts, thus factionalising the party still further.



(4.1) 'Christmas Waits', 1891 Weekly National Press
(4.2) 'Waylaying', 1892 Weekly Freeman & National Press (W F & N P)

(4.3) 'Tyrant and Toady', 1892 W F & N P
(4.4) 'The Favourite Wins', 1892 W F & N P

In 'Christmas Waits, 1891', Fitzpatrick depicts the Irish party's factions being dismissed by none other than Pat himself, calling them a 'pack o' common disturbers'(4.1). That the cartoon uses Pat in this way is an indication not only of the way the Weekly National Press viewed the situation, but how ineffectual the party was seen as a result of the internal fighting.

In the 'Waylaying' cartoon of the following May, the Irish party is portrayed as the enemy of the honest common Irishman (4.2). The statement here is quite clear in its opposition to the Irish party's approach in the coming election - Pat, with a sash of the 'National Federation' is the only figure who has the Irishman's interest at heart. This is a far cry from the way in which the Irish party was previously, under Parnell, seen to represent the working man's interests and prepare to face his opponents (2.5).

Fitzpatrick takes this theme a step further, when Redmond refused to release the party's funds to aide tenant farmers faced with eviction, in September 1892 (4.3). Redmond sides with the Landlord, while Pat, once again is the only one the farmer can hope to assist him. Redmond is caricatured as a dandified parlimentarian - worlds removed from the dress of the poorer farmer. His features, following closely the caricaturisation already chosen, take on a particularily condescending air in his dealings with the farmer. Redmond is not only alienated from the interests that Pat holds - which he should, in the eyes of Nationalists, share - but is now alienated from those he is supposed to represent. The cartoon's pointed association of Redmond with the Landlord's interests is reflected in the title, 'Tyrant And Toady', thus punctuating its point.

With the general election of 1892, the once close association between the Irish party and the Liberal leader, Gladstone, was depicted

(4.3) 'Tyrant and Toady', 1892 W F & N P
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in a very different approach. Although Redmond was far from becoming the leader of the whole party at this stage, he was nevertheless given a high profile in occasions such as these because he represented the Parnellite faction of the party. It followed that Redmond would inherit the platform once given to Parnell. However, the reception to these very different politicans was never more contrary than in their association with Gladstone.

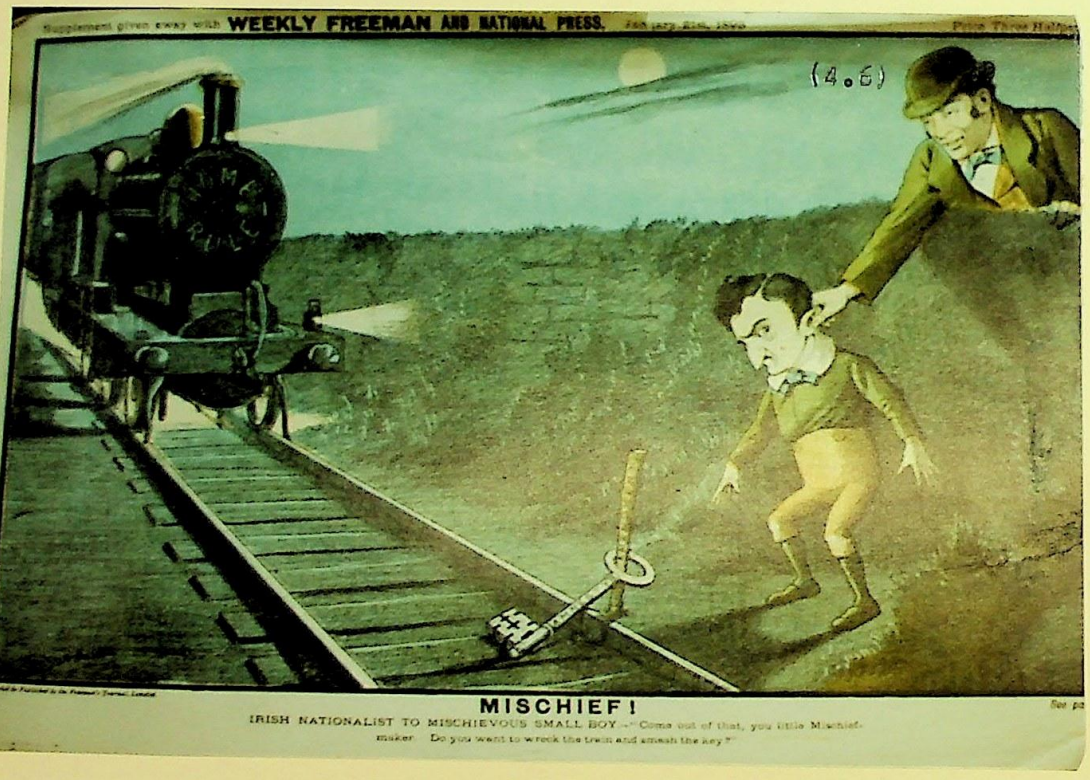
In July, the month of the election, Redmond is seen 'toadying' to Balfour as they both witness Gladstone's victory (4.4). It is left to Pat to share the victory with Gladstone. That Parnell was so active with Gladstone in bringing about Salisbury's defeat (2.7) in the past contrasts greatly with his successor's complete reversal of support in 'The Favourite Wins'.

Redmond's continued opposition to Gladstone when the latter prepared his Home Rule Bill (4.5) is hardly in keeping with the close support Parnell lent to Gladstone at such times, particularily with Salisbury's attitude to a home rule policy (2.9). The comical differences between Gladstone's steed and Redmond's donkey emphasises the allegiance to the English P.M. in place of Redmond that the paper recommends to its readers. That this paper should be the **Weekly Freeman & National Press**; with its long history of fervent Nationalist propoganda, underlines how unrepresentative Redmond was seen to be of the latter's interest.

The internal divisions dominated the party even with the presentation of the Home Rule bill in 1893 - "Parnell's heirs .. did not cease their quarelling even while the Home Rule bill itself was at stake.."[3] Redmond is portrayed as a 'michievious small boy' (4.6) prepared to risk the passage of the bill for his own less important interests. It remains, once again, for Pat to play the hero of the piece, representing the higher idealistic ground, that would earlier have been occupied by a Nationalist politican from the Irish Party.

THE JUMPING COMPETITION.

BALFOUR to REDMOND—"He's bound to clear it if you don't ride across the course and balk him." "REDMOND—It's no use; I'm not big enough. He'd ride over me."



MISCHIEF!

IRISH NATIONALIST TO MISCHIEVOUS SMALL BOY.—"Come out of that, you little Mischief-maker. Do you want to wreck the train and smash the key?"

(4.5) 'The Jumping Competition', 1892 W F & N P
(4.6) 'Mischief', 1892 W F & N P

(4.7) 'Just Before The Battle, Mother, Johnny Ran Away', 1893 W F & N P
(4.8) 'A Contrast' The Live and the Dead', 1894 W F & N P

Redmond's, and indeed the rest of the party's, lack of committment to the all important crusade of Home Rule is depicted by Fitzpatrick in 'Just Before the Battle, Mother, Johnny Ran Away' (7). While the battle between coercion and home rule reaches its peak, the Irish party are busy hurrying away in the opposite direction. The analogy between Redmond and Napoleon is particularly humerous. The farce serves to remove Redmond from any of the stature Parnell eminated, putting the final kiss of death to any favourable comparison between the latter and the former. When Parnell mounts a horse it is to either defend his honour (2.12) successfully, or to triumphantly demand Nationalist expectations (1.11). When Redmond mounts one it is to abandon the Home Rule cause in favour of his own interests.

Given the obvious physical differences between Parnell and Redmond, and taking into account the actual states of the party which would have dictated the influence either had in parlimentary affairs, it is interesting to compare the approach used in their caricaturisations by the same Natuonalist cartoonists.

Although both are rendered under the code of near-classic caricature common throughout these cartoons, Redmond is constantly changing characters - the only common trait in all these is his femininity. Whether he leads his native brigade (4.7), or struck with self importance (4.3), he assumes the role of a boy, lacking all the characteristics that Parnell's character exuded. His roles differ from general to school boy, from jockey to performer (4.8), constantly being portrayed as everything and anything other than the kind of political figure Parnell was. This obvious denigration of Redmond's virility was quite a sharp indication of how different the members of the Irish party were now presented. They, in particular Redmond receive the kind of treatment previously reserved for such arch anti-home rulers as Salisbury (2.8) or Balfour (2.13). It is quite interesting to compare the similarities between Balfour's treatment

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Although both are rendered under the code of near-iconic caricature common throughout these cartoons, Redmond is constantly changing characters - the only common trait in all these is his comicality. Whether he leads his rabble brigade (4.7) or struts with self importance (4.3), he retains the look of a man bluffing all the characteristics that Parnell's character exuded. His roles differ from general to school boy, from jockey to performer (4.8), constantly being portrayed as everything and anything other than the kind of political figure Parnell was. This obvious denigration of Redmond's ability was quite a sharp indication of how different the members of the Irish party were now presented. They, in particular Redmond receive the kind of treatment previously reserved for such arch anti-home rulers as Salisbury (2.8) or Balfour (2.13). It is quite interesting to compare the similarities between Balfour's treatment

at the hands of John Bull in the cartoon drawn in 1888, by J.D. Reigh (2.13) and the 'ischief' cartoon by Fitzpatrick in 1893, where Redmond receives similar treatment from Pat (4.6). Although the analogies differ in certain respects, both were portrayed as obstinate, witless characters - surely a rather unflattering comparison for the new leader of the Parnellites and future leader of the Irish Parlimentary Party. The indication is that what Balfour was to Parnell, Redmond is to Home Rule.

In the months following the defeat of the Second Home Rule Bill Redmond was drawn as a more ineffectual politican rather than one of interfering nuisance. In 'A Contrast - The Live and The Dead' (4.8), Redmond, the hapless performer with his tamborene clutched behind his back looking on, is more comical in his inactivity than in the previous analogies where Fitzpatrick engages him in various pursuits. The rising curl of hair over his headband adds the perfect graceful touch to send this caricature over the top. Fitzpatrick's delight in making Redmond more and more comical gives his compositions the much elusive ingredient of farce that is what makes political cartoons of this nature so poignant while not abandoning the cautious reserve so characteristic of cartoons belonging to this period.

This caricature of Redmond is formed second only to Fitzpatrick's March 31 cartoon, 'Bubbles' (4.9) - my personal favourite. The analogy is not lost on readers today. Our familiarisation with the advertisement it refers to is to our benefit in appreciating this cartoon. The famous Pears soap poster is recreated, with 'apologies', here, in much the same way contemporary cartoonists employ the same method to great effect. The bursting 'manifesto' bubbles above Redmond's head, create the mixture of criticism and comedy that in its simple direct way expresses elequently how perceptive Fitzpatrick was not only of the political situation Redmond

(4.9) 'Bubbles', 1894 W F & N P
(4.10)'The Man With the Muck Rake', 1894 W F & N P
(4.11)'Trying to Help the Enemy', 1894 W F & N P

(4.12) 'Trying them On. A Misfit', 1894
Weekly Freeman & National Press

found himself in, but of the politician's passionless air he exuded at the time.

Although Redmond was portrayed as no fit replacement for Parnell, his main obstacle was the faction-fighting within the Irish Party. Until this was settled no leader could hope to be as forceful as Parnell. The criticism made of Redmond was that it was because of his leadership qualities the party could not hope for improvement in the near future. With 'The Man And The Muck-Rake' Redmond's plight is clear (4.10). He loses sight of the 'Home Rule' crown being offered as he rakes to himself the foul things of the place'. That Redmond looks unlikely to get the better of the situation, in spite of his eager eyes, creates the humour in the cartoon.

In 'Trying to Help The Enemy' (4.11), reference is again made to Redmond's inability to heal the wounds in the Irish party. With the oncoming army of Nationalists, under flags 'Home Rule' and 'Down With Ulster' all that Redmond's contribution can be is the donkey, 'Faction', which unwittingly is of more aide to Salisbury than the Irish. Redmond remains the 'Toady' (4.3).

The most critical cartoon of Redmond's comparison with his predecessor is drawn by Fitzpatrick in 1894. In 'Trying Them On. A Misfit' (4.12), Redmond tries on Parnell's armour as he stands by the latter's tomb. Fitzpatrick not only makes the point about such an unfavourable comparison, but suggests that Redmond's ego is such that he would be willing enough to see himself in the same light as Parnell. Indirectly, of course, this is a tribute to, and regret for, the loss of Parnell. The fact that such a crude comparison was made in so delightful a manner is not only a fine example of how the two leaders were treated by cartoonists - indeed in this case the same cartoonist - but how such a Nationalist paper was willing to be so critical of the leader of the Parnellites.

'Misfit', 1894
Press

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Many such nationalists discontent with the Irish party let their criticisms be heard. The political situation was a much more complex one than the Irish party had found itself in previously. It was hardly surprising then, that a force within those critics decided to form another party they felt would represent nationalist interests better. The eventual emergence of this new party - Sinn Fein - into the political arena announced yet another change of direction in the parlimentary politics of the day.

The political cartoons of this period bear witness to a shift in how politicans and their political parties were to be treated from now on. The use of more humour indicated that the heavier, more deliberate and respectful presentation of a cartoon was being replaced. The cartoons became more critical, even cynical of those who purported to spearhead the opposing campaigns of Home Rule and Unionism.

The cartoonist could now present his argument in a manner which employed a critical approach with more humour and less strict affiliation to a particular political party. This approach saw the initial first steps of Irish cartoonists accepting the role of "paid buzzard",[4] which would, in the distant future, allow him to remove himself from any political alignment.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1 T.W.Moody & F.X.Martin
The Course of Irish History page 294

2 Ibid page 306

3 F.S.L.Lyons Ireland Since the Famine page 202

4 Time Magazine Sept.12 1988 No.37
Mighty Pens page 93

Third Home Rule Bill 1912-14.

The development in Redmond's and Carson's presentation. The overall development political cartoons.

Even though the 1893 Home Rule Bill and the 1905-6 devolution crises witnessed the reassertion of Unionists in Ireland, particularly in Ulster, to defend the Union, the prevailing belief was that the union would never be broken given the "strength of feeling which existed on the subject both in Britain and Ireland".[1] However, with the 1911 Parliment Act, in which the House of Lord's power of veto was restricted to three sessions only, this belief was shattered.

Redmond became leader of the Irish Parlimentary Party in 1900, but there was a wind of change in Irish politics which was to shift the emphasis for many nationalists away from Home Rule and towards a "social, cultural..political ideal"[2] that aspired to a seperatist tradition. Various cultural organisations were formed while the new breed of seperatists channeled their support towards the new movement which was soon organised into a political party, Sinn Fein, in 1905.

The campaign to defend the Union was lead by Edward Carson, who in 1910 became leader of the Irish Unionist Party. With the return of the Liberals to government, under Asquith, in 1906, the Unionists stepped up their organisation highlighted by the formation of the Joint Committee of Unionists Associations of Ireland in 1907.

The general election of 1910 made the Liberal government dependant on the votes of the Irish party in order to retain power, thus

bringing the demands for Home Rule nearer its achievement. The Irish party was at the height of its popularity in Ireland - with the prospect of Home Rule so close, popular support returned for the party. Unionists organised vast rallies where both Carson and Boar Law, the leader of the Conservative party, addressed thousands of supporters. The Home Rule crises of 1912-14 was brought vividly to life not only in newspapers but in the increasingly popular use of political postcards, published in Ulster and London.

With such effective opposition from the Unionists, Asquith, "who had not Gladstone's dedication",[3] opted for a compromise solution to Ireland's Home Rule. Redmond reluctantly agreed to the Liberal amendment to exclude parts of Ulster, which in 1914 the Lord's made permenant. They drew loud criticism from many Nationalists, who in imitation of what Carson had achieved in Ulster (the Ulster Volunteer Force, established in 1913), founded Irish Volunteers in Dublin. With the outbreak of the First World War, 1914, and Redmond's pledge of support for England in the war, the final break with the Irish party was begun. By the general election of 1918, after witnessing the 1916 Rising and the rise of popular support for a policy of national seperatism, the country "had moved unmistakably towards Sinn Fein".[4] Even though the campaign against Home Rule was lead by the Irish Unionists, the Home Rule issue became fare more divisive from 1912-14 in England, than either the previous two Bills had been. This meant that the battle was fought much more between the Liberal and Conservative parties than between the Irish Nationalists and Irish Unionists. The real division that typified this stage of Home Rule was a parlimentary division. It was no longer a central Irish issue but a constitutional crises in Westminster.

In may, 1905, Fitzpatrick had launched his own humorous review, **The Lepracaun**. His work with this review, as well as John F. O'Hea's (Spex) contributions (he took over as main cartoonist

after Fitzpatrick's health failed in 1911) make this a suitable source for Nationalist cartoons, particularily since it was their work that, along with Reigh's, followed closely the chapters of Ireland's Home Rule history. That the **Lepracaun** was not a propoganda machine affiliated to a particular party meant that, although Nationalist, the cartoons did not serve the Irish Party's political bias in the same way that those in the **Weekly Freeman** or **United Ireland** once did during the days of the earlier Home Rule Bills.

By now the development in printing evolved into a marked improvement in the presentation of test and illustration. The pages of the magazine could now incorporate an illustration on the same sheet. The black and white illustrations in the **Lepracaun** were of various sizes. This variety of size was dictated by the space allotted to the illustrations in the magazine itself, since, unlike the earlier broadsheets, it was incorporated into the design of the paper.

With the return to power of the Liberals in 1906, attention was turned to the necessary association between Redmond and Asquith, the new Liberal Prime Minister. Redmond was by now spared the heavy criticisms so characteristic of earlier cartoons of him, although he was never to achieve the favourable depictions familiar to parnell. His dumpy figure and previous depictions in comical analogies, lent themselves to the humerous portrayal that cartoonists employed for Redmond now.

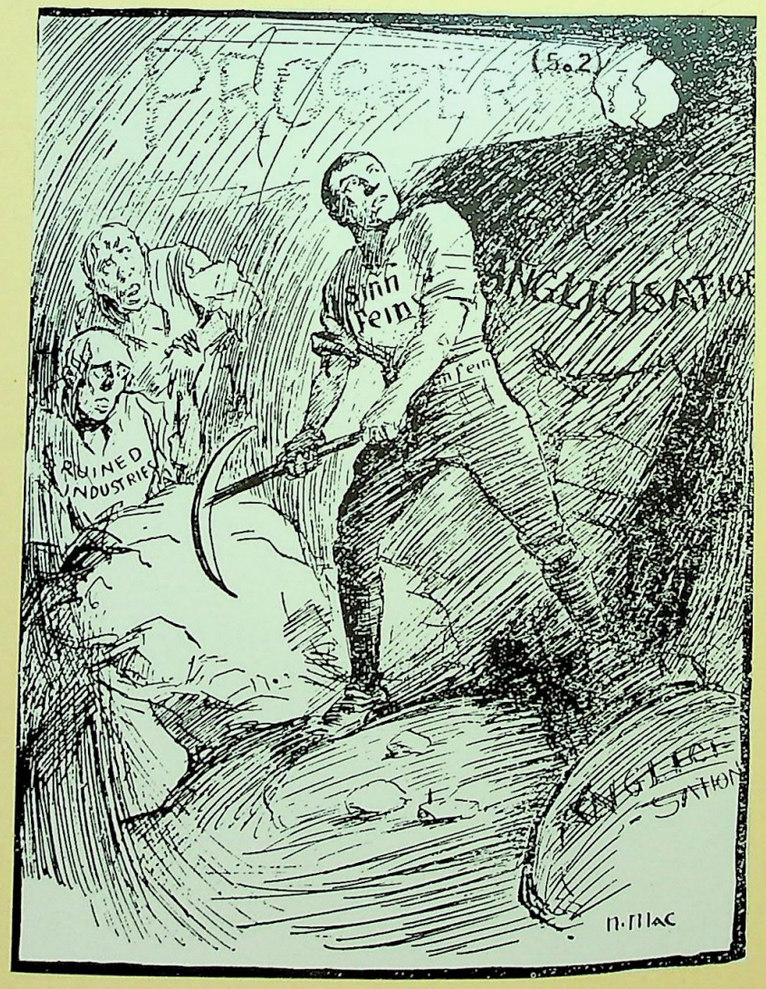
In 'Great Expectations' Redmond, the Irish party cock, pompously awaits the outcome of the Home Rule eggs (5.1). The analogy, although not critical of Redmond directly, is hardly in keeping with the tradition of central heroic characters we are used to

from Fitzpatrick (2.6). Although Home Rule was close to realisation, and Redmond at a moment when his parlimentary skill would be most in demand, confidence in him and faith in his statemanship is ignored in favour of humerous analogy.

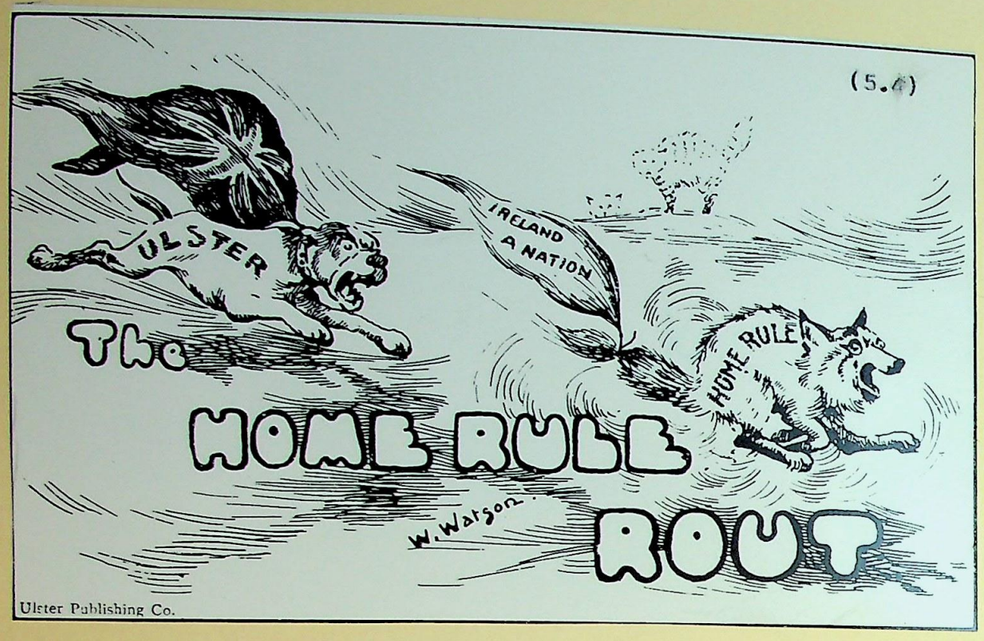
In The Republic, the heroism familiar to previous cartoons is used in a deliberate fashion by those drawn by Sinn Fein (cartoonists)(5.2). Here, the hero, a figure not unlike Pat, boldly representing Sinn Fein, signifies Ireland's only hope of freedom from English dominance.

Ulster's opposition to nationalist demands encouraged postcard publishers to produce cartoons appealing to the patriotic value of supporting the Union. Many of these cards were reproductions of cartoons previously published in various papers, and their use as such emphasises the value of political cartoons as a method of promoting propagandist matter.

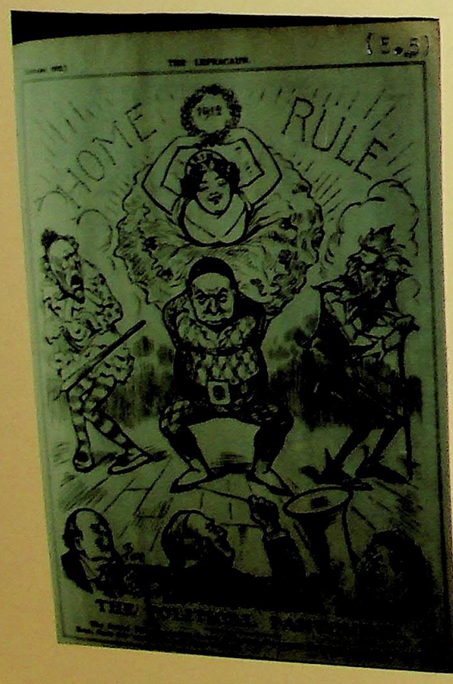
The inclusion in this chapter of cartoon post-card illustrations, (which in most cases were originally printed as newspaper illustrations) indicates an important development in the history of visual communication. Post-cards, although popular since 1894, were not designed with an illustration on one side fully, as those that are included here, until 1902. The effect of this use of propoganda must not be underestimated. Just as broadsheets once proclaimed the Home Rule cause for the Nationalists, the cartoon post-card announced the arrival of an effective and successful propoganda weapon for the Unionists. It cannot be ignored that just as the Nationalists secured earlier victories for the advancement of Home Rule through successfully employing cartoons in a progogandist manner, so too, the Unionists owed much to the cartoon post-card's effectiveness in making their opposition to the proposed Bill felt. That, in the end, the six counties of Ulster were

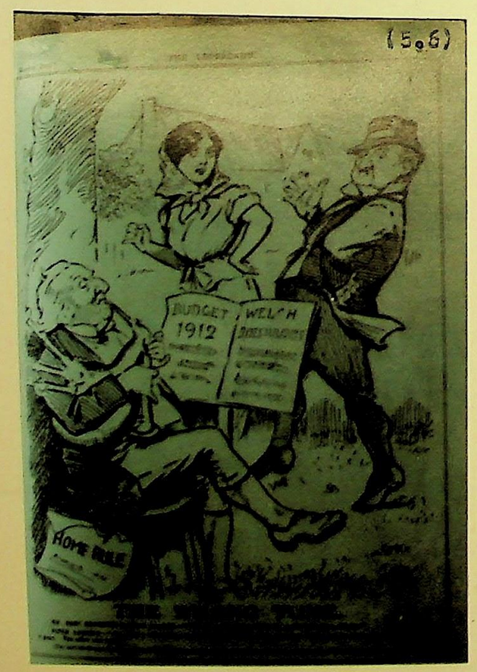


(5.1) 'Great Expectations', 1906
The Lepracaun
(5.2) 'Sinn Fein & Prosperity', 1907
The Republic
(5.3) 'United We Stand, Divided We Fall',
Millar & Lang Ltd



(5.4) 'The Home Rule Rout', Ulster Publishing Co.
(5.5) 'The Political Pantomime', 1912 The Lepracaun
(5.6) 'The Wrong Tune', 1913 The Lepracaun





(5.4) 'The Home Rule Road', Ulster Publishing Co.
(5.5) 'The Political Pantomime', 1913 The Lagonian
(5.6) 'The Wrong Tune', 1913 The Lagonian

excluded from Home Rule owes as much to the influence of Unionist cartoon post-cards as it does to other forms of political cartoons published in other ways. This period witnessed the increase of application for political cartoons as political weaponary, particularly for the Unionists. Adhesive labels, pamphlets and posters as well as post-cards were employed as material for Unionist propoganda, although political cartoons were used to a greater extent only by the latter. Although many of the political cartoons used in this way were origionally published as cartoons in Unionist papers, their reproduction in other forms now utilised ensured a larger audience.

Many of the cards, in the years before 1910, either appealed to the reader through the idealistic personification of nations, urging loyalty to the Union (5.3), or agressively attacked the notion of Home Rule (5.4) using more satirical symbolism. Caricature representation was to come later with the increasing tension in the development of the Third Home Rule Bill in the House.

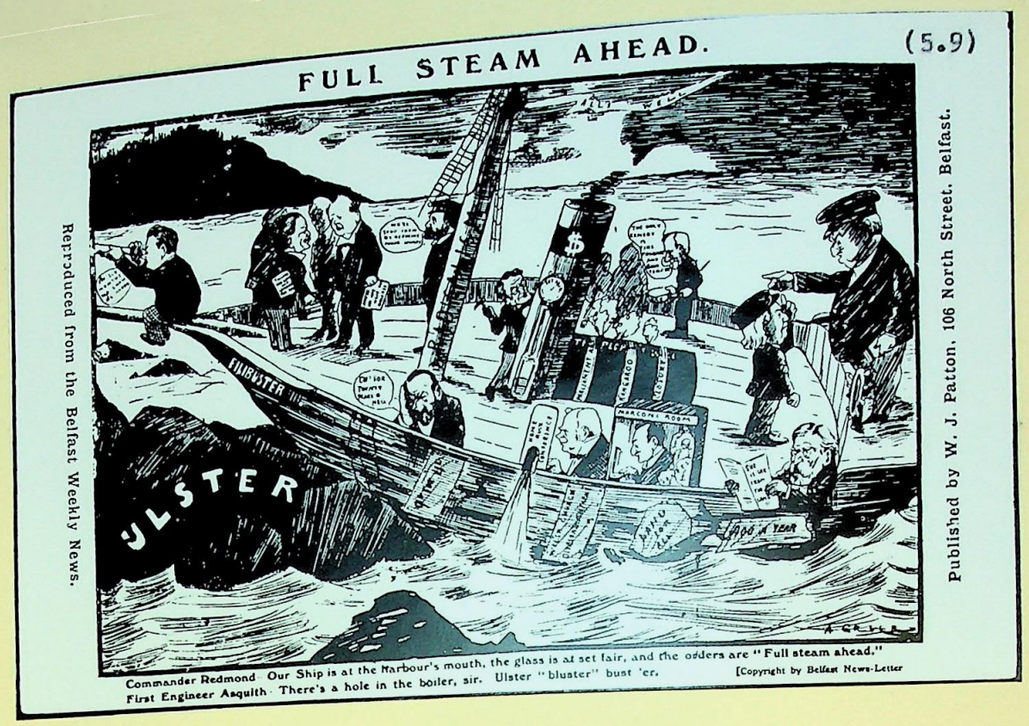
With the passage of the Parliment Act, in 1911, the stage was set for the introduction of the Third Home Rule Bill in April, 1912. The lack of heroic analogy in either Nationalist or Unionist cartoons, is witness to an important development in Irish political cartoon. That such analogies, were abandoned by cartoonists who previously employed them to great effect, in favour of the more contemporary approach of a satirical mood is an early indication of how cartoons in the twenthieth century were to progress. Humour was to be employed to portray a point. Adherence to a particular political policy was still the norm, but presented in a more indirect fashion. Rather than eulogise a candidate or philosophy the cartoonist vilified the opponent in terms of undermining his statemanship or importance in a farsical nature only hinted at before. Even when presenting a positive cartoon in terms of blatent support for a particular subject, the element of humour was prefered. The portrayal of heroic central characters,

particularly favoured by Nationalist cartoons of earlier years, was avoided at all cost. Political satire was to embark on a menacingly critical nature of attack couched in satire rather than the staider Victorian ethic of "proper deference".[5]

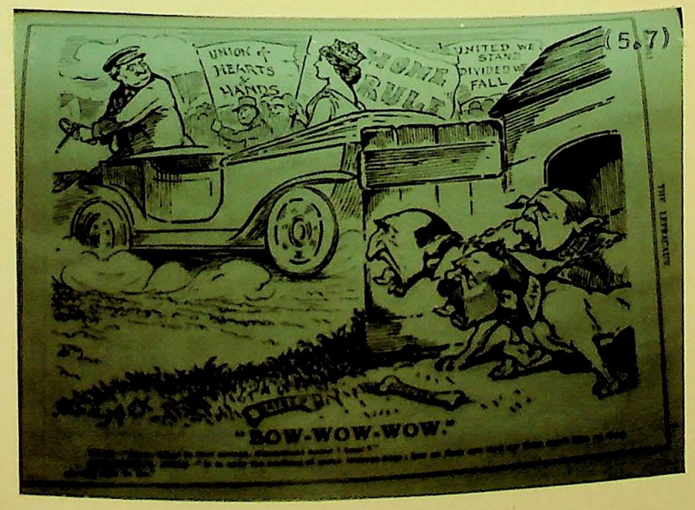
In the 'Political Pantomime (5.5), Spex (John F. O'Hea) presents Redmond in a central role, but, even though he is clearly rescuing Erin, he is far from heroic in doing so. Even Erin, once so demure, is portrayed as a rather inane premadonna. Redmond's face, coupled with his stance, clearly indicates that the humerous indulgence enjoyed by the cartoonist emphasises the political message contained in the piece. Asquith's sedate conducting is the perfect foil for the outragous comedy happening in the stage. He plays the 'straight man' to Redmond's 'comic' in Spex's portrayal of the association between the two. Asquith is, in this way, deprived of the reverence shown to Gladstone at a similar stage, by this very association - the comedy reflects on him because of his support of Redmond, even though he remains the staider of the two.

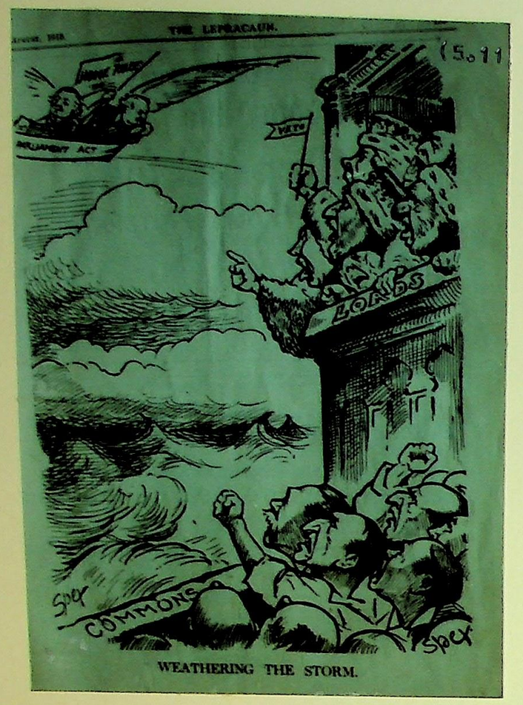
The two remain bonded by the common link of Home Rule in the same manner that Parnell and Gladstone were, but there is an important difference. Even overlooking the actual humerous and irrevent presentation of both, Redmond always takes his lead from Asquith. He is presented as the hapless duffer following Asquith's every direction in the hope that the latter will deliver his Home Rule promises.

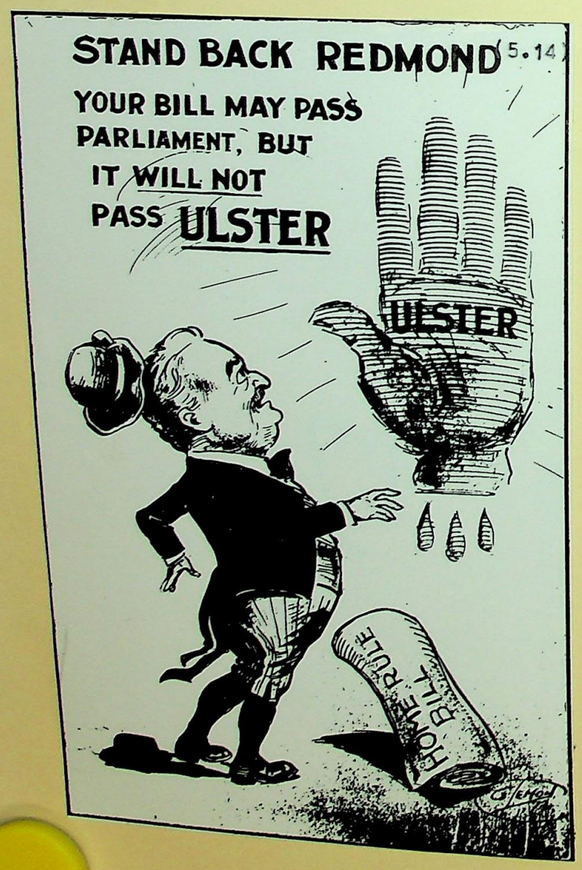
This is exemplified in 'The Wrong Tune', where Redmond, in spite of his protests, dances to whatever Asquith pleases, in anticipation of the 'Home Rule Jig' (5.6). The style of once depicting the invincibility of the Irish Party leader and the Liberal Prime Minister are well and truly over - the confidence



(5.7) 'Bow-Wow-Wow', 1912 The Lepracaun
(5.8) 'In Sight of Port', 1912 The Lepracaun
(5.9) 'Full Steam Ahead', W.J.Patton
(5.10)'The Latest Ulster Bogie', 1913
The Lepracaun







(5.11) 'Weathering The Storm', 1913
The Lepracaun
(5.12) 'True Proportions', 1913
The Lepracaun
(5.13) 'Portadown Market Place under Home Rule', Valentine of Dublin
(5.14) 'Stand Back Redmond'
Ulster Publishing Co.

and endorsement of a political solution, gives way to a cynical suspension of blatent support.

The caricaturisation of the Unionists is treated in the same satirical fashion. In 'Bow-Wow-Wow' (5.7) Spex's treatment of the latter is both invective and roguish. Erin, depicted as the queen-like passanger, is, at first glance treated with the stereotypical sober representation so familiar in earlier cartoons. However, the actual provision of a crown on her head strikes one as being more 'tongue in cheek' than 'deferential'. Redmond gets off lightly as the dim-witted chauffeur. What is interesting about the depiction of Carson is the tacit implication that, if let off the 'chain' he would be too fierce for Redmond to defend himself against. This resurfaces in later cartoons where caricatures of Carson do not detract from his potent ability to lead or challenge forcibly, whereas, it is already clear that Redmond, irrespective of the guise in which he is presented to us as, is, by comparison, caricatured without any such traits of strength.

The cartoon appearing in the Lepracaun, June 1912, 'In Sight of Port' (5.8) makes a nice comparison with the Unionist cartoon, 'Full Steam Ahead' (5.9) since both share a similar analogy.

In the Nationalist cartoon Redmond steers the ship under the command of Asquith. The pair still resemble competant bluffers more than competant sailors. Neither has the air of authority or assured confidence that Gladstone, as the 'Good Old Pilot' (3.3), enjoyed. The reader cannot have felt the same confidence in this team as one would have in the Gladstone cartoon.

The Unionists cartoon depicts Redmond in the position of captain, with Asquith as his eager 'First Engineer' (5.9). Here the

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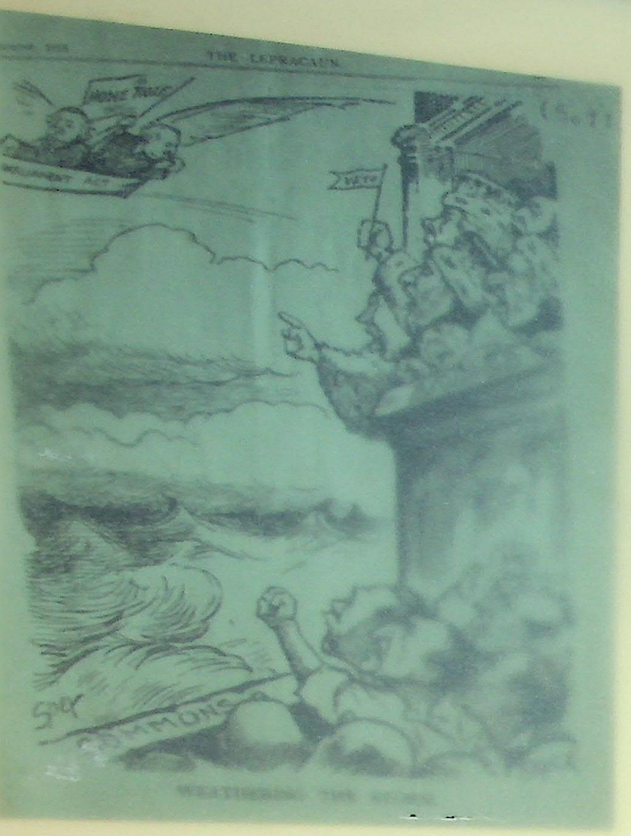


blunderings of the Redmond crew are halted by the 'Ulster Bluster'. Unionist cartoons focus their criticism on Redmond quite squarely. This is a common trait among such cartoons. Nationalist cartoons deprive Redmond of the role of principal character responsible for Home Rule - he is always under the authority of Asquith whereas the Unionist cartoons bestow this principal role on the Irish party leader only to use it as a weapon against him.

The passage of the Third Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons was met with the insistance that provision be made for the Ulster Unionists. Both the Liberal amendment and the one proposed by Carson were defeated because the opposing sides refused to accept the other's proffered solution.

In 'The Latest Ulster Bogie', Spex presents the Home Rule bill in a manner not commonly seen before in Nationalist cartoons - the bill is itself personified (5.10). Neither Pat nor Erin stand in for it, as was once the norm (3.2) & (3.7). In the Nationalist cartoons we see a marked decline of the use of Erin or Pat involved: They belong to heroic depictions which the cartoons now shy away from. The scurrilous Unionists and blustering Redmond remain the humerous self-important characters preferred in this fresh satirical approach. The androgynous Home Rule Bill, although only slightly more than impassive, is worlds away from helplessly craving protection in a manner necessitating an heroic response as Erin once was (3.7).

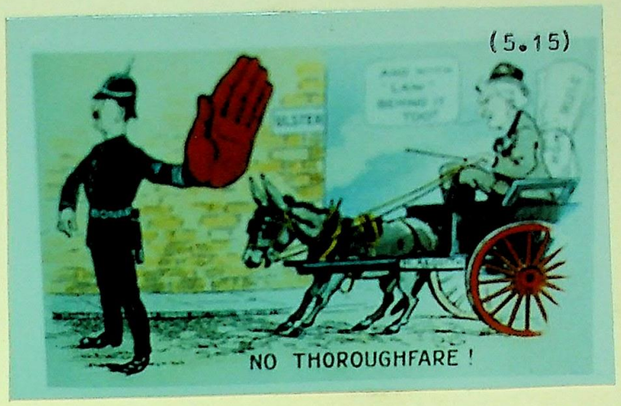
That the characters now serve this more humourous approach is seen again in 'Weathering The Storm' (5.11). The House of Lords, although exercising their power of veto, and thus hindering the progress of the Bill, bear no similarity to the more threatening portrayal of the Lords in 1893 (3.8). This satirical approach not only rid the characters of their heroic imagery, but now

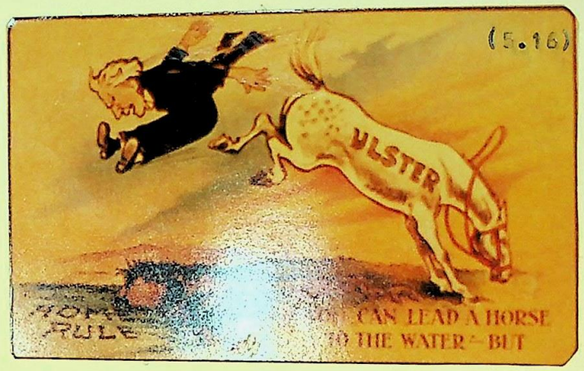
makes comic what was once threatening.

Although this break with the past was made, cartoonists drew on the readers familarity to parody figures in this manner and to allow them to mock such heroic roles, giving the criticism made a rather sharp edge. 'True Proportions or the Long & The Short Of It' (5.12) is one such example. Here S.H.Y., whose name remains unknown, cleverly uses the devise to take a swipe at the Unionists leader, Carson, to great effect. His humour is drier than Spex's, as is his preference throughout his cartoons, making his work reminiscent of cartoons of the earlier Home Rule Bills. Nevertheless, S.H.Y. uses the heroic figure only to parody it, in keeping with the prevailing disuse of any central heroic character.

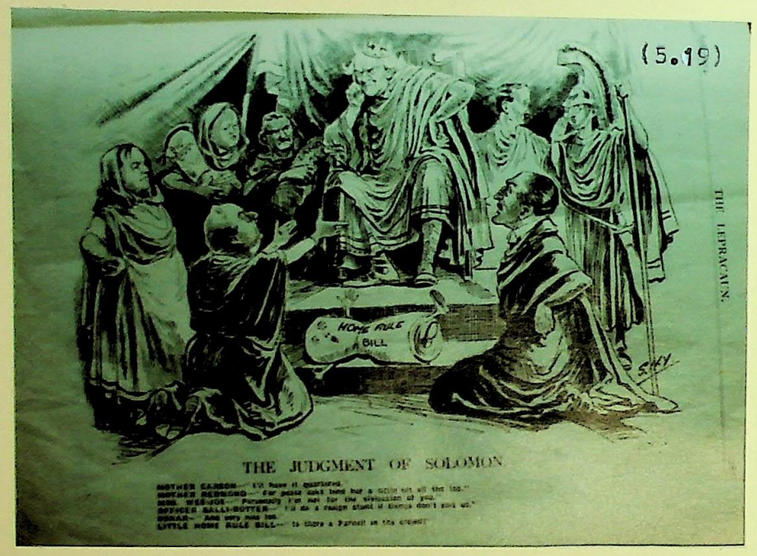
This interpretation of heroic depiction was not, however, the sole reserve of Nationalist cartoons . 'Portadown Market Place after Home Rule' (5.13) shows a Unionist image of what that very pro-Union town would be like under the effects of Home Rule. The statue of Redmond is just as biting in its use of the heroic imagery of Redmond as is the previous cartoon of Carson. Here Redmond dons a crown, without which, the sarcasm of the piece would have been missing a vital ingredient.

The Unionists were determined to be heard and the cartoons produced, employed a strong use of graphic imagery in their cartoons especially in the year before the third Home Rule Bill finally passed the Lord's. The 'Red Hand of Ulster' became a powerful symbol of this resistance - its use allowed the Unionist cartoons to employ the more immediate imagery afforded to symbols, so popular with Nationalist cartoons by their use of Erin and Pat, without returning to the staid heroicism associated with this imagery.





(5.15) 'No Thoroughfare', 1913
(5.16) 'You Can Lead A Horse to Water- But', Valentine of Dublin
(5.17) '1914-The Exile's Return' 1914 The Lepracaun



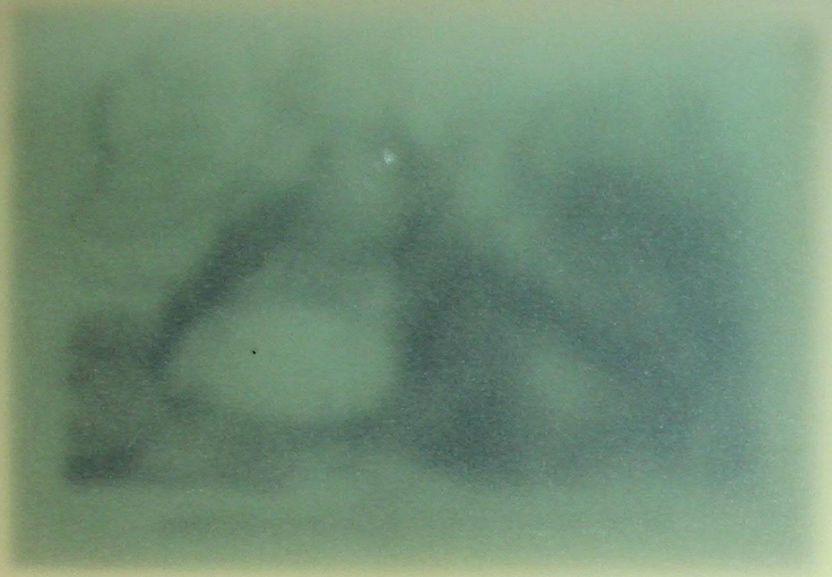
(5.18) 'Carson's Call', 1914 The Lepracaun
(5.19) 'The Judgment of Solomon', 1914
The Lepracaun

In 'Stand Back Redmond' (5.14), the Red Hand of Ulster halts Redmond in his tracks, causing him to drop the Home Rule Bill. Although there is little humour in this cartoon the sheer crudity sharpens the point. An example of the use of this same graphic element employed a little less crudely can be found in 'No Thoroughfare' (5.15), where it is more successfully incorporated into the composition without expense to its potency. Again the Home Rule Bill is present, bit it is Asquith who is being thwarted. Here the Unionist's shift the focus of their attack from Redmond to the Prime Minister. When the 'Ulster' horse is lead to drink the 'Home Rule' water it is Asquith who is kicked (5.16) by its blue legs.

In May, 1914, the Third Home Rule Bill was passed a third time in the House of Commons and on the following July 4 the House of Lords, having excluded the whole of Ulster, finally approved the Bill.

With '1914 - The Exile's Return', (5.17), G.R.I. depicts the Home Rule Bill stepping back over to Ireland from England. The Bill has developed into a semi-Pat figure, but the significance here is that the cartoonist used this type of representation in preference to a particular figure, such as Redmond, to illustrate such a victory. This cartoon was published in January thus acting as a record of Nationalists anticipation of Home Rule.

The Unionists threat of civil war, if Ulster were not excluded, was a tangible fear even as early as February, as can be seen in 'Carson's Call' (5.18). Here Spex caricatures Carson as a real villain - there is no comic relief to negate his powerful threat to Nationalists peace of mind. Carson's pointed ears imply the evil intent to the reader. The pirate hat with a



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drooping flower, coupled with the tiny rifle Carson clutches, although humerous, do not district the malicious air of the cartoon. The surrounding clouds of 'Blue Murther' and 'Ulster in Arums' emphasise 'Gineral' Carson's intent. Although the cartoon is reminiscent of earlier reditions espousing righteous indignation and virtuous condemnation of opponents (1.4 and 1.6) in the treatment of Carson, it redeems itself by the use of gentle comedy. This ensures that the satire is not drowned out by the political over-tones. The inclusion of such humerous elements, the actual spelling of cloud-titles, (used to emphasise Carson's accent - Carson was of Dublin extraction, and apparantly "never lost his Dublin brogue"[6] shows Spex's preference for this new style of cartoon even when dealing with sombre issues.

In 'The Judgement of Solomon' (5.19) S.H.Y. uses the analogy to show Asquith's dilemma with the Bill. The whole scene is one of high farce - Redmond pleading for a 'little bit off the top', while Carson demands that the Bill be 'quartered'. Asquith perched on his throne, seems to reflect that either way he loses. It is of great interest here that the 'Little Home Rule Bill' cries out; 'Is there a Parnell in the crowd?'. This is surely an intended slight to Redmond's contribution to the course of Home Rule history. Nationalists had firmly turned away from Parnell only to reinstate him in later years. It can be argued whether it was due to a re-evaluation of Parnell's leadership qualities or to a criticism of Redmond's. Here, however, it is enough to draw attention to its inclusion in cartoons produced by Nationalists as a significant indication of such reference to Parnell's heroic depiction in such cartoons.

Unfortunately for cartoons dealing specifically with Home Rule, greater world events overtook it as a central focus in publications. Although the Bill was passed, the actual implementation of it was never realised. On 18th September the Bill received royal assent, but its operation was suspended due to Britain's declaration

of war on Germany in August. Redmond backed the government and pledged Irish support for the war effort. In September Redmond called on Irishmen to fight for Britain, two days after the Bill's royal assent. Not surprisingly, this resulted in a split in Nationalist support. The Supreme council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, which advocated taking arms against Britain to obtain national independance, had already decided on insurrection before the war. The division in support for the Irish Nationalists saw the departure once again of nationalists from a parlimentary approach in obtaining their goals. Within a short space of time demands for Home Rule developed into demands for total independance from Britain. The 1916 Rising witnessed the participation of Ireland's future leaders in this new course. Before the World War ended in November, 1918, Redmond had died (March 6). These cartoons represented the last attempt at a parlimentary conciliation to Ireland's demands for Home Rule, and as such are deserving of scrutiny as political statements as well as invaluable examples of Irish aptitude for political cartooning.

The cartoons from the years of the Third Home Rule Bill show a continuation of the direction taken after 1893. The continued departure from heroic analogy in both Nationalist and Unionist cartoons show how this development was to leave the Victorian approach behind. More and more humour was employed to make a point. Although the political bias of the cartoonist still dominated the theme of the cartoon, the particular mood in which it was presented was very different to earlier Home Rule cartoons. The farsical humour in the cartoon replaced the central heroic mood in its composition.

Irish political cartoons were adopting a critical nature of attack, leaving behind the more formal Victorian concession to dignity given to opponents and supporters alike. The cartoon's faculty

for preaching now redeemed itself by its u e of comedy, sometimes culminating in high farce.

The victorian respectibility may have been retained in these cartoons but the presentation of a less dignified mood in them herald the disintigration of that era. The major constitutional crises in Westminster; the incipient civil war in Ireland; the outbreak of World War 1, the collapse of support for the Nationalist party and the 1916 rising.

1 John Killen
John Bull's Famous Circus page 48

2 Ibid

3 T.W.Moody & F.X.Martin
The Course of Irish History page 306

4 Ibid page 310

5 Charles Press The Political Cartoon page 345

6 John Killen
John Bull's Famous Circus page 51

During the Home Rule period, 1886-1914, in Ireland, political cartoons were used as powerful weapons of instruction and persuasion, by both Nationalists and Unionists. With the inclusion of cartoons in newspapers, illustrated by the easily printed graphic technique of chromolithography, these cartoons could reach a far wider public than was ever possible before. "Caricature now took on a new role, with considerable social implications".[1]

The Nationalist papers, such as **The Weekly Freeman** and **The United Ireland** enthuastically employed cartoonists like Fitzpatrick, O'Hea (Spex) and Reigh, to use this new development to their best advantage. Simarily the Unionist presses, such as **The Union** and **The Weekly Irish Times**, printing the works of Moynan (Lex), & Conn among others, contained anti-Home Rule cartoons to promote their political stance. These were the years that the Irish saw the use of the word 'cartoon' apply itself more and more to the modern sense of a humerous drawing that served to present a political point. Only in later years, would allegiance to a particular political party wane in favour of more freedom to render biting satires of politicans, irrespective of what cause they triumphed.

Cartoons of the first two Home Rule Bills in particular, preferred to present a "champion .. to do battle"[2] in Nationalist papers. The heroic figure, central to the composition of these cartoons, became political figures in place of Erin or Pat - symbols of Ireland. Parnell and Gladstone became the new heroes of the Nationalist cartoons. The caricature was an important part of the cartoon and the association between this and the overall composition is the key to why the characters were treated in the way they were. The Victorian ethic of a respectful approach to the subject meant that not only the analogy but the caricature also had to be presented with this "proper deference".[3] Hence the "pretty tame"[4] distortions of the subject's characteristics.

The restraints inherent in this approach directly affected the development of the caricatures. Rather than exhaustively distort and exaggerate facial characteristics to serve best a particular theme in a cartoon, the cartoonist prefered to employ an almost iconic approach to caricatures. In this way, the characters were easily identifiable to the reader because of the lack of change, while the tone of the cartoon remained 'respectful'.

With Parnells death and Gladstones 1893 H.R. Bill the political cartoon reflected an important development in the political history of this time. The development of Gladstones role in nationalist cartoons as hero of Home Rule traces the progression not only of Gladstone caricature itself but of a shift in the portrayal of what had previously been Ireland's enemy. Certain English political quaters were now seen to support H.R.

With the death of Parnell, 1891 and the preceding split in the Irish party, the loyalities of various Nationalist papers were divided in favour of either the Anti-Parnellite or Parnellite faction. Furthermore, with Gladstone's retirement from politics in 1894 after the unsuccessful Second Home Rule Bill, the Nationalist cartoonists in particular were left without an heroic central character to serve the type of formula used in their cartoons. For Nationalists, as well as Unionists, Redmond's unpopularity and unfavourable comparison with his predecessor, Parnell, opened up a new dimension for cartoonists.

The Nationalist cartoonists reversal of their "angels on earth"[5] approach to Irish Party Politicans witnessed a more critical approach to all politicans, whether they were Nationalists or Unionists. Now that the necessary use of a central heroic character could be compromised, cartoonists could employ a stronger element

of humerous satire in the cartoons. Both Redmond and Asquith shed the staid, aloof demeanour of their predecessors. It follows that with a stronger element of comedy even threatening opponents could be reduced to becoming more comic than obstreperous. Political cartoons were showing initial signs of favouring humour at the cost of party political loyalties. Cartoonists were taking a more independant approach to their subject; "I thought about right and wrong, but my conclusions were always unfavourable of all men equally."[6]

This development was continued in cartoons of the Third Home Rule Bill, 1912-14. Although the political bias remained in favour of either cause, the strong association with a particular party was diminishing. Furthermore, the developments in printing encouraged the Unionists in particular to adopt the use of cartoons post cards to promote their propoganda to an ever larger public. The particular mood in which the cartoon was presented was very different to cartoons of the earlier Home Rule Bills. The world of the Home Rule cartoon, so confident and self-enclosed at the end of the nineteenth century, encompassed the growing complexities within the Irish Party itself and the later parlimentarian minefield of the 1912-14 Bill, only to "shatter before the impact of the First World War".[7]

The political cartoon may not have totally abandoned the Victorian respectibility of the earlier cartoons by the end of the period, but their presentation in a much less deferential mood indicate not only lthe changing approach by cartoonists but also the change in times they reflect. The Irish political scene was beginning to alter considerably - the seeds of a more revolutionary approach to achieving independance were about to replace the parlimentarian quest for Home Rule. The incipient civil war and the outbreak of World War 1 indicated the collapse of the social order of that era.

The political cartoons of the Home Rule Period, 1886 - 1914, are records not only of Ireland's last attempt for parlimentary conciliation to the demands for Home Rule, but of the social climate that influenced cartoonists approach to their craft. These cartoons, then, are more than just political statements of Ireland's history, but accurate records of how the approach to political cartooning developed in the light of such social as well as political change. Political cartoons, then as now, held "as 'twere, a distorting mirror up to nature"[8] for all to see.

1 Lionel Lambourne Caricature page 22

2 Lewis P.Curtis Apes & Angels page 88

3 Charles Press The Political Cartoon page 345

4 Ibid

5 Lewis P.Curtis Apes & Angels page 89

6 Georges Grosz (1893-1959) in
Lionel Lambourne Caricature page 40

7 Ibid

8 Shakespeare Hamlet Act III Scene II; 23

Lewis P.Curtis

Apes & Angels; the Irishman in Victorian caricature

David & Charles 1971

Patrick Buckland

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