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WORKING THE LIMELIGHT

A CARTOON HISTORY OF IRELAND 1914-1923

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Introduction

The aim of my thesis is to give a cartoonist's eye view on Irish politics from 1914 to 1923 and to trace the development of the Republican movement from post Home-Rule times to the end of the Irish Civil War in May 1923. As part of this study I will analyse the techniques and imagery used by contemporary illustrators while also identifying the characters and interpreting the symbols used which may appear obsolete or obscure to the modern eye.

As with any critical analysis on works such as these, the meanings preferred are tempered by the individual's personal understanding of the subject and as such, are of questionable authority. In order to rectify this I have attempted throughout to support my claims with facts or relevant quotes which I compiled in the course of my research.

All Irish cartoons used in this study are the result of pioneering research into this previously undocumented period. With the exception of the posters and three cartoons, fix (73), fig 87 and fig 88, and a catalogue of Ernest Kavanagh cartoons published after his death, none of these cartoons have appeared anywhere other than their original sources to my knowledge. This represented a challenge to my ability to research and criticise. A challenge which I embraced wholeheartedly because it deals with an intriguing period of Irish history and a medium which I find fascinating.

There are three reasons why these cartoons have remained dormant for so long. Firstly, Historical: In 1914 witnessed the outbreak of World War I which reduced the situation in Ireland to nothing more than a sub plot in a world crisis. Secondly, the Irish printing industry was in turmoil which offered little security or incentive to cartoonists to develop their work above the standard of an amateur; and thirdly the widespread use of photography had all but made the cartoonist a redundant tool of reportage. I shall discuss the effects of all three over the next few paragraphs beginning with the historical viewpoint.

W.B Yeats once said "History is simple, the rule of the many the rule of the few, day and night night and day, forever"(1), he also spoke of the "terrible beauty"(2) which was born out of the events of Easter 1916 in his poem of the same name. The distorted beauty of 15 men blinded by their passion for an Irish Republic and the terrible Wars which followed their execution. The period of 1914 to 1923, extending almost 10 years, is probably the most complex in Irish history. It includes the end of the struggle for Home Rule, the 1st World War, the 1916 Rising, 5 elections, the Anglo-Irish war and the Irish Civil War. Events which did more to change the relationship between Ireland and England than in any other decade. It also marked the decline of the Nationalist party, founded by Butt in 1870, which lost its final election in 1920. John Redmond, who reorganised the party after Parnell, fought long and hard to win official recognition for Ireland as a state through legitimate channels, was usurped by a more militant organisation bent on a Phoenix-like resurrection of Ireland through a "blood sacrifice"(3).

It is essential that one understands the complexities of this period as they would have been viewed by its contemporaries. This necessitates a detailed and comprehensive historical companion to the cartoons, at times tedious but always constructive, which will facilitate a complete understanding

of even the smallest innuendo.

World War One overshadowed events in Ireland from a European point of view but in Ireland it brought the issues of conscription, profiteering, and collusion with Germany which became known as the "German Plot". These are the subjects which I shall discuss in chapter one. It is interesting to note that more Irish men gave their lives to liberate Belgium in World War One than the combined total from the hostilities in Ireland, including the Civil War.(4)

After the War, a more concerted effort was made to secure an Irish Republic and this is dealt with in chapter two. The political party Sinn Fein, which previously had little impact on Irish politics, now assumed a more powerful role combined with the newly established Irish Republican Army (I.R.A) in a bid to wrest Ireland from British rule. This heralded the instigation of guerilla tactics by small "Flying Columns" against the English forces known as the "Black and Tans" and the emergence of three leaders; Michael Collins, Arthur Griffith and Eamon de Valera.

After the Anglo-Irish war came the Treaty of 1921 and partition for Ulster. Separation had existed since 1920 but was not recognised by the South. The Northern issue was then overshadowed by the Irish Civil War which was caused by the Treaty and resulted in a split in the I.R.A., the remnants of which, in their misguided way, continue to fight today.

The State of the Irish Publishing Industry.

Few Irish comic weeklies lasted longer than two years (5) and several of the old favourites from the Home Rule campaign such as **Zoz** (1876-78) and **Pat** (1978-83), the Irish equivalent to **Punch,** fell sadly by the wayside. To demonstrate how fragile the industry was I shall give a few examples of the better known titles and their dates of operation. **The Irish Figaro** (1898-1901), **The Leprecaun** (1908-1912), **The Quiz** (1914-1915).(6) Arthur Griffith's important paper **Sinn Fein** fell foul of the censorship laws after the 1916 Rising and was out of circulation for some time. Other periodicals which were regular patrons of many cartoonists did not commence publication until the 1920's such as the **Dublin Opinion** (1922-1973) and **Ireland's Eye** (1922-1956). The respected poet and lyricist Percy French is reported to have exclaimed after his own venture **The Jarvey** failed, that in a country "Famous the world over for its wit and humour, no comic paper has the remotest chance of even paying its way".(7)

Several of the better known cartoonists such as John Fergus O'Hea (SPEX) (1850-1922) and Thomas Fitzpatrick, who made their names during the Home Rule period, continued to work but were less prolific.Few, if any, cartoonists were employed full time by a publication. Instead, artists would work on a commission basis or submit their pieces for free. As a result the level of technical proficiency is rather low and remained naturalistic in imagery. There was a tendancy to label all the characters who played in one's cartoons and so insure that there was no room for ambiguity. Cartoonists generally confined themselves to broad criticisms using recognised state symbols and avoided specifics. This resulted in simple moralistic cartoons of right versus wrong and a romantic treatment of the Irish cause. This romanticism led to the glorification of the rebels from 1916 but surprisingly the converse did not apply to their English oppressors. Instead the Irish cartoonist chose to attack native evils such as Orangemen from the North, members of the

Dublin Metropolitan police (D.M.P) and the Ancient Order of Hibernians (A.O.H.).(8)

The form of this attack was curiously similar to the approach used by the English in post-Darwin times when portraying the Irish as simian and equated them with Negroes in the hierarchy of the Human race (Fig 1). John Fergus O'Hea (SPEX) retaliated against such sterotypes with this cartoon "Reciprocity" (Fig 2) in 1880. On the left is shown the English image of the brutal Irish, and on the right is O'Hea's vision of an equally brutal John Bull.

The only example of such an action by an Irish artist of the early twentieth century is a witty caricature of Lloyd George which appeared in the **Dublin Opinion** of May 1922 (Fig 3). The compliment is indeed returned and even taken a step further to reassure their English relatives that Irish artists are also capable of such grotesque representations. The cartoon (Fig 3) is unatributed but judging from the style of drawing I should think it was a Booth production. "The Nationalist cartoonists of Dublin preferred to make [their] enemies ... look brutal and prognathous rather than fully simian".(9) The image of the rather slovenly Irish man with his long face and clay pipe had been assimilated into the Irish perception of themselves and perhaps this is why Irish cartoonists were quick to apply such a stereotype to Irish 'traitors'. As Shaw said: "Put an Irishman on the spit and you can always find another Irishman to turn him"(10). I believe the Irish have a bad self-image, created out of years of abuse, both self-inflicted and foreign, and this is very apparent from some cartoons eg. Fig 4 (anonymous) and Fig 5 by Booth.

The use of stage Irish for captions adds to the comedy of the cartoon but is also true to life of the time.

Irish cartoons of the 1920's had improved greatly on their predecessors of 1914 - 1916 as regards style and technique. They were, I feel, less secure in their political ideology and so opted for a "middle-of-the road" approach, the purpose of which was to provide a relief from the tensions to the Civil War and an opportunity to laugh at the expense of the politicians who caused it. Some cartoonists, such as Ernest Kavanagh (E.K), (1874-1916), used the medium as a means of airing a grievance or expressing an opinion about contemporary events similar to the act of writing a letter to the editor. Others circulated their work on the form of a limited edition pocket book, such as Grace Gifford and V.L. O'Connor (fig. 6), and are generally more sophisticated in content and execution. Regardless of artistic skill, the cartoons all contain the necessary ingredients to make them truly successful; a sound idea and a witty solution. "A good idea has carried many an indifferent drawing to glory, but never has a good drawing rescued a bad idea from oblivion." (11) So spoke Rollin Kirby, one of America's most outstanding political cartoonists of the 1920's and it is a view which support strongly. The charm of a cartoon lies in its idea.

Photography & The Cartoonist

This was never more important than at the turn of the century when photography was at the height of its popularity among the newspapers. Previously, it was the duty of the cartoonist to acquaint the public with the leading personalities of the day. As a result the greater part of cartoons/caricatures pre 1900 are almost iconic in the representation of famous people. However, a cartoon can do much more than merely represent an individual or subject, it has the power to delve deep into the essence of those subjects and leave it exposed in all its shame and glory for the world to laugh at or admire. Here we witness a departure from the heroic, pontification style which

was popular during the Home Rule period (1886-1912) and a gradual ascent towards a more individual interpretation of the subject. There was a refreshing return to the hard-hitting critical cartoon which gave the medium a vitality and strength which photographs lacked. As Colin Seymour-Ure said in an essay on cartoonists; "Cartoonists can be rude!" (12)

The title for my thesis is taken from a comment by James Larkin on the subject of his friend and fellow labour organiser James Connolly. The complete sentence goes as follows: "I am only the boy in the limelight. Connolly you realise as you hear him, is the man who works the limelight "(13). Larkin was a powerful orator and the man at the centre of the transport workers strike of 1913 which became known as the'Great Lockout'. It was Connolly, however, who worked among the people and made Larkin's success possible. Connolly was also the founder of the Irish Citizen Army and and was deeply involved in the 1916 uprising.

The same could be said of the role of a political cartoonist as he has the power to seduce the collective eye towards, or away from a given subject simply by pointing his unique 'spotlight' in the appropriate direction. The cartoonist has the power to, "by constant repetition, create an image of a politician for a large section of the voting public [and] produce a shock of prejudice against his chosen target that can be incised on the beholders' mind"(14). As such, the cartoonist becomes an important weapon in the propagandist's armoury, either conscious or unconsciously, and this was no different for Ireland in 1914-1923.

Introduction

Notes to the text

1 W.B. Yeats. **Highlights of Ireland's story** by H.P Swan

2 W,B Yeats. **Modern Verse** by Micheal Roberts

3 Robert Kee **Ireland a History** pg. 171

4 Ibid pg 207

5 **Apes & Angels** L.P.Curtis pg. 84

6 **Newspaper Catalogue** National Library of Ireland

7 Percy French **Apes & Angels** L.P.Curtis pg.88

8 **Apes & Angels** L.P.Curtis pg.82

9 Ibid pg 83

10 G.B.Shaw **Highlights of Ireland's Story** H.P. Swan

11 Rolin Kirby **The Cartoon** John Geipel pg.89

12 Colin Seymour-Ure **Twentieth Century Studies,Politics in cartoon & caricature** S.Bann (ed)

13 James Larkin **Daily Sketch** (London) Saturday 29 April 1916 pg. 2

14 **The Cartoon History of Britain** Micheal Wynn-Jones (ed)

Chapter one 1914-1916

This chapter is dedicated to the post 1916 period where the main issues which preoccupied the Irish people were caused by W.W.I and signals the rebirth of political unrest which accelerated in 1916.

Political Atmosphere.

Home Rule provided the first opportunity in 130 years for an Irish Parliament to govern over it's own people, albeit in a limited capacity, since Grattan's parliament of 1782. Even more importantly there was peace in Ireland for the first time since English occupation began in earnest, over 700 years ago. The mass of the Irish people settled back and waited patiently for Home Rule to pass into law in 1914. When 1914 did come, World War I took priority and Home Rule was placed on the Statue Books to be implemented within a further two years or by the end of the war, whichever came first.

A cartoon by Michael Reidy (Fig 7) from the Irish Fun of March 1916 encompasses all the issues relevant to Ireland's situation during World War I; Grant's, conscription, and Ireland's political status. Here we see a lady of sturdy proportions, presumably Eire, Ireland's national symbol, refusing to hand over the money allotted for education, agriculture and art to a rather grotesque John Bull. Bull was the English equivalent of America's Uncle Sam, both having evolved during the American War of Independence. Bull wears a top hat, symbolic of the upper classes, emblazoned with the English Union Jack which helps the reader to identify him. Under his arm is £17,500,000 of Irish money which is to be invested in "Darndanelles Real Estate". The Darndanelles were a regiment of soldiers, mostly Irish, fighting against Turkey in Gallipoli.(1) As a reward for their dedication and continued service, the soldiers had been promised parcels of land to be dispersed on their arrival home and this is what the money was for.

The "croaker" with the sword is an Irish warrior in traditional celtic dress, but it is his sword

which is most important.The scabbard labelled the "Mansion House Meeting" refers to an attempt to recruit Irish men for the British Army in the Manion House, Dublin which failed dismally in 1914. Reidy saw this meeting as an important example of Irish opposition to fighting on behalf of a country which continually reneged on it's promises and was now making demands for money and men to maintain it's authority as an Empire. Conscription was a very real fear in Ireland at this time, because if Britain could not recruit men voluntarily in Ireland, she would have to resort to conscription.

The "Vigilant Guard" in the foreground is John Redmond, leader of the Irish Nationalist Party. He is easily identifiable because of this nose and cheeks, which were subject to playful and frequently ugly distortions. Another clue which seals his identity are the books which he reads and sits upon. There was widespread dissatisfaction with Redmond's performance after the postponement of Home Rule . This is why he sits on the Statue Book and is given the sarcastic title of "Vigilant Guard" of Irish political aspirations. "How to serve the Empire" is a damning indictment of Redmond's life's work. It is implied that his ultimate duty is to the British Empire, at the cost of his own native problems which he ignores behind him.
In the background, a Home Rule banner files over the building at College Green in Dublin where the Irish parliament was to have convened in 1914. A suitable backdrop for the current crisis indeed, and helps put the characters in context.

Michael Reidy supplied all the incidental pieces and vignettes for the **Irish Fun**, *" the most Irish of Comic Weeklies"* as it's motto goes. Reidy had a penchant for celtic designs and lettering which had become very fashionable because of the Gaelic League. The only clue you have of this

preoccupation in his particular cartoon is Reidy's treatment of John Bull's neck and face. Each of the other characters are treated realistically, if unflattering, using simple line. Bull, on the other hand, has a heavily textured face, deeply lined and arching out of his body like an animal from the Book of Kells.

The Gaelic League had been founded in 1893 by Dr Douglas Hyde. Hyde (Fig 6) was a professor of modern Irish and worked vigorously to promote the idea of an *'Irish Irishness'*, a phrase coined to describe an Irish alternative to English ideals of class and society.(2) British cultural pursuits and games such as cricket, had begun to dominate leisure time to such an extend that the native pastimes of the Irish were viewed as being uncouth and aggressive, even by the Irish themselves. The Gaelic League offered a new option, an entirely Irish snobbishness based in Irish song, dance, dress, literature and drama, but most importantly; the Irish language. It gave Irish nationals something uniquely their own, a heritage which was all but lost and a new identity which rekindled a love for all things Irish. As Nietzsche once said "Wipe away whatever came earlier in the hope of reaching a true present ... a new departure"(3). This is what the Gaelic League, a non political organisation, hoped to achieve and Reidy saw his own work as a valuable contribution to the de-Anglicanisation process now sent in motion. This influence is more obvious in other examples of Reidy's cartoons such as "This is Ireland's War" (Fig 34) where the celtic designs dominate the subject. "The Vigilant Guard" serves as an introduction to the three main areas of concern for the Irish people; econonics, profiteering and conscription, the first of which I shall deal with next.

The Economic Crisis.

The financial theme is developed further by two cartoonists from **The Goblin** in their cartoons "Ireland Gives" (Fig 8) and "The British Treasury" (Fig 9). The first, figure 8 by O'Maol, explores more fully where exactly Irish money and men were going to and illustrates how Ireland's meager demands were refused. Sir Matthew Natham who was director of funds for Ireland, is dressed like John Bull so their can be no mistake about who is refusing Ireland her money.There were calls to restructure the educational system in Ireland but little was done because of the war. O'Maol shows how Ireland was regarded simply as a factory which churns out men to fight in France, Solonica and Egypt, and money for a variety of things including government mistakes. The second cartoon, figure 9 by Booth, shows the difference in priorities for the British Treasury when dispersing funds education, agriculture experiments, war losses and horse breeding.The technique of both artists in not very accomplished. Neither are they as complex in conception as Reidy's work which operates on several different levels. There was a tendancy to label all the characters in cartoons of this time. Their success lies in their power to simplify such issues for the viewer and avoid ambiguity at all costs. Such narrative cartoons are valuable for their message and were not intended for the more sophisticated visual person.

Gordon Brewster who submitted cartoons to **The Quiz** preferred a less sentimental approach and cartooned what he saw as Ireland's efforts to perpetuate the English upperclass myth in his cartoon "The Cork Hill Economist" (Fig 10). Irish initiative is seen to be punished while the inflated Dublin Corporation official who earned his portion through connections, volunteers extra funds for a dandy who finds it "absolutely impossible to live on £800 per year!. The three castles, worn as a hat, are the ancient crest of Dublin City and used on all official

paperwork and business. I believe it's new function as a hat signifies the abuse of a city office and funds (tax payers) for personal advantage. Brewster's cartoon is socialist in sentiment and echoes the unrest among the working people who would have been the main readership of **The Quiz**. The union organisers James Larkin and James Connolly, had worked hard to create an awareness of exploitation and its sources among the lower classes. Images such as Brewster's must have caused ripples of anger among it's viewers who would find it offensive that Irish money should be supporting such needless extravagance while the working man was being called on to make further sacrifices.

The contrast in style and thought in these past cartoons underlines the variety of artists operating at this times and the diversity of their approach. O'Maol and Booth's cartoons function successfully as general complaints about Ireland's economic predicament. Brewster and Reidy's work supply further information as to the cause of these hardships using a more specific vocabularly and a much stronger technique. Booth and O"Maol, I should think, were amateurs as there is an uncomfortable angularity and a stiffness in their line. Both artists display a fear of using large areas of solid black or white which is also apparent from the work of E.K, Jack Morrow and C.E.K.; artists whom I shall discuss later. What is needed is a balance between hatching and solids which would strengthen the cartoonists' work immeasurably.

Profiteering

It is not unusual to find that the state itself is sometimes the victim being taken advantage of, particularly in a time of crisis such as World War One afforded. The next selection of cartoons deal

with the blackmarket and racketeering which thrived as a result of rationing and government restrictions on the import of foreign goods. In his cartoon (Fig.11), which is a satirical parody on Churchill's wartime slogan "Business as Usual", John Fergus O'Hea (SPEX) portrays the laughing merchants who have benefitted from the War. They have adjusted the State motto so it reads "Do His Country" instead of "Do his Duty", and they do it! This cartoon is an excellent example of how a complex message can be conveyed in a witty yet lucid form without loosing any of its 'punch'. "It makes comic entertainment out of the critical act"(4) the basis of which is a truely superb idea". Insulated against the ravages of War, a virtual Noah's Ark of rotund profiteers smirk and giggle at their own ingeniousness. The placards, which form their barrier from the war which rages behind them, explain why they are so smug. Coal at £7 a ton, wheat £5 per lb, and tea at 10 shillings a lb - clearly these prices are exhorbidant even during wartime. O'Hea's rascals are not the malicious anonymous business magnates in top hat and cigar which populated contemporary cartoons on the subject of war-profiteering (fig 12). They are real people, who have managed to gain from others hardship. They are the ones who have taken Churchill's words to heart and are putting them into practice. By depicting these villains in a more human fashion O'Hea impresses on the viewer how widespread the problem was. O'Hea's profiteers are the normal butchers and bakers which the viewer deals with everyday and so makes the threat more real.

O'Hea successfully communicates his message without resorting to universal rhetoric which is at once symbolic of so much and nothing in particular that it only causes momentary, unchannelled anger which dissapates with the turning of the next page. As regards his style and technique, O'Hea is undoubtably one of the most skilled of his ilk. He had already proven his ability during

the Home Rule campaign and is highly spoken of by L.P. Curtis in his book "Apes and Angels" as one "who deserves to rank among the finest political cartoonists of the Victorian Era"(5); a recommendation with which I concur as "Business as Usual" is one of the best cartoons from this chapter, if not the complete collection.

The strength of his line is in its fluidity and descriptive ability without overworking the surfaces or cluttering the page. Generally speaking, O'Hea avoided cross-hatching and used generous black lines applied with a brush to give colour and shade to his subjects. He was not afraid to use solid blacks or whites and works these against areas of textured grey to great effect. By doing so, O'Hea directs the eye to the main areas of interest, for example; the men to the front of the group and then up the sign post or vice-versa.

Perhaps it is unfair to compare such accomplished work with the sketches of O'Maol or Booth. However, it is worth noting that they would have benefitted greatly by exploring such a technique. The bitterness of their thin lines and lack of contrast between light and dark make their efforts read as an overall grey with no centre for the eye to latch on to, and contain little visual impact. O'Hea was a veteran cartoonist and as such had no equivalent of equal dexterity until perhaps the emergence of Tom Lalor in Ireland's Eye in the 1920's. Certainly at this stage O"Hea was master of his trade. Booth did go on to improve his style most notably as leading cartoonist for the Dublin Opinion. His later work displays a more mature command of his pen and an improved knowledge of the human anatomy (Fig 5). These cartoons also indicate a deeper understanding of the issues and a wittier participation than in his pre 1916 work.

The English government was also accused of having ulterior motives for involvement in the War. I believe Churchill's "Business as Usual" slogan fooled the majority of the public into thinking the War would be short. As the war progressed it became apparent that the fighting would continue and at a much greater cost than previously estimated. The resulting confusion and disappointment caused a great many questions to be asked in relation to the Allies' war aims.

Two cartoons by the artist Jack Morrow are examples of an Irish impression of the First World War. "Another Peace Report" (Fig 13), depicts a profiteer waving his Union Jack who is startled by the thought of peace. "The Allied War Aims" (Fig.14) leaves no room for ambiguity and shows a large bag of money as being the Allies goal.

Morrow's technique is loose and sketchy but what his cartoons may lack in finish they recover through the power and drama of his ideas. Jack Morrow was one of six artistically talented brothers, two of whom were better known for their cartoons than their watercolours. George Morrow, Jack's brother, moved to London and even worked for **Punch** during the 1920's. As a rule, George concentrated on society cartoons and "solving the problems of living"(5a). He did however produce one book of war cartoons entitled **Quoth the Raven** which I was unable to locate. However, from the work I have seen, I found none of it to contain any reference to the Irish situation. Jack on the other hand was prolific in his visual criticism of Anglo-Irish relations. His style has an urgency about it, conveyed by his energetic line and frenetic cross-hatching, most notable in figure 14.

Jack Doesn't appear to have made any attempts at cleaning his art work prior to printing and this leads me to conclude that he was working against deadlines as a journalistic cartoonist.

For Jack Morrow, I believe the message in his cartoons was more important to him than the medium itself. For some artists the medium was a greater part of the message for example; Michael Reidy tried to express Irish problems in a distinctly Irish style. Jack Morrow chose to concentrate firstly on communicating his idea and secondly on his technique. Morrow tended to caricature his subjects in a most unflattering way and as in the case of "Another Peace Report" (Fig 13), often as downright ugly. To add impact and drama to his cartoons Jack often chose unusual compositions and cropped his images in a unique way which left characters just within the frame of the picture or bursting out of it as in figure 60 "I'm afraid I'm too big !". His method was to zoom in on only the most vital elements and dispose of those which did not further the cause of his cartoon. Again, in contrast to his brother George "Whose backgrounds work for their living too"(6), Jack sacrificed such frivolity unless, as in the "Allied War Aims" (Fig 14), it helped place his subject in an environment which increased its meaning. In "The Allied War Aims" the sack of money is shown against a classical interior which suggests a State Office, or at least a residence of a wealthy, and thus powerful, person. Together these images imply an ulterior motive for the allies involvement in the war.

The Irish Volunteers and Conscription.

When England declared war on Germany in August 1914 there was a wave of patriotic enthusiasm which swept not only England but Ireland too. Kitchener was appointed to produce a recruiting

poster which is by now a familiar sight to all (Fig. 15). Predictably other posters made it an emotional and dramatic affair with direct appeals to women to send their men to war as their contribution (Fig.16). Some posters depicted women chastising men for their lack of courage (Fig. 17) and threatened to go to the War themselves. Parallels were drawn between the fate of the women of Belgium and the possibility of English and Irish women meeting the same end (Fig.18). Some Irish people took exception to those parallels and refused to fight with Britain as long as she continued to refuse Ireland her own right to "National self-determinations"(6a). The Irish Volunteers (I.V.) were a defensive force founded by Sir Roger Casement and professor Eoin Mac Neil in 1913. They were Ireland's answer to the Northern army, the Ulster Volunteer Force (U.V.F.), whose aim it was to prevent the successful application of Home Rule to Ireland. It was a minute section of the I.V who were already laying plans for an alternative course of action for Ireland, as they were convinced Home Rule would never be implemented.

In this section I am going to discuss the anti-conscription cartoons the bulk of which, are the work of Ernest Kavanagh (1874-1916) (EK).

Several cartoons in Irish periodicals of the time deal with the "English Slackers" who stayed at home while Irish men rushed to join the British army (Fig 19). The English 'Dandy' was often shown playing golf or cricket while Irish men fought and funded their war. Certainly this was an important issue at the time but the cartoons which deal with the political manoeuvering involved behind recruiting are more relevant to the purpose of this thesis.

"The Redmond-O'Brien Press Gang" (Fig 20), serves as an introduction to the subject. This cartoon by Ernest Kavanagh (E.K) portrays John Redmond and his fellow M.P. John O'Brien as a

'press gang' in the style of the British Navy pushing an Irish Volunteer (I.V.) towards the war office fronted by Kitchener himself. (I presume, by virtue of his moustache, that it is Kitchener). Redmond, in his capacity as leader of the Nationalist Parliamentary party, canvassed around Ireland for recruits for the British Army. O'Brien, along with other members of the party, Dillon and Healy, accompanied him on these trips but that is the extent of their influence. Redmond hoped that a show of support for England at such a time from the Irish would be in Ireland's favour after the war. Redmond has assumed command of the Irish Volunteers (I.V.) when their numbers had grown sufficiently. This was a strategically prudent move on his behalf as he now controlled their movements and their votes. When Redmond began an active recruitment campaign, thousands of Volunteers swopped over to the British Army. This had two effects 1, it drastically reduced Ireland's only indigenous Nationalist military force (The Citizen's Army founded by James Connolly, also in 1913, was designed to protect striking workers against company violence), and 2. it caused a split among the remnants of the I.V. into 'Redmond's Volunteers', and those who identified themselves closer to the old Fenian organistation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood (I.R.B.), who remained as the 'Irish Volunteers'.This is why E.K. shows Redmond pressing an Irish Volunteer into the "European Shambles". His caricature of Redmond's face is a particularly savage one, the hooked nose and bulging eye liken him to the cruel puppet Punch, of "Punch and Judy" fame and is probably the best drawing of Redmond E.K. did.

A cartoon by Kavanagh dated 1912 entitled "The New Nationalism", (Fig 21), prophesised such a change in the direction of the Nationalist leaders. Here he shows John Redmond (centre) and two of his fellow nationalists John Dillon (on the right) and either Healy or O'Brien on the left. Dillon was the eldest and tallest of the group which is my justification for assuming it is him on the right.

Healy and O'Brien were very alike so it is difficult to say for certain which of them the figure really is. They all sing to a new tune for the pleasure of Britain. In this cartoon Kavanagh equates "Nationalism" with unrestrained support the British Empire; "one flag, one king, one throne" The politicians are depicted to be masquerading as Home Rulers but their true aim is to perpetuate the Empire. Redmond seemed to have proven Kavanagh right by supplying men to Ireland's age old enemy to help win a war whose benefits to Ireland were never certain. Indeed some saw Germany as a lesser evil than Britain, notably Sir Roger Casement, and I shall discuss this further in chapter two

Two other cartoons by Kavanagh concentrate his beliefs more lucidly. Firstly, "Shade of Wolfe Tone" (Fig 22), where the ghost of Wolfe Tone, an Irish Patriot from the eighteenth century, appears to haunt and accuse the "Traitors and Felon Setters", Redmond and Dillon.
A personal hero of Kavanagh's, Tone is often quoted as saying "Break the connection with England, the never failing source of all our political evils and assert the independence of my country"(7) This was his aim as the leader of the United Irishmen and this, Kavanagh believed, remained to be the task for the Irish Volunteers. A task which Redmond was obstructing.

In "The Volunteers Temptation", (Fig 23), Redmond is shown luring a Volunteer to a road leading to "Ireland a British province" which was technically the position of Ireland in post-war Britain. To the left stands Eire; Ireland's national symbol. She points to "Ireland a Nation" over which flies the National flag of green with the symbol of the harp.
The Union Jack is shown over a jail to the right, which represents the British answer to Ireland's problems. These were the choices open to the people as Kavanagh saw it, and ultimately the cause

of the split in the Volunteers.

Kavanagh was one of the artists who submitted his work free of charge to Dublin's Nationalist and labour papers, notably the **Irish Worker** as he was a close friend of James Larkin, the leader of the Irish Transport Union. Kavanagh was never a member of the Volunteers due to his "inherent antipathy to discipline [but was] otherwise in active sympathy with the movement"(8). The irony being that he died on the steps of Liberty Hall on Easter Tuesday 1916. After his death his home was raided and much of his work was stolen or destroyed by the British Forces. As regards his technique it "may not be perfect but his message in each case is clearly and forcibly told"(9). Kavanagh had a good facility for capturing the face and character of his subjects and this is his strength.

Kavanagh's penchant for attacking officers of the Dublin Metropolitan police (D.M.P) can be detected in most of his cartoons which include it's members. A good example of this is his cartoon named "Birrell's Bullies", (Fig 24), on the subject of the Howth Gunrunning incident of 1914. I must first elaborate on the incident so as to facilitate a greater understanding of the implications of the cartoon. The Irish Volunteers and the Citizen Army in Dublin had, since their inception, been gradually building up discipline and arms among their ranks. This was in direct competition with the Ulster Volunteer Volunteer force (U.V.F.) who had successfully arranged for 24,000 rifles and 3,000,000 rounds of ammunition to be smuggled into the Province in April, 1914. The gunrunning of the U.V.F. in Larne met with only token oppostion from the British forces in Ulster and none of the cargo was confiscated.

For their Southern counterparts, however, it was a very different story. A shipload of arms from Germany organised by Erskine Childers and Roger Casement was safely unloaded at Howth that following July, 1914. The cargo was distributed among the Irish Volunteers and their junior group, the Fianna. Augustine Birrell the English Govenor of Ireland, ordered a regiment of the Scots Guard out to Howth but the ensuing confrontation was of minimal effect. News of the ship, the Asgard,had reached Dublin Castle too late for the British Forces to successfully disarm the Irish. The Scottish regiment then marched back to their barracks, being met with jeers and laughter from every by-stander as they passed. Eventually the ridicule was too much to bear and the soldiers turned and fired on the crowd which had begun to follow them at Batchelor's Walk. Three people were killed and a few dozen injured.

The anomally between the Howth gunrunning fiasco and the Larne equivalent in the North is a pointed example of the hypocracy which permeated the politics of the British administration in Ireland. The Unionists political party for Ulster had Conservative backing in the form of Churchill and Lloyd George, and army support as demonstrated by the Curragh Mutiny in March, 1914. It is not difficult in the light of such events to understand why Irish republicans were of the opinion that there would be no justice for Ireland under it's present circumstances.

"Birrell's Bullies" is a complex cartoon inspired by the Howth Gunrunning escapade but also contains reference to Kavanagh's favourite foe; William Martin Murphy. Murphy was the owner of the Dublin Tramcar Co., the company at the centre of the aforementioned 1913 workers' strike and lockout. As a result of the workers refusal to return to their jobs the D.M.P baton charged a union gathering, killing several men and wounding many others. Kavanagh begs the viewer not to forget August 1913 the date of the altercation, and dubs the man he holds responsible as, "William

Murder Murphy". The significance of the tramcar is uncertain except as a vehicle for Kavanagh's vendetta against Murphy. I must assume that the regiment and The D.M.C., which came in support to the Scots Guard, were in such a hurry to get to Howth that they caught one of Murphy's Trams. I have read that they returned by foot to Dublin so the outward journey is the only occasion they could all have been on a tram.

The fact that one of Murphy's tramcars was used to help transport troops to a confrontation with the I.V., endorses Kavanagh's opinion of Murphy as a capitalist who would profit from the misfortunes of others and aid the establishment which supresses them. The tramcar was not supplied specifically for the use of the troops, it would have been engaged in its normal service between the city and Howth. Kavanagh, however, loses no opportunity to associate Murphy with acts against the people as part of his personal campaign against him.

The complexities arising out of this cartoon as a result of Kavanagh's digression detracts from the impact of Augustine "Birrell's Bullies" themselves.

The only passengers which truely appear as tough, battleready-thugs are the members of the D.M.P. seated below. As mentioned previously Kavanagh delights in depicting these Irish men as prognathious and almost simian in feature. They weld their batons, and smirk and cheer, undoubtably planning what they shall do when they meet the I.V. The Scots who accompany the D.M.P. below are shown looking frightened and nervous in their company while the members of the regiment above are merely typecast Scotsmen with moustaches, tartan and pointed chins. This demonstrates a serious neglect on Kavanagh's behalf when one considers that it was the Scottish Guard who actually killed three people later that day. The athmosphere on the tram is similar to that of a party of day-trippers on their way to the beach. Howth was a favourite bathing spot for

Dubliners and the jovial arrangement of the soldiers bayonets is reminiscent of umbrellas on a Sunday afternoon. The Scotts look inefficient but not vicious.

The message in this cartoon is difficult to decipher if indeed Kavanagh had one in mind when drawing it. (It is not clear if it was ever published). At the most it offers a severe criticism of William Murphy's past involvement with Larkin and Connolly's Transport and Workers' Union. Secondly as suggested by it's title, but not supported in the cartoon, it represents Augustine Birrell's response on the occasion of the Howth Gunrunning. A response which was violent, badly organised, and ultimately a failure.

On the subject of Kavanagh's style; he is of course an amateur and his work suffers from an overeagerness to shade, embellish and delineate every available surface. He makes good use of solid black (see Fig 22) on the occasions he chooses to use it, but generally tends to fall foul of the amateur's fear of using pure black and white. Kavanagh's style of drawing if often more effective when simplified down to a few lines without the distraction of cross-hatching and texture. This serves as a clue to what could have developed into a mature, incisive style had Mr Kavanagh out-lived the rising that Easter of 1916. The two cartoons (Fig 25) "Bulmer Hobson and The Peeler" and "Bulmer Hobson, An Irish Volunteer, and John Bull" (Fig 26) were both unpublished and this perhaps explains their simplicity in style.

Bulmer Hobson was a comrade of Eoin Mac Neill's, both being involved in the Irish Volunteers. Kavanagh viewed both of these men as cardboard leaders fighting with tin swords. They were not real revolutionaries. The irony in the title "Successor of Wolfe Tone" is bitter as Hobson meekly requests permission to revolt. The face of the "Peeler", on old name for Policeman, is an excellent

example of Kavanagh's vision of the D.M.P. The reddened nose and protruding lower lip are remarkably similar to the British cartoonist's image of the Irish during the 1800's. Figure 26 shows Hobson actually restraining a Volunteer in case he might "destroy our life's hobby - Revolution". The cartoon is dated 1916 and the "real tin" prop has been replaced with a real gun. It is also significant that the John Bull figure is on the ground already injured. It was an old Fenian axiom that "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity". Perhaps Kavanagh had this motto in mind when drawing the cartoon. His pen probed deeper than he himself could have known because it was these words which inspired the executive of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (I.R.B.) within the I.V. to hold a rising when English military strength was at it's weakest on both the home front, and in Europe. Incidentally it is worth noting that Eoin Mac Neill and Bulmer Hobson were excluded from those plans, as it was believed that they would not co-operate with such an action.

Michael Reidy offered another reason why Irish men should stay at home in his cartoon "This is Ireland's War" (Fig 27). Reidy places all the issues such as foreign language, intemperance etc. in a mythological context which compliments his interest in celtic designs. A brave Irish warrior "Young Ireland", battles with the "sword of manufacture" against the grotesque animals which represent the evils of English occupancy of Ireland. The beasts writhe and weave together, forming a decorative panel based on celtic motifs, which threatens to engulf the page were it not for the noble knight, a veritable Hibernian Hercules. Linked to these beasts are "Intemperance" and "Emigration", problems which must be solved by the people of Ireland after English withdrawal. The vehicle for this new attack against Anglicanisation is "Public Opinion" which was growing more disillusioned with English rule at this time. Under the arch of the warrior's stronghold which

appears to be a church, is a lady, presumably Eire, dressed in the cloth of the "Gaelic League". In her hand she holds a key labeled the "Irish Language" which was fundamental to any real advance against English domination.

The trancept of the building under which the maiden stands, is reminicent of Irish Romanesque ecclesiastical architecture and so I understand the word "Liberty" enscribed on it's tympaneum, to refer to religious freedom and relief from presecution by Protestants. Reidy's message is not as complicated as the image he uses to communicate it. He wants Irish people to positively discriminate in favour of Irish goods, Irish language and Irish government in an effort to save their land. The way forward is through a rejuvinated Irish manufacturing industry and an adherence to the principles of the Gaelic League.

Reidy generally reserved one cartoon a week for dealing with a serious political issue. This may explain Reidy's multifaceted approach as he attempted to express all his ideas in one cartoon. His use of celtic designs is unique, but expressive of the prevailing mood of romanticism for Ireland's past which surrounded all the Gaelic League's endeavours.

Reidy also enjoyed ridiculing contemporary political figures through the use of humour. The best example of Reidy's wit in action of the excellent "Double Duty", (Fig 28), on the subject of John Redmond's role in Anglo-Irish politics. The double duty is his obligation to the British Crown as an M.P. at Westminster and his own function as leader of the Nationalist Party; to obtain Home Rule for Ireland. Again, the page is loaded with meaning and metaphor. A frustrated Redmond is shown struggling under the weight of a rather dishevilled Britannia, the English sister of Eire. The

table is propped up on the other side by a box of "preserved Ulster Volunteers" which represents the latent threat of violence from Ulster.

Edward Carson the Unionist leader and commander-in-chief of the U.V.F. is depicted riding "the Government Jackass" whose face belongs to Herbert Asquith the British Prime Minister. One can tell it is Carson by the length of the face and especially the nose. Carson had quite a sharply defined face and this caricature is particularly accurate. Asquith resembled Redmond in that their most outstanding features were their large noses and rounded features. However as head of the Government it could be no one else as the head of the Jackass.

Carson holds the broken leg of "Ulster" as a threat over Asquith's head. Asquith was leader of a coalition government (1915-1916) and dared not offend Carson as it would be tantamount to political suicide. This is the leg which, if replaced, would relieve Redmond and allow him to rescue Home Rule from the statute books before it is eaten away by "Amending Bills". The Amending Bill which was being discussed before the outbreak of War in 1914, was to allow Ulster to secede from the Dublin Parliament in the event of Home Rule being implemented. This was the first intimation that partition could become more than just a religious and emotional barrier which would effectively split the two feuding sides; Loyalists and Nationalists. Britannia rests on a barrel of double "X", symbolic of English and Irish union - a rather potent brew. She holds her trident, which was perhaps damaged during the current War, as she smiles at Carson approvingly. Behind Redmond is an I.V. (Irish Volunteer) as indicated by his hat. I believe Reidy to be referring to the wave of dissatisfaction with Redmond as the Volunteer is ignition "Public Opinion" which has the power to destroy Redmond from within. Even though Redmond's position is seen as

impossible, Reidy does not excuse Redmond and avoids creating any sympathy for him by placing a baby's bottle with £400 on it over his head. This represents Redmond's annual salary; payment for his services which he is failing to supply.

There is no solution given to Redmond's predicament but it is apparent that no progress will be made under his leadership and as long as the Unionists hold the balance of power in Westminster there will be no Home Rule for Ireland. This is, in my opinion, Reidy's most coherent and succint cartoon from the Irish Fun and benefits from his having restrained the impulse to decorate the page with celtic designs. Reidy's technique is more developed than the majority of cartoonists whose work appeared regularly in Irish publications but he is not as good a draughtsperson as O'Hea or a superior wit. Reidy is similar to Kavanagh in that their ideas are informed by their dedication to the Sinn Fein party and as such, were both vocal (visual) critics of the existing administration. However Reidy's line is more controlled than Kavanagh's which gives him the advantage from a purely artistic pointof view.

One last cartoon by Reidy which appeared in the January issue of the Irish Fun for 1916 hints quite blatantly that 1916 would be a year of violence (Fig 29)., unless there are some changes. It was well known in certain circles that a rising was being planned. In fact plans had been lain by the I.R.B. as early as 1914 and it is with these plans that I begin my next chapter.

Chapter I

NOTES ON TEXT

(1) A.J.P.Talor , The First World War.

(2) Robert Kee **Ireland a History,** pg 141

(3) **The Crane Bag,** Collection of debates, U.C.D.

(4) J. Hawthorn**"Propaganda, Persuasion and Polemic",** pg108

(5) L.P.Curtis, **Apes & Angels**, p.969

(5a) E.V. Lucas **George Morrow : His Book**, pg 9

(6) E.V.Lucas **Ibid**

(6a) A.J.P.Taylor **The First World War**, pg 161

(7) Wolfe Tone **Ireland a history** Robert kee p. 179

(8) Cathail Mac Dubgaill (editor), **Cartoons by Ernest Kavanagh** p.3

(9) Ibid

CHAPTER II 1916 - 1921

This chapter documents a second attempt at importing arms for the Irish Volunteers which became known as 'The German plot'. I shall also discuss the Rising of Easter 1916 and investigate the reactions and counter reactions to the Rising in Ireland, England and America. Cartoons on Lloyd George's Irish Convention of 1917-18 and the subsequent partition of Ulster in 1920. There was also the reorganisation of the Sinn Fein political party and the establishment of the Irish Republican Army which fought against the English (Auxies & Black & Tans) in the Anglo-Irish War. Few cartoons exist which deal directly with the War. This is a result of the implementation of martial law after the Rising under which, any material containing positive reference to the I.R.A. or Sinn Fein could be considered as sedition and destroyed. The first of these issues to be discussed is the German Plot which was exposed only days before the Rising.

The German Plot.

A second consignment of arms arrived at Banna Beach in April 1916. Roger Casement (co-founder of the I.V), who had arranged for the guns to be brought from Germany, was arrested almost immediately by British Forces who had been monitoring radio communiques between Germany and Ireland for some time. Britain was outraged that so distinguished a man, one who had acted as foreign Consul for many years on their behalf, should be caught colluding with Germany.

Will Dyson of **The Daily Sketch** reacted swiftly with a cartoon entitled "The parting with William" (Fig.30) in which Casement is seen to be taking instructions from the Kaiser. The headline on the accompanying article is less subtle ; "TRAITOR'S MAD ENTERPRISE, Attempt To Wean Irish Soldiers From Their Allegiance." The article continues ; "He had identified himself with the Sinn Fein movement, which seems to be animated chiefly by a desire to wreck the movement of which Mr. J.Redmond is the leader." (1) However, this was not the case. In a reply to Sir Conan Doyle's essay **Great Britain and the Next War**, Casement debated the possible outcome if England was defeated in **Ireland, Germany and the Next War.**

Doyle beseeched the Irish to "Throw themselves heartily into the common defence, for no sword

can transfix England without the point reaching Ireland behind her."(2).The implication being that Ireland was as Casement put it " an Island beyond an Island"(3) and her fate was tied inexorably with that of Britain.

In the light of the heavy losses England was suffering on the Western Front, the outcome of the War was uncertain. As Ireland could not defend itself against a German invasion, it remained for the Irish to choose between the lesser of two evils. Casement envisioned "An Ireland annexed to the German Empire.....as one of the fruits of a German victory over Great Britain [which] would clearly be administered as a common possession of the German people and not as a Prussian Province."(4)

The Germans were of course receptive to Irish requests for arms simply because a rising at this time was to their advantage. Behind all his rhetoric, Casement also realised that no allies of Britain would supply Ireland with the means to attack her.

Another of Dyson's cartoons "The Funds of Sinn Fein' (Fig.31) is probably closer to the truth of the matter. Ireland required "the sinews of war" and the benevolent Germans were only too eager to sponsor such an offensive. The Irishman does not represent any of the leaders of Sinn Fein of the I.V. His face is vaguely similar to that of Eamonn de Valera but at this point de Valera played only a minor role as a Lieutenant in the Volunteers.

Earnest Kavanagh's "It's a long way to Berlin" (Fig.32) and the "Homeward trail" (Fig.33) demonstrate the affinity some Irishmen felt for the Germans in their war with Britain. England was extremely vulnerable at this stage of the War and Kavanagh would have liked to see Ireland take the opportunity to make matters even more difficult.

In "The Homeward Trial" Kavanagh places a placard which reads "love your enemies". This is of course a sound Christian sentiment but also indicates that Kavanagh supported aid from Germany.

Michael Reidy on the otherhand preferred to place his faith in an army independent of either German or English aid. "Eire's Choice" (Fig.34) which appeared in **The Irish Fun** of February 1916 indicates that knowledge of a German involvement in Irish affairs was widespread. Reidy's rather innocuous cartoon would have pleased Irish leaders of the I.V., Eoin MacNeill and Bulmer Hobson, who were adamant that no rising should take place. Curiously, the Citizen Army, the labour protection force organised by James Connolly whose motto was "Neither King nor Kaiser",

favoured any involvement which would hasten a confrontation. It was Connolly who pressurised the secret executive of the I.V. into setting Easter as the date for insurrection.

THE RISING. EASTER 1916.

Prehaps it is not surprising that there are few caricatures of the soldiers who died in the Rising of April 1916. According to Murray Caricature is the "grotesque or ludicrous representation of persons or things (including ideas) by exaggeration of their most characteristic features".(5) If his definition from 1893 is to be accepted as accurate, then to caricature men who died for their ideals would be totally unacceptable.

The Rising itself was not representative of the people of Ireland. When Patrick Pearse read out the Declaration of Independence to the crowd outside the G.P.O. that Easter Monday morning he was met with jeers and laughter. The Rising itself was a military failure. It was the events which took place immediately afterwards which turned it's leaders into National heros and inspired the fight for Irish autonomy to begin in earnest.

Patrick Pearse, Commander in Chief of the Rising, was an editor, writer and educationalist. He encouraged the boys in his school; St. Enda's to express themselves in all the avenues available to them, and this included cartooning. The cartoon on the cover of the St. Enda's paper (Fig.33) **The Scholar** from May 1913 demonstrates the bilingual trend in cartooning which was growing in popularity. The magazine itself was trilingual, the editor being Raymond Suetens, a Belgian who is shown in the upper left corner in bowler hat and pince-nez. The cartoon centres on a school controversy about cricket, the "bloody man" being the captain of the cricket team. "Ceard e seo" was a favourite saying of Pearse's and means "What's this?". The caricature (Fig.36) of Pearse is by his literary friend and architect John Holloway and is a rather good likeness as can be seen from the photograph inset. (Fig.37)

Jack B. Yeats, now an internationally renowned artist, drew a sketch from memory of Joseph Mary Plunkett, son of the politician Count Plunkett, dated October 1916. (Fig.38) Joseph Plunkett

was a poet and a member of Dublin's affluential society. He married the caricaturist Grace Gifford only hours before his execution as one of the signatories to the Declaration of Independence. Strangely, Gifford displays no bitterness towards the English in her work and tended only to caricature Irish personalities.

The only cartoon which deals directly with the Rising is from a postcard issued to commemorate what I would consider to be one of the Risings less distinguished moments. "When Dublin Rose" (Fig.39) celebrates the first shots from the rebel Volunteers in the G.P.O. aimed at a small troop of Fusiliers who had the misfortune to be passing by.
Another reason why there are so few cartoons on this subject was the bias towards photographic journalism which all but relegated cartoons to the back seat in that respect.

The Rising, like most other Irish attempts at arms, was an unbalanced mixture of the sincerest love for Ireland and poor military communications. As Casement said "The Irish fight well everywhere but at home." (6). The next section deals with public reaction to the rebellion.

Public Reaction

The British public's reaction was one of disgust; that English guns should be pointing at traitors to the west when all military effort should be concentrated against the German enemy. The realisation of the German Plot made the threat of War on English soil seem for a brief while all too possible. Calls for retaliative measures were implacable and the fate of the "pro-Germans" (7) was totally in accordance with their crime. After two weeks, fifteen of the men who were instrumental in the Rising had been executed. Negative images of Paddy the ruthless villain who could not be trusted filled the papers and magazines of England. Louis Raemackers the well known Dutch War illustrator included Ireland in two of his cartoons the first of which is "The Cemetery of Still-born Illusions" (Fig.40)

The Kaiser is drawn as a grieving widower who kneels before the various plans and conspiracies which failed to succeed. One of these tombstones is dedicated to Ireland. He also includes Ireland as one of the ruffians about to stab Britain in the back in his cartoon "Great Britain and Ireland"

(Fig.41) Both of these works are based on Ireland's apparent eagerness to participate in any plot against the English regardless of the consequences.

Will Dyson made an attempt to attenuate the strong anti-Irish feelings prevalent at the time. His cartoon, "Before they change" is a timely reminders of how unrepresentative of the Irish people the Rising was.(Fig.42) The cartoon is about the loyal Irish fighting alongside Englishmen in Europe who reject Sinn Fein and thus the Rising. In fact the Rising had very little to do with Sinn Fein except that it's principles were similar in ends to the I.R.B. but were being accomplished by different means.

Sinn Fein was founded by Arthur Griffith in 1905. The aim of this party was to establish a Council in Ireland by peacefully withdrawing all Irish members of Parliament back to Dublin. Griffiths was later described by Robert Lynd. of the **Daily News** (Aug.14th,1922) as a man who "sought peace in the spirit of a man of war" (8) and became highly respected as a politician.

America had entered the war in 1916 as illustrated by Booth (Fig.43), as a result of repeated German U boat attacks on non belligerent U.S. ships. A cartoon by H.G. Dart (Fig.44) was used as a poster by America in an attempt to dissuade any further outbreaks of anti-English violence from Ireland during the War. If Irish aggression continued, any future representations to America for aid would be unsuccessful. The minute Sinn Fein man is juxtaposed with the three great allies who are preoccupied with fighting Germany. The sheer size of the three renders Ireland's problems as insignificant in comparison with the allied task and implies that Sinn Fein is being selfish and should patiently wait it's turn.

The Irish Counter-Reaction

At first the Irish public despised the men of 1916. However,with two weeks the shock which gripped the public turned rapidly to horror and disgust as the number of prisoners executed rose daily. John Redmond urged clemency as he recognised "rapidly increasing bitterness and exasperation among a large section of the population who had not the slightest sympathy with the insurrection and urged that ... an immediate stop be put to them."(9)

In Ireland, George Russell (AE) wrote a poem entitled "Salutation" a verse of which goes as

follows ; "Their dream had left me numb and cold but yet my spirit rose in pride. Refashioned in burnished gold the images of those who died."(10)
This describes the rush of romanticism which is reflected in the popular prints of post-Easter 1916 Ireland. Figures 45 and 46 are examples of how the rebels had been accepted by the people and their rapid elevation to hero status. It also marks the appearance of the new Irish flag, the Tri-colour which gradually replaced the old Green and Harp. (Fig.23)
Prudhan when speaking on the Revolution in France said " Men have a horror for facts, speak to them of dreams, they will follow you, talk to them of economy, they will fly from you."(11)

Now the people of Ireland embraced the ideas of Pearse and his volunteers and made them their own. "Even the unwilling became convinced that men who were so far above death must have a message for life"(12) An anti-recruiting poster (Fig.47) which appeared soon after the Rising uses Patrick Pearse's face for the "Patriot" in chains.
In this cartoon England has been transformed from future allie to malevolent oppressor bent on breaking Ireland's spirit. It is also a parody of Bernard Partidges's cartoon of the same name.(Fig.48) which has been published in **Punch** in 1915. The irony is strong because England was fighting so small Nations might be freed of dictators and have the right to 'self-determination'(13). This claims the artist, is in fact the reverse of the situation in Ireland. The parallel is unavoidable, but to reinforce his message the cartoonist includes a poster in the background which reads "Remember Belgium" and gives John Bull a bill for "conscription in Ireland" in his pocket. Jack Morrow also took up the issue of English hypocrisy in the face of its domination of Ireland and India. In his cartoon (Fig.49) he uses John Bull to accuse Germany of misappropriating Belgium and Poland and then simply applies the converse to Bull who holds Ireland and India in his pocket. The message is simple ; England cannot afford to throw stones.

Reorganisation of Sinn Fein

Gradually the prisoners taken during the Rising were released. Not least as a gesture of goodwill, but because the internment camps where they were being held were doing more to strengthen solidarity than destroy it. Jack Morrow vividly illustrates how Sinn Fein's growing membership was sinking the ship for Dublin Castle, the seat of English authority in Ireland, and with it all the

rats such as Emergency men, English judges and martial law. (Fig.50)

In October of 1917 a meeting was organised by released men, most notably Michael Collins, which resulted in the complete fusion of Sinn Fein with the Republicans under the common title of 'Sinn Fein'. Eamonn de Valera the highest ranking officer to survive Easter week, was appointed President and Arthur Griffiths as vice-president.

Sinn Fein was now the leading representative of the Irish people. As portrayed in Jack Morrows cartoon, (Fig.51), the party fights with the moral right belonging to a nation on its March towards freedom. It is their only weapon against John Bull, on the left, who is greedily holding as many arms as is possible and was now making fresh demands for Irish recruits. The extention of the Compulsory Military Service (conscription) Act of 1915 to Ireland in 1918, enraged Irish people both North and South.

Sinn Fein's stand against such an extention gained them much respect from the electorate. Morrow's cartoon of Lloyd George (Fig.52) is a humourous play on George's alias as the Welsh Wizard. Ireland is something George has been keeping under his hat but he receives a firm "NO" to his plans for conscription in the form of a brick. The gun tagged with the Legend "Shoot don't argue" must refer to the executions of 1916 which were still fresh in Irish minds.

An National election was held after the War in November 1918 which was a landslide victory for Sinn Fein. Some candidates including Griffiths and Cosgrave were still prison, others were in hiding hiding. Of the remaining representatives elected twenty-nine established an Irish Parliament in Dublin called the Dail and elected Eamonn de Valera as President or Taoiseach.

Sinn Fein contested only one election prior to the Rising, and that was a Leitrim county by-election in 1908. A cartoon from the **Lepracaun** by Thomas Fitzpatrick tells the story. (Fig.54) Tom Kelly (on the left) was the fundraiser and publicist for the Sinn Fein candidate, Dolan. At centre is Mr. Sean T.O'Kelly, an active Sinn Fein campaigner who later became a member of the Free State Government of 1921.

Arthur Griffiths, founder and editor of the Sinn Fein party and paper, is represented on the right. Griffiths was a sworn pacifist and preferred the more orthodox method of winning hearts and minds; by winning votes.

The cartoon works on a simple before and after premise which is extremely successful. Fitzpatrick is, as ever, master of his wit and his pen. The appearance of the three men before the

election is crisp with a lot of white balanced against areas of grey to give depth. On their return the subtle, and not so subtle, details of dress combined with increased use of textured line in both the background and the figures denotes failure after a tough fight. The turned up trouser legs, roughly buttoned jackets, Griffith's drooping moustache, not to mention the injuries apparent on Kelly and Dolan - all add up to a party with no future.

That was public opinion in 1908, and Easter 1916 for that matter. Things were not to change until the election in 1918. A Fitzpatrick interpretation of that particular campaign would have been most informative but unfortunately he died in 1912.

The first priority of the Dail was to undermine British authority throughout the country. Ironically the first violent incident of the new regime took place on the same day as the Dail's first assembly. The Campaign of violence was led by Michael Collins who ordered the systematic murder of any civil servant, policeman or politician 'who dared to stand in the path of a nation'. The English reacted swiftly by recruiting Englishmen into the Royal Irish Constabulary (R.I.C) to bolster its flagging ranks. These men were colloquially known as the 'Black & Tans' because of their mixed khaki and police uniforms. This police force is frequently confused with the Auxiliary Military force which consisted of ex-servicemen, a great number of whom had been brutalized by their war experiences. Together they formed a formidable opponent for the ill-equipped and inexperienced Republican army.

Anglo-Irish War. 1919-1921

The attrocities committed on both sides during the War attracted the attention of cartoonists outside Ireland. David Low who was working with **THE STAR** in London at the time, compared British outrages such as the burning of Mallow town, to British colonial policy in India, which resulted in massacres like the one in Amritsar in 1919 (Fig.55). Such "die hard imperialism" (15) was also despised by the American Robert Minor who cartooned Lloyd George's solution to the Irish problem as being a noose.(Fig.56)

While the Anglo-Irish War continued, De Valera sent an envoy to the Post-War Peace Congress in Versailles to plead Ireland's case.

"The world can be at peace only if its life is stable and there can be no stability, where the will is in rebellion."(16) Encouraged by words such as these by Woodrow Wilson the President of the United States, De Valera himself went to America to gain recognition for the Dail but Wilson was not about to upset the status quo he had achieved with America's allies because of Ireland. Grace Gifford, composed a cartoon of De Valera carefully negiotating the tight rope over the League of Nations (Fig.57). He sports a suit of shamrocks and an Irish Republican flag with which he hopes to advertise Ireland's cause. Unfortunately nothing constructive evolved out of either attempts and the Anglo-Irish War continued.

Gifford's cartoon of the events is an interesting interpretation of the difficulties involved in Ireland's crusade but doesn't offer any further information. It merely represents De Valera's visit to the League of nations, and is a vehicle for her caricature. Having said that, it is in fact one of Gifford's better efforts and valuable as such.

The Irish Convention. 1917-1919

In an attempt to at least begin discussions, the new Premier David Lloyd George, organised an Irish Convention which convened in July,1917 until April 1918. Sinn Fein refused to attend the convention and it ended an utter failure.(Fig.58) In 1916 Spex had drawn a cartoon entitled "1917 Home Rule Delivered" The cartoon is nothing if not prophetic. it shows a 'bundle of sticks' which must come together if Home Rule is to become a reality. This is what the conference was about; trying to turn the 'Act' into a 'fact'. It looks an impossible task in O'Hea's cartoon and Sir Horace Plunkett stressed this in his letter to Lloyd George at the end of the conference.
"It would be more correct to say that we had to find a way out of the most complex and anomalous political situations to be found in history - I might almost say in fiction."(17)

Sir Horace was the father of Joseph Plunkett who was one of the signatories to the Declaration of Independence. While his intentions were honourable, Plunketts ultimate demands on behalf of Ireland was Dominion Home Rule and this the Unionists would not grant him. Sinn Fein knew there could be no agreement and had already set their sights higher, on a united Ireland with no alliegience to England. The Grace Plunkett cartoon illustrates this fact, all the more pointedly as she

was Sir Horace's daughter-in-law.(Fig.59) Cathleen ni Houlihan was another pseudonym for Ireland.

Jack Morrow, was not so restrained in his criticism of the conference and its delegates. At the first mention of such a gathering Morrow hit back with his "Irish Ireland"(fig.60) which demonstrates how big a force Sinn Fein had become and could not be simply filed with the rest of Irish problems in the hope of some solution materialising. Morrow also did a parody of Partridge's 'Unconquerable ' (fig.61) Loaded with irony it satires the plight of the Irish M.P.'s who were finding themselves less and less the representatives of the Irish people and were rapidly becoming obsolete. This is brilliantly conveyed by the difference in dress. The M.P wears the uniform of a **Punch** Irishman; knee breeches, cut away coat, and the ever present pipe in the hat. He wears an English Union Jack which is an extra clue in case Morrow made the differences too subtle. Irish people after all, had fallen foul of their own sterotyped image and had learned to recognise it as their own.

The man to the left is in full 'Irish Ireland' dress. This is the uniform, if I may call it that, of the Gaelic League which provided the initial incentive to Pearse, Connolly and Plunkett to renew the fight for autonomy.

The Gaelic League's role was to provide a new image for the new Irish, an identity which later got lost between fact and romantic ideals. If public opinion is oppressing then this new push against Home Rule was similar to the tyranny of the Prussian monarchy and made Irish representatives in Westminster redundant. They had, however, not lost everything as their wages were not at the mercy of public opinion - at least until the next election.

The "Irish Bogus Convention" (Fig.62) needs little explanation. The delegates were so unrepresentative of the Irish people that it was little more than a joke. It is remarkable for one thing only and that is that the Ulster Unionists attended at all. Their stance of "No popery, no surrender!" made compromise on their part impossible and all future discussions were conducted with England as an intermediary.

and religious persecution.

The Republicans, however, were even less prepared to compromise. Partition of Ireland was abhorent to their ideal of a united island. Ernest Kavanagh portrayed Carson and Redmond as being the mutilators of the Nation in his cartoon (Fig 65) which was printed posthumously in 1917. Morrow continues the struggle in his cartoon "That Old Saw" (Fig 66). It was Queen Elizabeth who coined the phrase "Divide and Conquer" a theory which Morrow in his optimism, believed could no longer be effectively applied to Ireland.

Morrow as not oblivious to the fact that there was strong opposition to the Republican movement in the North. His cartoon "The one bright spot" (Fig 67) demonstrates the Dail's perspective on the issue of Ulster. By rejecting the Parliaments established under the Goverment of Ireland Act, the Dail also refused to acknowledge partition as a fact. The one bright spot is a knot of Unionism which vetoes all Irish attempts at independent administration regardless of the will of the majority.

Ulster and Partition

Grace Gifford was one of the few artists who chose to caricature Edward Carson leader of the Unionists. As a caricaturist she does not need a political event to inspire a drawing and is instead the person which provides the material for her satire. "For the cartoonist, in contrast, a personality is the vehicle of an idea, and the idea is the focus"(18).

In her cartoon "Edward Carson about to rebel" (FIg 68) Gifford indulges her contempt for Carson

and the pomp and ceremony which surrounds the militant northern Orange Order. Ulster's anti-Home Rule slogan was "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right" and Gifford's cartoon is her vision of Carson about to keep this promise. Gifford's main concerns as a caricaturist are "Physiognomics, the classification of people into character types according to outward bodily signs .... and that of pathognomics, the interpretation of changing emotions by facial or bodily expression" (19). Gifford accomplishes these with ease but at a rather superficial level. She is not a good draughtsperson even though she was one of the few cartoonists to have the benifit of an art college education (20). Her images never loose that girlish naievity which reduces much of her work to mere pranks rather than serious analytical satire. The handwritten titles which accompany each drawing contain a 'jokey' quality which cues one subliminally to laugh.

The cartoon of Edward Carson (Fig 68) is from a book published in 1919 entitled "To Hold As 'Twere" a line from the Shakespearian play Hamlet which continues: "a distorting mirror up to nature". This is the basic premise of Gifford's art. However, the purpose of her work was to portray amusing idiosyncrasies of character not to give any profound psychological insights to her subjects.

The election which followed the 1920 Act heralded the final defeat for the Irish Nationalist party founded by Isaac Butt in 1870. In Ulster the Parliament was officially opened by King George in June 1921. This inspired Leonard Raven-Hill of **Punch** magazine to depict the new Northern government led by James Craig as pioneers in the wilderness of Ireland (Fig 69). The following July a truce was called and hostilities were brought to an end in Ireland. Negotiations began between Sinn Fein and Lloyd George's coalition government and these resulted in the Treaty of

The Government of Ireland Act 1920.

After the failure of the Convention Lloyd George decided to end the feud between North and South. George had previously promised both sides what they wanted in order to gain their support for election. Now his only option was to let them sweat it out themselves within a political frame work and perhaps further his career by finally solving the Irish question.

The act provided for two Parliaments, one for the six northern counties and another for the remaining twenty six in the south. Both sections protested against the Act but it was passed regardless. A cartoon by Partridge from **Punch** (Fig 63) illustrates the haphazard way in which the Act was meant to function. The hat labeled the "Irish Council" refers to the all Ireland council established in an effort to restore Irish unity. However Sinn Fein refused to recognise either Parliament and Ulster rejected the council.

The Ulster question it would seem, had no answer. The problem was an unusually high concentration of Loyalists to the north east of Ireland, a legacy from the plantation policies instigated during Queen Elizabeth I's reign. They feared being at the mercy of a majority Catholic government and violently demonstrated their fear on the Catholic minority in the North. As shrewd business men, the Unionists also realised that separation from England would be disasterous to their two main industries: shipping and linen. The resulting impasse is illustrated concisely by Morrow (Fig 64). John Bull operates two puppet politicians; Redmond (left) and Carson, leader of the Unionists on the right. The show was often pathetic, being characterised frequently by violence

December 1921. It was not until this date than Sinn Fein formally recognised the partition of Ulster.

Few cartoons on the subject of Ulster appeared in Irish publications after this final separation except for one cartoon by Arthur Booth in the **Dublin Opinion** dated March 1922, which intimates that such a partition was not yet permanent (Fig. 73).

Gordon Brewster, who continued to contribute cartoons to various publications throughout this period, drew a particularly odd cartoon which at first glance makes no sense (Fig 70). The "Untrodden Future" is the united Ireland which was the Republican's dream, and the "Footprints of an "almighty hand" refers to Ulster's refusal to join the new Free State. The Red hand of Ulster (See Fig 71) was Ulster's provincial symbol and frequently equated with Unionist obstancy. Figure 71 is a vignette taken from the **Dublin Opinion** of February 1923. The man holding the paint is James Craig leader of the Ulster Parliament.

One last cartoon on the subject is by Cormac (?) whose type of humour is very typical of any references to Ulster at this time (Fig 72). Ulster's new police force were known as the A and B specials. They were a particularly vicious group and so any jokes at their expense were savoured. Obviously the soldier sitting in the snug is a member of this force and that is why he is startled by the other man's request.

This ends my discussion on the North and its influence on Irish Republican aspirations. In the years which followed the Treaty, the partition of Ulster became a minor issue in comparison to the

immediate dangers of the Irish Civil War. The next chapter is dedicated to the work of the Irish Free State cartoonists 1921 - 1923.

Chapter II

NOTES ON THE TEXT

(1) **Daily Sketch**, (London) 25 April 1916 pg. 3

(2) Sir Arthur Conan Doyle quoted in 'Ireland, Germany & the next War', an essay by Sir Roger Casement in **The Crime Against Europe**. 1915

(3) Ibid

(4) Ibid

(5) Murray quoyed by C.R. Ashbee in **Caricature**, pg. 30

(6) Sir Roger Casement, **Ireland, Germany & the next War**.

(7) **Daily Sketch** (London), 29 April 1916. pg 2

(8) Robert Lynd, **Daily News** (London), 14 Aug. 1922

(9) John Redmond, Parliamentary Speech quoted in the **Daily Sketch** (London) 8 May 1916, pg 3

(10) George Russell (Æ) Salutation from **1916, an anthology** by Harrap 1935

(11) **Catholic Bulletin**, vol.x.v. pg 463, May 1925

(12) **Cappuchin Annual**, pg. 308, June 1921

(13) A.J.P. Taylor, **The First World War**, pg. 141

(14) Charles Stuart Parnell, **Ireland a History**, Robert Kee, pg. 127

(15) David Low, **The Years of Wrath,** pg. 164

(16) Woodrow Wilson quoted in **The Friends of Irish Freedom,** N.Y. 1918 , pg. 7

(17) Count Plunkett in a letter to Lloyd George, **Irish Political Documents 1916 - 1949**, Mitchell & O'Snodaigh

(18) Colin Seymour-Ure, **Politics in Comedy & Caricature**, pg 9

(19) Judith Wechler, **A Human Comedy, Physiognomy & Caricature in 19 Century Paris**, pg 15

(20) Gifford attended the Slade College of art in London, **Daily Sketch** (London), 8 May 1916, pg 3.

CHAPTER III 1921-1923

In this chapter I shall discuss the cartoons of two popular periodicals **Dublin Opinion** and **Ireland's Eye,** with special reference to life in Ireland during the Irish Civil War. In these cartoons we see the progression in style and approach of artists such as Arthur Booth and Gordon Brewster,and the introduction of several new names including Charles Kelly (C.E.K.), Tom Kat and Tom Lalor who often signed his work simply "T".

The improvements visible in composition and technique, combined with a new found confidence augured well for the future of the art of Ireland. However, the attacking bite of the earlier anti-British cartoons inspired by a people pitted against one foreign intruder had disapated in this new generation who was never quite sure who their enemy really was. Artistic allegiance to a particular cause or political party gave way to the freelance cartoonist who was at liberty to satirise whomever was currently in the political limelight or more notably, lurking in the background out of sight. Few of the cartoons speculate or prohesise on contemporary events. They prefer instead to use a third party narrative which delicately skirts the more volatile issues, or offers safe interpretations which are designed not ot offend supporters of either side, or the censor.
The objectives of these two publications was to offer relief from the deadly drabness of life in Ireland during these violent years. They are the voice of a battleweary people, tired of talk and by now, immune to propaganda. As such, **The Dublin Opinion** and **Ireland's Eye** provide a valuable insight to the attitudes and preoccupations of the citizens of the Irish Free State.

Under the Treaty of December 1921, Ireland was to be given an independent government with legislative powers of its own and was to be known as the Irish Free State. Ulster was given a period of one month during which it could secede from the new state and remain in the United Kingdom. Surprisingly, it was not the issue of partition which subsequently caused a split in the Irish administration. The two provisions which caused most dissent were (a) the Oath of Allegiance to the English King and (b) British Naval occupation of seven Irish ports. Objections to the continued presence of British troops on Irish soil are understandable as they represented a threat to the future neutrality of Ireland and would also provide access for a renewed English invasion of Ireland. The Oath of Allegiance was considered as a complete betrayal of everything the Irish people had fought for and was contrary to the Republican aspirations of Sinn Fein.

"The Glittering Gates" by Arthur Booth portrays the dilemma now faced by Ireland's leading politicians; Arthur Griffiths, Michael Collins and Eamon De Valera. "The Glittering Gates" are the entrance to the Irish Free State, the promised land to which Lloyd George holds the key. Tied at George's waist is a gun to be used in the event of non-cooperation from the Irish. The signatories to the Treaty were given the unhappy choice of either signing or suffering an "immediate and terrible war" (1). Collins realised that the I.R.A. could not win a renewed war and so, accepted the Treaty as "the first step"(2) towards Irish freedom. This is why Booth accredits Collins with the mistrustful sentence "I'm a bit doubtful, but I'll try it for a while". Griffith's, on the other hand, was never a man of violence and was happy to have secured a peaceful settlement. Griffiths also realised that Britain was in fact forcing membership of the Commonwealth on Ireland, the basis of which was voluntary association. Therefore, the Treaty was not a final solution as Britain could

not lawfully restrain Ireland from leaving (3). Eamon De Valera holds alternative views to the others and believes it might be easier to get out of Hell than the Free State. De Valera viewed the Treaty as a compromise which was unacceptable to him and a minority of rebel I.R.A. soldiers.

"The GIittering Gates" is quite an accurate representation of the men behind the Treaty and their reasons for accepting or rejecting it. Booth does not pass judgment on the men, the words he has attributed to all three Irishmen can be easily supported by a quick examination of their principles. Michael Collins looks the more aggressive of the three but he was the commander of the I.R.A. and a ruthless politician. Booth's ability to capture a likeness of the politicians is vastly improved from the stiff angularity which characterised his early work. His caricature of Lloyd George is particularly good as he manages to define both George's facial characteristics and his disposition with a minimum of line.

Another cartoon by Booth in the same edition of the **Dublin Opinion** hints that the struggle for automony was not over (Fig 73). A newspaper reporter interviews the ghost of Robert Emmet, the leader of a failed bid to establish a Republic in 1803. In asking for his epitaph, the reporter refers to Emmet's famous speech from the dock before his execution; "Let no man write my epitaph ... when my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then and not till then let my epitaph be written" (4).
Emmet replies firmly "Not yet" as Ireland's status as part of the Commonwealth did not qualify it as a free nation.

Tom Lalor echoes this sentiment in the April issue of **Ireland's Eye** for 1923 (Fig 74). A year

later and the problems remain the same. Ireland had won her liberty but now the question being asked was what is the nature and extent of this freedom? Neither cartoonist offers any solution. They use children and old patriots as fronts through which they voice their thoughts. Safe vehicles for their points which are far from radical. Indeed it is difficult to say for sure what the cartoonists' politics were. Are they merely stating facts or are they against the Treaty? Such a stand against the Treaty could be viewed as seditious which could result in the removal of the offending cartoonist or the closure of the publication. Under such circumstances "The cartoonist .... has a special advantage among the babbling army of critics ... they can insinuate relatively subtle cues and hints as signals of what they think, and thus sometimes say what others dare not" (5). Such cloaked devices as dead heroes and innocent children were successful mouthpieces for the cartoonist who wished to say something more, but safely.

During the Dail debates on the Treaty in January 1922 it became obvious that agreement would not be unanimous. De Valera presented an alternative proposal in the form of his "Document 2" but this was dismissed by the Dail as it had been earlier by the English. Upon its rejection De Valera decided to stand solely for an independent Republic.

Arthur Booth's cartoon for the cover of Dublin Opinion (Fig 76) dated April 1922 illustrates the depth of emotion behind the split, President De Valera unmistakable because of his nose, is drawn as a despairing maiden in the garb of the day. Seated beside him is Arthur Griffiths, the Vice-President to De Valera. He is easily identified by his glasses and moustache and carries a copy of the Treaty in his pocket. Together they make a pathetic picture of childish lovers who must part because they are unable to reconcile their differences. Booth's cartoon is a humorous but

telling indictment of two men who had worked for six years towards the same goal and are now choosing radically different paths to achieving it.

De Valera is perfect for the female role as he was rather gaunt of figure and delicately featured, the exception being his nose. Griffiths was of stocky build with a thick neck and short in stature. Booth's treatment of the two successfully plays on their physical differences to accentuate Griffith's and De Valera's apparent political immaturity. By doing so, Booth also questions whether a compromise is not possible which would save the country from further hardship.

During the discussions, rebel members of the I.R.A. took up positions around Dublin city including the Four Courts. The Free Stage government tolerated such moves until pressure from Westminster forced the Dail to take action. Matters escalated when two renegade I.R.A. volunteers assassinated Sir Henry Wilson in London. Wilson was military advisor to the new Ulster parliament and a valued consultant to the British government on Irish issues. In a graveside speech, Churchill threatened to "resume full liberty of action to safe-guard the rights and interests entrusted to our care" (6). Bonor Law in a similar speech, directly challenged the Dail's authority when he said "I understood that they [Griffiths and Collins] meant to govern;they have not even tried" (7) The Free State had no option but to act, and in June 1922 the Irish Civil War began with an attack on the rebels in the Four Courts.

Booth uses a thinly disguised metaphor of two buddies fishing for the "Big and Good Fish"; the Irish Republic to represent the war. The buddies are of course, De Valera and Griffiths. The "Little

Fish" symbolises the Treaty and in the context of Booth's cartoon (Fig 77), is merely a consolation prize. The process of "disentangling their lines" is a rather euphemistic description for the Civil War but none-the-less is a fair interpretation of the dispute.

Booth's cartoon conjurs up a wonderful picture of two boys whose pleasant day out has turned sour. Improvements in printing and the use of half-tone screens allowed Booth to experiment with a more painterly approach. His caricatures become more subtle than his line drawings as is evident from a brief comparison of figure 77 with Booth's next cartoon figure 78, on Michael Collins.

Michael Collins seldom appeared in the papers or magazines of the time. He was a very secret man and had to preserve his privacy in order to carry out his work as I.R.A. strategist from 1919-1922 and now in his new position as commander of the Civic Guard, the new Free State Force. Collins achieved legendary status during his own lifetime. Partly because of his many ingenious escapes from the British forces but most of the credit must be attributed to the writers and cartoonists who helped perpetuate such myths. One such cartoon is figure 78 by Booth. It is a humourous retrospect on how effectively Collins' intelligence network helped him, not only outwit the Black and Tans, but also make them a laughing stock at the same time.

Booth's treatment of the American tourist is stiff and angular in comparison to the villager. A new stippling technique is used on the villager's coat which, when combined with the softer outline gives a much richer depth than the rather one dimensional American. The line and wash technique is perfect for Booth's cartoon of De Valera and Griffiths (Fig.77). A hard monotone approach would not have communicated the same idyllic country image that the more subtle style does. In

figure 78 Booth is attempting to achieve a degree of that same subtly but without the use of wash. The introduction of mecanical textures into cartoons relieved the artist from such considerations and were used to great effect, when used (Fig. 99).

Booth was less generous when creating images for De Valera. Booth was never cruel in his caricatures but frequently the humourous positions he placed his subjects in were far from flattering."Oh, for a way out" (Fig 79) is an extremely inventive visual impression of De Valera's predicament in 1922. The artist depicts De Valera as being encased in an Irish round tower which was an early christian fortification used against the Normans. De Valera's main objection to the Treaty was the Oath of Alliegance as it was in conflict with past his rhetoric on the Republic. If he yielded to the Free State, De Valera would loose all credability among his followers and hasten the end of his political career. Booth chose to express De Valera's situation by placing him within one of Ireland's oldest symbols. The tower echoes De Valera's physic perfectly which adds to the absurdity of the image. This, combined with the idiotic grin on his face portray De Valera as a man trapped in the past and with no obvious way out who is incapable of helping himself or Ireland.

As the war raged on the Irish peoples' frustration with their political representatives increased. "Give me a chance boys" (Fig 80) is a heartfelt plea for peace from a man labelled "The present generation". They are feeling collectively bruised and battered after the variety of wars and internal strife such as the railway strike and inflationary prices. This cartoon by Tom Lalor of **Ireland's Eye,** is an outstanding example of the new style of cartooning currently in favour. The expressive use of strong black line balanced with generous areas of while imbues this rather straight-forward idea with an impact it would not otherwise contain.

It is also an example of the contemporary switch to a third party narrative which does not allign itself with any party. Instead the cartoonist merely chooses to represent events on a factual basis or communicate the victim's (inevitably the public) point of view in a neutral forum. The public was tired of their government and rejected the propaganda with which they were bombarded in an effort to involve the people on a level similar to the Anglo-Irish war. However, the public was aware of the fact and this is further discussed in the following section.

Propaganda and the People

The problem for the people of Ireland was who to believe. Caught in the middle between pro and anti Treaty troops, there was widespread disillusionment with the self-destructive impulses of their old champion - the I.R.A. The editor of the Irish Review (Nov 1922) spoke for a majority when he wrote "The Republicanism of Tone and of the Fenians sought but to serve Ireland - the pseudo Republicanism to today must ruin if it cannot rule. This country has hardly struggled for so long against foreign tryrany to submit tamely to so mean a native one" (8)

What most people wanted was to begin their new lives without the complications of native hostilities. When the Civil War began they tried to continue as best they could by ignoring the battle and this apathy contributed to prolonging the war itself. The public had become painfully aware of the propaganda which proliferated from both sides and were rapidly becoming immune to their arguments. "What is a poor journalist to do" (Fig 81) captures the dilemma facing those who would attempt to report on the Civil War with impunity .

It is divided into two sections the first of which deals with a Free State Meeting and the impression it created upon the artist. At this meeting Michael Collins was painted as a saint who purged the idyllic isle of the demon De Valera. The document which the "Bad Angel" (De Valera) Holds refers to De Valera's failed alternative to the Treaty. This proposal was one of External Association which gave Ireland independence but allowed co-operation with the Commonwealth in matters of mutual interest such as economics or state security. Collins is dressed in the traditional garb of legendary heroes, embellished with saintly wings and a sword of thunder. What a transformation between this image and the Republican version of the same man in the second part of the cartoon ! Here, Collins and Griffiths are portrayed as the bloodthirsty presectuors of Ireland in a similar mode to Ernest Kavanagh's cartoon of Redmond and Carson (Fig 65) on partition. The Free State block and knife are supplied courtesy of Great Britain and note the man form the publicity department recording the performance in the background. "What is a poor journalist to do?", is a satire on the efforts both pro and anti-Treaty factions were making in order to discredit the other. It also acts as a warning to the more gullable section of the public to be aware of such campaigns and to use their discretion when making judgements.

Charles E Kelly (C.E.K), a cartoonist who was later to become synonymous with the Dublin Opinion, illustrates the latest quandry which faced the people. In his cartoon (Fig 82) a stranger requests the "Truth" which is a magazine. The attendant dryly replies that there was in fact no demand for it in Ireland, thinking that the visitor required an explanation of the Civil War. Kelly's approach is political only in the sense that it reflects the effects that politicians actions are having on

the electorate. I do not believe that there was no demand for the truth. Booth's cartoon (Fig 82) demonstrates that the truth was impossible to decipher. What C.E.K. is focussing on is the resignation and apathy which by 1923 had gripped the country to such an extent that there was no longer any interest in the "truth".

Another cartoon on the same subject uses the devil to express how outrageous some of the claims made by the propagandists were. "I'm a bit of a lair myself" (Fig 83) by Tom Kat is one of the strongest anti-propaganda cartoons from this period. In the cartoon the propaganda poster is not attributed to any particular faction and so applies to all. The devil, a universal symbol of deceit, is intrigued by the lies and almost exclaims that these are beyond even his capabilities. Kat's cartoon could be effectively applied to any situation where propaganda is concerned; but never before in Irish politics, was ridicule applied by the Irish people to the ideals of their fellow Irishmen. The fact is that the struggle which had united all section of the Irish public against British rule had been taken from the people by the politicians and then split in two over the "narrowest party issue". (9).

The style of cartooning used in both Fig 82 and 83 is increasingly typical of Irish cartoons of the period which were I feel, prompted by the work of Strube, Poy and Bateman in England and are precusors of the **New Yorker** approach to socio-political cartooning. Kelly has not as yet, perfected his technique but his command of expressive anatomy and his eye for detail intimate an excellence yet to come.

Kat on the otherhand was already producing accomplished work similar in style to Tom Lalor, his co-worker in **Ireland's Eye**. Both artists favoured the brush as a tool rather than the pen and this

gives their cartoons a clarity of line and energy sometimes missing in the work of the **Dublin Opinion** cartoonists.

The next cartoon by Tom Kat (Fig 84) illustrates the detrimental effect politics and propaganda were having on the fabric of Irish life. "The heavy stuff" has left this family dazed and drawn, unable to communicate and unhealthy. Kat conveys the feeling or boredom through the haunched shoulders, lank hair and downcast or glazed eyes of his characters. What they need more of it the fabled Irish life of curly-haired boys and bonny girls dancing and merrymaking to music. Through such a release, the dishevelled, bespectacled unit of four metamorphosize into a robust and energetic family with a zest for life who *are* the "soul" of Ireland.

What Kat is demanding is a departure form the stagnant academia which preoccupied Ireland's intelligentsia and to begin living the life promised to the people as a reward for their patience and support.The next section deals with now the Irish people coped with the stress of life during the Civil War while waiting, like Tom Kat, for normal life to resume.

Life During Wartime

The split of the Government into pro and anti-Treaty groups also had reprecussions for Irish society. This difference of opinion caused many old friends to part company and even fight against each other. James Joyce, now writing in France, said "In the Dublin of my day there was a kind of desperate freedom which comes from a lack of responsibility, for the English were in governance

then, so everyone said what he liked. Now I hear since the Free State came in there is actually less freedom"(10). Feelings ran high as regards politics in Ireland and it was often dangerous to express one's opinion too vocally.

Tom Kat composed an excellent cartoon on this subject and traced the development of one such argument in six steps. Two old friends meet and jovially engage in conversation. A member of the Civic Guard passes by and causes one man toprotest that the Civic Guard is actually a British force designed to prevent the formation of a Republic. The Civic Guard was the new Free State army established by Michael Collins after the Treaty. It consisted of ex-I.R.A. members and fresh recruits from the country. There was English support but only in the form of 10,000 rifles donated to help the army in it's early stages (11)

The style of the cartoon is vintage Kat. The brief lines fluently describe and add movement to the figures while the variety of facial expressions help convey the range of emotions the men are experiencing. In six simple steps, Kat has captured a scene which every Irish person must have been familiar with. In choosing his characters, I think Kat consciously drew the anti-Treaty man as thin and with a long nose, which were De Valera's hallmarks. The pro Treaty supporter is mildly reminiscant of Arthur Griffiths who died the previous August. The only items missing are the spectacles which Griffiths was never without.

Humour was now more than ever, a necessary release from tension and anger. "Humour had become a shield against reality"(12). Even when one's livelihood was destroyed because of the war like Charles Kelly's Fruit Vendor (Fig. 86). The ludicracy of the old lady's suggestion that

she would take a can-opener to the soldier's tank is Dublin humour at its best. The complete version of the slogan written on the turret, I would think is, "September '98" or "Remember '98". This refers to the first Republican revolution led by Wolfe Tone in 1798. A song written to commemorate the rising called "Who fears to speak of '98" goes as follows: "How did they pass the Union (Act of Union 1800), by perjury and Fraud, by slaves who sold their land for gold as Judas sold his God". This leads me to assume that the tank is part of the anti-Treaty forces as the analogy between the failed 1798 attempt and the current debacle are unavoidable.

Many jokes about life in the army filled the pages of both the **Dublin Opinion** and **Ireland's Eye**. Figures 87 and 88 deal with the soldiers left in Dublin after the initial battle which left the Gresham Hotel in ruins. Figure 87 by Booth and figure 88 by C.E.K. show their amazing similarity in style which would make one think the cartoons were by the same artist. C.E.K's cartons greatly improved in later years which leads me to assume that Booth was the elder of the two and was C.E.K's mentor at this time.

A second cartoon by Booth is rich in humour and takes its cue from the prolonged trench warfare of World War One. Booth applies this familiar scenario to the current impasse reached in the Civil War and exaggerates it by picturing the soldiers still entrenched in 1968. Booth could see no immediate solution to the war but opted for a lighthearted comic satire on the situation.

Other cartoonists were more pessimistic when dealing the with subject. Figure 90 for example depicts a haunched old man waiting for peace to be announced. A sarcastic policeman tells him to go home as he is more likely to be dead before the War ends. This kind of dark humour is

uncharacteristic of the general run of cartoons but is nonetheless symptomatic of the lack of faith the public had in their leaders and their ability to end the war.

Such a lack of faith drove many cartoonists to deride the very men who were trying desperately to find a solution to the war. The two anonymous cartoons which follow are examples of the types of attack T.D.'s were subjected to. The first is "T-D-eum"(fig 91),is a joke which makes a mockery of the Irish Parliament and implies that the representatives of the people do nothing all day. T.D.'s were the victims of many a gag, but the theme which reoccurs most often is their inability to do anything constructive for Ireland. The second cartoon (Fig 92), is more blatant in its accusation and compares a T.D. to Nero who fiddled while Rome burned. This is quite a vicious cartoon and I believe seeks "to do more than amuse or make one sign out a 'well, that life', it tries to influence the viewer to a particular action"(13). While I do not believe that the "action" is necessarily military, I see it as an attempt to shock the viewer into an awareness of the damage been done to the country while the politicians stand idly by.

The editor of the **Irish Review** wrote in November of 1922 that "Ireland is at the moment suffering the apathy that follows exhaustion ... the strange spectacular years that have passed have left a bewildered people who have come through so many dangers, view the rise of this one with indifference"(14). It is this indifference which permits the rather unemotional contemplation of the destruction of Ireland's landmarks and infastructure.

"The imperturbable Dubliners" (Fig.93) by Tom Lalor is a cartoon about Irish complacency in the face of danger. Lalor combines his drawing of a queue to see "Smilin' through", a World War I

movie,which is casually oblivious to the real life drama going on behind them, with a warning from the cinema's management about the violence contained in the film. At first this cartoon appears as a celebration of the Irish peoples' ability to come 'smilin' through'. However, the irony in the bottom sentence gives the cartoon a new meaning. It serves to underline the Irish peoples' inability to accept the Civil War and their tendency to ignore it as an issue of National importance.

With the death of two of Ireland's most distinguished leaders; Collins and Griffiths the Civil War took a new turn. The Dail executive now headed by Liam Cosgrave had to take drastic actions against the rebel I.R.A. in order to secure their authority. It is this latter half of the war which is next discussed.

Civil War Part II

After the death of Collins and Griffiths in August 1922, Liam Cosgrave was appointed Prime Minister or Taoiseach, by King George V. The task which lay ahead was an unenviable one. As Kevin O'Higgins,a member of the executive, discribed the new government; they were "simply eight young men in the City Hall standing amidst the ruins of one administration with the foundations of another not yet laid, and with wild men screaming through the keyhole"(15). The rebelI.R.A. having had only limited success in the earlier stages of the War had adopted new measures which included sectarian killings, bombing public buildings and robbery.
The State could not guard against such irregular methods and so the new executive had to find a counter attack which would put an end to the hostilities.

On the cover of **Dublin Opinion** for October 1922, Booth cartoons Cosgrave as a man whose bicycle tires are severely punctured, apparently beyond repair. "Wanted-Some Solution"(Fig.94) is an example of the current tendency to trivialise affairs of State and reduce them to a frivolous level as in Fig.94. The crisis facing Cosgrave and his cabinet demanded a metaphor of more weight than mere bicycle repairs ! Nevertheless Booth's caricature of Cosgrave redeems the cartoon from my point of view, as it is an accurate description of both Cosgraves face and his diminutive stature.

In September of 1922, the Dail passed an Emergency Powers Bill which allowed the State to shoot any rebels who had refused to surrender, in the event of their subsequent capture.The Free State executed approximatly seventy seven men over the next few months (16) including leaders of the rebels who had been taken during the bombing of the Four Courts in the early stages of the War. An anonymous pamphlet, which I would date circa. January 1923, appeared which contained vicious attacks on seven of the eight members of the executive. I give this date as O'Higgins does not appear in the pamphlet which means it was published after his assassination in December 1922. The pamphlet consisted of a caricature of each man accompanied by a title eg. "Jester in chief to the Freak State"(Fig. 95) and a satirical description of his function in the State. The drawings are of a poor standard but expressive enough to adequately represent its' subjects. If the style of the cartoon was too pronounced it could result in the anonymity of the artist being destroyed and his subsequent arrest for sedition.

Figure 95 shows "Comic Cosgrave....as seen by the empire. "He plays 'the British card' which could be understood in the context of British politicians playing the 'Ulster Card' as did Sir Randolph Churchill (Winston's father) in order to gain political power. Cosgrave was appointed directly by King George V as was his prerogative under the Treaty. The rebels saw Cosgrave as an English infiltrator who gained his position because of his alliegience to Britain. I believe that is the basis of the satire in the drawing and the short paragraph below it.

The cartoon of Richard Mulcahy (Fig.96) is quite a vicious attack on the part Mulcahy played in the execution of I.R.A. rebels. He is compared with Lady Macbeth who committed murder so her husband could be king.The skin on the knees and face is taunt and withered yet the artist missed a good opportunity to add to the drama when he declined to treat Mulcahy's hands in similar fashion. It seems to me that the hands of a murderer, especially when coupled with the famous hand washing scene from Macbeth, should be the centre of attention.
At any rate the pamphlet is an uncompromising assault on the Free State government which is the only example of such propaganda still in existance. It is difficult to predict the effect of such material on the people particularly when no information is available as to its origins and circulation. It's purpose is undoubtably to influence individuals to an anti-Treaty point of view, but such wild accusations as are contained within the pamphlet, convince me that the material could have had no effect except on the already converted.

As the executions continued the I.R.A. fell into disarray. The majority of the rebel leaders had either been imprisoned or shot and so the Free State government appeared to be back in control. The people were skeptical about talks of peace and were slow to believe that the War was ending. "April Fool?" by Booth appeared on the cover of the **Dublin Opinion** in April 1923 and reflects the grass roots feeling of mistrust.(Fig.97) I do not believe there is any connection between Booth's Jester and the **Free State Freak's**"comic Cosgrave". Booth's cartoon is a purely allegorical questioning of the Government's promises of peace. It would be a cruel joke to play and Booth conveys this in the face of his Jester who leads the delicate representative of peace to Ireland.

Booth need not have worried because the following May De Valera, who had briefly disappeared from the political scene, ordered the I.R.A. to dump arms. DeValera never had any real control over the actions of the I.R.A and some pockets of rebels continued to fight regardless. The I.R.A proper, had been absorbed during the course of the Civil War, into the Free State army and the Civic Guard. The small group of radicals who refused to compromise eventually abandoned their irregular tactics and simply left the country either to organise foreign support or to fight in other Wars such as Spain. The final effect of the Irish Civil War was to kill Republicanism as a political force in Ireland.(17) DeValera realised this and that is why he disassociated himself from "this collection of warring personalities"(18) only to re-emerse having finally found his way out.(See Fig.79)

Tom Lalor was not convinced that the rebels would unconditionally surrender arms. In his cartoon "Goodbye, forever?" (Fig.98) he voices his doubts as to the I.R.A.'s sincerity. Three volunteers are seen weeping as they hide their weapons under the floor boards. Lalor leaves open to interpretation whether the men are crying for Ireland or because the War is over. The fact that the guns are only being hidden as opposed to being destroyed, implies that the present ceasefire is of a temporary nature and could easily be reversed. I believe these ambiguities to be intentional in the cartoon. Lalor is celebrating the end of the War but is pessimistic about the future.

Lalor's technique is superior to Booth's. He is a more accomplished draughtsman and displays a greater capacity for creating tension or atmosphere within a cartoon. Having said that, Booth was the more prolific of the two and the whole course of the struggle from 1914 to 1923 could easily be documented by a study of his work alone. What Booth lacked was an anger, a passionate involvement in the situations which would then be reflected in his cartoons. Instead Booth preferred to observe the antics of Irish and English politicians and report them in a cool calm manner embellished with wit.

However few of his contemporaries, with the exception of Ernest Kavanagh and Michael Reidy, chose to use their talents to further the cause of any organisation other that their publisher. Cartoonists such as Tom Kat and C.E.K. viewed the events and personalities of the Civil War as material for the amusement of the populous and so did not communicate the magnitude of situation. If they did it is not evident from their contributions to the **Dublin Opinion** or **Ireland's Eye**. The cutting criticism of Jack Morrow and E.K. has been replaced with a superior style and a form

of attack softened with humour. This is not neccessarily the result of an inferior knowledge of politics but is largely due to the lack of demand for such work and the dangers of offending the censor.

Peace

The crisis was finally resolved in the National election of 1923. De Valera was elected regardless of the fact that he was in prison at the time for a seditious speech. Although he refused to enter the Dail until 1927 because of the Oath of Allegiance, De Valera initiated a renewed political, non-violent, campaign to remove Ireland from the Commonwealth and towards a unified Republic (An approach which, I fail to understand why, was not pursued in 1922). For the people it meant peace. The realisation of hundreds of generations dreams; an Ireland for the Irish and ruled by the Irish. Many cartoonists joined the masses with enthusiasm in predicting the Ireland of the future. George Monks for example began a series called "Brighter Dublin" (Fig. 99) There is a joyous excitement and energy in this picture; Monk's vision of a perfect harmony between Irish work and play. In the "O'Connell Street Lounge", Irish men sit in cosy armchairs enjoying the music from the pillar, the idea of which isa delightful fantasy in itself. Or have drinks served to them to further their pleasure, and naturally everything is free ! The cartoon is a hive of activity with endless areas of interest for the eye to dwell on.

Monk's composition is excellent. The banner announcing the band on Nelson's tower draws ones eye up to the curious group of musicians whose conductor irreverantly perches on Nelson's head. The pillar itself leads one to the diminutive citizens below who are engaged in the 'normal' routines of life. This is a peculiarly Irish vision of perfection which would have been received with squeals of glee from its viewers around the country. What better way was there to begin one's new life that to music, enjoyed from the comfort of an armchair, with good conversation and a glass in one's hand?

The Cartoons of the Civil War display an advanced awareness of modern techniques and movements in the cartoon world which is evident in their style. Though, as Charles Press said, even their "humour didn't prick much for political purpose" (19).

In an attempt to relieve the Citizens of Ireland from the realities of life during this new trouble, the Political Cartoonist lost his way between serious criticism and dishing out mild reprimands, sugar coated to please the people.

However the Cartoonist is a part of this people. He too, had suffered the many altercations down the years and was now tired of fighting. It is as if they accepted that politicians did not change their policies because of a few satirical sketches. Instead the Cartoonists opted to ridicule their leaders and in doing so, destroyed the aura which separated politicians from the people and prevented them from ever achieving the respect reserved for the Men of 1916.

Chapter III

NOTES ON THE TEXT

(1) **Cry Blood, Cry Erin,** R. Fitzgerald p.159

(2) **Irish Review,** vol. V, p. 36 , 1968

(3) **Irish Review,** vol. 5 p.40 1968

(4) Robert Emmett, **Ireland a History,** Robert Kee

(5) Charles Press **The Political Cartoon,** p.52

(6) Winston Churchill **The Daily News,** (London) 27 June 1922

(7) Bonar Law **The Daily News** (London) 27 June 1922

(8) **Irish Review,** p.15 1922

(9) **Irish Review,** 1922

(10) James Joyce quoted in **The Crane Bag,** UCD

(11) Robert Kee **Ireland a History,** p. 195

(12) Frank Huggett **The Cartoonist at War,** p.133

(13) Alan Dunne quoted in **The Political Cartoon,** Charles Press

(14) **Irish Review,** 1922

(15) **Irish Review**, Vol V. 1968 pg. 83

(16) Robert Kee **Ireland a History**, pg. 201

(17) **Irish Review**, current affairs, pg.2 ,1922

(18) Ibid

(19) Charles Press **The Political Cartoon**, pg. 344

Conclusion

In the book Ireland & the English crisis F.H Bradley noted that "in general we reflect not to find the facts but to prove our theories at the expense of them"(1). In setting out to write this thesis I was in essence, attempting to do the opposite. I hoped to discover the facts through the visual theories which surrounded them. Cartoons are by their nature, not facts. They are personal responses to, or impressions of, the facts which themselves may be distorted because of censorship and prejudice.

As a chronicle of Irish history from 1914 to1923, these cartoons serve as an introduction to the thoughts of a nation. As C.R Ashbee said "the greater understanding of history lies a little behind the picture"(2). That the artistic standard of the earlier cartoons is low reflects aspects of Irish life and the difficulties it entailed. If analyzed from a strictly aesthetic point of view most of the cartoons, with the exception of chapter three, fail dismally. However, they do fullfil Charles Presses' criteria for a good cartoon as they all contain humour, biting scarcasm, knowledge of politics, imagination and skepticism.(3) They also acts as a yard-stick by which to measure the visual development ofthe Irish cartoonist and his audience to a maturity comparable to their European counterparts.

Such a coming of age is apparent in the departure from the romantic idealism of 1916 to the healty scepticism and new sophistication of 1923. The cartoons tell the story themselves; "They are the abstract and brief chronicles of the time "(4).

Conclusion

Notes on the text

1 F.H.Bradley **Ireland and the English crisis** Tom Paulin pg. 155

2 C.R. Ashbee **Caricature** pg 12

3 Charles Press **The Political Cartoon** pg. 344

4 Shakespeare **Macbeth** Act I sc. ii.

List of illustrations

1 Harper's Weekly, December 1876 **Dressed to Kill** John Darby 1983

2 J.F. O'Hea (SPEX) "Reciprocity" Pat 1880 **Apes & Angels** L.P. Curtis

3 Arthur Booth (?) **Dublin Opinion** May 1922

4 Anonymous **Dublin Opinion** September 1922

5 Arthur Booth "Sole Survivor of the Irish Race" **Dublin Opinion** April 1923

6 C.V. O'Connor "Douglas Hyde" **A Book of Caricatures** 1915

7 Michael Reidy **Irish Fun**, March 1915

8 Liam o Maol "Ireland Gives" **Goblin**, 22 January 1916

9 Arthur Booth "The British Treasury" **The Goblin**, 22 January 1916

10 Gordan Brewster "Cork Hill Economist" **The Quiz**

11 J. F. O' Hea (Spex) "Business As Usual" **The Quiz**

12 "The Profiteer's Flag" New York World **The First World War** A.J.P. Taylor .

13 Jack Morrow "Another Peace Report" **Morrow's political cartoon album**
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14 Jack Morrow "The Allied War Aims" **Morrow's political cartoon album**
National Liabrary of Ireland

15 Alfred Leene "Britons" **The First WorldWar**. A.J.P Taylor

16 "Women of Britain Say Go" **The First World War** A.J.P.Taylor

17 "Will You Go Or Will I ?" **Cry Blood, Cry Eirn**, R. Fitzgerald

18 "Remember The Women of Belgium" **Cry Blood, Cry Eirn**

19 Jay Gerrard "English Slacker" **The Goblin,**1916

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Fig. 10 Gordan Brewster: "Cork Mill Economist" **The Quiz**, 1916

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Fig. 12 "The Profiteer's Flag" New York World,
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Fig. 14 Jack Morrow: "The Allied War Aims" Ibid

Fig. 15 Alfred Leene: "Britons" **The First World War**, A.J.P. Taylor

Fig. 16 "Women of Britain Say - Go!" Ibid

Fig. 17 "Will You Go or Must I?" **Cry Blood, Cry Erin**, R. Fitzgerald

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Fig. 25 Ernest Kavanagh: "Bulmer Hobson and the Peeler" Ibid

Fig. 26 Ernest Kavanagh: "Bulmer Hobson, an Irish Volunteer and John Bull" Ibid

Fig. 27 Micheal Reidy: "This is Ireland's War" **Irish fun**

Fig. 28 Micheal Reidy: "The Double Duty" **Irish Fun**, Dec 1915

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Fig.34 Micheal Reidy: "Eire's Choice" **Irish Fun**, 1915

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Fig. 41 Louis Raemaekers: "Great Britain of Ireland" Ibid

Fig. 42 Will Dyson: "Before They Charge" **Daily Sketch** (London) p. 3 April 1916

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Fig. 44 H.G.Dart: "What America thinks" **Cry Blood, Cry Erin**, R. Fitzgerald

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Fig. 46 Republican Poster **Cry Blood, Cry Erin,** R.Fitzgerald

Fig. 47 "Unconquerable" Poster, **Cry Blood, Cry Erin,** R. Fitzgerald

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Fig.61 Jack Morrow: "Unconquerable", 7 July 1917, Ibid

Fig. 62 Jack Morrow: "Irish Bogus Convention",14 July 1917, Ibid.

Fig. 63 Bernard Partridge: "The Kindest Cut of All" **A Cartoon History of Britain**, Wynn- Jones

Fig. 64 Jack Morrow: "Prof. John Bull" op. cit.

Fig. 65 Ernest Kavanagh: "The Nation Mutilators" Ibid.

Fig. 66 Jack Morrow: "Divide & Conquer" Ibid.

Fig. 67 Jack Morrow: "The One Bright Spot" Ibid

Fig. 68 Grace Gifford Plunkett: "Edward Carson about to Rebel" **To hold as 'twere**, 1919

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Fig. 99 George Monks: "The O' Connell St. Lounge" **Ireland's Eye**, May 1923

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