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The Transatlantic Paddy: The Making of a Transnational Irish Identity in Nineteenth-Century America

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Kathleen Diane McGuire

June 2009

Dissertation Committee:
Dr. Rebecca Kugel, Chairperson
Dr. Thomas Cogswell
Dr. Molly McGarry

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The Dissertation of Kathleen Diane McGuire is approved:

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Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Transatlantic Paddy: The Making of a Transnational Irish Identity in Nineteenth-Century America

by

Kathleen Diane McGuire

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in History
University of California, Riverside, June 2009
Dr. Rebecca Kugel, Chairperson

This dissertation addresses the image of Irishmen in political cartoons from England, Ireland and the United States during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The image of “Paddy,” as this violent Irish figure was popularly called, which was so pervasive in the British and Anglo-American political cartoons of the late nineteenth century has provided scholars with a new medium for re-examining American and British attitudes towards the Irish. It is important to note, however, that the variety of Irishmen depicted in political cartoons from the late nineteenth-century offer a more nuanced picture of Irish experiences during the period than can be found in the image of “Paddy” alone. Furthermore, scholars have not paid similar attention to images produced by the Irish themselves. This dissertation addresses the issue of the Irish image in cartoons by utilizing a transnational framework that compares images of the Irish produced by Anglo-

Americans and Britons, with Irish images of themselves with a particular emphasis on the 1880s. This decade was chosen for two specific reasons; not only was the Irish nationalist movement particularly vibrant during this decade, but it also was the decade in which Irishmen produced cartoons on a consistent basis. This dissertation will show that the American Irish-produced cartoons concentrated on the theme of Irish nationalism, rather than addressing the prejudices of British and American cartoons or exploring the Irish experience in the United States, subjects one might expect they would address, given their prevalence in the mainstream press. Additionally, this dissertation reaffirms the importance of the burgeoning scholarship associated with political cartoons and their value as a tool for historical analysis. As the first in-depth study of Irish-American produced political cartoons in the 1880s, this dissertation opens up a variety of new avenues for scholarly investigation concerning the experiences of the American Irish in the nineteenth century.

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Introduction

Figure 0.1: Thomas Nast, "The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things," in *Harper's Weekly,* September 2, 1871

The above image, "The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things," drawn by the famous *Harper's Weekly* cartoonist Thomas Nast, depicts the stereotypical Irishman of the late nineteenth century.[1] With a simianized face and drunken demeanor, this ranting Irishman embodied every preconceived notion that Anglo-Americans and Britons had of the Irish in this period. Even the cartoon's title suggests that this is a typical Irishman, behaving in the predictable "usual" manner. Similar depictions could be found in Anglo-American and British political cartoons from the 1850s to the 1890s. Yet these were not

[1] Thomas Nast, "The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things," in *Harper's Weekly*, September 2, 1871.

the only ways in which Anglo-American and British cartoonists portrayed the Irish, nor do they reflect Irish views of themselves. On both sides of the Atlantic Irishmen created their own political cartoons in the nineteenth century, which showcased their political goals and objectives, as well as their social and economic concerns.

The image of "Paddy," as this violent Irishman was popularly called, and was so pervasive in the Anglo political cartoons of the late nineteenth century, has provided scholars with a source for re-examining American and British attitudes towards the Irish. It is important to note, however, that the variety of Irishmen depicted in political cartoons offer a more nuanced picture of Irish experiences during the period than can be found in the image of "Paddy" alone. Furthermore, scholars have not paid similar attention to images produced by the Irish themselves. This dissertation addresses the issue of the Irish image in cartoons by utilizing a transnational framework that compares images of the Irish produced by Anglo-Americans and Britons, with images of themselves with a particular emphasis on the 1880s. Not only was the Irish nationalist movement extremely vibrant during this decade, but it also was the decade in which Irishmen produced cartoons on a consistent basis. Ultimately, this dissertation will show that the American Irish-produced cartoons concentrated on the theme of Irish nationalism, rather than addressing the prejudices of British and American cartoons. Likewise, Irish-produced cartoons rarely explored the Irish experience in the United States, two subjects one might expect they would address, given their prevalence in the mainstream press.

Irish immigrants to the United States and their descendents played an integral and evolving role within American society during the latter half of the nineteenth century,

while at the same time seeking to improve the conditions and status of their native homeland. As those who fled from the Potato Famine in the 1840s and 1850s adjusted to life in America, millions more arrived in the 1870s and 1880s, due to limited economic and social opportunities in Ireland and the hope of better prospects in the United States, creating an ethnic and religious minority that stirred feelings of fear and hostility amongst Anglo-Saxon Protestant Americans.[2] American Irish, and especially Catholic Irish, were systematically excluded from the "best society," were discriminated in housing and jobs, as well as being ridiculed in the press and in popular culture, and struggled to find their own place in the United States. Indeed, scholars in recent decades have struggled to understand both the harsh "nativist" attacks directed at Irish-Americans by Anglo-Americans in the mid-nineteenth century, and also the ways in which Irishmen in the United States sought to "become white" in response to these attacks.[3] One such scholar, Matthew Frye Jacobson, argues that Irish struggles to formulate a racial identity in the United States were intimately intertwined with Ireland's struggles for independence from Great Britain in the late nineteenth-century. He asserts, "The language of racial unity was among the staples of Irish nationalist polemic, and nationalist leasers continually sounded the chords of racial obligation and a race-bound group destiny in their efforts to keep the overseas Irish oriented toward the homeland and towards the promise of its

[2] Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America*, (NY: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[3] Scholarship on Irish negotiations with race, and "whiteness" in particular, revolve largely around the works of three scholars. Daniel Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class,* (London: Verso, 1991); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White,* (NY: Routledge, 1995); Matthew Frye Jacobsen, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); and Matthew Frye Jacobsen, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish and Jewish Immigrants in the United States*, (Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 2002).

eventual liberation."[4] While the extent to which Irish-American's sought to "construct whiteness" is still debated among scholars, the importance of Irish nationalism to the Irish community in the United States during the late nineteenth-century is certain.

As Irish-Americans navigated the often hostile waters in the new world, they also kept a vigilant eye on the struggles of friends and family left behind. Ireland's centuries-long struggle with the British colonial rule, in particular its landowning system inspired both her inhabitants and her exiles never to forget their homeland and to seek radical, even revolutionary changes in her condition. The Irish nationalist movement was truly a transnational experience in the nineteenth century. Certainly, it occupied a great deal of attention of both Irish and Britons in Ireland and Great Britain, but Irish nationalism also impacted the life of the American Irish in tangible ways. The Irish population in the United States continued to support the Irish cause of independence, both emotionally and financially, even as they faced a variety of new difficulties in their adopted home. Historians have devoted a substantial amount of attention and scholarship to exploring the extent to which Irish nationalism was woven into the fabric of the American Irish experience. Historian Thomas Brown has argued that the nationalist movement had a direct impact on Irish influence and power in the United States, saying, "In the course of raising hundreds of thousands of dollars for the agitation in Ireland, the American Irish made themselves a force in American national life."[5] As Brown saw it, the Irish community's ability to organize on such a large scale, at least financially, appeared

[4]Jacobsen, *Whiteness of a Different Color,* 51.

[5] Thomas Brown, *Irish-American Nationalism*, *1870-1890,* (NY: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1966), 178.

threatening to Anglo-Americans who feared that the Irish would turn that organizational focus toward overpowering the American establishment. Brown's assessment of Irish nationalism coincides with that of historian Lawrence McCaffrey, who ten years after Brown noted that Irish nationalism ranked highly in importance, along with Democratic politics and Catholicism, with Irish-Americans.[6] On the other hand, historian Kevin Kenny took a somewhat different stance on Irish nationalism, arguing that support for Irish independence varied among the American Irish, based on class concerns. Specifically, Kenny concludes, "It is fair to say that, in general, the 'lace curtain' or middle-class Irish, many of them second generation, were the least likely to support radicalism or extremism. They had little to gain, and often much to lose, by social reform in either Ireland or the United States."[7] Ultimately, for scholars of Irish nationalism, it is difficult to ignore the contribution of the American Irish to the cause of Irish independence. Indeed, based solely on Irish-American produced newspapers and political cartoons, it is clear that the nationalist movement occupied a central place in the nineteenth-century American Irish community.

Several scholars have examined the Irish image in British and American political cartoons, however, while others have considered the nationalist image in cartoons from Ireland.[8] These works are examples of the benefits for scholars of utilizing political

[6] Lawrence McCaffrey, *The Irish Diaspora in America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1976).

[7] Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (London: Longman, 2000), 175.

[8] The major works on political cartoons and the Irish are as follows: L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971). Joel A. Hollander, "'Beauty and the Best': Depiction of Irish Female Types During the Era of Parnell,

cartoons as a tool of historical analysis.[9] They offer insights into the complex imagery surrounding the Irish in the late nineteenth century. The first of these works, by historian L. Perry Curtis, serves as the standard for scholarship of the Irish in nineteenth century political cartoons. He examined late Victorian political cartoons by utilizing the nineteenth-century technique of physiognomy, the practice of discerning character traits from physical features. In his exploration of British depictions of the Irish, Curtis concluded that Victorian cartoons and caricatures evolved over the second half of the nineteenth century, with the Irish figures becoming increasingly distorted and grotesque as the tension between Great Britain and Ireland increased.[10]

While primarily concentrating on British depictions of the Irish, Curtis attempted to broaden his scope transnationally, dedicating a chapter to "Irish-American Apes." He noted that Thomas Nast, the famous *Harper's Weekly* cartoonist, was one of the earliest Americans to simianize or depict the Irish with ape-like faces. Likewise, Curtis noted

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1880-1891," in *Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination,* ed. Lawrence W. McBride, (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999), 53-72. Lawrence W. McBride, "Nationalist Political Illustrations and the Parnell Myth, 1880-1900," in *Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination*, ed. Lawrence W. McBride, (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999), 73-94. Maureen Murphy, "Bridget and Biddy: Images of the Irish Servant Girl in *Puck* Cartoons, 1880-1890," in *New Perspectives on the Irish Diaspora*, ed. Charles Fanning, (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 152-175. Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882,* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004).

[9] In addition to the brief scholarship on Irish figures in political cartoons, other historians have recently examined the value of cartoons as a tool for historical analysis. In particular the work of Joshua Brown, who looks at the illustrated newspaper as a precursor to the political cartooning of the 1880s, and Martha Banta, who examines the "barbaric" nature of European civilization as seen in political cartoons from *Punch* and *Life.* Joshua Brown, *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America,* (Berkely, CA: University of California Press, 2002); and Martha Banta, *Barbaric Intercourse: Caricature and Culture of Conduct, 1841-1936,* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[10] L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971).

that other American humor journals often published cartoons featuring simianized Irishmen, though occasionally journals such as *Puck* and *Judge* offered a different perspective of the Irish. These aberrations were few, however, and Curtis argued that American cartoonists regularly followed the British model in depicting the Irish.

Ultimately, Curtis concluded that late nineteenth-century cartoons of the Irish offer scholars insight into both the Anglo-Irish relationship of the period, as well as Victorian attitudes towards race, ethnicity and class. In the end, Curtis argued that Victorian notions of class fueled British depictions of the Irish more than racial and ethnic concerns, saying: "cartoons about Anglo-Irish relations …. owed much of their inspiration to the domestic concerns of the Victorian governing class."[11] Curtis' examination of political cartoons of the Irish opened the door for other scholars to probe deeper into the subject of Irish political cartoons.

Building upon Curtis' work, historian Michael de Nie broadened the scope of his investigation, looking at both the text and images that the British press used to shape Irish identity in the nineteenth century.[12] By examining the articles and editorials written about the Irish, as well as cartoon depictions of the Irish published in the British press, de Nie argued that stereotypes about race, religion and class dictated the British conception of Irish identity, with his emphasis on the religious divisions between the British and the Irish as the largest difference between his work and that of Curtis. De Nie argued that, " … chauvinistic notions of Ireland's racial, class and religious identity were fundamental

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[11]Curtis, xii.

[12] Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882,* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004).

to British constructions of Paddy and Paddyism, to the hierarchal relationship of Ireland and Britain, and instrumental in how Britons interpreted the Irish question and Irish policy."[13] While de Nie's primary argument revolved around British views of the Irish, he also did devote some attention to the part Irish-Americans played in British depictions of the Irish.

In particular, he observed a distinct change in the way the Irish were depicted from the 1860s to the 1880s. During the 1880s, when Irish nationalist leaders looked increasingly to the American Irish community for financial and emotional support, the British press began blaming Irish-Americans for the "altered" behavior of the Irish in Ireland. As de Nie noted, "In addition to condemning the tactics of the Land League [an Irish nationalist organization, formed in Ireland], the [British] press also derided the role of Irish Americans and Irish American money" in the nationalist struggle.[14] By implicating the American Irish in actions taken by the Land League, de Nie asserted that the British press hoped to create an identity for the Irish in Ireland that was separate from the identity of Irish immigrants, one that condemned Irish-Americans for intensifying tensions between Britain and Ireland.

De Nie's study of Irish identity based on the stereotypes formed in the nineteenth-century British press is a good example for scholars seeking to understand the ways in which political cartoons both shaped and reflected the Irish image of the period. Moreover, de Nie echoes Curtis' argument that political cartoons of the Irish also

[13] De Nie, 5.

[14] Ibid., 213.

reflected underlying concerns within British society as well. He asserted, "The Irish, then, represented qualities the British sought to deny within themselves and their society – emotionalism, intemperance, violence and ignorance."[15] While de Nie followed in Curtis' footsteps by examining British political cartoons of the Irish, scholarship on American cartoon depictions of the Irish is far more limited.

Only one scholar, Maureen Murphy, attempted to explore American images of the Irish in the late nineteenth century. In her work on the depiction of the Irish servant in American political cartoons, she argued that these images indicated Irish progress in assimilating into American society.[16] Examining cartoons from the American humor journal *Puck* during the 1880s, Murphy concluded that the images fall into two distinct categories, both revolving around the Irish female domestic servant. The first, the young girl Bridget, is a "cheerful innocent" fresh off of the boat from Ireland, who stumbles through her domestic duties and utterly lacks in Victorian sophistication. The other figure, "Biddy," is a more fearsome woman, large in stature and formidable in manner, who usually gives the orders in the household, rather than following directives from her mistress.

Following the progress of these two figures in *Puck* cartoons of the 1880s, Murphy noted, "The cartoons about ambitious domestic servants are more biting because

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[15] Ibid., 269.

[16] Maureen Murphy, "Bridget and Biddy: Images of the Irish Servant Girl in *Puck* Cartoons, 1880-1890," in *New Perspectives on the Irish Diaspora*, ed. Charles Fanning, (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 152-175.

servants' mobility was regarded as threatening and disruptive to households."[17] Her conclusion that class concerns were an underlying theme in American cartoons of Irish servants echoed the arguments of Curtis and de Nie, who both saw class influences in British cartoons of the Irish. Additionally, Murphy also examined the relationship between Irish-American involvement in American politics and Irish nationalism, and compared these involvements to the ways in which Irish servants were portrayed in political cartoons. She argued, "Not only was Biddy a household tyrant and a metaphor for the Irish domination of urban politics, but she was also linked to the violent wing of the Irish nationalist movement."[18] Ultimately, Murphy's examination suggested that there is a wealth of sources available to scholars concerning American depictions of the Irish, and that these sources are valuable tools in uncovering American attitudes towards the Irish community.

While Curtis, de Nie and Murphy explored the attitudes of Britons and Americans through cartoon depictions of the Irish, two other scholars took a different direction by looking at cartoons created by the Irish themselves during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Both Joel A. Hollander and Lawrence W. McBride utilized Irish political cartoons to examine aspects of Irish nationalism during the 1880s. In his study, Hollander investigated the different female forms found in Irish nationalist political

[17] Ibid., 167.

[18] Ibid., 170.

cartoons.[19] He argued that a broad spectrum of forms existed in Irish political cartoons with regard to women, including two figures, Erin and Madame Anastasie, quite similar to the Bridget and Biddy figures discussed by Murphy. Each female form found in Irish nationalist cartoons served a purpose in advancing and commenting upon the cause of Irish independence. Hollander argued, "Given the [British] government's policy of coercion that was brought to bear on nationalists at critical times through censorship, sedition, libel, and defamation, a nationalist audience would have understood that female allegorical types not only refined the image of home rule but assailed the terror of the status quo."[20] He ultimately concluded that the evolving role of Victorian womanhood, coupled with the urgency felt by Irish nationalists in communicating their agenda, accounts for the variety of female figures found in Irish political cartoons of the 1880s.

Historian Lawrence McBride also examined Irish nationalist political cartoons, though instead of observing the variety of female forms they utilized, as Hollander did, he investigated the evolving depiction of Irish nationalist leader, Charles Stewart Parnell.[21] McBride argued that these images played an important role in creating and spreading the "Parnell myth" that reinforced Parnell's status as a leader of the Irish people. The cartoons employed symbols and motifs meant to express four important themes about Parnell, "his dignity, his equality with British statesmen, his independence

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[19] Joel A. Hollander, "'Beauty and the Beast': Depiction of Irish Female Types During the Era of Parnell, 1880-1891," in *Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination,* ed. Lawrence W. McBride, (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999), 53-72.

[20] Ibid., 53.

[21] Lawrence W. McBride, "Nationalist Political Illustrations and the Parnell Myth, 1880-1900," in *Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination*, ed. Lawrence W. McBride, (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999), 73-94.

from outside influence, and his embodiment of the hope of the Irish people."[22] McBride stressed that it was important for Irish nationalists to portray their movement and leaders in a dignified and serious manner in order to convey the importance of their agenda. The cartoons utilized in McBride's analysis focus on the figure and depiction of Parnell himself for a period of twenty years, during the height of his leadership, along with the years just after his death. Ultimately, McBride concludes that Irish cartoons of Parnell were an important tool that the nationalists used to impart their agenda and promote their cause by showcasing their most prominent leader. [23]

In sum, the scholarship surrounding the Irish in political cartoons follows two distinct themes. The first, based on the work of Curtis, de Nie and Murphy, examines the way in which the Irish communities on both sides of the Atlantic were depicted by British and American outsiders. On the other hand, scholars like Hollander and McBride have concentrated on how the Irish in Ireland depicted themselves in late nineteenth century political cartoons. This thesis will unite these two strands of scholarship. It will also examine cartoons created by Irish-Americans, published in the two largest Irish-American newspapers of the nineteenth-century, *The Irish-American* and *The Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, which is an area not yet explored by scholars. The following chapters will address the importance of using cartoons as a historical source, and then examine cartoons from England, Ireland and the United States to consider how they depict a number of aspects of Irish nationalism.

[22] Ibid., 73.

[23] Ibid., 85.

Chapter One lays out the evolution of the popular press in England, Ireland and the United States during the late nineteenth century, and examines briefly the variety of newspapers and humor journals that published political cartoons in the period. In addition, this chapter demonstrates the value of turning to political cartoons as a tool for historical analysis. These images were intended to reach the broadest possible audience, regardless of whether they were literate, based on universal symbols and tropes. Likewise, the aim of publishers was to sell as many publications as possible, suggesting that they produced material appealing to, if not desirable, to their audience. As such, these publications reflect the views and political agendas of both the publishers and their intended audiences. By way of an extended example of this, the second half of the chapter will take an in-depth look at one of the largest Irish-American newspapers of the nineteenth-century, New York City's *Irish-American*. The chapter will explore the background of the paper, as well as its practice of using political cartoons during the 1880s.

Chapter Two follows in the footsteps of Lawrence McBride by examining the depiction of Irish nationalist leader Charles Stewart Parnell. While McBride's work concentrates on images produced by Irish cartoonists, this chapter will examine cartoons produced by Anglo-Americans and Irish-Americans, as well as the Irish in Ireland. The inclusion of Anglo-American and Irish-American cartoons is particularly important in analyzing cartoon depictions of Parnell for several reasons. First, Parnell had an American mother and grandparents, a connection that was often highlighted by both Parnell himself and American Irishman interested in promoting the Irish nationalist

movement in the United States. Secondly, these images highlight the wide range of depictions of Parnell by the different groups publishing cartoons. While it should come as no surprise that Anglo-American cartoonists and Irish cartoonists portrayed Parnell differently, the Irish depiction of Parnell varied. Finally, the chapter will demonstrate that American Irish cartoons of Parnell served a secondary purpose, beyond promoting the cause of Irish independence. By emphasizing Parnell's stature as a politician, along with his leadership qualities and gentlemanly polish, Irish-Americans hoped to demonstrate to the broader American audience positive characteristics of the Irish.

Chapter Three examines the Irish celebration of St. Patrick's Day, and the cartoons produced by Anglo-Americans, Irish-Americans and the Irish in Ireland depicting these celebrations. As this chapter will demonstrate, Anglo-American cartoonists fixated on Irish St. Patrick's Day celebrations more than any other group. Anglo-American images focused not only on the parades conducted in honor of Saint Patrick, but also refashioned the Saint himself as part of their commentary on the Irish. On the other hand, Irish cartoonists, on both sides of the Atlantic, rarely issued cartoons depicting St. Patrick's Day celebrations. Several scholars have argued that the Irish emigrant community, in the United States particularly, sought to emphasize the religious aspects of the holiday and down play the wildly rambunctious celebrations so often ridiculed by Anglo-Americans.[24] Moreover, as nationalist sentiments increased during the 1880s, Irish and Irish-American cartoonists hoped to translate the St. Patrick's Day

[24] Marie M. Fitzgerald, *The St. Patrick's Day Parade: The Conflict of Irish American Identity in New York City, 1840-1900* Dissertation, SUNY Stony Brook, 1993; Kenneth Moss, "St. Patrick's Day Celebrations and the Formation of Irish-American Identity, 1845-1875" in *Journal of Social History*, Vol 29, No. 1 (Fall, 1995), 125-148; Mike Cronin and Daryl Adair, *The Wearing of the Green: A History of St. Patrick's Day*, (London: Routledge, 2002).

imagery that they did use into an appeal for Irish independence. Ultimately, St. Patrick's Day cartoons present two distinct representations of the Irish community. First, Anglo-Americans utilized Saint Patrick and the parades in his honor to ridicule the Irish. Second the Irish and Irish-Americans concentrated upon creating a more dignified portrayal of their national character and promoting the Irish nationalist cause.

Chapter Four addresses the issue of violence, and the prominent place it received in cartoons both about and by the Irish. Unsurprisingly, Anglo-American and British cartoons on the Irish often depicted the Irish as an inherently violent people. This was particularly true in the 1880s, when a faction of the Irish nationalist movement engaged in bombing attacks in England. For Anglo-Americans, Irish attacks on England, coupled with what they saw as consistently "thuggish" behavior by the American Irish, were a cause for deep concern. Many Anglo-Americans feared that the Irish potential for violence could be directed at them. At the same time, Irish cartoons both in Ireland and the United States, also addressed the issue of violence, depicting violence in two distinct ways. On some occasions, Irish cartoonists portrayed the Irish people as victims of violence, particularly at the hands of the British, which is not surprising considering the contentious Anglo-Irish relationship. At other times, however, the Irish took a different stance on violence, specifically showing violent acts as signs of Irish strength and power. Ultimately, this chapter demonstrates the complexity surrounding the depiction of violence in political cartoons by and about the Irish, especially as the struggle for Irish independence intensified during the 1880s.

Chapter Five focuses on a specific act of violence that took place in Phoenix Park, Dublin in May of 1882, an event that had reverberations on both sides of the Atlantic. The assassinations in Phoenix Park of Lord Frederick Cavendish, Britain's Chief Secretary of Ireland, and Thomas Burke, Britain's Under Secretary of Ireland, came at a particularly contentious moment in Anglo-Irish history. Irish nationalist leaders were pushing for increased Irish autonomy and reforms of the British land-owning system in Ireland in the spring of 1882, while the British government hoped to eliminate Irish resistance to British authority. Though an electric incident in Anglo-Irish history, there is little scholarship focused on the Phoenix Park murders, as they came to be called. Furthermore, none of the scholarship on the murders concentrates on the numerous cartoon depictions of the event. This chapter will address this void in the scholarship, examining cartoons on the murders from British, Anglo-American, Irish and Irish-American publications. In particular, it will demonstrate that the images created by Irish and Irish-American cartoonists on the Phoenix Park murders specifically intended to counteract British and Anglo-American perceptions of the Irish as a blood-thirsty and violent people. Ultimately, this chapter will showcase nearly a dozen cartoons on the Phoenix Park Murders, the only event from the 1880s that generated this number of political cartoons.

Chapter Six focuses on the depiction of Irish women in Anglo-American, Irish, and Irish-American political cartoons from the 1880s. Not only does this chapter expand upon the scholarship of Joel Hollander and Maureen Murphy, it also identifies other ways in which communities on both sides of the Atlantic portrayed and utilized the Irish female

figure. In particular, the chapter examines the importance of Victorian standards for women in Irish produced cartoons, both in the case of the allegorical figures noted in Hollander's essay, and also the depictions of the real life Ladies Land League, a topic not yet explored by scholars. Finally, this chapter explores portrayals of Irish women in Anglo-American and Irish publications that complicate the traditional dichotomy associated with cartoon depictions of Irish women such as the servant Bridget and the allegorical Erin.

Taken together, these chapters highlight the transnational nature of Irish nationalism as seen in political cartoons from British, Irish, Anglo-American and Irish-American publications. The symbols and tropes found in political cartoons by and about the Irish are informative for scholars seeking to understand Irish identity in the late nineteenth-century. While several scholarly works address the Irish in political cartoons, there has not yet been a study that investigates images from both sides of the Atlantic. This thesis tackles this challenge, as well as provides a thorough study of American Irish-produced political cartoons for the first time. By looking beyond the stereotypical depiction of the Irish "Paddy," this thesis offers a more complex view of nineteenth-century Irish identity, one that locates the numerous political cartoon depictions of the Irish in a broader, transnational context.

Chapter 1: The Popular Press, Political Cartoons and *The Irish-American* in the Late Nineteenth Century

"I have no idea what readership is of written editorials, but it doesn't come anywhere close to the readership of editorial cartoons." Paul Conrad, *Los Angeles Times* Cartoonist[1]

The above quote, by Pulitzer Prize winning cartoonist Paul Conrad, illustrates the power editorial, or political, cartoons have in expressing a distinct point of view that is accessible to a wide audience. The medium of political cartoons came to maturity during the latter half of the nineteenth century in both Europe and the United States. This was due in large part to the evolution of the popular press during the era. Changes in technology allowed for the publication of newspapers and magazines at a lower cost, enabling a broader audience to afford a wide spectrum of publications. As a sales-driven enterprise, the popular press needed to produce material that satisfied their audiences. Thus, their content becomes an important source for historians in uncovering both the political and social agendas of the publishers and the general attitudes of the publication's audience. Among the most popular of these late nineteenth-century publications were humor journals that specialized in literature, satire and political cartoons. This chapter will first examine the culture of popular print and political cartoons in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It will then detail many of the humor journals and newspapers that carried the cartoons reproduced in this thesis. Finally, this chapter will take an extensive look at the New York based *The Irish-American,* a newspaper that serves as an

[1] *Los Angeles Times,* July 21, 2006.

example of the immigrant press in the United States, and reveals how political cartoons furthered its distinctive nationalist agenda.

I

The explosion of popular print in the nineteenth century resulted from a combination of factors. Beginning in the 1830s and continuing until the Civil War, the newspaper industry in the United States underwent a transformation as economic factors and technology combined to dramatically lower the cost of publishing the news. After the Civil War, the publishing industry evolved even further as literary scholar George H. Douglas noted: "Newspapers would soon have more pages, larger circulations, more advertising, more vested capital, and larger physical plants. The nation was growing rapidly, and newspapers, especially in the large cities, would become big businesses."[2] As the popular press gained new power and importance in the United States, the same thing occurred in the United Kingdom, with an emergence of new publications not only in England, but in Ireland as well. With literacy rates on the rise and the costs of publications going down, the end of the nineteenth century saw a marked increase in the circulation and readership of newspapers and periodicals.[3] Moreover, according to historian John M. MacKenzie: "Newspapers were available in pubs, news rooms, coffee houses, mechanics' institutes, workingmen's clubs (as well as clubs for the elite) and the

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[2] George H. Douglas, *The Golden Age of the Newspaper*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 69.

[3] According to the 1880 and 1890 Census, approximately 13 percent of the "white, foreign-born" population of the United States was illiterate. Unfortunately, these numbers are not broken down based on ethnicity; however, they do indicate that a majority of the European immigrant population, including the Irish, were literate. 1890 United States Census, Abstract, 46-49.

increasingly ubiquitous town and district libraries."[4] Based upon the lower cost of publications, and the widespread availability of them through alternative means, we can safely assume that newspapers and humor journals of the late nineteenth century had an extensive audience, with publishers competing for the attention of the masses.

The technological evolution that occurred in the newspaper business during the period also influenced humor journals. More specifically, the cartoons published in British and American humor journals in this period became increasingly detailed and complex in their composition. According to Douglas:

> Political cartooning [in the United States] got a big boost in the public prints by the appearance of three major humor magazines during the 1880s: *Puck, Judge* and *Life.* These magazines owed a great deal to European models such as the English *Punch* and German *Simplicissimus*, and much of the popularity of these magazines was due to bold full-page political cartoons using the new technology of color printing known as chromolithography.[5]

British humor journals like *Punch* also saw increased competition during this period as publishers sought to cash in on the popularity of political cartoons. Interestingly, newspapers in general did not jump on the cartoon bandwagon until the very end of the nineteenth century. As historians Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan explain: "Cartoons were expensive and painfully slow to produce; newspaper type moreover was set in narrow columns and the presses made it inconvenient to print anything larger than one

[4] John M. MacKenzie, "The Press and the Dominant Ideology of Empire," in *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain*, ed. Simon J. Potter, (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), 26.

[5] Douglas, 138.

column in width – a space too confining for an effective cartoon."[6] The exception to this argument could be found in the immigrant press of the period.

Thus, following in the footsteps of Britain's *Punch* and America's *Harper's Weekly,* the new and cheap humor journals of the 1880s and 1890s introduced a wide range of subjects to a broad audience reading the "funnies." Each of the late nineteenth century humor journals promoted a political agenda, even as they attempted to proclaim neutrality on political issues. As historian Charles Press notes: "Most political cartoons are a form of journalistic comment designed to influence viewers with regard to specific political events of the day, just as the editorial usually tries to."[7] Consequently, political cartoons were a tool used by publishers for persuading their audience to adopt a particular point of view on various topics of the day. For scholars of these images, uncovering the background and political agenda of humor journals is essential in understanding the motivation and intended audience of each cartoon. Beginning with the humor journals that served as standard-bearers for the British and American cartooning tradition, *Punch* and *Harper's Weekly* respectively, the following section will examine the background and agenda of the journals utilized for this thesis.

II

Founded on July 17, 1841, the British humor journal *Punch* occupied a central role in British culture for over a century and a half. Despite the demise of many other

[6] Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, *The Ungentlemanly Art: A History of American Political Cartoons*, (New York: MacMillan Publishing, 1975), 119.

[7] Charles Press, *The Political Cartoon,* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickson University Press, 1981), 14-15.

comic weeklies during the same period, *Punch* thrived in its early years. According to historian Richard D. Atlick: “To judge from the number of references to it in the private letters and memoirs of the 1840s, …., *Punch* became a household word within a year or two of its founding, beginning in the middle class and soon reaching the pinnacle of society, royalty itself.”[8] While positioning itself as a cultural touchstone, *Punch* issued numerous cartoons related to major issues in the United Kingdom and throughout the British Empire. Political cartoons commenting on Ireland, and Britain’s complicated relationship with the Irish, began appearing early in the journal’s run, originally with a pro-Irish slant. According to historian R.F. Foster, that began to change in the mid 1840s: “Partly, the change in *Punch’s* attitude from the mid-forties must be looked for in changes within the newspaper itself. … However events in Ireland from this time conspired to change the Irish image, and *Punch’s* attitude.”[9]

One of *Punch’s* most famous cartoonists, Sir John Tenniel (who also illustrated *Alice and Wonderland*) produced many cartoons on the Irish in his fifty-year career with the journal.[10] During his tenure, Tenniel relied on two figures to denote Ireland and the Irish people; the thuggish, ape-like Paddy and the ethereal, allegorical Hibernia. Several scholars have asserted the Tenniel “racially maligned” the Irish with these images. Yet Tenniel biographer Frankie Morris argues: “His ‘hideous type’ [Paddy] was never meant

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[8] Richard D. Atlick, *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution, 1841-1851,* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997), 17.

[9] R.F. Foster, *Paddy and Mr. Punch: Connections in Irish and English History*, (New York: Penguin Press, 1993), 174.

[10] Sir John Tenniel was presented with a knighthood by Prime Minister William Gladstone in honor of his services as a political cartoonist. L. Perry Curtis, “Tenniel, Sir John,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

to be taken as a national stereotype, for *Punch's* whole strategy rested on dissociating the putative 'loyal majority' (Hibernia) from simian Paddy, an aberration that needed to be put down."[11] While Tenniel and *Punch* provided British audiences with stereotyped views of the Irish, on the other side of the Atlantic *Harper's Weekly* and its most famous cartoonist, Thomas Nast, were doing the same in the United States.

Begun in 1857 in response to the success of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*, *Harper's Weekly* quickly became a staple of American society.[12] At the heart of the magazine's success in the post-bellum years was the editorial cartooning of Thomas Nast, whose work still resonates today in the form of the Republican Party elephant, a symbol he first created. Nast was a German-born immigrant who came to the United States in 1846 and apprenticed at *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* before joining *Harper's Weekly* in 1862. His most famous work for *Harper's Weekly* involved a series of cartoons he drew in 1871 in which he lampooned William M. "Boss" Tweed, head of New York City's Tammany Hall. Tweed was indicted in 1871 and ultimately convicted in 1873 for the theft of millions of dollars in New York taxpayer money; Nast's relentless cartoon depictions of the "Boss" are often credited with helping to bring about Tweed's downfall.[13]

In addition to his attacks on corruption in New York City politics, Nast also took on the national political scene, aligning himself with the Republican Party early in his

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[11] Frankie Morris, *Artist of Wonderland: The Life, Political Cartoons, and Illustrations of Tenniel*, (Charlottesburg, VA: The University of Virginia Press, 2005), 312. L. Perry Curtis was the scholar most critical of Tenniel's cartoon depictions of the Irish, see L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature,* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971).

[12] Hess, 93.

[13] Ibid., 95.

career. As a result, Nast often portrayed the Democratic Party in a negative light. His cartoons often included derogatory images of Irish-Americans, one of the Democratic Party's largest constituencies. While their association with Democrats inspired Nast's aversion to the group, the Irish adherence to Catholicism particularly drew his artistic vitriol. As Hess asserted, Nast's "deep suspicion of the Catholic Church bordered on bigotry."[14] Likewise, Nast's portrayal of Irish-Americans also "bordered" on bigotry, with innumerable cartoons depicting the Irish in a negative light, often with the simian facial features found in *Punch's* "Paddy." While Nast ultimately left *Harper's Weekly* in 1887, his impact on the journal and on American cartooning was long lasting.

In March of 1877 a new American humor journal, modeled after Britain's *Punch,* was created by Joseph Keppler, a German-immigrant cartoonist. Keppler's journal, *Puck,* initially published both a German and English version. The English version far outsold the German one, however, as literary critic Robert Secor notes: "In 1881, for example, the circulation of the English-language *Puck* was 85,000 while the German-language edition held at 19,500."[15] As the English version of *Puck* grew in circulation, Keppler focused heavily on political issues, and while proclaiming to be politically independent, the journal openly supported Democratic Party candidate Grover Cleveland in the 1884 presidential election. Along with supporting the Democratic Party, *Puck* "was opposed to free silver, strongly favored reform of the merit system for civil service employees, advocated lower tariffs, and fought to eliminate ballot abuses and to expose

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[14] Ibid., 99.

[15] Robert Secor, "Puck," in *American Humor Magazines and Comic Periodicals*, ed. David E. E. Sloane, (NY: Greenwood Press, 1987), 220.

political corruption whenever it caught a whiff of it."[16] Though *Puck* actively promoted the platform of the Democratic Party, the editors were not adverse to poking fun at Democratic supporters – including the Irish-American community. Both Keppler and *Puck* cartoonist, Frederick Opper, created many cartoons that ridiculed the Irish, particularly on issues of Irish nationalism. Nevertheless, *Puck* cartoons of the American Irish never reached the level of ire found in Thomas Nast's cartoons. While *Puck's* circulation grew throughout the 1880s, it also faced increasing competition from newly-created humor journals, including the publication *Judge*.

After a quarrel with Keppler in 1881, James Albert Wales, a former cartoonist for *Puck*, formed the humor journal *Judge* which served as a direct competitor to *Puck*. With a similar format to *Puck*, *Judge* attempted to stand out from its competitors with its use of color cartoons. According to literary critic Thomas Grant, "While the writers strove for wit, and often succeeded, the cartoonists carried the magazine's political points most memorably, with brightly colored full-page chromos that quickly became *Judge's* most accomplished feature."[17] *Judge's* brightly colored cartoons focused primarily on political topics, and like *Puck,* initially strove to take an independent position on national matters. That changed during the 1884 Presidential election, when the Republican party invested in *Judge's* publishing company. This led to the humor journal firmly siding with the party from that point forward. As Grant notes, "The Republican party made a shrewd investment; *Judge* therefore abandoned its vaunted 'independence' and instead stood

[16] Ibid., 223.

[17] Thomas Grant, "Judge," in *American Humor Magazines and Comic Periodicals*, ed. David E.E. Sloane, (NY: Greenwood Press, 1987), 112.

staunchly for the 'party of 1860,' frequently reiterating its support for Republican party principles and especially championing 'protection' and 'prosperity'."[18] As an organ of the Republican Party, *Judge* cartoonists parroted many of the party's principles, such as immigration restrictions, and attacked those of the Democratic Party and their supporters, including Irish Americans. While *Judge* often portrayed the Irish-American community negatively, overall it primarily focused on more overt political themes.

According to Stephen Hess, "*Puck* and *Judge* had been primarily political, attempting only halfheartedly to comment on the customs and manners of the American society. It was left to *Life* to fill this void."[19] First published in 1883, *Life* had a different format from the other humor journals, with a smaller size and black and white, rather than color, cartoons. In their cartoon depictions of American society, *Life* not only touched on middle-upper-class society, but also the interactions between classes and ethnicities in the United States. Likewise, though *Life* primarily focused on social themes, it also occasionally offered political commentary as literary scholar Richard Marschall notes: "Perhaps Mitchell and Martin [*Life's* publishers] had Democratic tendencies from the start, but their support for Cleveland in 1884 marked the start of a definite Democratic bias that lasted until the New Deal."[20] With their political support firmly in line with the Democratic Party, *Life* cartoons ultimately became the prime

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[18] Ibid., 113.

[19] Hess, 112.

[20] Richard E. Marschall, "Life," in *American Humor Magazines and Comic Periodicals*, ed. David E. E. Sloane, (NY: Greenwood Press, 1987), 145.

competition for *Puck* in the last decade of the nineteenth-century, and eventually served as the model for today's premiere political cartoon publication – *The New Yorker.*

American and British humor journals of the late nineteenth century found a ready audience for the satirical political and social cartoons they produced. The symbols in these cartoons were familiar to a broad audience, from the lowliest of servants to the Queen of England. Furthermore, as historian John MacKenzie asserts, these images were available to more than just the middle and upper classes of society. He argues,

> More expensive illustrated and humorous papers like the *Illustrated London News,* the *Graphic, Punch,* and *Fun*, though too costly for mass readership, would probably have been available not only through some of the locations of public reading, but also to those 'below stairs' who may have laid hands on copies no longer required by those 'above stairs.'[21]

Thus, late nineteenth century political cartoons had the power to influence a wide range of people who looked at the humor journals of the period.

III

At the same time that humor journals found their niche in mainstream British and American society, in the United States another segment of society also found a voice for their political positions in the world of publishing. Based on increased opportunities and access to capital, the ethnic press began to flourish in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Historian Sharon Miller has commented on the functions of this press in the United States:

[21] MacKenzie, 26.

> As a whole, it was informational, carrying news of the country of origin, of compatriots elsewhere in the United States, and, of course, the local community. It expressed a group's values, heritage, and changing sense of identity. It also socialized its readers to the United States as it educated them and became itself a tool of adjustment. And it promoted group pride as well as economic and political power.[22]

These functions certainly were found in the Irish-American press during the nineteenth century, particularly in the latter half of the period as the Irish community became one of the largest ethnic populations in the United States. This community began publishing their own newspapers early in the nineteenth century with Boston's *Pilot* and New York's *Freeman's Journal* the two largest and longest lasting publications from the antebellum period. As the Irish population grew, so too did the number of Irish publications. In her essay on the Irish press, historian Eileen McMahon notes that Irish-American newspapers often fell into one of two categories, those that focused primarily on religious concerns and those that had a broader nationalist perspective.[23] As the nineteenth century progressed, Irish newspapers concentrating on broader political issues became highly invested in the Irish nationalist movement. McMahon notes, "Editors also implied that no honorable immigrant could ignore his responsibilities to the land of his origin. Their motivation was to generate enough interest in Ireland and things Irish to unite, organize, raise money, and develop measures to fight for an independent Irish republic."[24] By serving as an organizational tool, Irish-American newspapers played an

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[22] Sharon Miller, *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, (NY: Greenwood Press, 1987), xvi.

[23] Eileen McMahon, "The Irish American Press," in *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook,* ed. Sally Miller, (NY: Greenwood Press, 1987), 178.

[24] Ibid., 182.

important role in keeping the Irish community in the United States informed about and connected to nationalists in Ireland.

Thus, Irish-American publications served several important roles for the Irish community in the United States. Not only did they provide useful information on the new society in which Irish immigrants resided, but the papers helped maintain connections to the Irish homeland. McMahon reminds scholars of the value that these publications have, saying: "As a historical source, the Irish-American press holds the keys to understanding the character, hopes, aspirations, disillusionments and achievements of America's first large immigrant group."[25] For the second half of the nineteenth century the two largest newspapers, who each had a run of over fifty years, were the *Irish World and the American Industrial Liberator* (hereafter, *Irish World*) and *The Irish-American*, both based in New York. These sources offer numerous insights into the American Irish community.

James Paul Rodechko produced the only comprehensive study of either paper, focusing particularly on Patrick Ford, the editor of the *Irish World*.[26] As Ford's papers no longer survive, Rodechko's thesis is largely based on in-depth examinations of *Irish World* editions in order to uncover Ford's political perspectives and motivations for nearly three decades. Rodechko relates that Ford's early experiences as an editor for William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator* in the years before the Civil War laid the foundation for his future endeavor with the *Irish World*. After starting several other

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[25] Ibid., 187.

[26] James Paul Rodechko, *Patrick Ford and His Search For America: A Case Study of The Irish-American Journalism, 1870-1913,* (NY: Arno Press, 1976).

unsuccessful newspapers, Ford launched *Irish World* on September 10, 1870. For the first decade of the paper's existence, it faced continual financial difficulties, largely because of its inconsistent advertising support.[27] In order to provide his paper with financial stability, Ford eventually made a political alliance in 1884 with the Republican Party. Rodechko argued that this political support was essential to the survival of the *Irish World*, noting, "Just as John Devoy's *Irish Nation* failed in 1885 due to the lack of political patronage, Ford's *Irish World* survived and achieved a moderate level of prosperity because the paper began to enjoy Republican patronage in 1884."[28] For scholars of the Irish in the United States, this is a startling and important detail crucial to understanding the competing interests and agendas of Irish newspaper editors and publishers.

In direct competition with Ford's *Irish World* was the newspaper *The Irish-American*. While no comprehensive study on *The Irish-American* exists, a few scholars of the American Irish have commented on the newspaper. In his examination of the Irish-American press in the mid-nineteenth century, historian William Leonard Joyce notes that *The Irish-American* began publishing in August 1849 and quickly became the voice of Irish nationalism in the United States. Edited by Patrick Lynch until his death in 1857, *The Irish-American* quickly became the "highest circulating nationalist newspaper among the Irish-American publications of its day."[29] After Lynch's death his stepson,

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[27] Ibid., 40.

[28] Ibid., 47.

[29] William Leonard Joyce, *Editors and Ethnicity: A History of the The Irish-American Press, 1848-1883*, (NY: Arno Press, 1976), 7.

Patrick Meehan, took over as editor and remained in that position until his own death in 1906. Under Meehan's guidance, *The Irish-American* continued its tradition of supporting Irish nationalism in the United States. In doing so, *The Irish-American* gained a circulation of 35,000 in 1882, with its readership reaching beyond New York City to other Irish communities across the United States.[30] Thus, *The Irish-American* maintained its status as one of the pre-eminent Irish newspapers in the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Irish-American used its influence with the American-Irish community in a variety of ways, including publishing tracts by Irish nationalists and promoting the political careers of the Irish in the United States. Examples of the latter can be found in the papers of Thomas F. Meehan, son of long time *The Irish-American* editor Patrick Meehan. In a letter dated October 1886, William Harrity, who had recently been appointed Postmaster in Philadelphia, wrote to thank the editors of *The Irish-American* for their editorial applauding his placement in the post, and denouncing the Republicans who protested the appointment.[31] Harrity wrote of his gratitude and also the importance of having an Irishmen in this post, saying, "… but as much and more for the reason that it recognized and emphasized the stand we have a right to and will take that while we shall not claim any right in privileges because of race or creed we shall not be prevented

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[30] Rodechko, 49.

[31] Editorial, "Pennsylvania Bigotry," in *The Irish-American*, October 16, 1886.

because of either."[32] Both *The Irish-American* editorial in support of Harrity and Harrity's own letter of thanks to the paper indicate the important role *The Irish-American* had in promoting the advancement of Irish-Americans in the American political system.

Even more significant than Irish-American support for Irish political figures, the paper actively promoted the cause of Irish nationalism, particularly during the 1880s. One example of this support can be seen in a letter from the prominent Irish nationalist Michael Davitt to Patrick Meehan in June of 1880. In his letter, Davitt, who was one of the secretaries for the Irish Land League, the Irish nationalist organization created in 1879 to agitate for land reform in Ireland, asked Meehan to publish an address on Irish nationalism in the next edition of *The Irish-American*.[33] Davitt's request was readily complied with, and in the June 12 edition of *The Irish-American*, his "circular" had a prominent place on the front page. The circular also contained a request from Davitt that groups celebrating the Fourth of July consider donating funds to the Irish Land League in support of the nationalist movement: "I appeal on behalf of the objects of the Land League of Ireland to those who organize these annual demonstrations, to devote the proceeds this year to the Land League to support the people now being evicted in Ireland, and to assist that body in the work of striking down the cause of famine and eviction in

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[32] William F. Harrity to Patrick Meehan, December 12, 1886, Thomas Meehan Collection, Box 1, Folder 3, Georgetown University Library, Special Collections Division, Washington, D.C.

[33] Michael Davitt to Patrick Meehan, June 2, 1880, Thomas F. Meehan Collection, Box 1, Folder 3, Georgetown University Library, Special Collections Division, Washington, D.C.

that country forever."[34] This open plea for funds was an oft repeated request by the Irish Land League, and could regularly be found in the pages of *The Irish-American*.

In addition to written support of Irish nationalism specifically, and the Irish people more generally, *The Irish-American* also published political cartoons in its weekly editions. Though the paper began in 1849, political cartoons did not appear in *The Irish-American* until December 1879. Once begun, for a period of approximately ten years the cartoons published in *The Irish-American* covered a number of topics, nearly all of which focused on the political, economic and social struggles of Ireland, not current events in the United States.

IV

During the 1880s *The Irish-American* published political cartoons on the front page of the weekly edition of the paper. Upon examining its cartoons from this decade, several interesting points emerge pertaining to the way in which cartoons appeared in the newspaper. As this section will demonstrate, some of the images used in the cartoons were recycled by the paper, with the same image used years later under a different title and with an altered caption. Other images were taken from another Irish nationalist paper from the period, Dublin's *United Ireland*, which was owned in the 1880s by the nationalist leader Charles Parnell. Finally, after a decade of cartoon publication, during the fall of 1888, a series of nine cartoons offered commentary on the Presidential election and political process in the United States. These cartoons are unique, as they were the

[34] Michael Davitt, "The Land League: It's Program in America," in *The Irish-American*, June 12, 1880.

only images published by *The Irish-American* during the 1880s that concentrated on issues specific to the United States. This section will explore the characteristics of these political cartoons offer scholars insight into the practical realities of publishing cartoons in a weekly newspaper during the 1880s, as well as the underlying agendas behind these images.

The first cartoon published by *The Irish-American*, titled "A Blunder Worse Than a Crime," appeared on December 27, 1879.[35] (Figure 1.1) The image shows an irate John Bull, one of the allegorical figures representing Great Britain, berating James (Jimmy) Lowther in front of a row of prison cells. Lowther was Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1879, the highest ranking British official in Ireland, and as such he imprisoned the Irish nationalist leaders Michael Davitt, James Daly, and James Bryce Killen for seditious speeches they made upon the formation of the Irish Land League in November 1879. John Bull is angry at Lowther in the cartoon because he, and by extension the British government, look hypocritical for imprisoning people over the matter of speech. As John Bull notes in the caption, "Why, I who boast so much about Liberty of Speech and Freedom of Discussion, will be abused and laughed at by the whole world!"[36] The cartoon and its caption were a timely comment upon the arrest of these Irish nationalist leaders, and a bold statement of *The Irish-American's* nationalist sympathies.

[35] Unknown, "A Blunder Worse Than a Crime," in *The Irish-American*, December 12, 1879. Library of Congress.

[36] Ibid.

Figure 1.1: Unknown, “A Blunder Worse Than a Crime,” in *The Irish-American*, December 12, 1879. Library of Congress.

As a commentary on the specific event of the imprisonment of Davitt, Daly and Killen, it is interesting to note that the image found in Figure 1.1 was used again by the paper nearly eight years later. Published on September 10, 1887, the cartoon “An Expensive Blunder,” again offers the image of John Bull and James Lowther arguing in front of the prison cells containing Davitt, Daly and Killen.[37] (Figure 1.2) The caption of this second cartoon, however, reveals quite a different situation from the original

[37] Unknown, “An Expensive Blunder,” in *The Irish-American*, September 10, 1887. Library of Congress.

image, even recasting the characters of John Bull and Lowther. In this image, John Bull has become the "English Tory Tax-Payer" and Lowther the "Irish Tory Jailor." Their argument arises over the "tax-payer" and his ire at paying for the imprisonment of the Irish nationalists.

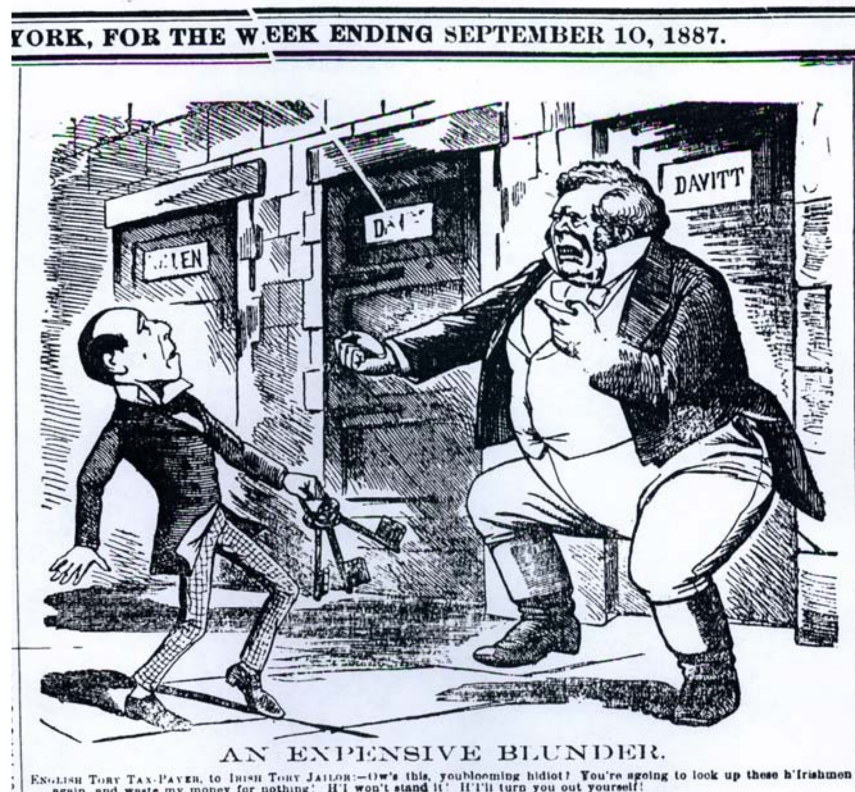

Figure 1.2: Unknown, "An Expensive Blunder," in *The Irish-American*, September 10, 1887. Library of Congress.

The second cartoon (Figure 1.2), though using the same image as the first cartoon (Figure 1.1) lacks the impact found in the original. The first cartoon, published in 1879, spoke to a specific incident that was depicted in the image itself, and further elaborated upon in the cartoon's caption. By reusing the image, the immediacy of the original context, the recent jailing of Irish nationalist leaders, is missing and is instead replaced by

a more generic discussion of Tory principles. Though the cartoon's impact was lessened by reusing the same image, it is probable that *The Irish-American* did so for the simple expedient of cost. Rather than paying to have an entirely new image made, it was far simpler and cheaper to reuse the same image with an altered title and caption. This was not the only instance of the newspaper reusing cartoons multiple times.

Published first in May 1883, the image below of Erin confronting John Bull was eventually used for four different cartoons in *The Irish-American* during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Titled "More Than He Reckoned For," the image shows Erin, in simple attire, holding a sign about the platform for the Irish Land League convention in Philadelphia.[38] (Figure 1.3) To her right is the figure of John Bull, who appears astonished both at Erin's boldness and the startling number of Irishmen gathering in Philadelphia, as shown by her sign. In the caption John Bull notes his fears of such a large group, ten million Irish-Americans, united against him, while Erin responds: "The Irish people, at home and abroad, will no longer do your work by quarrelling amongst ourselves."[39]

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[38] Unknown, "More Than He Reckoned For," in *The Irish-American*, May 5, 1883. This image will also be discussed further in Chapter 6. See figure 6.12.

[39] Ibid.

Figure 1.3: Unknown, "More Than He Reckoned For," in *The Irish-American*, May 5, 1883. Library of Congress.

Nearly three years after the above cartoon (Figure 1.3) was published in *The Irish-American* the newspaper again used the image in a cartoon titled "Ireland's Ultimatum."[40] In addition to a new title, the image was also altered slightly with different wording on the sign, and lack of a caption. Just two years later, the same image again appeared in *The Irish-American*, this time in a cartoon titled "What Ireland Likes –

[40] Unknown, "Ireland's Ultimatum," in *The Irish-American,* February 13, 1886. Library of Congress.

And John Bull Doesn't."[41] Again, the image is exactly the same as the original cartoon (Figure 1.3), with alterations to the title and sign in Erin's hand. Finally, the image of Erin and John Bull's confrontation was published once more in November 1890, in a cartoon titled "Cause and Effect."[42] (Figure 1.4) As with the previous cartoons, the only difference in the image is the alteration of the words on Erin's sign.

Figure 1.4: Unknown, "Cause and Effect," in *The Irish-American*, November 22, 1890. Library of Congress.

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[41] Unknown, "What Ireland Likes – And John Bull Doesn't," in *The Irish-American*, September 1, 1888. Library of Congress.

[42] Unknown, "Cause and Effect," in *The Irish-American*, November 22, 1890. Library of Congress.

Unlike the image used in Figures 1.1 and 1.2, this depiction of Erin and John Bull did not rely on a specific context to make its point. Thus, for Figures 1.3 and 1.4, as well as the other cartoons using that image, the variations found in each cartoon are not jarring and allow for the cartoon's overall message to resonate. The financial benefit of re-using the image of Erin and John Bull, again, was the likely motivation for *The Irish-American* to utilize the image in so many cartoons. It is also possible that this image was readily recycled by the editors of *The Irish-American* because of its allegorical nature, which would have been understood by a broad audience. Whatever the case may have been, by making minor adjustments to the image, the cartoon makes a specific statement in each incarnation, without the paper having to spend money on an entirely new illustration.

The Irish-American not only recycled its own images, its editors also used images from another newspaper, Dublin's *United Ireland.* This weekly took a decidedly nationalist turn in the 1880s, when Charles Stewart Parnell bought controlling interest in the paper and placed his good friend, William O'Brien, in the editor's chair. Like *The Irish-American*, *United Ireland* featured a political cartoon on the front page, which was somewhat unusual for a weekly paper in the period. In the case of *United Ireland*, many of the cartoons were drawn by the cartoonist J.D. Reigh, and regularly promoted Ireland's independence from Great Britain. One of Reigh's cartoons, "The Resources of Civilisation," depicts the variety of means at Great Britain's disposal as it attempted to "keep Ireland in line."[43] (Figure 1.5) Standing in the center of the image is a masculanized version of the allegorical figure "Britannia," who appears to have the face

[43] J. D. Reigh, "The Resources of Civilization," in *United Ireland*, October 22, 1881. British Library.

of British Prime Minister William Gladstone. Surrounding Britannia and her fearsome lion are four scenes of terror and brutality inflicted upon the Irish by British forces.

Figure 1.5: J.D. Reigh, “The Resources of Civilization,” in *United Ireland*, October 22, 1881. British Library.

Once again, the context surrounding this cartoon is incredibly specific. After Britain’s Parliament passed the Irish Land Bill in the summer of 1881, Charles Parnell and other nationalist leaders argued strenuously that the bill did not do nearly enough to alleviate the troubles between Irish landlords and their tenants. Prime Minister Gladstone responded to these accusations in a speech at Leeds on October 7, a portion of which is found in the cartoon’s caption: “If there is still to be fought a final conflict in Ireland …

then, I say, without hesitation, the resources of civilization against our enemies are not yet exhausted."[44] Finding Gladstone's speech incendiary, Irish nationalist leaders increased their attacks on the British government, and in response Gladstone called for the arrest of Parnell and other nationalists under the Coercion Acts.[45] The scenes unfolding in Reigh's cartoon illustrate the actions of the British government, and it is clear that each one addresses a relevant concern of Irish nationalists. In the subsequent re-use of this image, however, the significance of these scenes is diluted.

The first time *The Irish-American* published the image found in Figure 1.5 was in January 1882, just three months after its original publication in *United Ireland*. With a similar title, "English 'Resources of Civilization,'" the cartoon once again depicts the Gladstone version of Britannia surrounded by scenes of British brutality toward Irishmen.[46] In this instance, the scenes maintain much of their original impact, as the cartoon in *The Irish-American* was published soon after the original in *United Ireland*. Yet, the January 1882 publication of the image was not the only occasion when *The Irish-American* used this image. In October of 1887, the paper published the cartoon "Tory 'Government' in Ireland" once again showing the Gladstone version of Britannia.[47] (Figure 1.6) This time, removed from the original publication by six years, the cartoon's original scenes lose some of their impact. Certainly, for Irish nationalists, scenes of

[44] Ibid.

[45] The Coercion Acts were a series of laws passed by the British Parliament during the 1880s designed to curtail Irish protests on British rule in Ireland.

[46] J.D. Reigh, "English 'Resources of Civilization,'" in *The Irish-American*, January 14, 1882. British Library.

[47] J.D. Reigh, "Tory 'Government' in Ireland," in *The Irish-American,* October 1, 1887. British Library.

British violence directed at Irishmen could apply to any period during Britain's rule over Ireland. Yet, these scenes also contain references to specific instances that occurred in 1881, not 1887.

Figure 1.6: J.D. Reigh, "Tory 'Government' in Ireland," in *The Irish-American,* October 1, 1887. British Library.

Ultimately, *The Irish-American's* re-use of *United Ireland's* cartoon "The Resources of Civilization" (Figure 1.5) had mixed results in terms of the cartoon's impact. When *The Irish-American* first published its own version of the cartoon, just months after the original was published, the context surrounding the cartoon was still relevant. However, when *The Irish-American* used the image once again, in 1887, the scenes in the image simply did not carry the same meaning. This particular image was

not the only cartoon published first in *United Ireland* and then re-published by *The Irish-American*. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six, the cartoon “More and More Puzzled,” published in a December 1881 issue of *United Ireland*, was then republished as “History Repeats Itself” in a February 1882 issue of *The Irish-American*.[48] Though there are no surviving records or papers concerning the operation of *The Irish-American*, it is likely that financial motivations played a large role in its re-use of *United Ireland* cartoons. Either borrowing, buying, or even stealing images from *United-Ireland*, cost *The Irish-American* far less than producing its own images.

The recycling of images in *The Irish-American* political cartoons occurred throughout the 1880s, when the paper used Irish nationalist imagery and themes in the majority of its cartoons. The exception came during several weeks in the fall of 1888, when *The Irish-American* published nine cartoons on the 1888 Presidential election and the major issues surrounding the campaign. The incumbent, Democrat Grover Cleveland, the first Democrat elected President after the Civil War, campaigned against Republican candidate Benjamin Harrison. It was a contentious campaign with the Irish vote coveted heavily by both parties, much like they did in the 1884 Presidential election. In that election, Cleveland ran against Republican candidate James G. Blaine, who promoted his Irish heritage in order to woo Irish voters to the Republican ticket. According to historian Alyn Brodsky, “Much was made of the facts that Blaine’s mother and sisters were practicing Irish Catholics, with one sister the mother superior of an Indiana convent; that he was outspoken in support of such Hibernian causes as the Irish Land League; … and

[48] These two cartoons will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Six. See figures 6.19 and 6.20.

that, as [James] Garfield's Secretary of State, he had been openly antagonistic to the British government."[49] Though Blaine did win a small percentage of the Irish vote, many Irish-Americans on the whole were suspicious of Blaine's tactics and continued to support the Democratic ticket, resulting in Cleveland's election.

In the fall of 1888, the Republican Party, after receiving word that Blaine would not again seek the presidency, turned to Benjamin Harrison as the party's standard bearer. Harrison and the Republican Party ran on a platform of protectionism and a defense of labor, as well as internal improvements, defense spending and increases to Civil war pensions.[50] Meanwhile, Cleveland was re-nominated by the Democratic Party, and together they crafted a platform that emphasized civil service reforms, tariff reductions, a foreign policy of "preserving peace," and the promotion of industrial development. The tariff issue became the cornerstone of the Presidential campaign, with Cleveland carefully trying to maintain his stance on tariff reductions, without appearing to look "pro-British" to his Irish-American supporters.[51]

As a long time backer of the Democratic Party, *The Irish-American,* through its cartoons, clearly sided with Cleveland, particularly in the weeks surrounding the election itself. This is evident in the cartoon "American Industry's True Protector," published in

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[49] Alyn Brodsky, *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Character*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 84.

[50] Charles C. Calhoun, *Benjamin Harrison,* (New York: Times Books, 2005), 50.

[51] The Presidential election of 1888 is reviewed in Charles W. Calhoun, *Minority Victory: Gilded Age Politics and the Front Porch Campaign of 1888,* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2008).

the November 3, 1888 edition.[52] At the center of the cartoon is Grover Cleveland in the stance of a boxer. He is bare-chested, with a tattoo of the American eagle and the initials "U.S." on his stomach, and wearing the traditional pants and shoes of a fighter. At his feet lie the broken chains of "War Taxes," "Monopolies," and "Trusts."[53] Not only has the pugilist Cleveland, whose figure and stance resemble the Irish prize fighters of the late nineteenth century, broken the chains of taxes, trusts and monopolies, but he has also sent his foreign economic competitors running for cover. Clearly, the chaos surrounding Cleveland was caused by his willingness to fight for American "industry," and his quest was successful as figures representing Great Britain and Germany either flee from his presence or beg for his mercy. The cartoon's caption praises Cleveland's actions, noting: "It is of the highest importance that those who administer our Government should jealously protect and maintain the rights of American citizens, at home and abroad, and should strive to achieve for our country her proper place among the nations of the earth."[54] With Grover Cleveland cast as the "Protector" of America's industry and future prosperity, *The Irish-American* clearly puts its full support behind his re-election.

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[52] Unknown, "American Industry's True Protector," in *The Irish-American*, November 3, 1888. Library of Congress.

[53] There are a number of European conflicts which the phrase "War Taxes" in Figure 1.7 could refer too. These include the First Boer War (1880-81) and the Mahdist War (1881-99). It is also possible that the phrase "War Taxes" refers to the defense spending advocated by the Republican Party.

[54] Ibid.

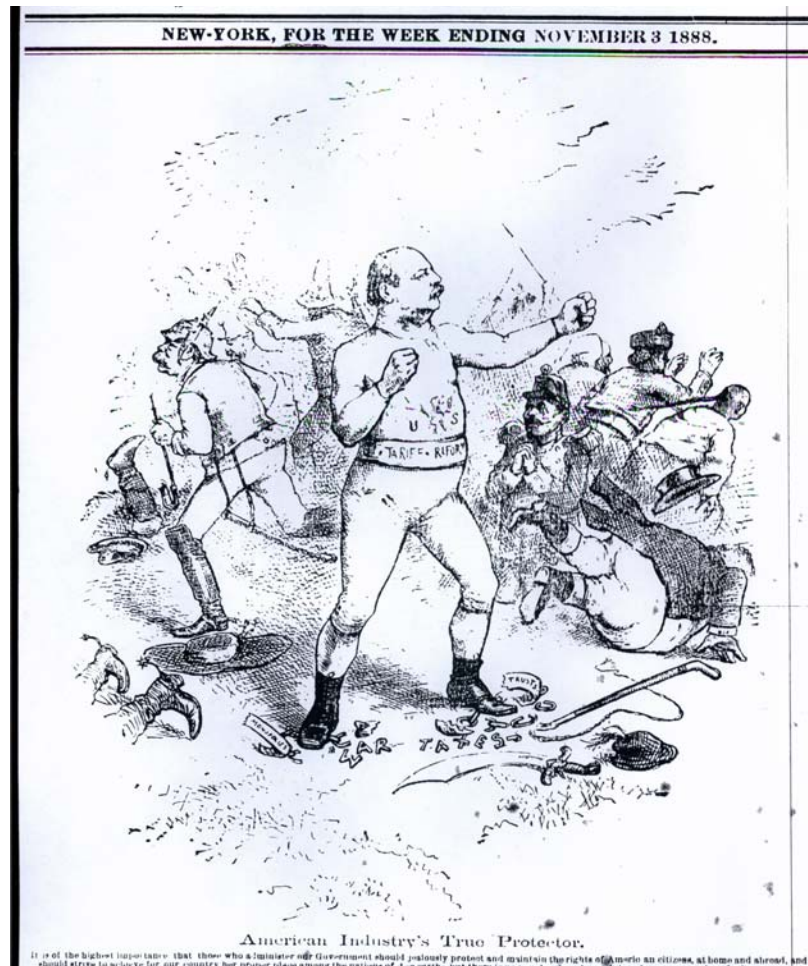

Figure 1.7: Unknown, “American Industry’s True Protector,” in *The Irish-American*, November 3, 1888. Library of Congress.

Though *The Irish-American* supported Cleveland, his stance on tariff reform was a cause for concern to the American-Irish community in 1888. Many Irish-Americans saw tariff reform, popularly described as “free trade,” as a synonym for being “pro-British,” and as such, often took exception to any discussion of tariff reforms. To allay Irish concerns that he was pro-British amongst his Irish-American supporters, Cleveland sought a fight with Canada (a former British colony, with many strong remaining ties to

Great Britain) over fishing rights.[55] Cleveland's efforts and the fishing rights dispute is alluded to in *The Irish-American's* cartoon from November 10, 1888, titled "Master of the Situation, and Intensely American."[56] (Figure 1.8) Once again, Grover Cleveland is prominently featured in the center of the cartoon. This time, instead of a boxer's attire, as seen in Figure 1.7, Cleveland is attired in a tiger's coat and carrying the club "Retaliation" in his right hand. Cleveland is standing on the ledge of a cliff face, and immediately next to Cleveland's head are the etched words "The People Are With You."

In addition to the figure of Cleveland and the expression of support written on the wall next to him, many other messages surround the cartoon's "Master of the Situation." At Cleveland's feet is a note referring to his quest to challenge Canada's fishing rights, and a pointed acknowledgement of the interference of Republicans in this mission: "Rejected Fisheries Treaty by the Republican Senators."[57] Other signs surrounding Cleveland rail against the Republican members of Congress who have impeded his efforts and made fun of his supposed "pro-British" loyalties.

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[55] Joanne Reitano, *The Tariff Question in the Gilded Age: The Great Debate of 1888*, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

[56] Unknown, "Master of the Situation, and Intensely American," in *The Irish-American*, November 10, 1888. Library of Congress.

[57] Ibid.

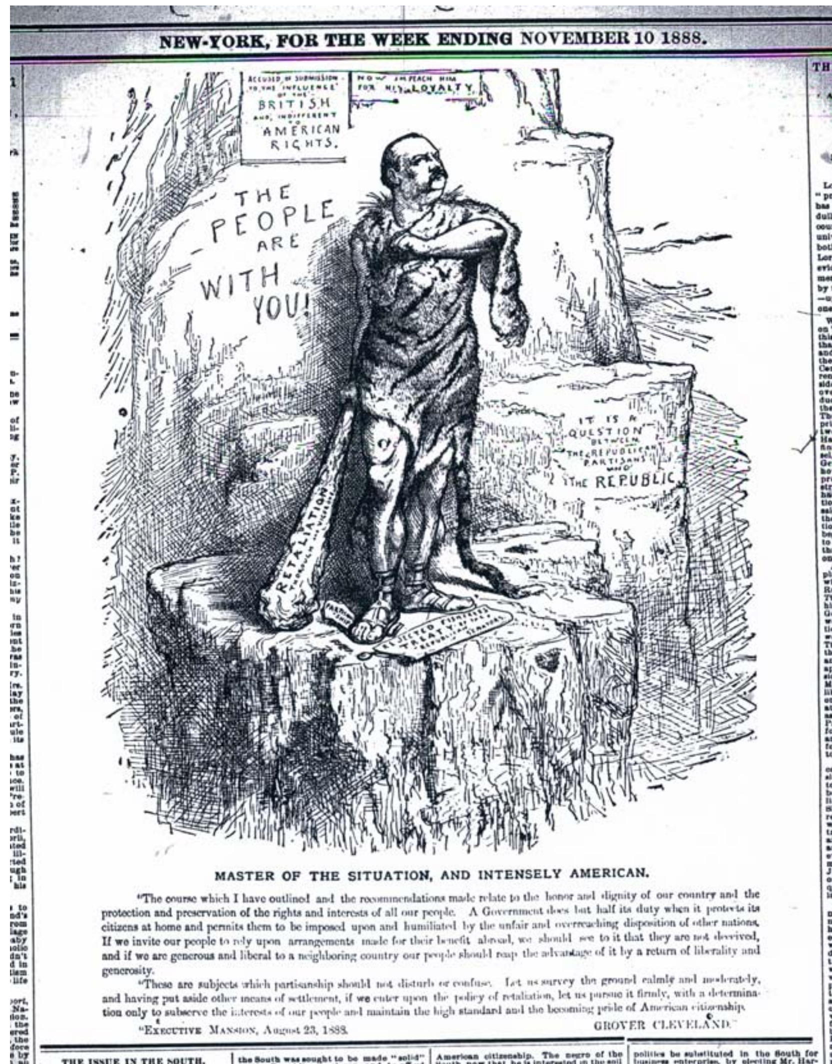

Figure 1.8: Unknown, "Master of the Situation, and Intensely American," in *The Irish-American*, November 10, 1888. Library of Congress.

The cartoon's caption is an excerpt from a speech by Cleveland himself, in which he argued against partisanship and for the benefits of free trade. He notes, "If we invite our people to rely upon arrangements made for their benefit abroad, we should see to it that they are not deceived, and if we are generous and liberal to a neighboring country our people should reap the advantage of it by a return of liberality and generosity."[58]

[58] Ibid.

Cleveland's efforts to appease the Irish-American community and make sure that his tariff reforms were not seen as pro-British efforts clearly worked, based on *The Irish-American's* unbridled support of him in the form of this cartoon. Unfortunately for Cleveland and the Democrats, he narrowly lost the 1888 Presidential election to Republican challenger Benjamin Harrison.

The Presidential election of 1888 was closely contested, with Cleveland winning the popular vote, but losing the Electoral College to Harrison by a narrow margin. *The Irish-American* lamented the election of Harrison in their November 17, 1888 cartoon titled "Four More Years of This."[59] (Figure 1.9) Standing in the center of the image are the figures of President-Elect Benjamin Harrison, on the left, and Uncle Sam on the right. Surrounding both men are a number of items, all with the word "tax" attached to them, along with several posters, the largest of which reads: "Taxing the (60) Millions like Sixty for the Millionaires."[60]

The cartoon's message is clear; as President, Benjamin Harrison will abuse Uncle Sam by forcing unwanted taxes on nearly all aspects of American life, including bread, coffee, paper and even the Bible. Based on the other cartoons in *The Irish-American* from the fall of 1888, it is not surprising that this cartoon depicts Harrison as desirous of raising taxes on everything, since Cleveland had been depicted as the only man who wanted to lower taxes or tariffs. Ultimately, the cartoon's title only serves to reinforce

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[59] Unknown, "Four More Years of This," in *The Irish-American*, November 17, 1888. Library of Congress.

[60] Ibid.

this conviction, by reminding the Irish-American community that they should prepare to endure "four more years of this."

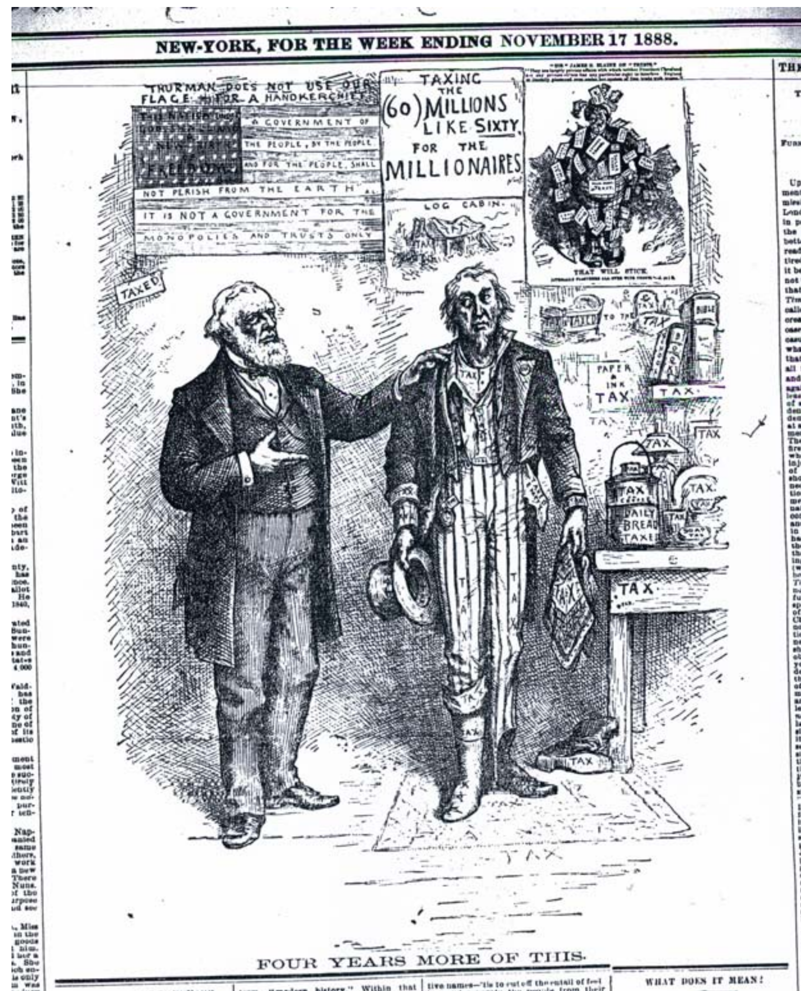

Figure 1.9: Unknown, "Four More Years of This," in *The Irish-American*, November 17, 1888. Library of Congress.

With the Presidential election of 1888 completed, the images found in *The Irish-American* reverted back to the original themes of Irish nationalism resonating in cartoons from earlier in the decade. There is no direct evidence to explain why the newspaper chose to produce cartoons on this particular election, but we can speculate that the editors

of *The Irish-American* found the election to be particularly important to the Irish-American community, and wanted to use the medium of political cartoons to communicate the significance of the moment. Moreover, the continued courting of Irish-American voters by the Republican Party was sure to have been threatening to Democratic Party officials counting on the Irish vote. It is possible they encouraged the editors of *The Irish-American* to emphasize the importance of the election through a variety of means, including the use of political cartoons.

Overall, *The Irish-American* cartoons served to convey important ideas and arguments to as many members of the Irish-American community as possible. While the majority of these cartoons concentrated on the struggle for Irish nationalism during the 1880s, *The Irish-American* cartoons took a different turn during the fall of 1888, concentrating instead on American political debates. Additionally, based on financial considerations, the editors of *The Irish-American* often reused the images of their cartoons. This created situations where the cartoon's image did not always match the context of the moment, to the detriment of its overall message. In the end, *The Irish-American's* cartoons from the 1880s present an excellent pool of sources for historians of the Irish-American community in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

V

With the explosion of the publishing industry in the second half of the nineteenth century, a wide range of newspapers and periodicals became popular with and available to large segments of the population. Humor journals and ethnic newspapers are no

exception, and each offered to their audience's commentary upon the major issues of the day. These sources provide scholars with a valuable window into the perceptions, aspirations, and topics of concern to the paper's editor (usually a member of the ethnic group's elite). They also convey a political party's platform, often tailored to fit a given ethnic audience. Lastly, they reveal an ethnic audience's tastes and preferences. By utilizing the political cartoons published in a variety of humor journals and ethnic newspapers, this study will investigate several major themes that carried weight with the interrelated constituencies of British and American mainstream audiences, the Irish people in Ireland, and most importantly, the Irish community in the United States.

Chapter 2:
Charles Stewart Parnell: "The Uncrowned King of Ireland" or the King of American Irish Hopes?

During the 1880s, Charles Stewart Parnell became the most well-known Irishman in the world.[1] A Protestant landowner with an American mother, Parnell would appear to be an unlikely candidate for leader of the Irish nationalist movement in the late nineteenth-century. Yet he was able to spearhead a coalition of disparate nationalist factions into a cohesive movement, the likes of which had not been seen in Ireland in several decades. Parnell aligned himself with a movement called the New Departure, which sought to combine constitutional efforts within the British Parliament in London with more radical and violent agrarian movements in Ireland itself.[2] As a Member of Parliament, Parnell utilized coercion and cooperation with both the Liberal and Conservative parties in Parliament in his efforts to enact constitutional changes that

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[1] There has been extensive scholarship done on Charles Parnell and his efforts for Irish independence. This is a brief sample of that scholarship. C.C. O'Brien, *Parnell and His Party, 1880-90*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957); F.S.L. Lyons, *Charles Stewart Parnell,* (London: Collins, 1977); Robert Fitzroy Foster, "Parnell and His People: The Ascendency and Home Rule," in *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, Vol. 6, (1980), 105-134; David George Boyce and Alan O'Day ed., *Parnell in Perspective*, (London: Routledge, 1991); Robert Kee, *The Laurel and the Ivy: The Story of Charles Stewart Parnell and Irish Nationalism,* (London: Hamilton, 1993); Tim Hodge, *Parnell and the Irish Question,* (Harlow: Longman, 1998); and James Loughlin, "Nationality and Loyalty: Parnellism, Monarchy, and the Construction of Irish Identity, 1880-5," in David George Boyce and Alan O'Day, ed. *Ireland in Transition, 1867-1921*, (London: Routledge, 2004).

[2] The origins of the New Departure are often attributed to Irish nationalist Michael Davitt, who began to engage other nationalists on a different approach after his release from prison in 1877. Dissatisfied most specifically with the inability of Isaac Butt and other parliamentarians to affect any change or progress, Davitt and John Devoy, another rising Irish nationalist who was exiled to the United States for his Fenian activities in Ireland, found a glimmer of hope in the actions and statements of Charles Stewart Parnell. At the same time that Davitt and Devoy began to look for a different approach to the Irish Question, and Parnell sought a constitutional solution, Patrick Ford, the editor of the New York paper *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, saw a more pressing issue than Ireland's independence that needed addressing. Ford argued that until Ireland's land questions were answered, and the societal concerns that coincided with land issues were addressed, that political independence for Ireland would be hollow at best. The three disparate foci advocated by Davitt and Devoy, Parnell, and Ford somehow managed to coalesce into a new policy by June of 1879 when the interested parties met at Morison's Hotel in Dublin and agreed to a fresh approach, resulting in the Irish Land League.

would lead to Irish independence. While Parnell negotiated with MPs, he also promoted and utilized the threat of agrarian violence and revolt in Ireland as a reaction to British rule, which was the method favored by a faction of Irish nationalists who had little use for the compromises of politics. Thus, by balancing these different approaches to Irish independence, Parnell broadened his base of support in other important ways.

One of his strengths as a leader stemmed from his ability to unite the Irish community in the United States with those struggling for national independence within Ireland itself. By tapping into the resources of the American Irish community, Parnell utilized both the emotional and financial support of exiled Irishmen in his efforts. Interestingly, Parnell's American heritage proved useful in his endeavors in America. The American Irish, then, had almost as much invested in the image and leadership of Parnell as the Irish in Ireland did. Unfortunately for all Irishmen on both sides of the Atlantic, the end of Parnell's illustrious career and life were marred by a divorce scandal, the repercussions of which splintered the Irish nationalist movement and may have ultimately cost Parnell his life. Yet, in the course of his decade of leadership, Parnell came closer to achieving Irish independence than any other nineteenth-century Irishman. It was for this reason that Parnell came to embody the dreams and aspirations of Irishmen on both sides of the Atlantic.

I

The status of Parnell as a mythical nationalist figure and a representative of Irishmen everywhere is readily seen in political cartoons from Ireland, England and the

United States during the 1880s. These political cartoons have not gone unnoticed by historians, who have explored and analyzed these images from a variety of frameworks. The first to do so was L. Perry Curtis in his study of Irish figures in Victorian caricatures.[3] Curtis employs the use of physiognomy in his study of Irish figures in British cartoons and caricatures and devotes most of his examination to the physical depictions of Irish figures. He argues that the study of cartoons and caricature are incredibly valuable for compiling an accurate picture of Anglo-Irish relations in the nineteenth century, as well as providing deeper insight into "the domestic concerns of the Victorian governing class."[4] In his analysis of British political cartoons, Curtis argues that the crude and "apelike" features often referenced by scholars as evidence of British racist attitudes towards the Irish do not tell the full story of Anglo-Irish relations. He points to the significant number of images produced by British cartoonists that depict the Irish in a more positive light. Curtis offers an explanation for this seeming contradiction in British political cartoons. He argues that when British cartoonists portray an Irish figure as monstrous, apelike, or subhuman these images represent the violent nationalists who threatened British authority in Ireland. In contrast, more positive renderings of the Irish reflect British beliefs that the overall population of Ireland benignly accepted British rule.

Curtis does not devote much particular attention to Parnell's representation, focusing instead on the overall depiction of the Irish. However, he does make some

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[3] L. Perry Curtis, Jr. *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*. (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971).

[4] Ibid., xii.

interesting observations on Parnell's image in Victorian cartooning. Because Parnell was the most recognizable leader of the Irish nationalist movement, Curtis expresses little surprise that British cartoonists often portrayed Parnell in a negative or derogatory manner. Curtis references two depictions of Parnell, one as an assassin and the other as a vampire bat. But not all British renderings of Parnell were gruesome, and Curtis notes this as well. Parnell's aristocratic heritage and his use of the parliamentary system earned him a higher level of respect from cartoonists than other nationalist figures. Curtis references a telling cartoon in the humor journal *Judy* from 1881 in which a sophisticated looking Parnell nervously greets a simianized Irishman at Kilmainham Jail.[5] Clearly in this cartoon, Parnell did not embody the same derogatory characteristics of his fellow Irishmen, but instead represented something quite different and infinitely more respectable than the "riffraff" Paddy. Likewise, this Parnell indicates that he wants little or nothing to do with the more violent and subversive characters of Ireland. There are also some class overtones emanating from the cartoon's depiction of Parnell. As a member of the aristocracy, Parnell may have sympathized with the lower Irish orders, but he may also have denied them as associates. Overall, this apprehension to connect with the apelike Irish suggests a political commentary on Parnell's efforts with the agrarian movements, and his own misgivings about that particular strategy.

Though Curtis' examination of Irish figures in Victorian cartoons and caricature does not thoroughly examine the plethora of Parnell images, it nonetheless paved a path for scholars interested in exploring the value of political cartoons and caricature in

[5] Ibid., 145.

understanding historical events. The arguments and methodology utilized by Curtis have faced criticism over the years from historians who argue that he fails to provide a complete explanation for the factors that race, class, and most particularly religion play in the prejudicial depictions of Irishmen in Victorian cartoons.[6] Yet his study remains an essential tool for scholars seeking to explore Irish images in political cartoons. Two such scholars have devoted more specific energies to the illustrated figure of Parnell.

Nearly two decades after Curtis' original publication, and several years after he revised it in 1997, historian Lawrence McBride focused specifically on Parnell's status as a mythical figure in Irish political cartoons in a collection of essays dealing with nationalist imagery.[7] McBride argues that the symbolism surrounding Parnell in political cartoons contributed to his personal mythology through the depiction of his image in four basic motifs. According to McBride, "These motifs centered on Parnell's physical appearance and character; on the constructive work that Parnell undertook on behalf of the Irish nation; on the conflict and cooperation that existed between Parnell and British politicians; and on the rising expectations that nationalists experienced in anticipation of the dawning of a new day of freedom and prosperity in Ireland."[8] It is important to note that the motifs described by McBride came from Irish-produced cartoons, as opposed to the images discussed by Curtis, which came from British papers. This alone certainly

[6] Giovanni Costigan, *The American Historical Review*, Vol 77, No. 2 (April, 1972), 519-520. Lynn H. Lees, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* Vol. 4, No. 1 (Summer 1973), 140-145. F.S.L. Lyons, *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 80, No. 348 (July, 1973), 654-655.

[7] Lawrence McBride "Nationalist Political Illustrations and the Parnell Myth, 1880-1900" in Lawrence McBride ed., *Images, Icons, and the Irish Nationalist Imagination* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), pp 73-94.

[8] Ibid., 73.

helps explain why Parnell's representation covers such a broad, illustrated spectrum. It is also important, however, to note that the divide is not merely the difference between British and Irish viewpoints. The Irish were certainly not unified in their views of Irish nationalism and the role of the British government in Ireland; likewise not all Irish cartoonists depicted Parnell the same way.

McBride's examination of Parnell in Irish nationalist political cartoons focuses on a positive, if multi-layered representation of the leader. Similar to Curtis' brief analysis of Parnell's image, McBride begins by exploring Parnell's physical depiction in nationalist cartoons. As McBride notes, "The exploration of the construction of the meaning of the Parnell myth as it was revealed in political illustrations begins with the portrayal of his dignity, which was derived from the motif of his physical appearance and character traits."[9] Parnell's illustrated physical figure nearly always conveyed his aristocratic sophistication, a clear statement that this man was a leader. More importantly, his aristocratic background and class standing played a key role in his ability to negotiate with the incredibly class conscious British establishment. His class status and stature played an even more important role when Parnell was placed in company with other statesmen in political cartoons. McBride argues that the illustrated Parnell, with equal status and dignity to British politicians, not only suggests his own power and independence, but is a deeper reflection of Ireland's political status as well. To support this argument, McBride refers to a cartoon in *Irish Weekly News* from December 1885 in which Parnell and British Prime Minister William Gladstone sit opposite each other at a

[9] Ibid., 75.

large desk, with a map of Ireland clearly visible behind Parnell. [10] As the two men collaborate on the Home Rule Bill, the cartoon makes clear that Parnell is an equal partner in the process and that Ireland is represented both in the figure of Parnell himself and as he stands before the map of all Ireland. McBride argued that for Irish cartoonists and nationalists, the ability to depict Parnell as an equal with the British Prime Minister had incredible symbolic importance for Irish aims.

After discussing the various motifs used to build up the myth of Parnell in cartoons, McBride then tackles the divorce scandal that derailed Parnell's life and career, and tore through the Irish nationalist movement. With Parnell and his mythical status as a hero and representative of Irishmen everywhere as the focal point of the nationalist movement, McBride argues, the disintegration of that image due to scandal had a profound effect on the movement as a whole. The cartoons and images produced from this contentious period offer McBride the opportunity to see the effects of the Parnellite/anti-Parnellite propaganda war that plagued the Irish nationalist movement for the next ten years, from December of 1890 until the reunification of the Irish party in 1900.

Just as artists utilized his physical presence in building up Parnell's myth, anti-Parnellite cartoonists lampooned Parnell's physical stature in tearing down his character and status as an Irish leader. One of the images McBride analyzes comes from Dublin's *Weekly National Press* in July of 1891. In this cartoon, Parnell is depicted in a sleazy way, with a slick, salesman-like appearance. McBride describes the figure, saying, "His

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[10] Ibid., 78.

attire is preposterous from head to toe: straw hat tied with a green ribbon, white gloves, and stripped green trousers; his yellow jacket is cinched with an ostentatious watch chain and is accented by a checked vest."[11] Making matters worse, Parnell has turned his back on the poor Irish family to his right, as he strides confidently over to his new wife, Katherine O'Shea, (the woman with whom he had an adulterous affair). Clearly, Parnell is not a heroic, or even sympathetic, figure in this cartoon and has seemingly divorced himself from the people his image used to represent. By portraying Parnell in this manner, the anti-Parnellites hoped to encourage fellow nationalists who continued to support Parnell during this period to reexamine their position. McBride, however, makes an interesting point about the attempts of anti-Parnellites, as seen in the image discussed above, to destroy the mythic qualities that had come to surround Parnell. He notes, "The supreme irony of the anti-Parnellite illustrations was that in mounting their attack on Parnell, they reinforced the images that already informed the myth even as they tried to subvert it."[12] The death of Charles Parnell in October of 1891 effectively ended the publication of negative Parnell cartoons, for as McBride notes, "There was nothing whatsoever to be gained for their cause by continuing to attack the dead leader in political cartoons".[13] While Parnell's death stopped the negative attacks, it did not prevent his supporters from continuing to promote the Parnell myth by portraying him as a martyr for the Irish cause. McBride observes that in the decade following his death, Parnell's image

[11] Ibid., 85.

[12] Ibid., 86.

[13] Ibid., 87.

was used in a variety of ways by his devoted followers in an effort to maintain their political status while also attempting reconciliation with the anti-Parnellite nationalists. He ultimately concludes that any discussion or understanding of the "Parnell myth" by historians must include some analysis of the political cartoons from the era. He argues that, "the illustrated depiction of the Parnell myth was a principal means by which Irish people, as active participants in a shared historical process, understood themselves, assessed their leaders and sustained their hopes as a society and a nation."[14]

Several years after McBride offered his examination, another scholar devoted attention to Parnell and the Irish image in the British press. Michael de Nie's exploration of nineteenth century British depictions of the Irish involves both textual and image analysis, as he pieces together the shifting Irish "character" in British media.[15] Regarding the depiction of Parnell in particular, the distinction between British-produced images and Irish-produced images is important to note, as the work of De Nie illustrates when compared with McBride's analysis of Parnell. In the final chapter, de Nie examines the Irish Land War from 1879-1882, observing that the British press in this period, exhibited ambivalence towards the Irish situation. De Nie argues that the British press felt that "Irishness was still clearly inferior, but it was no longer the subject of far-reaching attempts at a cure. It could not be removed, only sedated enough to enable the United Kingdom to get on with its business."[16] Charles Stewart Parnell and his work

[14] Ibid., 94.

[15] Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004).

[16] Ibid., 265.

with the Irish Land League plays a role in this chapter, and de Nie devotes specific attention to Parnell and how his image in the British press reflected the ambiguities Britons felt towards the Irish population as a whole. Unfortunately, de Nie's analyses of the Parnell cartoons are not as thorough as McBride's, spending more time on a textural analysis of Parnell's description in the British press. Yet what de Nie does offer is an understanding of how Parnell's image fluctuated in the British media as circumstances within the Irish nationalist movement changed.

To open his discussion of Parnell and the Land League, de Nie notes the work of McBride and another scholar of Irish nationalist images, Gerard Moran, commenting on how the Irish press and British press were both preoccupied with the actions and images of Parnell. De Nie observes, "From about 1880 until his premature death in 1891, Parnell's visage was stock-in-trade for British cartoonists and a burning subject for some journalists."[17] Utilizing a wide variety of British newspapers and humor journals, de Nie begins his discussion of Parnell's image in political cartoons by commenting on how he is often paired with figures that symbolize his relationship with the Irish people. Two images are taken from the humor journal *Fun*, and show Parnell as someone with great influence over an ignorant and foolish people. Both cartoons, published several weeks apart in October of 1880, include Parnell's recognizable face in a figure that is manipulating the "Irish" figure of the cartoon. These cartoons certainly offer intriguing insight into the fear and mistrust British cartoonists felt towards Parnell and his role as

[17] Ibid., 209.

leader of the Irish people, but unfortunately de Nie offers only a limited description and analysis of these images.

Commenting on the image of Parnell as the organ grinder, with the Irish people represented in the figure of the monkey, de Nie notes, "The monkey in figure 28 ["The Irish Grievance Grinder"] is reminiscent of the vicious … simian of the famine era and, … was used to represent the assumed primitive state of the Irish peasantry."[18] This statement is the extent of de Nie's analysis of the cartoon, containing little discussion of the motifs or symbols present, and no argument on Parnell's figure in the image at all. Instead of commenting on the way that Parnell holds the monkey on a leash, or even his lack of aristocratic dress in this image, de Nie chose to focus only on the simian figure with a brief comment on its previous use by other artists. In sum, de Nie missed an opportunity to provide a deeper analysis of how all of these figures work together in the political cartoon to express the anxieties that he contends the British press felt towards Parnell and the Land Leaguers.

Of the many scholars who have previously studied the life and work of Charles Parnell, including those mentioned above who have examined his image in political cartoons, none have looked to either the American or American Irish press for representations of Parnell in political cartoons. Given Parnell's own American roots, and the importance the Irish nationalist movement placed on their ties to Irish supporters in America, this is a glaring omission in the scholarship on both Parnell and Irish nationalism.

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[18] Ibid., 210.

II

Both the mainstream American press and the Irish-American press took great interest in Charles Stewart Parnell's visit to the United States during the early months of 1880, soon after Parnell assumed a lead role in the Irish nationalist movement. Parnell's stated purpose for this trip stemmed from a growing famine crisis in Ireland, and his efforts to raise money for famine relief. The un-acknowledged and true motivation for his tour of American cities was tied to another fundraising effort, this one for the new Irish nationalist organization, the Land League. This group formed alongside the plan of New Departure in 1879. It sought to address the question of land ownership in Ireland, which was based on Anglo-Irish families holding nearly all Irish land, with the Catholic Irish as their tenant framers. To address the disparities of land ownership, the Land League hoped to raise funds that would allow Irish tenants to boycott their rent payments, and still be able to survive if evicted. Raising funds took on an increased importance in the fall of 1879 and early months of 1880, when famine again loomed in Ireland's horizon.[19]

In response to the threat of famine in Ireland, Charles Parnell went to the United States in the early months of 1880 to raise funds for famine relief. Parnell's background, his mother and maternal grandparents were American, in addition to his stature as one of the most prominent Irish leaders of the day, made him a natural choice for a fund-raising tour of the United States. Irish nationalists hoped that his presence and his American connections would encourage American Irish to give copiously to both famine relief and

[19] Thomas Brown, *Irish-American Nationalism*, *1870-1890* (NY: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1966), 96-97.

the Land League. His presence on American soil had a polarizing effect, highlighting differences of opinion on Parnell and the Irish nationalist movement between the mainstream American and Irish-American presses. Nowhere was this difference more evident than in the political cartoons generated from Parnell's American excursion. The representations of Parnell in these cartoons vary widely, from respected statesman to a cunning Don Quixote, reflecting the hopes of the Irish-American community and the scorn of mainstream American society.

Evidence of these diverse representations of Parnell can be seen in a comparison of two political cartoons from January 1880. The first, titled "Columbia's Welcome to Parnell," in the January 10 issue of New York's *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator* (henceforth referred to as the *Irish World*), contains several interesting symbols.[20] (Figure 2.1) Parnell, the aristocratic statesman, is dressed in a fine suit and is carrying a top hat in his left hand, which also holds a scroll with the words "Land and Liberty" written on it. It was an interesting move on the artist's part to put the scroll and top hat in the same hand, for it provides a connection between the goals and ideals of Irish nationalists for land and liberty and the sophisticated man who is charged with bringing these ambitions to fruition. The figure of Parnell in this cartoon is no ruffian, but a stately and powerful leader who has the appearance of respectability necessary for achieving Irish aims. Parnell, having just disembarked from the ship that is seen sailing in the background of the cartoon, steps forward to meet Columbia on the steps of an American building that is depicted in a neo-classical style. We know that it is Columbia,

[20] Unknown, "Columbia's Welcome to Parnell," in *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, January 10, 1880. New York Public Library.

the allegorical representation of the United States, by her style of dress and cap, this attire being a common depiction of Columbia in this period. Columbia herself is as welcoming to Parnell as he is willing to accept her embrace. She holds out her left hand to him, while he reaches for her hand with his right, and her right hand beckons him forward into the building.

Figure 2.1: Unknown, "Columbia's Welcome to Parnell," in *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, January 10, 1880. New York Public Library.

The top section of the building bears the figure of an eagle holding the American flag and another flag with a sun on the horizon. Alongside the eagle are the names of "prominent" Irish-American citizens, important to the foundation and development of the United States. These names on the building, mentioned again by Columbia in the captioned text of her welcome to Parnell, are an important means of connecting the Irish Parnell with both the American Irish and the general American public during his visit to the United States. By aligning Parnell with names that include among others former Democratic president Andrew Jackson, along with Parnell's own Stewart family, the cartoonist gives Parnell a higher degree of credibility with the American populace as a whole. Indeed, it appears that it was so important to connect Parnell with the American Irish that the cartoonist makes no distinction between the American Scotch-Irish and the more recent arrivals from Catholic Ireland. At the same time, the figure of Parnell indicates to the Irish American population that this is a man with powerful connections and the ability to achieve Irish independence from Britain.

The final image of interest found in this political cartoon is the small inset circle to the bottom left of Parnell and Columbia. In this smaller figure a donkey in a tartan kilt sits on the ground wiping tears from his eyes. Next to him are a set of bagpipes labeled "NY Herald." The caption reads "After all my braying and blowing he gets a splendid reception."[21] The Scottish symbolism accompanying the New York Herald section refers to the paper's founder, Scottish immigrant James Gordon Bennett. The above caption refers to the negative press Parnell's visit to the United States received in the weeks

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[21] Ibid.

leading up to his voyage, instigated by the *New York Herald* and other newspapers disinclined to support Irish issues or the Irish American community as a whole. The editors at *New York Tribune* also found the reason for Parnell's visit unconvincing, especially the claims of fundraising for famine relief, though they did not dismiss him outright. In an editorial written in early January 1880, the editors noted that Parnell had intriguing qualities as a leader: "Every man is entitled to a fair hearing; and this modern agitator appears to be a man of exceptional ability and tact, and plays the role of defender of a class, who undoubtedly, have suffered much from oppression in the past and from neglect in the present. … Whether he is a pure patriot or a demagogue is a fact of real importance only to Mr. Parnell and his constituency."[22] Neither a ringing endorsement nor an outright dismissal of Parnell, the editorial provides at least one perspective from the mainstream American press on Parnell and his Irish nationalist activities. It also introduces an emotionally laden word, "demagogue," which is echoed and featured prominently in another cartoon, this one from the New York based humor journal *Puck.*

This image, published on the January 14, 1880 cover of *Puck,* offers a very different kind of Parnell figure to its audience.[23] (Figure 2.2) Whereas the Parnell found in the *Irish World* cartoon was a debonair and sophisticated gentleman, the *Puck* Parnell is represented as foolish and troublesome. Modeled after the character of Cervantes' Don Quixote*,* who is a delusional and hopelessly optimistic figure, this Parnell looks nothing like the statesman greeting Columbia in the previous cartoon. Wearing a suit of armor

[22] Editorial, "Mr. Parnell and His Errand," in *New York Tribune*, January 3, 1880.

[23] Unknown, "Doing Don Quixote at a Distance," in *Puck*, January 14, 1880. Library of Congress.

that includes saucepans and teacups, along with pants and a shirt more associated with the lower classes, Parnell does not look like someone to be taken seriously. Further complicating Parnell's efforts, though not explicitly, is the bottle of alcohol attached to his waist. This object represents several things at once. First, it references back to the character of Don Quixote whose delusions are fueled in part by drunkenness. It is also a not too thinly veiled reference to the typical stereotype of the drunken Irishman, another obstacle to any Irishman's efforts to be taken seriously in the American political realm. While Parnell does not drink from the bottle, its presence alone indicates that Parnell is not that different from his drunken countrymen.

A symbol for Parnell's own crusade occupies the upper right hand corner of the cartoon. A large windmill, tended by England and its allegorical figure of "John Bull," represents Irish concerns as well as American reactions to them. Each of the blades on the windmill contains writing which reads as follows: "Irish Crusade," "Landlords vs. Tenants," "Land System of Ireland Not an American Question," and "Purely a Domestic Affair." While the windmill presents some of Ireland and Parnell's issues quite accurately, particularly the Irish land system and disputes between landlords and tenants, it also makes clear what role the artist thinks the United States should play in these struggles—none.

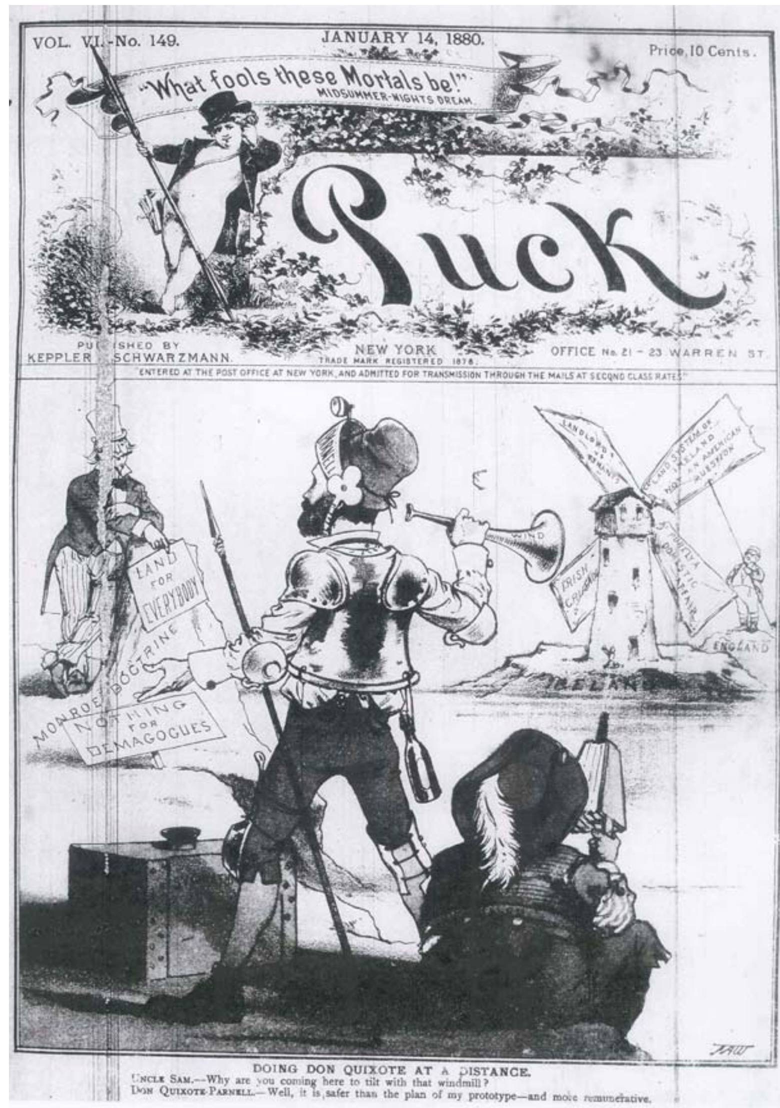

Figure 2.2: Unknown, "Doing Don Quixote at a Distance," in *Puck*, January 14, 1880. Library of Congress.

Certainly the figure representing the United States in this cartoon is not disposed to think well of Parnell and his aims. The allegorical figure of Uncle Sam, found in the upper left hand corner and recognizable by his striped suit, leans on the representation of the "Monroe Doctrine," seemingly disinterested in anything Parnell has to say. Uncle Sam is also holding a sign in his hand that states "Land for Everybody," but more

importantly, there is a sign at his feet that reads "Nothing for Demagogues." This sign, more than any other aspect in the cartoon, indicates Uncle Sam's (and America's) true feelings towards Parnell, who was viewed by a majority in the American press as a "demagogue," someone who unscrupulously manipulates the masses for his own political gains.[24]

Thus, by using the story of Don Quixote who "tilts at windmills" in a foolish and delusional way that ultimately leads to his own demise, the cartoon depicts Parnell as an Irish fool and "demagogue." The figure of Uncle Sam takes Parnell to task for coming to the United States on behalf of Irish issues, because he (and the publication) feel that Irish concerns have no place in America. There is no welcoming Columbia for *Puck's* Parnell, nor is there even a real acknowledgement of the issues that brought him on this journey in the first place. While the *Irish World* cartoon takes care to associate Parnell in several ways with important American figures (the eagle, the neo-classical building, even Columbia herself), every symbol of the United States in the *Puck* cartoon is designed to repel or deride Parnell and his aims. Clearly each publication had different views and perceptions of Parnell as a leader and the Irish nationalist movement overall. It is not surprising that the *Puck* cartoon placed Parnell in a ridiculous character and situation; prejudice against and derision of the Irish in the American press, especially in the nineteenth century, has been well documented for decades. What is enlightening,

[24] The term demagogue can also apply to the "agitator dummies" found in Figures 6.10 and 6.11 in Chapter Six. Together, these "agitators"/"demagogues" represent Anglo-American fears of ethnic speech that could unduly influence the Irish-American masses and threaten Anglo-American power and status.

however, are the insights the *Irish World* offers of Irish American views of their own place in the situation.

Both the way in which Parnell is presented and the way in which he is welcomed by Columbia in the *Irish World* cartoon indicate the beliefs and desires of the Irish community, as they sought for social respectability and acceptance of their nationalist struggles from mainstream Americans. Parnell's stately and sophisticated depiction seemingly elevates all Irishmen and legitimizes their concerns, which are no longer to be associated with violent hooligans like the Fenians.[25] Columbia's (and by extension, America's) welcome of Parnell symbolizes a deep-seated American Irish hope and desire that they and their concerns will be accepted and supported by American society. Certainly, Irish nationalists could not help feeling that mainstream American support of Irish nationalist issues was crucial in their success, as an editorial in the *Irish American* expressed:

> Nothing affects John Bull so much as to have Brother Jonathan [a nickname for the United States] come down on some gouty corns, and he will do almost anything to relieve himself. … The voice of America has declared in favor of the Irish agitators, promising them a hearty support, and lo, the effect in England![26]

While the editorial staff for the *Irish American* was slightly over-optimistic in their belief that the United States was fully behind the Irish cause, both the editorial and more importantly the cartoon from the *Irish World* indicate just how important American support was to the Irish community in their nationalist aims. Furthermore, it was due to

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[25] "Fenians" is a term applied to Irishmen during the 1860s and 1870s who utilized violence against English landlords and government officials in an effort to secure Irish independence from Great Britain. They received financial and emotional support from Irish communities around the world.

[26] Editorial, "John Bull's Change of Front," in *Irish American*, January 17, 1880.

his American successes that Parnell acquired the title that would stick with him for the following decade, "The Uncrowned King of Ireland."

III

Parnell's mission to the United States was considered a significant success, based on the amount of money he raised and the level of excitement and support he generated among Irish communities throughout America. Nevertheless, neither American Irish money nor American Irish support were able to enact political or land reforms in Ireland in the early part of the 1880s. A series of setbacks and violent clashes, along with tensions within the nationalist movement itself, interrupted numerous attempts to solve the several Irish "questions." Despite these problems, however, there was little doubt that Parnell was the unquestioned leader of Irish nationalism, and the political cartoons from both the American and Irish presses during the mid-1880s reflect this reality.

On the American side, a cartoon from the June 6, 1883 edition of *Puck* demonstrates the enormous influence Parnell had over the Irish and American Irish community. Titled "Boycotting the Pope," this two-page cartoon places the Protestant Parnell on one end of a room, directly opposite Pope Leo XIII, with the masses of Irishman in-between them clearly looking to Parnell, not the Pope, for leadership and guidance.[27] (Figure 2.3) This intriguing cartoon, full of competing Catholic and nationalist imagery, makes clear that Americans saw Parnell as someone with more influence on the Irish than Catholicism itself. This perception clearly comes through in the attire and position of Parnell, seated on the right hand side of the cartoon. Sitting on a

[27] Unknown, "Boycotting the Pope," in *Puck*, June 6, 1883. Library of Congress.

throne very similar to the one the Pope sits in, Parnell wears clerical robes, delicate slippers, and a very prominent crown on top of head, which looks nearly identical to Leo XIII's papal tiara.

Figure 2.3: Unknown, “Boycotting the Pope,” in *Puck*, June 6, 1883. Library of Congress.

The immense crown features the name “Parnell,” and contains shamrocks on all three layers as well as at the top-most point of the tiara. Shamrocks also feature prominently on Parnell’s slippers, and can even be found on the stand holding his important papers, next to the throne. On the left hand side of the cartoon, the pope sits in wide-eyed disbelief at the throng of Irishmen flocking to Parnell. Leo XIII is dressed almost identically with Parnell, with similar robes, slippers, and of course the traditional papal tiara. Yet, undoubtedly, this Protestant Irishman has somehow usurped traditional authority as the head of the Irish-Catholic Church. Perhaps the cartoonist is suggesting that Parnell’s Irish followers lack the ability to reason about politics rationally. Thus, their adoration and faith in Parnell lacks any reasoned legitimacy, and instead simply suggests blind devotion.

The Irishmen (who cannot be identified as specifically Irish or Irish-American) flooding the middle section of the cartoon all face Parnell without a glance in the pope’s direction. Nearly all of these Irishmen hold a bag of money in their hands, and those closest to Parnell show that this money is an offering to Parnell and his cause. Indeed, on Parnell’s right, one Irish man places his hard-earned cash into an offering plate labeled “Parnell’s Fund.” The rest appear equally ready to offer up their own money, and in return, they could receive from Parnell one of the scrolls placed just to his left, which read “Remission of Rents” and “Assassination Absolution.” The similar scrolls next to the pope, reading “Absolution” and “Indulgence,” go equally unnoticed as the pope himself. Finally, two banners held high above the crowd display the faces of the new

“saints” of the nationalist movement: “St. Patrick Eagan” and “St. Michael Davitt.” The depiction of these nationalist leaders as saints in Parnell’s “church,” serves to reinforce the image of Parnell as a leader with power matching, and even surpassing that of the pope and the Catholic Church.

This fascinating image offers insights not only into understanding Parnell’s evolving image, but also American perceptions of Parnell, his relationship with the Irish, and the fundamental relationship between the Irish and Catholicism. Entirely different from the Parnell greeting Columbia upon his arrival to the United States, or the Don Quixote Parnell who tilts at the windmill of Irish nationalism, this Parnell is the sole authority on all things Irish. The Parnell of this cartoon is not looking to the United States for reassurances, blessings, or approval. With the entire Irish population seemingly behind him, offering up both their support and money, Parnell simply sits upon his throne and waits for the people to come to him. Typical Americans, or at least the mainstream American press, must have been both intrigued and repulsed by this image of Parnell. Certainly, based on the well-known prejudices of the American public in the nineteenth-century, few thought anything could replace the role of the Catholic Church in Irish lives. Thus, Americans might have been fearful and suspicious of both Parnell and Irish nationalism, which appeared to be even more powerful than Catholicism in directing Irish attentions. Finally, this image does offer an intriguing question; namely was it possible for a Protestant aristocrat to replace the role of the Catholic Church for Irishmen on either side of the Atlantic? This cartoon certainly suggests that this is the case, however as we see later on in the chapter, Catholicism may have actually had a hand in Parnell’s

eventual political demise, suggesting American hopes for its decreased importance were premature.

Figure 2.4: J.D. Reigh, "Ireland to Parnell," in *United Ireland*, December 15, 1883. British Library.

Figure 2.5: J.D. Reigh, "Erin Presenting New Colors to Her Soldiers," in *United Ireland,* January 3, 1885. British Library.

Parnell's image in the Irish press also demonstrated the increasing political power and influence he accumulated during the mid-1880s. Two cartoons from Dublin's *United Ireland*, the nationalist paper Parnell owned, offer similar depictions of Parnell bearing both the blessings and burdens of the Irish people as their hero and champion. Drawn by the same artist, J.D. Reigh, the two cartoons printed respectively in December 1883 and January 1885 suggest that only Parnell could save Ireland and the Irish people from British oppression.[28] (Figures 2.4 and 2.5)

In the first of the two cartoons (Figure 2.4), Parnell, dressed in the attire of a medieval knight, kneels before Erin to receive his prize, having just won a jousting match. At his feet lies the broken lance "Feudalism," while the cheering crowd in the background offers their own support and gratitude to Parnell for his achievement. It is interesting that the figure of Erin presents Parnell with his prize, which according to the cartoon's title, is Ireland itself, thus suggesting that she is the ultimate guardian of the Irish people. Yet, by offering Parnell the gift of Ireland and the Irish people, she acknowledges that Ireland needs help, and Parnell is the best candidate to provide that assistance.

The second cartoon (Figure 2.5), offers a strikingly similar depiction of Parnell kneeling at the feet of Erin. In this image, Erin gives Parnell, along with other members of the Irish nationalist leadership, the "colors" of Ireland for the year 1885. The other leaders in the background of the cartoon, all dressed in military attire, carry the flags reading "Homes for the Laborers," "Away With Landlordism," and "Down With the

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[28] J.D. Reigh, "Ireland to Parnell," in *United Ireland,* December 15, 1883. J. D. Reigh, "Erin Presenting New Colors For 1885 To Her Soldiers," in *United Ireland,* January 3, 1885. British Library.

Castle." Parnell receives his banner, "National Independence," while kneeling at Erin's feet, just as the knighted Parnell did in the previous cartoon. Again, the figure of Erin acts as Ireland's ultimate guardian by dispatching the Irish nationalist troops with their missions for the year. Reserving the largest and most important mission of independence for Parnell, Erin identifies him as the most powerful leader in Ireland's quest for Irish independence.

Combined, the two images reinforce the idea that Erin may be the essence of Ireland, but the leader best able to defeat British oppression and bring Ireland independence is Parnell. By kneeling at Erin's feet to receive both the blessings and burdens of leading the Irish people, Parnell is humbling himself before the Irish and taking on the mantle of leader and protector. Parnell's efforts on behalf of Irish nationalism intensified in late 1885, with a renewed call in the British Parliament for Irish Home Rule finding traction in the midst of British political chaos.[29] Parliamentary elections held at the end of 1885 put Parnell and his Irish party in the position of swinging the balance of power for either British political party, thus giving Parnell enormous political capital. Parnell ultimately aligned himself with the Liberal party, headed once again by Prime Minister William Gladstone, and the possibility for Irish Home Rule glowed brightly.

With Home Rule seeming so close at hand, the American, Irish American and Irish press all provided their own commentaries on the situation through political

[29] Parnell's Irish Parliamentary Party played an important role as a swing voting bloc in Britain's Parliament throughout the 1880s. For the majority of that time, the Irish Parliamentary Party aligned with the Liberal Party, headed by Prime Minister William Gladstone (1880-85, 1886). Thomas Brown, 115.

cartoons. As with previous cartoons, the depiction of Parnell takes on a different character with each artist and publication. Although agenda and readership of each publication was a major factor in determining Parnell's portrayal, the way events unfolded during this period also played a role in the way Parnell's image varied. Ultimately, depictions of Parnell during the early months of 1886 reflect the larger tensions surrounding the Home Rule issue, with Parnell serving as the focal point for a number of different interpretations of the proper course for Ireland.

The cartoon titled "Fag-an-Bealach," which translates into "Clear the Way," was published on February 6, 1886 in the *Irish American* and is an interesting look at Home Rule and the issues surrounding its proposal and debate in Parliament.[30] (Figure 2.6) It is a frenzied scene, reflecting the chaotic process that was unfolding, and contains a number of noteworthy figures, not the least of which is Parnell himself. Situated in the upper left hand corner of the image, Parnell is driving a horse-drawn carriage, labeled "Home Rule," through a crowded town square. As with the earlier representation of Parnell in the *Irish World*, this Parnell has a sophisticated and commanding aura. Clearly, he is not panicked or even bothered by the scene in front of him. He is the picture of calm and control, important characteristics for the man who was "driving" through one of the most important pieces of legislation created with regard to Ireland.

[30] Unknown, "Fag-an-Bealach," in *Irish American*, February 6, 1886. Library of Congress.

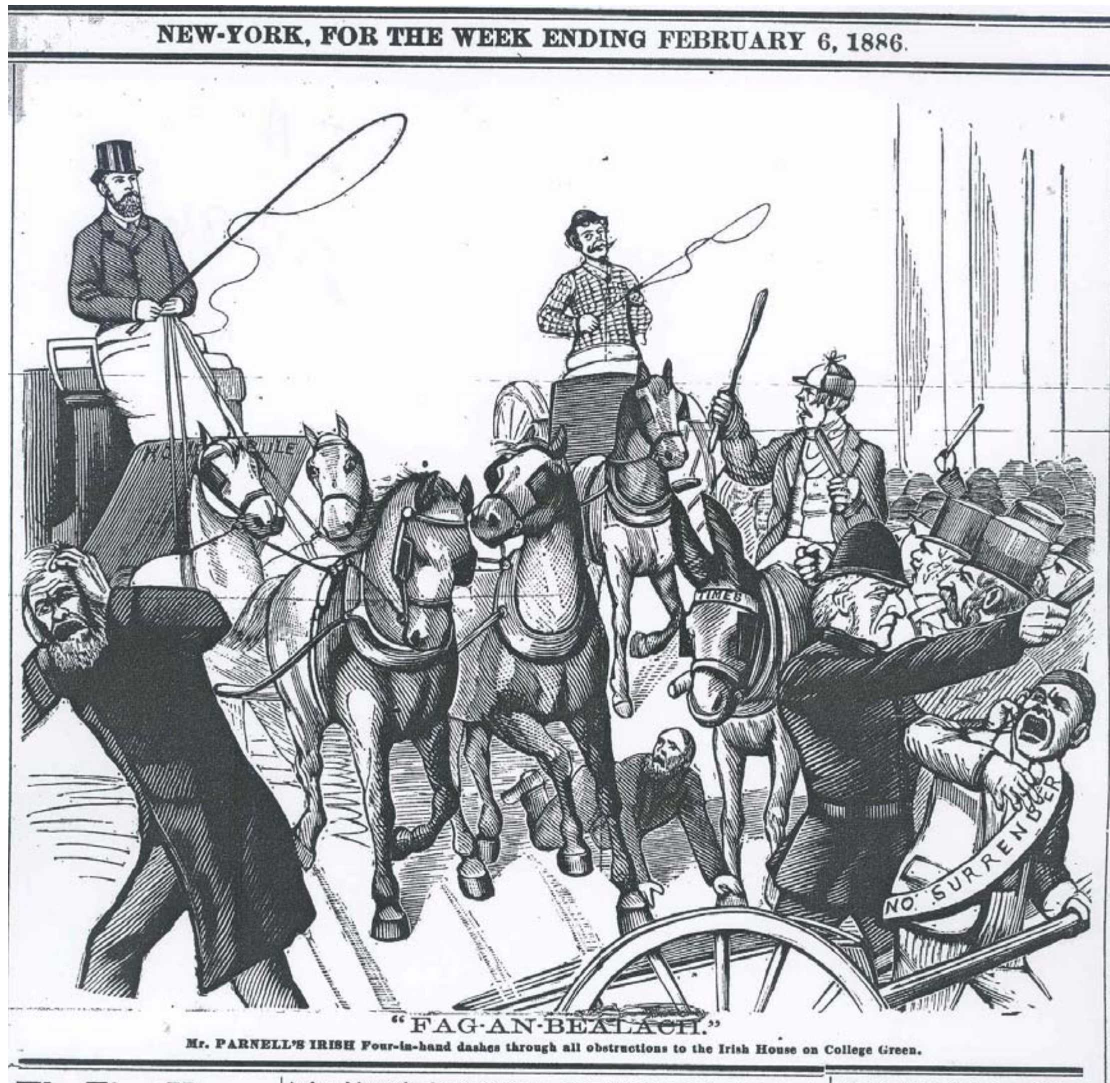

Figure 2.6: Unknown, "Fag-an-Bealach," in *Irish American*, February 6, 1886. Library of Congress.

It is not an easy road for Parnell and his carriage; there are several obstacles blocking the "Home Rule" path that threaten to take it off course. The first of these is a man on a donkey, found on the right hand side of the image, with the word "Times" written on the donkey's forehead (indicating the *Times* of London). The man on the donkey is shouting angrily at Parnell, whose horses are on the verge of sweeping the

donkey aside. The *Times* was no friend to Parnell throughout his career, and often editorialized against his and other Irish nationalist efforts. The issue of Home Rule was no exception. Another threat to the Home Rule carriage is found on the bottom right hand corner of the cartoon. Wearing a sash that reads “No Surrender,” this man represents the Orangemen, or Unionists, who sought to preserve the Irish union with Great Britain. Located primarily in the Ulster section of Ireland, and often, though not exclusively Protestant, Unionists were an increasingly vocal opposition to Irish nationalism in the 1880s. Yet Parnell has assistance in overcoming this particular obstacle in the cartoon, thanks to the figure of William Gladstone acting the part of policeman in this scene. Gladstone’s authority, as Prime Minister, here is reflected in the uniform of a policeman, who is enforcing the law, which was an important recognition for the cause of Home Rule. With Gladstone’s officer guiding the troublesome Orangeman out of the way for Parnell, the way for Home Rule seems nearly clear.

Unfortunately for Parnell, there are still several other obstacles in his path. One is the man in the center of the cartoon, wearing a checkered coat and driving his own carriage perilously close to Parnell’s carriage. His attire suggests he is a country gentleman, whose interests would be severely curtailed by Irish independence, thus explaining his attempt to prevent Parnell and Home Rule from succeeding. The final obstacle appears to be marginalized in this cartoon, emerging in a cramped fashion on the right hand corner of the image. The threat comes from a large group of gentleman, likely politicians from Parliament, who are angrily attempting to surge towards Parnell. While they are momentarily blocked by both Gladstone and the “Times” donkey, there is the

possibility of their breaking free and openly challenging Parnell. While it appears that the artist did not feel that the MPs would overtake Parnell in his quest, ultimately it was this particular group, led by Liberals who disagreed with their own leader, Gladstone, who would doom the Home Rule bill in the months following the publication of this cartoon. But, at least in artistic form, this threat was neutralized, and a victory for Parnell and Home Rule seemed eminent.

Irish Americans were not the only ones who believed that the time had finally arrived for Irish Home Rule. The same day *Irish American* published its cartoon interpretation of the Home Rule quest (Figure 2.6), the American humor journal *Judge* published its own depiction of the issue. As opposed to *Puck*, the publishers of *Judge* appear to have been more sympathetic to Irish issues, at least in this case, and portray a scene of triumph and success for Irish nationalism, with Parnell as a central figure in that success. Titled "The Irish Barons Compelling King John Bull to Sign the New Magna Charta," the cartoon alludes to a key moment in British history for inspiration.[31] (Figure 2.7) In doing so, the artist makes several interesting statements about the possible future both for Irish and British history with the enactment of Irish Home Rule. Charles Parnell features prominently in this version of the story, as his central position within the cartoon indicates. Harking back to the aristocratic barons of the thirteenth century, who forced King John I to sign the Magna Carta guaranteeing more limits on the powers of the king and the rights of habeas corpus, Parnell leads this new group of "Irish Barons" to their own victory of Home Rule. Dressed in the attire of a thirteenth century nobleman,

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[31] Zimmerman, "The Irish Barons Compelling King John Bull to Sign the New Magna Charta," in *Judge*, February 6, 1886. Library of Congress.

Parnell stands to the side of the current British "king," John Bull, as he guides the king's hand in the signing of the new agreement.

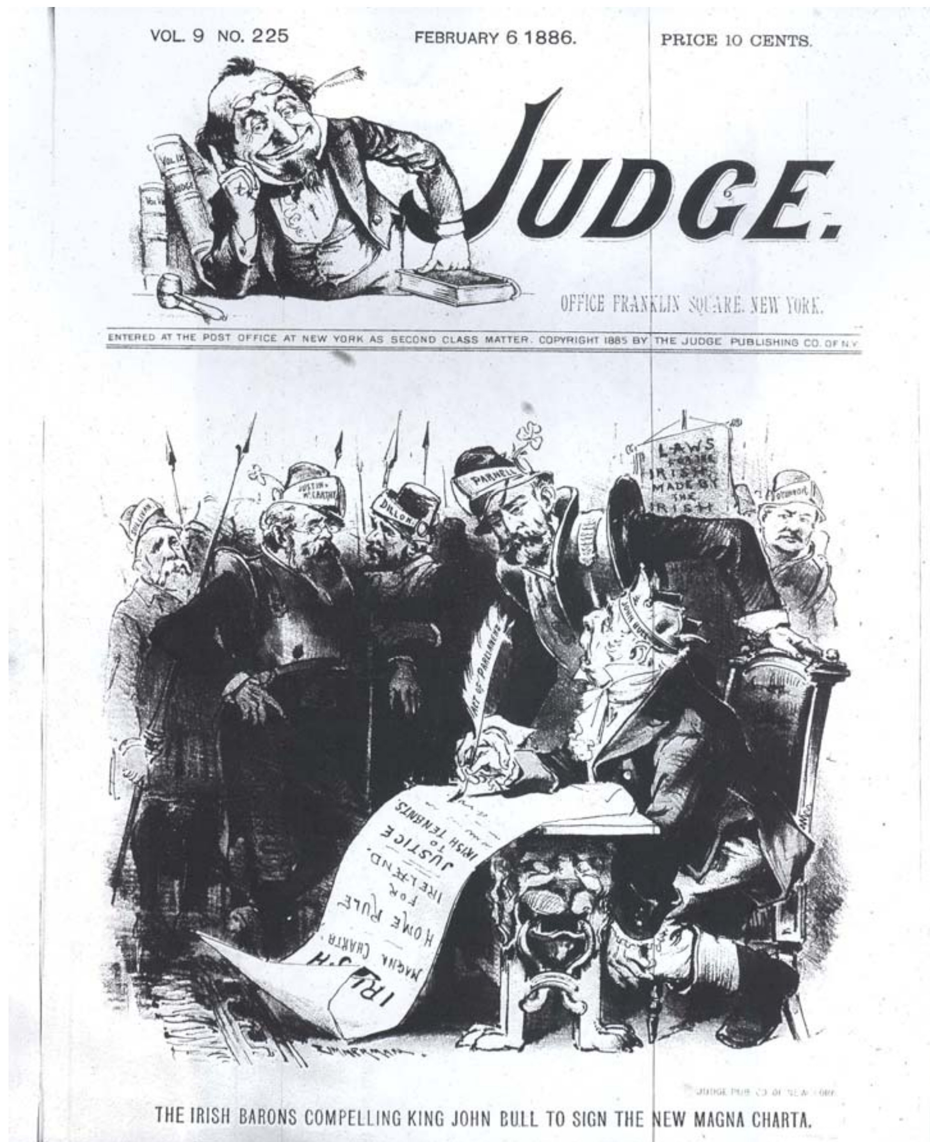

Figure 2.7: Zimmerman, "The Irish Barons Compelling King John Bull to Sign the New Magna Charta," in *Judge,* February 6, 1886. Library of Congress.

Parnell is clearly the figure in this scene with the most power, as it is his hand and his will that ultimately creates this opportunity for Ireland. Not only does Parnell dominate King John Bull, but he also appears superior to the other Irish "Barons"

standing with him, who include other noted Irish nationalist leaders, such as Justin McCarthy, John Dillon, John O'Connor, and Timothy Daniel Sullivan. There is a respect accorded to the Parnell in this cartoon that is not often found in American representations of the leader.

In contrast, John Bull is portrayed as weak and powerless. This is unusual for American cartoons; nearly all offered far more derogatory depictions of Irishmen and Irish nationalists when depicting scenes commenting on Irish nationalism Certainly, most American cartoons, when discussing the "Irish question", portrayed the British representative as equal to or more powerful than their Irish counterpart. Thus by placing John Bull in the role of King John I, known for having his power limited by his own subjects, the illustrator is sending a message to the audience that in this case, at least, the power does not rest with John Bull. Even the body position of "King" John Bull, sitting almost slumped over in his throne, hand dangling at his side suggests that he is no match for the standing and imposing figure of Parnell behind him. With England effectively neutralized by Parnell and the Irish nationalist "Barons," all indications in this cartoon point to a successful adoption of the Home Rule measure that would be an important step towards Irish independence. While the *Irish American* and *Judge* cartoons published in February of 1886 appear certain in their belief of this outcome, a humor journal published in Dublin provides an Irish perspective decidedly different from the one presented in the *Irish American*.

Published on May 15, 1886 the cartoon in Belfast's Unionist humor journal, *Blarney*, is decidedly pessimistic with regard to the success of the Home Rule Bill, and

characterizes Charles Stewart Parnell in a particularly unflattering way.[32] Titled "Great Expectations," this cartoon offers a view of Parnell and Irish nationalism that differs tremendously from their presentation in American Irish publications. (Figure 2.8) The biggest and most obvious difference comes in the form of Parnell himself. While other American Irish and Irish nationalist cartoonists emphasized Parnell's dignity, social stature, and statesman-like bearing, the *Blarney* artist envisioned Parnell as a pig in his sty waiting to be fed his "swills." The figure is clearly Parnell, not only because his name is written on the pigs back, but also because his face has been placed on the pig's head. Positioned on the right hand side of the cartoon, Parnell's pig is accompanied on the left by another nationalist "pig," distinguished as Timothy Healy, thanks to his name written on the pig's back.[33] While Healy is also shown in lowly status as a pig in a similar manner to Parnell, his face is not visible to the audience. Parnell, however, is clearly distinguishable he has reared onto its hind legs, looking out expectantly for his "Home Rule" meal. Thus Parnell, more than any other nationalist leader, has been marked for his efforts in this process.

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[32] Unknown, "Great Expectations" in *Blarney*, May 15, 1886. British Library.

[33] Timothy Healy was a notable supporter of Irish nationalism and political ally of Charles Parnell, who eventually became the first president of the Irish Free State. Paul Bew, "Timothy Healy," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* 2004.

Figure 2.8:W.H.C., “Great Expectations,” in *Blarney*, May 15, 1886. British Library.

The third figure in the cartoon, appearing in the barn doorway at the upper left hand corner of the cartoon, is Spencer Compton Cavendish, the marques of Hartington (as he is identified in the cartoon’s caption). Hartington was a member of the Liberal

party who opposed Gladstone's support of Home Rule and worked to prevent its passage. In the cartoon he is carrying a bucket of "swill" to feed the Irish nationalist pigs, but as the caption notes, this is "not just what they were looking for."[34] Instead, Hartington's bucket contains "Anti Home Rule," and gives an indication of the problems facing the Home Rule campaign in Parliament. The slop that is coming towards Parnell and Healy signals the virulent opposition to Home Rule that Irish nationalists would face as the struggle to pass the legislation played out in Parliament. Irish nationalists felt certain of their victory and the effectiveness of Parnell's leadership on the Home Rule issue, and demonstrated these beliefs in their cartoons. At the same time, Unionists were equally certain that Parnell and other nationalists would face extreme difficulties and fierce opposition in claiming victory on Home Rule for Ireland.

By the time the issue of Home Rule came to a vote in Parliament in June of 1886, the bill that would give a measure of autonomy to Ireland was in serious trouble on several fronts. Not only were Conservatives in Parliament opposed to Home Rule, as they had opposed nearly ever other issue of Irish reform and independence, but Parnell and the members of his Irish Party also discovered that the Liberal party, although it had previously backed them under William Gladstone's leadership, was divided on the issue. With Liberals split on Home Rule, some following Gladstone and Parnell, but many others influenced by Unionist arguments and following the leadership of MP Joseph Chamberlain, the Home Rule Bill was defeated in the House of Commons. It was certainly a blow to Irish nationalism and even more so for Parnell whose leadership of the

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[34] Ibid.

Irish Parliamentary Party ultimately could not parlay its position as swing voters to achieve such an important step for Ireland. The confidence felt by nearly all segments of the Irish nationalist movement, both at home and abroad, in Parnell's ability, as demonstrated in the *Irish American* and *Judge* cartoons, was shaken by the Home Rule defeat, but not shattered at this point. Unfortunately, for Parnell there would be more pressing trials for his leadership in the coming years.

IV

The first of Parnell's trials came during the early months of 1887. The *Times* of London began to publish articles, containing "proof" that Parnell had conspired and authorized the assassination of two leading government officials in Ireland in the spring of 1882. Known as the Phoenix Park Murders, the brutal killing of Chief Secretary of Ireland Frederick Cavendish and Under Secretary Thomas Burke as they walked through Dublin's Phoenix Park was a tremendous scandal that shook both English and Irish society. The perpetrators of the crime, calling themselves the "Invincibles," were captured soon after the crime, tried and executed. At the time, Parnell and other Irish nationalist leaders distanced themselves from the assassins and their act, and extended sympathy and condolences to the victims. Thus the accusations presented by the *Times* in 1887, coming almost four years after the execution of the Invincibles who perpetrated the crime, were startling and upsetting for many people, obviously for Parnell most of all. He filed suit in order to clear his name and prove his innocence. He was ultimately successful; the court judging in 1889 that the venerable newspaper had forged his

signature on several documents that they created that claimed the connection between Parnell and the Phoenix Park assassins. It was an embarrassing moment for the *Times*, and a great victory for Parnell. He had taken on and beaten one of the most respected British institutions of the nineteenth century.

Cartoons from both the United States and Ireland demonstrate the success that Parnell gained from his defeat of the *Times*. While American Irish newspapers did not produce any cartoons of the incident, they did follow the case closely, and provided a comparison in print of Parnell's signature and the forged one presented by the *Times*. The cartoons produced by the newly created *Life* magazine and Parnell's own nationalist organ, *United Ireland*, offer up depictions of Parnell in his moment of triumph. They further suggest that this moment is not an isolated incident, but instead a portent of nationalist victories yet to come. Published immediately after the *Times* put forth its accusations in April 1887, the cartoon from *United Ireland* presented a scene in which Parnell is the target of a *Times* assassin.[35] (Figure 2.9) It is, of course, important to remember that Parnell owned *United Ireland* and thus cartoons from the newspaper would naturally take on a more positive light. Still, it is interesting to note how Parnell, as seen through the eyes of his own newspaper, viewed himself in this moment of testing and ultimately of triumph.

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[35] Unknown, "The 'Times' Hoist on its Own Petard," in *United Ireland*, April 30 1887. British Library.

The scene presented in the cartoon titled “The ‘Times’ Hoist on its Own Petard” is reminiscent of the Phoenix Park murders themselves.[36] On the right hand of the image, a dapper Parnell walks through a park-like setting. Hiding behind a large bush on the left is a masked assassin with a clock for a face, a typical personification of the *Times* in many of the cartoons of the period. The *Times* assassin points a gun titled “forgery” at Parnell, but, as the gun is fired, it recoils and explodes in the assassin’s own face, leaving Parnell unharmed.

Figure 2.9: Unknown, “The ‘Times’ Hoist on its Own Petard,” in *United Ireland*, April 30, 1887 British Library.

[36] See Chapter 5, “‘And on the ground two lifeless bodies lay’: The Phoenix Park Murders in Political Cartoons” for a thorough examination of the political cartoons related to the Phoenix Park Murders.

While the commotion of the exploding gun presents the action of the scene, it is the depiction of Parnell that is truly noteworthy. In the face of imminent danger from a seemingly lethal opponent, Parnell is in complete command of himself and his surroundings. He is impeccably dressed, and walking straight ahead, unflinching even as the gun goes off in his assassin's face. His calm and collected manner suggests that he is unfazed by the incident. His direct and straightforward gait indicates that he will not be deterred from his nationalist goals, even as many others attempt to throw him off course. Clearly, Parnell envisioned himself as the ultimate leader, brave, selfless, and indefatigable in achieving his aims for Ireland.

While the cartoon published by *United Ireland* appeared soon after the *Times* lawsuit in 1887, the cartoon published in *Life* that deals with the slander case against Parnell was in the April 11, 1889 issue, after Parnell had been finally vindicated.[37] Encompassing two pages, the cartoon itself is decorated with a border of dancing "Irish" figures and intertwining shamrocks. These figures are easily decipherable as Irish by the symbols and characteristics that were commonly understood in the United States to convey a sense of "Irishness." The male figures in the border design are positioned as either dancing or playing a fiddle, and are dressed in a nearly uniform manner. The women are all humbly dressed, either as maidens or matrons, and are also dancing, some coyly while others are shyer. There are also several Irish children included in this design, each dancing and dressed in rural or peasant attire. The depiction of Irish men, women and children in the cartoon's border undoubtedly coincides with certain American

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[37] Unknown, "Sir Parnell Having Overthrown the Giant Times Demands Liberation of the Maiden Hibernia," in *Life*, April 11, 1899. Library of Congress.

attitudes toward the Irish in this period. Envisioning them as dancing, "happy-go-lucky" figures reinforces the notion of the Irish as a rural, simplistic people. Another inference that can be made from this border to the overall cartoon is that the Irish people themselves fully and enthusiastically support the action within the cartoon itself. By showcasing such unanimous approval by the people, the artist infers that the Irish people as a whole were uniformly united on nationalist issues. While other cartoons from Ireland, such as Figures 2.11, 2.12 and 2.13 later in this chapter, have shown this to be an overstatement, it is interesting to note that this Anglo-American cartoonist saw all Irish opinion to be united in the case of Ireland's political status.

In the cartoon itself, there are several scenes occurring, moving from the left hand side of the image to the right hand side. The first scene comprises Parnell and refers to his defeat of the London *Times* two years before. In this part of the cartoon the "Uncrowned King of Ireland," is dressed regally with a crown and ermine edged robe, and is poised in a movement of action, almost attack. On the ground beside Parnell is the prone figure of the *Times*, who has clearly been "put down" by Parnell. The figure representing the *Times* in this cartoon does not have the clock face that is often seen in other cartoons, but instead wears a crown reading "Times." While the figure wears a crown, his attire of an Elizabethan ruff and doublet, suggests something more akin to a court jester, someone the readers should not be taking seriously. The interaction between Parnell and the *Times* figure comprises the immediate left of the image, and Parnell also occupies a part of the larger second scene in the cartoon, which covers both the center and right hand sides of the image. In this scene, Parnell is dressed differently from his

previous incarnation -- he is a medieval knight, dressed in armor and tunic and holding a broadsword with a ribbon tied to the blade. This Parnell is not as active as the first figure presented in the cartoon, but he conveys a deeper sense of gravitas, and perhaps a greater and quieter strength than the regal action figure to his left.

In addition to Parnell, this second scene includes several other characters important to the "Irish Question." The first and standing to Parnell's right with his arm around Parnell's shoulders is William Gladstone. He too is dressed in the armor and tunic of a medieval knight, and his general countenance indicates that he is a willing and eager ally of Parnell and his quest for Irish nationalism. Both Gladstone and Parnell are facing two formidable representations of Great Britain. Nonetheless, they are standing straight and appear to have no intention of backing away from the fight with Britannia, who looks like Queen Victoria, and the British lion. Britannia has long been one of the most famous of Great Britain's allegorical figures. She is no untried and untested maiden, but rather a stout and powerful matron, often wearing armor including a battle helmet and accompanied by a shield with the "union jack" on the front. In this cartoon, as with many others, she is carrying a trident, which represents Britain's power in the seas and conveys the reason for Britain's dominance in the world during the nineteenth century. To Britannia's left, the British lion sits on his haunches, attending to the discussion before him. The use of the lion is interesting in this particular context, as the lion often only appears with other animal representations (such as the Russian Bear), which is not the case in this cartoon. Perhaps the artist felt that Britannia on her own would not be a match for the combined efforts of Parnell and Gladstone.

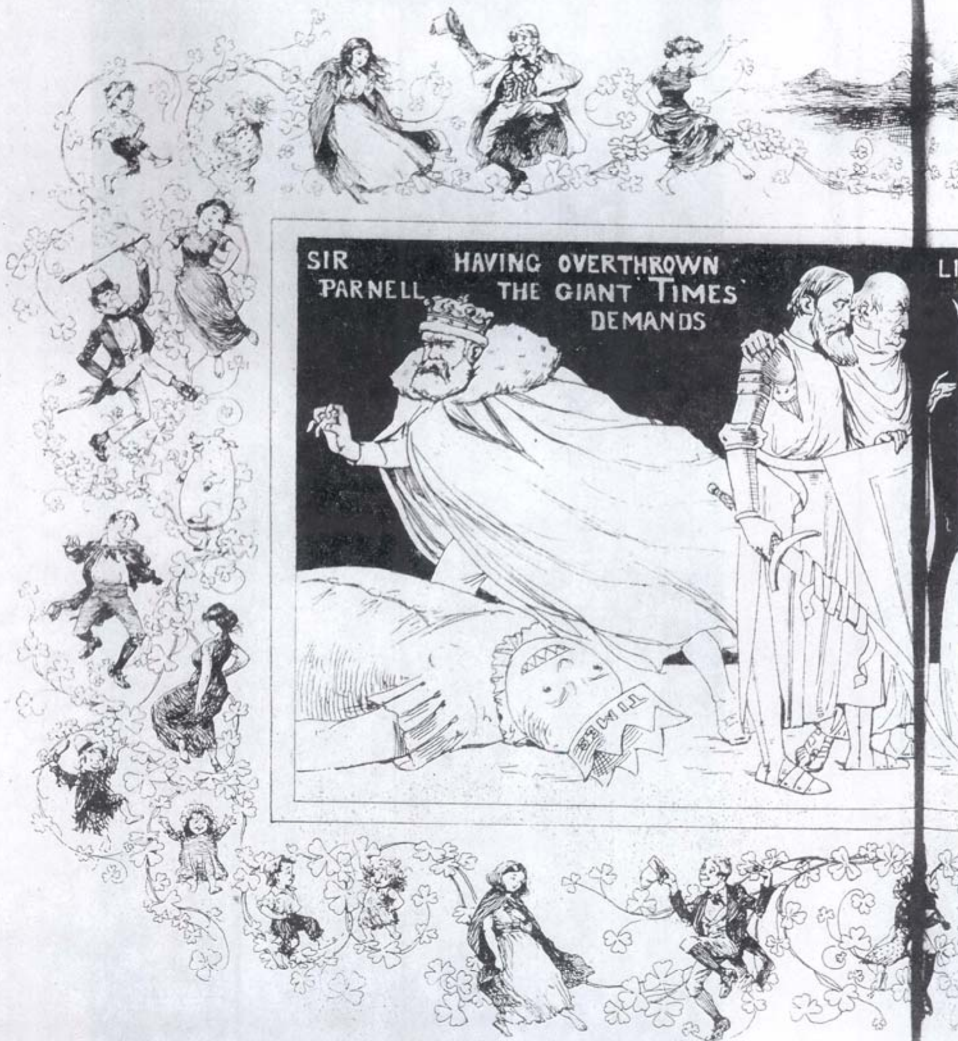
SIR PARNELL
HAVING OVERTHROWN THE GIANT "TIMES" DEMANDS
TIMES

Figure 2.10: Unknown, "Sir Parnell Having Overthrown the Giant Times Demands Liberation of the Maiden Hibernia," in *Life*, April 11, 1889. Library of Congress.

The final figure in this scene is the "Maiden Hibernia" found on the far right hand side of the cartoon. She is a weak and demoralized figure, with her head down and hands in shackles, representing the political state of Ireland as a colony of Britain. Next to Hibernia is the Irish harp, another symbolic representation for Ireland and all things Irish, which she is leaning on as a form of support. What is absolutely certain is that Hibernia has no agency in this cartoon whatsoever. The shackles tell the reader bluntly that Britannia and the lion hold her captive. On a more subtle note, she signals her abject condition by the dejection evident in her entire body, with her hair falling in disarray across her face. Without the assistance of Gladstone, and most importantly Parnell, she will occupy this state for the foreseeable future. Fortunately for Hibernia, Parnell's successful defeat of the *Times* in the first section of the cartoon proves that he is capable of beating at least one important element of the British establishment. He is now perfectly poised to take on two others and if not guaranteed victory, is certainly ready to put up a serious fight.

Yet, just as Parnell appeared to be in a perfect position finally to accomplish nationalist aims for Ireland in the waning years of the 1880s, another scandal arose, this one so powerful it would not only derail Parnell's own career, but also the entire Irish nationalist movement. In November of 1890, Captain William O'Shea, an MP belonging to the Irish Parliamentary Party and husband of Parnell's mistress Katherine, filed for divorce from his wife "Kitty O'Shea," naming Parnell as an interested party in the matter. As a co-respondent in the suit, Parnell was publicly accused of being the partner of an adulterous spouse. While their affair had been known in the aristocratic social circles for

a number of years, the scandal that erupted when the court ruled in favor of Captain O'Shea in December 1890, and that the affair was made part of the public record, proved to be disastrous for Parnell and Irish nationalists.

In the cultural and moral climate of England in this high Victorian period, this kind of sexual scandal would effectively end any political career. As Parnell attempted to rally support for himself and maintain his role as leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, he faced opposition from several crucial quarters. The first round of criticism came from Irish Catholic bishops and priests, who felt that supporting Parnell's leadership in nationalist circles would appear hypocritical to Catholic Ireland. Though a Protestant, Parnell had won over a majority of the Irish Catholic priests during the New Departure, with his emphasis on constitutional solutions, instead of violence, as a means of achieving Irish nationalism. The second group who withdrew their support from Parnell were members of England's Liberal Party. This proved to be a major cause for concern for Irish nationalists because the Liberal Party had previously been a strong political ally for the Irish Parliamentary Party. Because moral discretion was a major component of their political platform, they criticized Parnell sharply. Almost immediately several Liberals called for Parnell to step down as leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, something he persistently refused to do. With support from Liberals in question, other leaders within the Irish nationalist movement, such as Justin McCarthy and John Dillon, began to withdraw their long-time support of Parnell. The ensuing dispute amongst the leadership of the Irish nationalist movement split the movement in two, with the resulting groups called the Parnellites and anti-Parnellites.

As Parnell fought to maintain his status and position within the Irish nationalist leadership, the anti-Parnellite forces made their own voices heard in December 1890. Ironically for Parnell, one of the newspapers anti-Parnellites used to call for his removal from leadership was his own paper, Dublin's *United Ireland.* The acting editor of the paper at the time, Matthew Bodkin, followed the directions of William O'Brien, *United Ireland's* editor for most of the 1880s, to support Parnell only if the majority of the Irish Parliamentary Party continued to do so. Consequently, when the Irish Parliamentary Party voted on December 2, 1890 to remove Parnell from leadership, Bodkin and *United Ireland* shifted their loyalties away from Parnell and towards the anti-Parnellites.[38] Nowhere is this more evident than in the cartoon published in the December 6th edition of *United Ireland.* (Figure 2.11)

Titled "Under Which Flag?," the cartoon depicts Parnell as a man at serious odds not only with the members of his own political party but the whole of Ireland itself.[39] Parnell, standing on the right hand side of the image, holds the flag "For Parnell" in his left hand as he points to the brewing clouds of "Dissension" with his right hand. Erin stands in the middle of the image holding onto the Irish harp, and with Parnell on her right she looks to her left where the other leaders of the Irish Parliamentary Party stand.

[38] F. S. L. Lyons, *The Fall of Parnell, 1890-91*. (London: Routledge, 1960), 156.

[39] Unknown, "Under Which Flag?" in *United Ireland*, December 6, 1890. British Library.

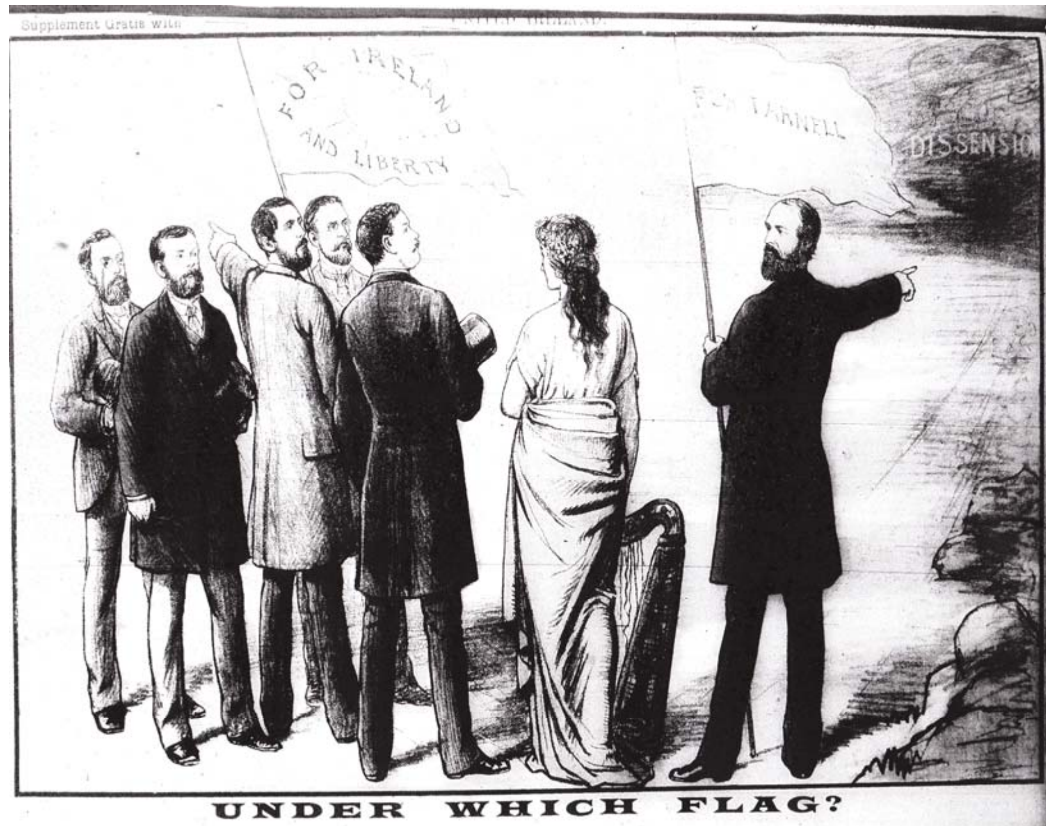

Figure 2.11: Unknown, “Under Which Flag?” in *United Ireland*, December 6, 1890. British Library.

Among the leaders are the noted anti-Parnellites Timothy Healy, Justin McCarthy, and John Dillon. Together, they hold the flag “For Ireland and Liberty” and point in the opposite direction from Parnell. It is clear, from the positions of Parnell and the anti-Parnellites, that a choice confronts Erin and, by implication, all Irishmen. They could choose to continue following Parnell, whose way appears gloomy and bleak. Or, Erin and Ireland could choose to follow the new leaders of Irish nationalism, who were operating without the pall of a sexual scandal looming over them. Given these options, the reader is left with little doubt that Erin will opt to leave Parnell behind in favor of the anti-Parnellite leadership. Yet, in spite of the implications of this cartoon, Parnell’s

career was not yet over. Parnell persisted in declaring his leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party and Irish nationalism, which can best be seen in the next week's edition of *United Ireland.*

Several days after the publication of the previous cartoon (Figure 2.11), Parnell and a large crowd of supporters stormed the *United Ireland* offices. That evening Parnell addressed a large group of supporters, speaking to the Irish directly for the first time since the announcement of the divorce verdict. Parnell's speech to the many Dubliners assembled that evening asserted that Ireland's independence rested upon continuing to follow the policies and leadership of Parnell himself.[40] As Parnell continued to occupy the offices of *United Ireland,* this emphasis on the importance of his leadership for Ireland's independence is also evident in the cartoon from December 13th. Titled "Hail to the Chief!," the cartoon shows Parnell as the true leader of Irish nationalism.[41] (Figure 2.12) As the sole figure in the image, Parnell stands in the center of the cartoon holding the sword "Irish Opinion" in his right hand, and the flag "Independent Party" in his left hand. At Parnell's feet are the trampled snakes of "Treachery," "Liberal Intrigue," and "Home Rule."

Clearly, this image (Figure 2.12) strikes a decidedly different tone on the leadership of Charles Parnell than *United Ireland's* carton of the previous week (Figure 2.11). The paper, under Parnell's guidance, makes clear that his leadership, and his alone, will bring about Irish independence. The flag, labeled "Independent Party,"

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[40] Ibid., 158-9.

[41] J. D. Reigh, "Hail to the Chief!" in *United Ireland*, December 13 1890. British Library.

alludes to the fact that many English Liberals who had previously supported Parnell, now called for his ouster as leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Thus, by claiming leadership of Ireland's "Independent Party," Parnell attempts to limit the damage done by English Liberals and also to appeal to those Irishmen who had always felt Irish independence should be "independent" of existing British political parties.

Figure 2.12: J.D. Reigh, "Hail to the Chief!" in *United Ireland*, December 13, 1890. British Library.

Likewise, in carrying the sword of "Irish Opinion," Parnell holds in his hand an incredibly powerful weapon in fighting his critics. Finally, the snakes crushed by the feet of Parnell allude to the mythic banishment of snakes by Ireland's St. Patrick. Of course, Parnell's snakes are metaphors for the true evils threatening Ireland. Interestingly, these evils are not the landlords, coercion acts or British rule as previous cartoons in the decade suggested. Rather, the trials facing the Irish people come from British Liberals, Home Rule and the treachery of those opposing Parnell. It is a fascinating transformation of "enemies" that reveals the true nature of Parnell's aims at this moment – his own political survival.

Politically, Parnell was in the fight of his life, as he struggled to organize and unite his supporters in Ireland and the United States. He embarked on long and arduous campaigns in the spring and summer of 1891 to get "Parnellite" candidates elected to Parliament across Ireland. Historian Lawrence W. McBride has shown that a propaganda war of political cartoons raged as Parnell sought to solidify his political status. McBride notes,

> As the principal illustrator for *United Ireland*, [cartoonist, J.D.] Reigh employed motifs and symbols that promoted Parnell's political independence and the people's hope for the future by including in his cartoons green flags, golden harps, and rising suns inscribed with the words 'Independence,' 'Independent Party,' or 'Independent Opposition.'[42]

McBride perfectly captures the overall tone of these cartoons from the spring of 1891. The following image from the May 23 edition of *United Ireland* showcases the many symbols mentioned by McBride and emphasizes Parnell as the "knight" prepared to

[42] McBride, 83.

deliver not only a lasting peace between the warring factions of Irish nationalism, but, ultimately, independence for Ireland itself.[43]

Titled "Reconciliation!" the cartoon features the angelic figure of "Peace" standing between the factions "Whiggery" and "Independent Party." (Figure 2.13) The allegorical figure of "Peace" holds an olive branch in one hand and has the wings of an angel. Her life, and her mission of peace, is in grave danger from the man just to the left of her, Timothy Healy. Standing next to Justin McCarthy as they represent the side of "Whiggery," Healy holds a dagger in his right hand and is prepared to strike down peace. The caption of the cartoon notes Healy as saying, "Not if I can help it!"[44] Standing to the right of "Peace" in a suit of armor and with a look of determination, is the figure of Parnell. His armor is decorated by shamrocks and the Irish harp, while his "Independent Party" army await his command behind him.

Just as McBride suggested, this image is full of symbolism associated with Irish nationalism, including the shamrocks and harp on Parnell's armor and the "Independent Party" banner accompanying Parnell's supporters. The image also casts one of Parnell's opponents, Timothy Healy, a former Parnell ally as the true villain of Irish nationalist hopes and aspirations. Interestingly, the noble and heroic looking Parnell remains still as the attack against Peace occurs in front of him.

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[43] Unknown, "Reconciliation!" in *United Ireland*, May 23, 1891. British Library.

[44] Ibid.

Figure 2.13: Unknown, "Reconciliation!" in *United Ireland*, May 23, 1891. British Library.

It is unclear as to why, in a cartoon published by Parnell's paper, the figure of Parnell is so passive in the face of such an attack. Whatever the reason behind this particular aspect of the image, the overall message of the cartoon is clear. True hope for Ireland's future rested in the hands of Parnell. In the following months, both Parnell and those who opposed him continued to campaign for the leadership of Ireland's political party. Unfortunately for Parnell, the exhausting campaigning took a toll on his health, ultimately leading to his death from a heart attack on October 6, 1891.

The death of Charles Stewart Parnell signaled the end of an important era in the Irish nationalist struggle. Under Parnell's leadership nationalists raised record amounts of money and garnered significant support for Irish nationalism, both in Ireland and in the United States. Most significantly, under Parnell's leadership the Home Rule Bill nearly passed Parliament in 1886. This was, historians acknowledge, as close as Ireland came to independence until 1916. The Irish, Irish American and mainstream American press all commented on Parnell's passing and its impact on both the Irish nationalist movement and the Irish people as a whole. These cartoons were not satirical in nature, but rather somber and straightforward, presenting an almost reverential image to their audiences. The first of these images was from the October 17 issue of Dublin's *United Ireland*.[45] (Figure 2.14)

Simply titled "No!" this image offers a memorial to the recently departed Parnell. The center of the image contains a bust of Parnell with the inscription "Charles Stewart Parnell, Born 27th June 1846, Died 6th October 1891." At the base of the bust's pedestal are several memorial wreaths, while a dejected looking Erin and Prime Minister William Gladstone stand on either side of the memorial. Dressed in black, both Erin and Gladstone clearly mourn the passing of Parnell. The two figures represent the feelings of the Irish people, and in particular those who believed that Parnell was essential to the process of Irish nationalism. The cartoon's title also assists in succinctly conveying the emotion that many must have felt on hearing the news of Parnell's death. Undoubtedly, in spite of the hostility and conflict of the previous months between Parnell and those

[45] J. D. Reigh, "No!" in *United Ireland,* October 17, 1891. British Library.

who opposed him, many felt the death of Parnell was a loss for Ireland and the Irish people.

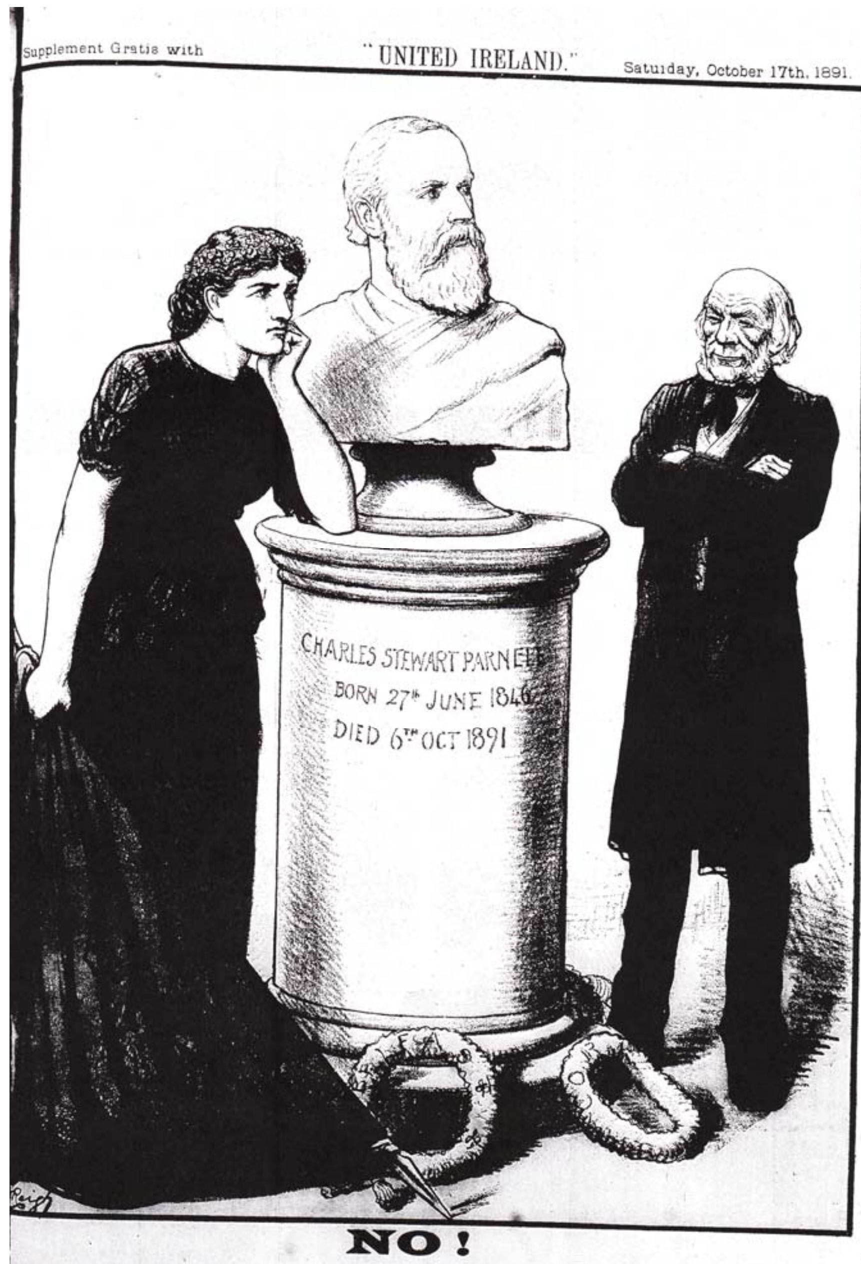

Figure 2.14: J.D. Reigh, "No!" in *United Ireland*, October 17, 1891. British Library.

The passing of Charles Stewart Parnell had a profound impact on the Irish and American Irish communities, highlighting the importance, especially for the Irish in America, of having a figure that the community could be proud of and embrace. Parnell's impact on Irish communities on both sides of the Atlantic is also evident in the mainstream American publication *Life*. In a cartoon depicting various occurrences from October 1891, *Life* respectfully acknowledged the passing of Parnell, though it is an image that does not include the figure of Parnell himself.[46] (Figure 2.12) Instead, the scene at the bottom of the page is of the allegorical maiden Erin sitting on a rock by the sea, weeping into her arm, which is resting on the Irish harp. Underneath the figure is the following: "Charles Stewart Parnell, Died Oct 6 1891." It is a solemn image, placed among more satirical and whimsical images of newsworthy events, but it also acknowledges the heartfelt sadness of the Irish on the loss of such an important figure. By showing respect to a grieving Erin, *Life* was also honoring and sympathizing with the causes and people for which Parnell fought during his life and career.

Although he had already come to embody the hopes and aspirations of those seeking Ireland's independence by the end of his life, Parnell's death vaulted him to a new level of symbolic importance to the Irish people. With his passing, the hopes and dreams of the Irish people seemed to pass away with him, and it is for this reason that Erin weeps. The *Life* cartoon showcases the way in which an Irish figure who worked on Irish issues became someone whose relevance reached beyond the immediate Irish community because of what he represented to the Irish.

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[46] Unknown, "October: The Stump Orator is Loose," in *Life*, November 5, 1891. Library of Congress.

LIFE 257

OCTOBER

THE STUMP ORATOR IS LOOSE!

IF our rain-makers perfect their methods a little, old Jupiter Pluvius will laugh out of the wrong side of his mouth. He will be forced out of business and obliged to make an assignment for the benefit of his creditors.

LIFE would suggest to Pope Leo that New York's City Hall would be a very good substitute for the Vatican as a place of residence. If he wishes it, his Tammany friends will secure an appropriation to fit it up for his occupancy.

THE complaint a little while ago was that the United States Navy had no ships. The complaint now seems to be that the United States Navy has no sailors. The recent experiences of the Yantic, Dispatch, and Atlanta, would indicate that shore-duty, political influence, and official bickerings have produced the natural result.

OUR gentle friend, the Czar, seems to be taking his tips from England's bloodthirsty laureate.

Figure 2.12: "October: The Stump Orator is Loose," in *Life*, November 5, 1891. Library of Congress.

V

The death of Charles Stewart Parnell further paralyzed a nationalist movement already torn asunder by the political fallout of the Kitty O'Shea scandal. The intense struggles between Parnellites and anti-Parnellites that occurred in the last months of Parnell's life continued for the remainder of the decade, until the two sides agreed to join forces once again in the early years of the 1900s. Despite this reunification, however, the issue of Irish nationalism did not regain the momentum of the Parnell years until the onset of World War I and the events that ultimately led to Irish independence in 1922. Thus Parnell's legacy revolves around his role as the nineteenth-century leader who brought Ireland the closest to reaching its nationalist goals at any time up to that point in its colonial history. His work with the Land League in the early 1880s, the push for Home Rule in 1885 and 1886, and his victory over the *Times* in 1887 reside in a transnational Irish historical memory as important achievements in the push for Irish independence. More importantly, until the O'Shea divorce scandal muddied his image at the end of his life, Parnell represented the hopes and dreams of many Irish on both sides of the Atlantic. He exuded a sophistication and dignity that was reflected in cartoon images and was all too often missing from other depictions of the Irish nationalist struggle.

Parnell's depiction in Irish, Irish American, and American newspaper and humor journal cartoons provide a unique and fascinating body of evidence for scholars. Not only do these images demonstrate a variety of attitudes towards Parnell himself, they also provide an opportunity to examine how each group saw themselves in relation to Parnell

and the issues he championed. This is particularly valuable when exploring the work of Irish Americans, who in addition to playing an important role in the Irish nationalist movement, also sought to define themselves in an American context. By using the image of Parnell as a model of "Irishness," the American Irish could present a respectable and dignified front both within their own community and to the larger American community.

Chapter 3: "The Day We Celebrate": St. Patrick's Day Celebrations in Images

In a cartoon from the 1890s, an artist depicts what many Anglo-Americans in that period believed was a typical St. Patrick's Day scene.[1] (Figure 3.1) With an overwhelming sense of chaos emanating from all parts of the image, the illustrator depicts nearly every Irish stereotype in existence. From the drunk passed out by the lamp post in the foreground, to the Irish policemen who are neglecting the disorder around them, from the women in garish clothes, to the poorly spelled banners that read "Horay for Irlan" and "Erin Go Bray", these depictions symbolize all the defects of the Irish "race" and how they are proudly displayed on the most Irish of days, St. Patrick's Day. The style of this cartoon is particularly intriguing for those studying depictions of the Irish in the later half of the nineteenth century. While the image depicts chaos and disarray in every corner, the emotion radiating off the page is not one of fear, panic or dread. On the contrary, the best way to describe the intended emotion of this cartoon is comical. This effect is achieved by the cartoonist's stylistic choice to create an image that essentially looks like a child's drawing. Each figure has little more body shape than that of a stick figure, while the buildings and background scenery have the uneven quality of someone still learning about perspective and straight lines. With this stylistic choice of leaning towards the childish and comical, if not condescending, what can scholars determine from such cartoons about the nature of the Irish and how the American Irish celebration of St. Patrick's Day was perceived, both by outsiders and by the Irish themselves? This chapter compares the variety of ways in which American publications

[1] Thomas Powers "The Day We Celebrate," 1894, Swann Collection 1840, Library of Congress.

characterized Irish celebrations of St. Patrick's Day, with cartoons produced by Irish Americans themselves and their self-representation on the most Irish of days.

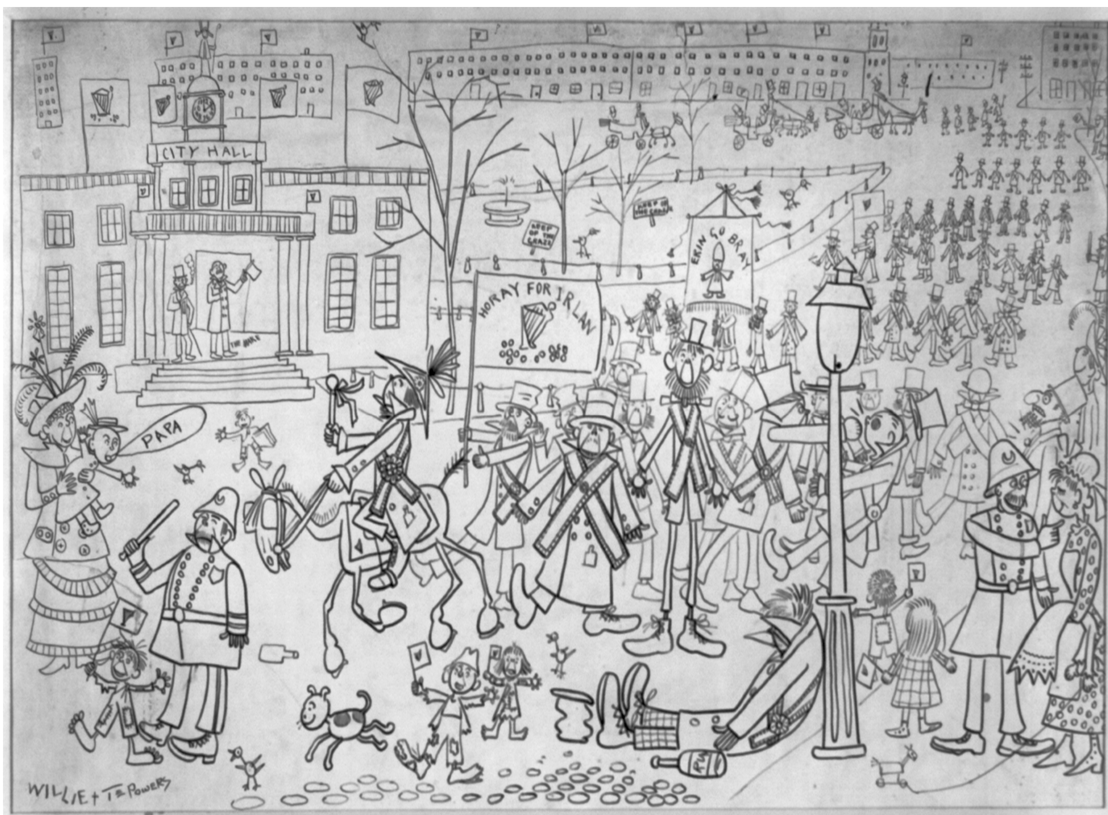

Figure 3.1: Thomas Powers "The Day We Celebrate," 1894, Swann Collection 1840, Library of Congress.

I

By the early twenty-first century, few things in the world symbolize "Irishness" more than the celebration of St. Patrick's Day every March 17. The celebrations associated with the holiday, especially those in the United States, became events where "everyone is Irish for the day." The celebration of St. Patrick's Day stems from a long parading tradition in Europe, in which church processions and trade guilds during the middle ages displayed their wealth and power to the populace. With the development of

the nation-state, in early modern Europe, parades and festivals became an important part of promoting national unity.[2] Certainly the practices of celebrating St. Patrick's Day, in Ireland and elsewhere, have evolved over time. The format and style of each celebration differed in Irish communities around the world during the nineteenth century, and it can be argued that during this era the day itself carried more significance for the Irish outside of Ireland than for those in Ireland itself. The nature of the Irish Diaspora and the feeling of exile that accompanied the process left many Irish searching for a way to express and celebrate the home and culture they had left behind. By celebrating the life of Ireland's patron saint every March 17, Irishmen around the world could make an ethnic, religious, and even political expression about their origins, and apply those expressions to their new surroundings. In the United States, the mainstream American press took great delight in depicting St. Patrick's Day celebrations as drunken, chaotic, and silly displays of all the negative aspects they associated with "Irishness." While this is not a surprising notion considering American attitudes towards the Irish in this period, what is unusual is the way in which Irish-Americans themselves depicted these celebrations, which they so obviously enjoyed. Due to concerns that overly exuberant celebrations took away from serious nationalist concerns, Irish-American publications underplayed St. Patrick's Day celebrations in cartoon images. They either avoided cartoons, which by their nature tended to be satirical and therefore not the best way to promote a serious or sentimental event, or, when Irish-American cartoonists did use cartoons, they sought to depict the celebrations as a respectable and "American" style event.

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[2] T. G. Fraser, *The Irish Parading Tradition: Following the Drum,* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 2.

With this undercurrent of ambivalence in Irish-American depictions of St. Patrick's Day, it is surprising to find how little explored this topic is among Irish scholars. The few scholars who have examined this segment of Irish culture focus on a specific local investigation of the St. Patrick's Day celebrations in cities such as Toronto, Canada; Melbourne, Australia and Lowell, Massachusetts.[3] While this kind of scholarship is useful in understanding the variety of ways in which Irish communities around the world celebrated the day, they do not uniformly examine how the celebration of St. Patrick's Day reflected the overall experience of Diaspora Irish. It was not until the late 1990s and early 2000s that more work emerged dedicated to understanding the overall experience of exiled Irish in celebrating St. Patrick's Day. More specifically, this scholarship aided scholars in understanding the construction of a late nineteenth-century Irish American identity.

The first scholar to address these issues, Marie M. Fitzgerald, examines St. Patrick's Day parades in New York City from 1840 to 1900 in her dissertation. She explores how these parades provide scholars with a tool to examine the ambiguities and complexities of Irish-American identity formation. St. Patrick's Day parades did more than express conflicting Irish-American identities; the parades, as Fitzgerald contends, were also a "focal point for the non-Irish public to express its unease and ambivalence about the growth of Catholicism, public demonstrations, political machines, immigration

[3] Examples listed in footnote on lack of St. Patrick's Day scholarship. Mike Cronin and Daryl Adair, *The Wearing of the Green: A History of St. Patrick's Day*, (London: Routledge, 2002), 254.

and nationalism."[4] Furthermore, Fitzgerald is careful to underscore that the St. Patrick's Day parades of New York City occurred in a distinctly American context, and thus "the parade accentuated not Irish identity alone, but Irish identity in America."[5] It is important to note that Fitzgerald believes that St. Patrick's Day celebrations, particularly the very public spectacle of the parade, inform us not only of how the Irish expressed themselves and their ethnic identity, but also provided an image for mainstream America to comment upon with regard to Irish character and behavior. This argument reminds scholars that these kinds of celebrations and expressions did not happen in a vacuum, and that the reaction from those outside of the Irish-American community are almost as telling as the actions of the American Irish themselves. The primary thrust, however, of Fitzgerald's argument resides in the shifting religious, political and class issues Irish Americans faced in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and how the New York City's St. Patrick's Day parades provide a unique lens through which scholars can observe these internal dynamics at play.

In order to dissect the various issues concerning the St. Patrick's Day parade, Fitzgerald examined several New York newspapers, some Irish and some mainstream, looking specifically at articles during the week of March 17.[6] She looked at a variety of materials in these papers including articles, editorials, speeches, and letters to the editor,

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[4] Marie M. Fitzgerald, *The St. Patrick's Day Parade: The Conflict of Irish American Identity in New York City, 1840-1900* Dissertation, SUNY Stony Brook, 1993, iv.

[5] Ibid., 6.

[6] The papers Fitzgerald used include the *New York Times,* the *New York Daily Tribune,* the *New York Herald,* the *Irish-American Weekly,* the *Irish World,* the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Catholic News*. Ibid., 16.

but she does not discuss any images, either illustrations or political cartoons, in her analysis of St. Patrick's Day events. Despite this omission, she notes that the press played a crucial role in shaping the expression of various Irish-American identities, and newspaper discussions of the parade illustrate the way in which this one event could produce a myriad of responses and debate over its "ethnic" meaning. Fitzgerald clearly understands the drawbacks of using the printed word as a primary source, noting "The ownership, political position and class bias of a particular paper influenced not only the way an event was covered, but also the amount of coverage it received".[7] When such biases are acknowledged and understood, they do not overly detract from the source material. Indeed, because the biases of the papers' editors reveal their views of the Irish experience, Fitzgerald argues that she can better interpret different paper's opinions of the St. Patrick's Day parade and its meaning and significance.

The most interesting and significant reactions to the parade, Fitzgerald finds, came from within the Irish-American community itself. She argues then that by the mid-1870s the Irish-American community split over the purpose, meaning, and even nature of the parade. In the face of this sentiment, Fitzgerald discovers that divisions within the community occurred largely along class lines. What Fitzgerald alludes to, without saying explicitly, is that middle class and established Irish Americans felt external pressure to divorce themselves from scandalous Irish behavior, such as public drunkenness and brawling, which was often most conspicuously displayed during the parade celebrating St. Patrick's Day. Thus, class concerns overrode ethnic allegiances within the Irish

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[7] Ibid.

community, and the St. Patrick's Day parade highlighted this internal divide among Irish Americans.

Fitzgerald is not the only scholar who argues that the celebration of St. Patrick's Day directly impacted Irish American identity formation in the nineteenth century. Kenneth Moss, in his study of St. Patrick's Day events in New York City, argues that the act of commemorating Ireland's patron saint intertwined with the creation of Irish American identity.[8] Like Fitzgerald, Moss looks at parades as an expression of Irish American identity, but also investigates the other forms of St. Patrick's Day celebration including sermons and dinners held by fraternal organizations. Ultimately he argues that his work, "will serve both as a contribution to our understanding of the history of the Irish American community and as an example of the valuable role which a close analysis of commemorative rituals can play in the context of broader historical studies".[9] By looking for the changes that occur in community rituals over the course of time, Moss believes we can observe the conscious and unconscious shaping of specific ethnic identities. Certainly the celebration of St. Patrick's Day by Irish Americans in the nineteenth century supplies a useful case study.

Central to Moss' argument on the construction of Irish-American identity formation is the combination of devotion to Irish nationalism and the development of a "national" memory within the American Irish community. Moss argues that the identities Irish immigrants brought with them to the United States evolved within an American

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[8] Kenneth Moss, "St. Patrick's Day Celebrations and the Formation of Irish-American Identity, 1845-1875" in *Journal of Social History*, Vol 29, No. 1 (Fall, 1995), 125-148.

[9] Ibid., 126.

context to create a new Irish-American identity dominated by nationalist sentiment. Part of this nationalist component includes a shared memory and shared past for the community, which Moss asserts is expressly seen in the variety and evolution of the ways in which St. Patrick's Day came to be celebrated.[10] The St. Patrick's Day parade, Moss argues, became a symbolic event around which the fundamental core of Irish-American identity, Irish nationalism and a shared memory of past wrongs, could rally around. He notes, "The symbolism of flags and representational nationalist banners, and perhaps the simple physical symbolism of massed armed Irishmen marching freely, provided the basis for such a memory".[11] The parade, as a single event including all members of the Irish American community, not just a select few, offered to American Irish formulating a powerful new identity. Further, the parade was a highly visible medium through which American Irish asserted their ethnic cohesion in a way that could not be ignored by mainstream America.

Included in these newspapers, along with descriptions, articles, and editorials of the day's events, were illustrations of the St. Patrick's Day occurrences. Moss discusses two of these illustrations, noting that it was important for Irish papers to visually represent Irish Americans celebrating St. Patrick's Day in a civilized and well behaved manner to counteract the images of celebrating Irishmen presented by the mainstream American press. He observes, "The magnitude of the parade itself is depicted [in these illustrations]: an indistinct mass waves hats and cheers as rank follows upon rank of

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[10] Ibid., 129-130.

[11] Ibid., 139.

loyal, disciplined Irishmen".[12] For Moss, these illustrations and the events they depicted, combined with the reporting of various St. Patrick's Day celebrations made the Irish press participants in the formation of Irish American identity, not merely commentators of it.

Thus, the invention of a common memory and the celebration of that shared memory on St. Patrick's Day indicate the variety of ways in which Irish Americans created and exercised an identity specific to their American experience. The bond of "Irishness", which did not have a solid foothold in Ireland's local and regional identities, instead developed in the American context of shared religious and ethnic experiences separate from mainstream American society. Moss argues that by celebrating St. Patrick's Day in the manner Irish Americans did, with an emphasis on a militant Irish nationalism during the later half of the nineteenth century, the community of Irish in America reinforced and elaborated on its unique ethnic identity.[13]

While Moss and Fitzgerald focused their studies of St. Patrick's Day celebrations on the impact such celebrations had on the formulation of an *Irish-American* identity, Mike Cronin and Daryl Adair take a broader look at the celebration of the most "Irish" of days. In their survey of St. Patrick's Day, Cronin and Adair undertake a chronologically and geographically expansive examination of Irish celebrations of the saint's day around the world, beginning in 1600 and concluding in present times.[14] Specifically, they

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[12] Ibid., 142.

[13]Ibid., 146-148.

[14] Mike Cronin and Daryl Adair, *The Wearing of the Green: A History of St. Patrick's Day*, (London: Routledge, 2002).

observe the changes to St. Patrick's Day celebrations within the framework of the Irish Diaspora, and include discussions of celebrations of the holiday in a variety of communities outside of Ireland, in addition to the celebrations that occurred in Ireland itself. According to Cronin and Adair, "As historians, then, we are concerned principally with power relationships, with St. Patrick's Day as a theatre for expression of community and negotiation of difference".[15] By examining various expressions of "Irishness" in the form of St. Patrick's Day celebrations, Cronin and Adair observe the interactions occurring within Irish communities as well as amongst Irish and other ethnic groups. In doing so, they show that St. Patrick's Day not only evolved in meaning and significance for a global community of Irishmen, but also had a direct impact on the indigenous communities where the Irish were found.

Cronin and Adair advance some interesting conclusions on the style and meaning of the parades in each community. In particular, the situations in Ireland and the United States in particular offer valuable insight into the meaning of "Irishness" in the St. Patrick's Day context. Beginning with Ireland, Cronin and Adair comment upon the overall lack of parading that occurred on St. Patrick's Day throughout the country. They note that, "Even by the 1880s the Irish had not, with the exception of parades from town and village centers to and from church for Mass, developed a custom of staging grand St. Patrick's Day parades in the American mold."[16] It is intriguing to note that something that seems so "Irish," as having a parade on St. Patrick's Day, was virtually non-existent

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[15] Ibid., xvi.

[16] Ibid., 59.

in nineteenth-century Ireland. Particularly when considering the tradition of parading as a tool for political and social expression found throughout Ireland in general, it seems difficult to account for the lack of St. Patrick's Day parades in Ireland itself during this period. Cronin and Adair assert that, ultimately, St. Patrick's Day in Ireland was a Catholic holiday, and as such in a predominantly Catholic country, the overwhelming societal urge emphasized the devotional rather than overly political nature of the day.

The triviality of St. Patrick's Day celebrations was an issue for American Irish leaders as well in the late nineteenth century. Cronin and Adair provide an analysis of the numerous issues surrounding Irish celebrations of St. Patrick's Day in the United States during this period, noting that "while various events held on 17 March embraced Irish nationalism, they also served to push the Irish closer towards their American context and to redefine themselves as Americans".[17] They argue that:

> St. Patrick's Day, it appeared, was not solely a celebration of the Irish presence in the city [New York City], but was a direct challenge to both the non-Irish and non-Catholic. Even where there were no parades, any honoring of St. Patrick was a statement made by the Irish need 'to symbolically proclaim to outsiders and insiders the vigor and power of the ethnic community'.[18]

While Irish Americans were actively asserting their place in American society, they were still mindful of the issues concerning Ireland. Thus, Cronin and Adair posit that the context of St. Patrick's Day celebrations, whether in Ireland and the United States, or anywhere in the world, dictated the meaning of the events for the community.

Clearly, scholars of the Irish and celebrations of St. Patrick's Day have generally found that the study of these celebrations is useful in understanding the formation of an

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[17] Ibid., 76.
[18] Ibid., 70.

Irish community identity, both in the United States and around the world. With the exception of Moss, however, none of the authors discussed above utilize the depiction of St. Patrick's Day in images, to demonstrate these ideas of community building or identity formation. In the case of Moss, the images he employs are illustrations, rather than political cartoons, possibly due to the relative scarcity of Irish-produced cartoons on this subject. There can be little doubt that among American publications, cartoons depicting the Irish on St. Patrick's Day are numerous and generally presented as the quintessential representation of the Irish, while the number of cartoons by Irish Americans concerning St. Patrick's Day is far fewer and far more subdued in nature. Inherent in both American and Irish political cartoons of St. Patrick's Day is a transatlantic imagery, which draws on a variety of symbols and figures from both sides of the "Pond" to create their interpretation of "Irishness" and the meaning of St. Patrick's Day.

II

The celebration of St. Patrick's Day by Irish communities in the United States during the later half of the nineteenth century provided American cartoonists with a plethora of creative opportunities. Certainly, the Irish were a subject for caricature and cartooning, but St. Patrick's Day offered American publishers of social and humor journals a very specific occasion to observe and comment upon what they viewed as the nature and characteristics of the Irish community. There were three different thematic tools utilized by American cartoonists to portray Irish qualities they believed they saw on display during St. Patrick's Day. The first, following the discussion of the scholars noted above, examines American depictions of Irish St. Patrick's Day parades and the way

these parades offered a broad cross section of Irish society for American analysis. Next, the very image of Saint Patrick, and his re-fashioning in American cartoons, provides an opportunity to observe American views of the quintessential Irish figure. Finally, the overall actions, behaviors, and aims of Irish Americans on St. Patrick's Day provided American cartoonists with the occasion to remind their audiences of the long-term ramifications of having this ethnic community embedded in American society.

As noted above, St. Patrick's Day celebrations found that the annual parade conducted by Irish communities around the world provided an occasion for the larger society to observe and interpret "Irishness" on display. In the United States, parades conducted by urban Irish communities offered a wealth of opportunities for cartoonists to satirize the community at large. Generally speaking, American cartoon representations of St. Patrick's Day parades included masses of people in situations bordering on chaos. This is particularly evident in two cartoons from 1867, which portray the violence resulting from that year's parade. *Harper's Weekly's* "The Day We Celebrate" and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated's* "The Riot on St. Patrick's Day" both depict St. Patrick's Day celebrations as a violent and drunken brawl in the streets of New York.[19] Interestingly, though both journals published these cartoons in 1867, there is no evidence that an Irish riot took place on St. Patrick's Day of that year. Perhaps the artists were instead imagining the New York City Draft Riots of 1863, when the Irish were involved in serious attacks throughout the city in July of 1863. Whatever inspired such images, the first of the 1867 cartoons, "The Day We Celebrate", produced by legendary *Harper's*

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[19] Thomas Nast, "The Day We Celebrate" in *Harper's Weekly*, April 6, 1867 and Unknown, "The Riot on St. Patrick's Day" in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated"* April 6, 1867. Library of Congress.

Weekly cartoonist Thomas Nast, focuses almost exclusively on Irish figures in the scene. (Figure 3.2)

Of the nineteen clearly outlined figures, twelve are Irishmen either in the process of committing violence or preparing to commit violent acts. The other seven figures writhe in pain on the ground or attempt to fight off the Irish attack. Most of these non-Irish figures wear police or military uniforms and look to be Anglo-Saxon. The Irishmen in this image are distinguished by several common characteristics; each has a simianized face associated with Irish "racial" features in the period, each wears a "parading" costume of top hat or military hat, a sash depicting the Irish harp, and all of them carry a club or weapon of some sort. One of the most interesting aspects of this group is that it also includes an Irish child, who is ready and eager to join in the fight with the adult men, who show no sign of preventing the child from participating in the violent acts. As chaos ensues throughout the entire scene, Nast frames the image with the words "Rum" and "Blood" in the corners, and "Brutal attack on the police" and "Irish riot" on the bottom portion of the cartoon.

Figure 3.2: Thomas Nast, "The Day We Celebrate" in *Harper's Weekly*, April 6, 1867

By calling this image "The Day We Celebrate," Nast makes a direct correlation between the celebrations of "Irishness" that occurred on St. Patrick's Day and the inherently violent nature of the Irish community. From Nast's perspective, it would seem that the Irish were incapable of "celebrating" St. Patrick's Day without resorting to violence, particularly violence against Anglo-Saxon Americans who are guilty of sharing a common heritage with the British. Nast's reputation of prejudice against the Irish has been well documented by scholars, and certainly, that prejudice plays a part in this St. Patrick's Day image of the Irish and the extreme, remorseless depiction of them as

inherently violent.[20] Yet, as we see with the image from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*, Nast was not alone in his sentiments.

The cartoon "The Riot on St. Patrick's Day", by an unknown cartoonist, takes a different approach from Nast in depicting Irish violence on St. Patrick's Day in 1867. (Figure 3.3) The most obvious difference involves the representational perspective of the cartoons. While Nast provides an up-close view of the event, the *Frank Leslie's* cartoonist views the riot scene itself, plus the background images of the street and buildings of the area from a distance. By removing the audience from the chaos in this way, the level of violence is lessened a bit. The distance also makes it more difficult for the audience to identify the Irish marchers simply by facial features. Only a few simianized Irish faces are visible in the crowd of figures; most facial features are indistinct in this image. More clearly visible are the Anglo-Americans in the crowd, terrified and attempting to flee the unruly crowd of Irishmen. Included in this group of non-Irish victims are women and children, prominent in the lower left-hand corner of the image. By including women and children, so clearly in distress and particularly vulnerable to the violence around them, the cartoonist portrays, in a profound way the fears of the broader American community over the violent capabilities and tendencies of the Irish community in their midst.

[20] Works on Nash include: Albert Bigelow Paine, *Thomas Nast, His Period and His Pictures*, (Princeton: Pyne Press, 1904); J. Chal Vinson *Thomas Nast, Political Cartoonist*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1967); Morton Keller, *The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1975); and Benjamin Justice, "Thomas Nast and the public school of the 1870s," *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 45, 2 (2005), 171-206.

FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER

NEW YORK, APRIL 6, 1867. [Price 10 Cents.

Belligerent Rights to the Irish Republic.

Of course these must be granted at once by the United States. There is no reasonable (Irish) mind can doubt for a moment the justice and expediency of such action. The statements made last week to President Johnson by a deputation of leading Fenians must dispel any skepticism that might linger in the mind of mere newspaper readers as to the existence of the republic. It is scarcely fair to suppose these persons capable of a deliberate falsehood, and when in reply to a question from the President, they answered that there was a *de facto* Irish Republic, we are bound, as Mr. Johnson apparently did, to believe them, and to think, with him, that it is a very serious matter: very serious for England, very serious for Ireland, and very serious for ourselves.

The conduct of Great Britain toward us during the first few months of the rebellion can never be forgotten, and, perhaps, never forgiven, at least, by this generation. Her granting belligerent rights to the rebels gave them a standing of respectability they could never otherwise have attained. It was not diplomatically a recognition, but at least it was an acknowledgment of the existence of a power which had certain rights antagonistic to us; and while we maintained that the seceding States had no such rights, Great Britain said that they had, and took care that they were enabled to exercise them to our disadvantage. All this is an old story and perfectly familiar to our readers. Our only reason for recalling it is, that the Fenians now ask us to apply to Great Britain in their case the same principles she applied to the South when it rebelled, and if the two cases are precisely parallel there might be no good reason for denying their request. But when, on examination, we find that their case is much stronger than that of the South was, it will be impossible to refuse the small boon they ask of their adopted country.

Let us compare the two classes of aspirants for independence, and we shall see how much more worthy that of the Irish is of our recognition than the South was of that of Great Britain. In the first place, look at the length of time an alleged oppression has been endured. Supposing the South to have suffered any wrongs from the North, which we deny, they could not have begun before the Union was formed; and what are eighty years of, at the worst, a state of unfriendliness, to the eight hundred years of sacking, and burning, and devastation, which (the Fenians tell us) their unfortunate country has borne from Great Britain?

Again, before the South was put on the footing of a nodding acquaintance with England, it had called together its own Congress, elected its own President, coined or stamped its own money, adopted a flag, raised armies, refused the process of the United States Courts within its territories, and done all that a sovereign power might or could. Have not the rebel Irish done all this and more? For instead of one President they have two, each with his own Congress or Centre—surely a double claim to eminence! They have a flag: who has not seen it? and paper money, too, and armies, and declarations of independence by the dozen. What more is wanting to a *de facto* (Irish) Republic? If it be objected that all these fine revolutionary implements are not in Ireland, where they should be, but in the United States, the answer is obvious—that they are here merely in a state of preparation, as the rams were in Laird's shipyards, and the moment that belligerent rights are granted they will be moved to the scene of action. It may be said that granting to people within our territory belligerent rights against a friendly power is very much like going to war ourselves; and the answer is, that none but an enemy of old Ireland would make such an assertion; that the difference is quite clear to every cultivated (Irish) mind, and only a dull Saxon could fail to see it.

Besides, we have no right to assume that rebellion with all its terrors is not in full force in Ireland itself. It is not to be supposed that England, having control of the cable, would allow any message to be sent which would indicate how deadly her peril was. While as to dispatches by steamers, the two Presidents—one active, the other passive, like the Tycoon and the Mikado of the Japanese—are statesmen of too much wisdom and experience to allow any facts to leak out which should

Figure 3.3: Unknown, "The Riot on St. Patrick's Day" in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* April 6, 1867 Library of Congress.

Fear of the Irish community can also be felt in the cartoonist's depiction of the sheer numbers involved in this St. Patrick's Day event and riot that resulted from it. Beyond the immediate crowd, even larger groups are visible in the background of the

image, indicating both the high level of participation by Irish Americans in this particular St. Patrick's Day event, and also the growing numbers of Irish in general entering the United States. Ultimately, "The Riot on St. Patrick's Day," like Nast's "The Day We Celebrate," illustrates the American public's general views and fears associated with the Irish community and their displays of "Irishness" during the St. Patrick's Day parade. To the Anglo-American public being Irish also meant being violent, and they feared that violence would be directed against the larger American community.

Nearly twenty years after *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated* cartoons appeared in print, a newly formed American humor journal offered a very different view of the annual St. Patrick's Day parade. Created in 1883, *Life* appeared less concerned about Irish American violence, instead focusing on the pretensions and absurdities they perceived in the American-Irish community. Three cartoons in *Life* from the 1880s depict St. Patrick's Day as an occasion of Irish affectation on display, perhaps reminders to both Irish and mainstream American communities that the Irish need not be taken too seriously. The first of these images comes from the March 15, 1883 edition of *Life*, and is formatted in an unconventional manner.[21] (Figure 3.4) Titled, "Design for Mural Decoration of the Interior of a Club Room of the Ancient Order of Hibernians", the cartoon itself occupies the top and bottom third of the page, while the middle of the page contains the text of a poem meant to accompany the "mural." The top third of the image is a series of dancing Irishmen, each holding a shillelagh and wearing the stereotypical

[21] F. G. Attwood, "Design for Mural Decoration of the Interior of a Club Room of the Ancient Order of Hibernians" in *Life*, March 15, 1883. Library of Congress.

attire of a top hat and tails. It is the image on the bottom third of the page that provides a more interpretive picture of the celebration of St. Patrick's Day.

Bordered on top by the repeating images of the potato, pipe, and jug of whiskey, the scene provides a brief snapshot of the annual St. Patrick's Day parade with the inscription "Saint Patrick's Day in the Marning." Leading the procession are two Irish figures in a horse drawn carriage. While the figures are not specifically identified, they are certainly members of consequence in the Irish community. It is interesting to note that the figure driving the carriage is also an Irishman, who clearly believes he holds a position of some importance and honor in the parade, based on the way he holds his head high in the air and wears a self-satisfied smirk. Following the horse-drawn carriage are a group of five gentlemen, marching on foot and carrying a banner showing the Irish harp. These Irishmen all wear the same uniform of top hat and tails, accented by the sashes and medallions most likely associated with a fraternal order such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Finally, the parade concludes with two figures, quite distinct from one another, excepting their "Irishness." The first is a military figure on horseback and wearing the hat of an officer. The portly size of the gentleman and the way in which he rides his horse indicate a person who considers himself quite important and socially superior to some of those around him.

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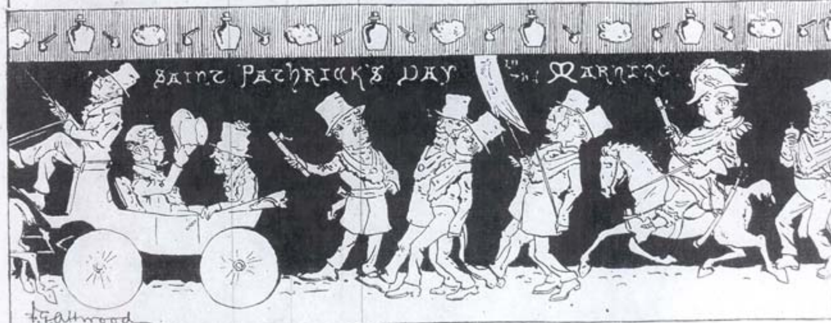
HOW doth through the streets the bold exile of Erin,
With high hat and collar exultant in starch,
Having stowed a preliminary whiskey or beer in,
Take under his banners his (seventeenth of) March!

Behold the proud Marshal all swathed in regalia,
With a sash that eclipses the late comet's tail,
A bouquet of shamrocks, each huge as a dahlia,
And a badge like the lid of a sixteen-quart pail.

Observe on the frieze our success in narrating
The tail of the coat that each bold exile wears,
Made long that a gentleman seeking a bating
Can tread on it easily if he but dares.

A health to Saint Patrick with, added, the warning
At which need no sensible exile be vexed,
When you think about Patrick, his day in the morning,
Beware lest the morning in question's the next!



Design for Mural Decoration of the Interior of a Club-Room of the Ancient Order of Hibernians

Figure 3.4: F. G. Attwood, "Design for Mural Decoration of the Interior of a Club Room of the Ancient Order of Hibernians" in *Life*, March 15, 1883. Library of Congress.

The second figure on foot concludes the parade with the ultimate Irish stereotype, carrying a flask of whiskey in his hand, clearly inebriated and a little unsteady on his feet. With these figures encompassing nearly every stereotype of the Irish, the parade becomes a display of all that the Anglo-American society found absurd about the Irish in America,

an assertion backed up by the accompanying poem that occupies the central part of the page. Mocking the efforts American Irish make to "put their best foot forward" on St. Patrick's Day, the poem comments upon their starched collars, regalia, sashes, shamrock broaches, and coats with tails as evidence of a group "putting on airs." This is particularly evident in the stanza, "Behold the proud Marshal all swathed in regalia, with a sash that eclipses the late comet's tail, a bouquet of shamrocks, each huge as a dahlia, and a badge like the lid of a sixteen-quart pail."[22] By describing the attire and accessories of the St. Patrick's Day parade Marshal, the poem refers to all the figures in the cartoon, and implies that Irishmen delight in presenting themselves in a ridiculous and self-important manner.

Overall, the cartoon derides the Irish for trying to make their celebration of St. Patrick's Day, and by extension all things Irish, into a commemoration of Irish power and success in the United States. The cartoonist does not appear convinced that the Irish community possesses the polish they so clearly want to portray to American society or to themselves. The images of Irishmen on parade and the accompanying poem combine to ridicule these grandiose displays of "Irishness". Yet, unlike the artists for *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated*, the cartoonist for *Life* does not fear Irish violence or the Irish masses. Rather, he finds amusement in Irish presumptions of their status in the broader American community and their conspicuous St. Patrick's Day displays. This theme of ridicule and mockery continues in another *Life* cartoon by F. G. Attwood

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[22] Ibid.

published on March 17, 1887.[23] (Figure 3.5) Offering "Suggestions for a St. Patrick's Day Procession", the two page cartoon depicts a parade that again encompasses nearly every Irish stereotype of the period.

Attwood's 1887 cartoon is a satire on an epic scale. Spread across two pages and drawn in three horizontal lines, the cartoon contains eleven "scenes" that depict Irish life in the United States. Setting the scene, the first grouping of "The Populace" opens the parade simply, with four young Irish boys who are barefoot and poorly clothed, eagerly leading the procession. One of the youngsters mimics the pose of the police officer leading the next scene, "The Foorce." The lead officer of the Irish police force, with his nose high in the air, directs the force forward with serious precision. Following the force, "Music (Mulligan's Band)" consists of Irish musicians in American marching band uniforms, led by a drum major with a ridiculously large stomach and oversized marching hat. The final scene in the first row of images, "Chief Marshal and Staff," has four figures on horseback led by the Marshal of the parade, a large and serious looking person. Three riders behind him are in various states of confusion and drunkenness, though wearing "dignified" clothing. The second and third lines of the cartoon are combined under the heading "Moving Tableaux, illustrating the progress of an adopted citizen." These seven scenes chart Irish "progress" in the United States, from their situation in Ireland to their current status within American society in a highly satirical manner. Each tableaux is led by a horse covered in a blanket that bears the Irish harp, and several are accompanied by an Irish figure as well.

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[23] F. G. Attwood, "Suggestions for a St. Patrick's Day Procession" in *Life*, March 17, 1887. Library of Congress.

The first, “Home Comforts,” depicts an impoverished Irishman, in tattered clothing, sitting next to a pig in front of his dilapidated cottage. The man seems despondent over his situation, which is clearly dire. The next scene, “Arrival,” offers a small dose of hope, with a similarly dressed Irishman standing on American shores with his shillelagh and small sack of personal goods. The scene quickly transitions from “Arrival” to “Work,” in which three Irishmen with push brooms are sweeping the streets. The final tableaux of line two, “The Entering Wedge,” portrays the circumstances under which the Irish situation in America takes a more successful turn. In this scene, an Irishman stands behind a bar, ready to serve his customers and his community. By the beginning of the next line, the pub scene run by the lone Irishman has morphed into “The Lever of Power,” where two men work the now extravagantly decorated bar area, and a third man stands in front wearing a garish suit and an aura of power. This scene is followed by an even more provocative one, “Member of City Government and Contractor,” in which a fat and fancy Irishman lazes in a large easy chair while receiving “payments” from two men with blueprints, who approach this powerful city official with bowed heads. The concluding image of the third line, “Glorious Result,” shows an Irishman lounging on a dozen sacks full of money, which rest on the backs of two men who are identified as “Tax Payers.” The Irishman in the final scene says, “What are you going to do about it?”

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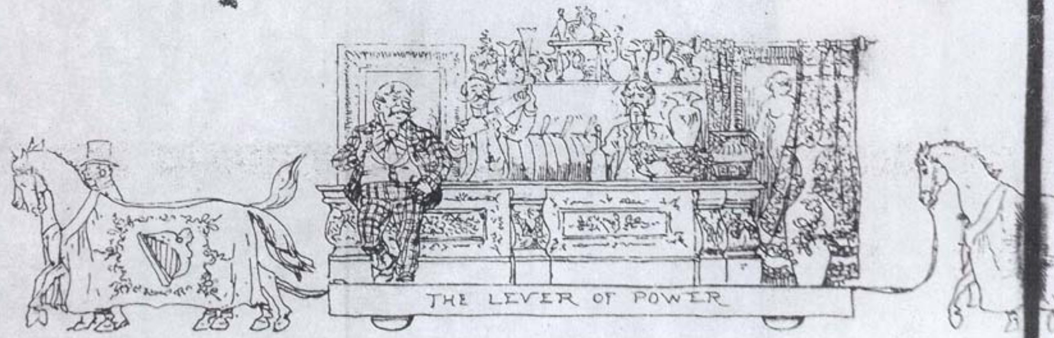
The Populace. The Foorce. Music (Multiga

Moving Tableaux, illustrati



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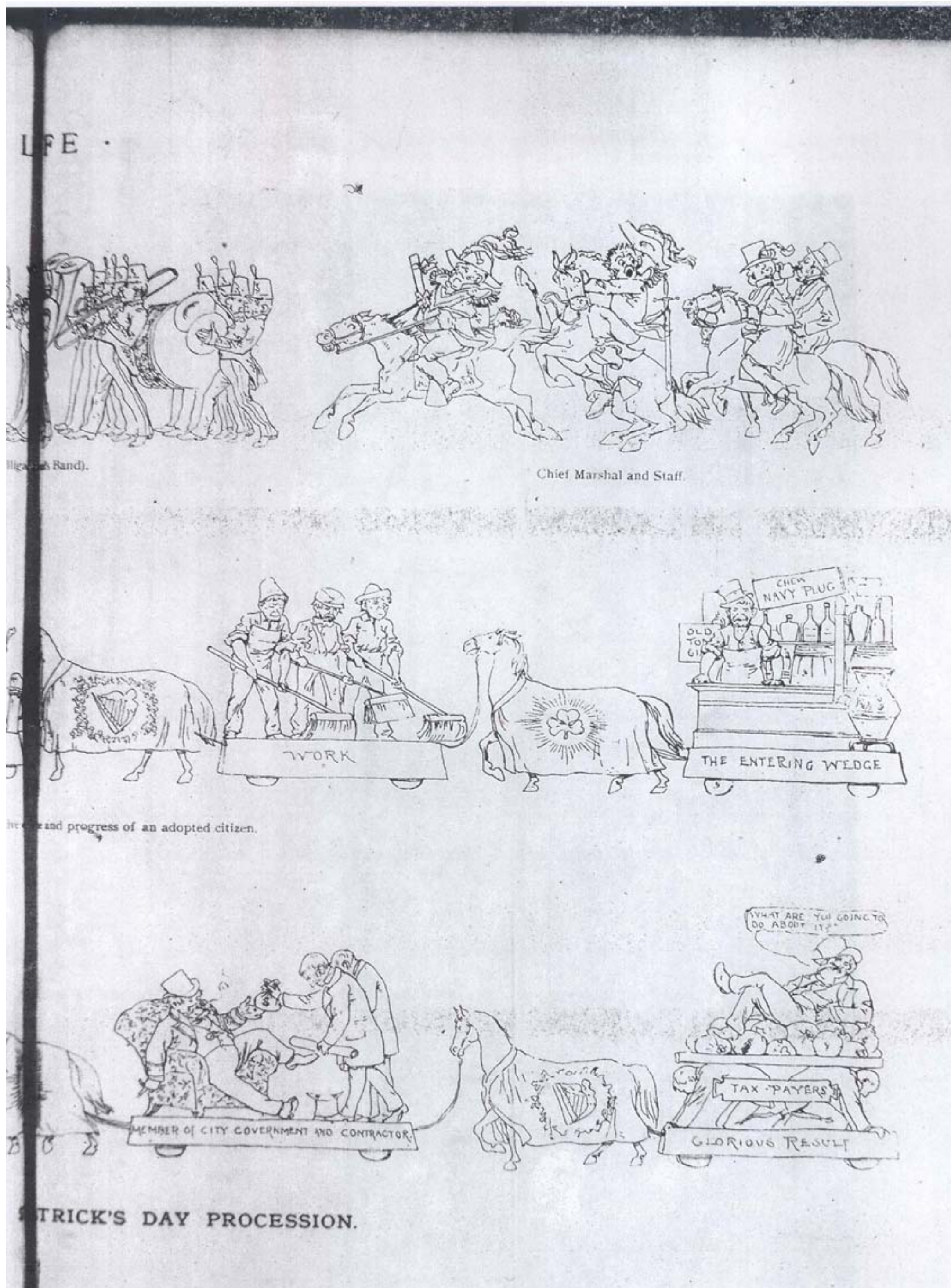

Figure 3.5: F. G. Attwood, "Suggestions for a St. Patrick's Day Procession" in *Life*, March 17, 1887. Library of Congress.

This cartoon offers up a variety of themes for interpretation, but what seems fairly clear is that Irish Americans celebrations of St. Patrick's Day again afforded a cartoonist the opportunity to ridicule not only the events associated with this celebration, but the whole community. As historians Cronin and Adair noted, these parades were symbolically important, not only to the Irish, but to the Anglo-American community as well, who saw the increased structure and discipline of Irish parades as another indication of the Irish uplift they feared. This broader lambasting of the Irish community likely accounts for the dual messages in the cartoon's imagery. The first message comes from the top line of the cartoon, showing the various social groups participating in the parade, from the police officers to the marching band. While each scene of the first line portrays the parading groups satirically, the effect is fairly benign and could be interpreted as a commentary on the pretentiousness of parades in general, with some allusions to the Irish characteristics of this particular parade. In fact, the characteristics satirized on the first line are similar to those found in the earlier Attwood cartoon depicting the mural for the Ancient Order of the Hibernians, particularly with the last grouping of the "Chief Marshall and Staff." As in the earlier cartoon, this scene depicts Irish officials who put on airs in their dress and personal body language, but who cannot escape natural Irish traits, like drunkenness.

While the first line of "suggestions" for the St. Patrick's Day parade mimics Attwood's earlier depiction of Irish celebrations, the second and third lines of the cartoon offer a more political and biting depiction of the Irish community in the United States. By choosing to portray the Irish American experience in "Moving Tableaux," Attwood

moves beyond a satire of general parading to offer a more piercing insight into the Irish community as a whole. Attwood even introduces a transatlantic element to his story of the Irish, beginning his tableaux with Irish "Home Comforts", which is meant to suggest the conditions in Ireland during this period. As he envisions the experience of the Irish in Ireland, there is an element of sympathy present, as the Irishman is clearly living an impoverished and unfulfilled existence that leads to the following two tableaux of "Arrival" and "Work." The sympathetic undertones of these scenes fade as the Irish now in the United States, embark on a less admirable existence, beginning with "The Entering Edge" at the end of the second line and culminating with the "Glorious Result" at the end of the third line. These scenes contain the most strident depictions of Irish characteristics and actions in their current American context, including the social, economic, and political ramifications of the Irish community in the United States. Both bar scenes, "The Entering Edge" and "The Lever of Power," refer to the way in which Irish economic and political power grew in nineteenth century New York City. By utilizing taverns to make money off the expanding population, as well as turning the tavern community into a block of voters, Irish politicians' power and influence grew in city government. The success of this system can be seen in the "Member of City Government and Contractor" scene on the third line. Thanks to Irish tavern efforts, this Irishman not only holds a valuable city position, which in itself would likely cause Anglo-American dissatisfaction, but he also appears to be engaged in corruption and bribery by accepting money from those doing business with the city. Consequently, the Irish in this image are not the bumbling and superficial fools of the earlier scenes on the first line, but something far

more sinister and hazardous to American society as a whole -- namely corrupt, big-city politicians. The scene concludes pessimistically, with the "Glorious Result" for Irish Americans consisting of a system of city-government in which they rest on the backs of American "tax payers" while challenging the rest of American society to try and stop them.

This depiction of Irish American aggression appears to be more in line with the earlier *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's* cartoons, than the previous Attwood cartoon or even the opening line of this image. The nature of the threat, however, has changed over twenty years. Instead of Irish street violence threatening Anglo-American society, Atwood's cartoon suggests a subtler menace in the form of bribary and civic corruption. Certainly, this kind of Irishman threatens the moral character and status quo of America's political and social systems. Above all else, the last two lines of the cartoon go further than merely depicting the Irish on one day of celebration, offering a more complex depiction of the Irish American community as a whole and their far reaching impact on American society. It reflects a deeper Anglo-American anxiety than their fears of Irish violence and rowdiness -- the dread that Irishmen have gained a permanent hold on the American political system.

The impact of Irish influences in New York continued throughout the 1880s, and Irish American celebrations of St. Patrick's Day provided cartoonists with numerous opportunities to comment both on the celebration and the Irish community as a whole. A *Life* cartoon published on March 22, 1888 took a different approach to the celebrations in

"St. Patrick's Day As it Appeared to our Roman Artist Last Saturday".[24] (Figure 3.6) This cartoon contains particularly unusual imagery. The representation relied on ancient Roman symbolism, which in most cases alluded to positive qualities linking American democracy to the Roman democratic republic. In this instance, however, the Roman imagery became a derogatory device used against the Irish community. Presented as a drawing that could have been created in antiquity, the artist of this cartoon plays on dual themes in his presentation of the annual St. Patrick's Day parade. The first theme was the reoccurring concern with the influence of Irish Americans in political life in New York City; the second was the influence the Roman Catholic Church had over the Irish. The cartoon provides a depiction of the St. Patrick's Day parade, including a massive procession and an even larger crowd as it passes through New York City, directly in front of City Hall. The figure leading the procession wears a combination of "Irish" regalia, a military coat and sash, along with a Roman toga and a military helmet. Nearly all of the other figures participating in the parade wear some form of Roman dress, either togas, military helmets, laurel wreaths, or plumes on their horses.

[24] CHIP, "St. Patrick's Day: As it Appeared to our Roman Artist Last Saturday" in *Life*, March 22, 1888. Library of Congress.

Figure 3.6: CHIP, "St. Patrick's Day: As it Appeared to our Roman Artist Last Saturday" in *Life*, March 22, 1888. Library of Congress.

Among the "usual" figures found in St. Patrick's Day parades, are the marching band, Irish officials on horseback, Irish dignitaries driven in a carriage, and Irish marchers in top hats, tails, and sashes, as well as several new images found at the tail end of the procession. Two figures held in effigy provide this cartoon with even more transatlantic imagery than the fact that it is a celebration of Ireland's patron saint. First is the scarecrow-like figure of Queen Victoria, which is carried on a litter and is followed by the form of a crucified lion. Finally, the representation of City Hall itself contains transatlantic imagery, with the figure of St. Patrick holding a snake standing atop the building, which is flanked by both the American flag and the flag of the Irish harp, and a banner reading "Erin Go Brah".

It is largely through this depiction of City Hall that the cartoonist offers his commentary on Irish power and influence on the American political system. The flying

of an Irish flag, at equal level with the Stars and Stripes, alludes to Anglo-American fears that the Irish saw themselves as a separate but equal power in the political sphere. Likewise, the presence of the "Erin Go Brah" banner and the figure of St. Patrick atop the building suggest that Irish influence at City Hall literally rises all the way to the top of the political structure. Certainly the officials standing on the steps of the City Hall building welcome the procession that marches before them. The relationship between the Irish American community and the political structure of New York City seems firmly intertwined, with Irish Americans exerting a considerable influence over the city as a whole.

Larger implications of this Irish influence resonate through the overall theme of the cartoon, in the Roman-style imagery and characteristics applied to the Irish community's celebration of St. Patrick's Day. As a saint's day recognized in the Catholic Church, St. Patrick's Day was celebrated in Ireland with Roman Catholic services and remembrances, providing a foundation for the artist's choice of Roman imagery in fashioning his depiction. The role of the Catholic Church in the Irish community was an enormously controversial issue in American society throughout the nineteenth century. As Kevin Kenny remarks: "The credentials of the Catholic Church as an authentically American institution were fiercely challenged by nineteenth-century nativists, so that the Irish-American community, to the extent that it was defined by Catholicism, was consequently vulnerable to charges of disloyalty and un-Americanism".[25] Thus, by placing all of the principal Irish figures in some form of Roman attire or accessory, the

[25] Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History*, London: Longman Press, 2000, 114.

artist separates and distinguishes them from the rest of the American population. These principal figures are also likely the ones that would occupy the central leadership roles within the Irish American community, and it can hardly be a coincidence that their Roman attire and accessories make them appear as if they were members of the Roman elite, perhaps even Caesars themselves. Moreover, the parade when viewed through a Roman lens begins to take the form of a march of returning conquerors. This image is especially heightened upon a closer examination of the effigies accompanying the marching masses. A satirized version of England's Queen Victoria along with the lion, symbol of British imperial might, captured and crucified, indicate that this mass of Irishmen have answered those pesky "Irish questions," by soundly defeating the British. At the very least, the figures representing the British appear to be no match for the Irish American community. This Roman-style version of Irish America's annual St. Patrick's Day parade thus touches on a variety of emotions and attitudes that mainstream American society had towards the Irish community, their Catholic religious beliefs and their attitude towards Great Britain.

Any American cartoonist seeking to comment upon the Irish-American community during the latter half of the nineteenth century found in St. Patrick's Day parades numerous opportunities to present their views. Both the inherent "Irishness" and the highly public nature of the celebration offered artists a target too perfect to resist. Some cartoonists, such as *Harper's Weekly's* Nast, viewed Irish celebrations (and the Irish community as a whole) as violence-prone and chaotic, as events that the broader Anglo-American community should view with fear and suspicion. Other cartoonists, like

Life's Attwood, mocked the Irish American populace and their celebrations of St. Patrick, depicting them as ridiculous upstarts attempting to put on airs and make themselves appear more powerful and socially superior than they really were. What these cartoons all have in common is the cartoonists' sense, widely shared with the Anglo-American public, that the behaviors and actions of the Irish during their St. Patrick's Day parades were a direct reflection of their overall character and disposition. At the same time, these depictions provide an understanding of how mainstream America viewed such a community.

III

Just as some cartoonists used the St. Patrick's Day parade to make broader statements on the Irish American community, others chose to use the figure of St. Patrick himself to comment upon Irish issues and characteristics. By utilizing symbols and imagery associated with St. Patrick and his mythology, cartoonists could succinctly express specific views on the Irish population through this one transatlantic figure. The story of St. Patrick and his relationship with the people of Ireland were well known among Americans by the end of the nineteenth century, so that his mythical banishment of snakes from the Emerald Isle could be featured as the subject of three cartoons produced by American artists in the 1880s. The first of these is also the most political of the three, using the image of St. Patrick to comment on the Home Rule debate then being contested in the Houses of Parliament. *Judge's* 1886 cartoon, "The Modern St. Patrick" casts Charles Stewart Parnell in the role of the noted saint and portrays him using his

"Home Rule" crosier to throttle the "Non- resident English Landlord" snake.[26] (Figure 3.7) In casting Parnell in the role of St. Patrick, the cartoonist, Zimmerman, equated the saint's efforts at casting snakes out of Ireland with Parnell's quest to change the ruling system of Ireland. The use of the snake, long seen as symbols of evil in the Christian religion, in a cartoon such as this made a powerful statement. By equating the English landlord system in Ireland with the snake, the animal blamed for original sin, the cartoonist firmly describes landlordism as a terrible evil and a scourge upon the earth. Wearing a bishop's miter, cloak and robes indicative of his saintliness, Parnell uses his shepherd's staff to corral the offending snake and stuff it in a trunk to be sent packing.

This would forever free Ireland of British rule and British influence over Ireland. The cartoon clearly favors Parnell; and the artist appears to think that his quest for Irish Home Rule will be as successful as St. Patrick's earlier mission. Finally, the image of Parnell and the snake is framed by a horseshoe-shaped banner with the ever-present Irish phrase, "Erin Go Bragh" written on it. This horseshoe also contains imagery often considered to be stereotypically Irish, including figures seen drinking, dancing, parading and carousing. Though these figures do not offer flattering portrayals of "Irishness", it does not lessen the cartoonist's confidence in Parnell and his Home Rule efforts. Despite the cartoonist's certainty, Parnell's success did not play out in the same fashion that St. Patrick's had, and Home Rule went down in defeat. While Home Rule, however, was not achieved, the cartoonist's practice of casting of Parnell as a prominent figure in both Irish

[26] Zimmerman, "The Modern St. Patrick", in *Judge*, March 20, 1886. Library of Congress.

history and mythology also seemingly cemented his status as the leader of all things Irish in the late nineteenth-century.

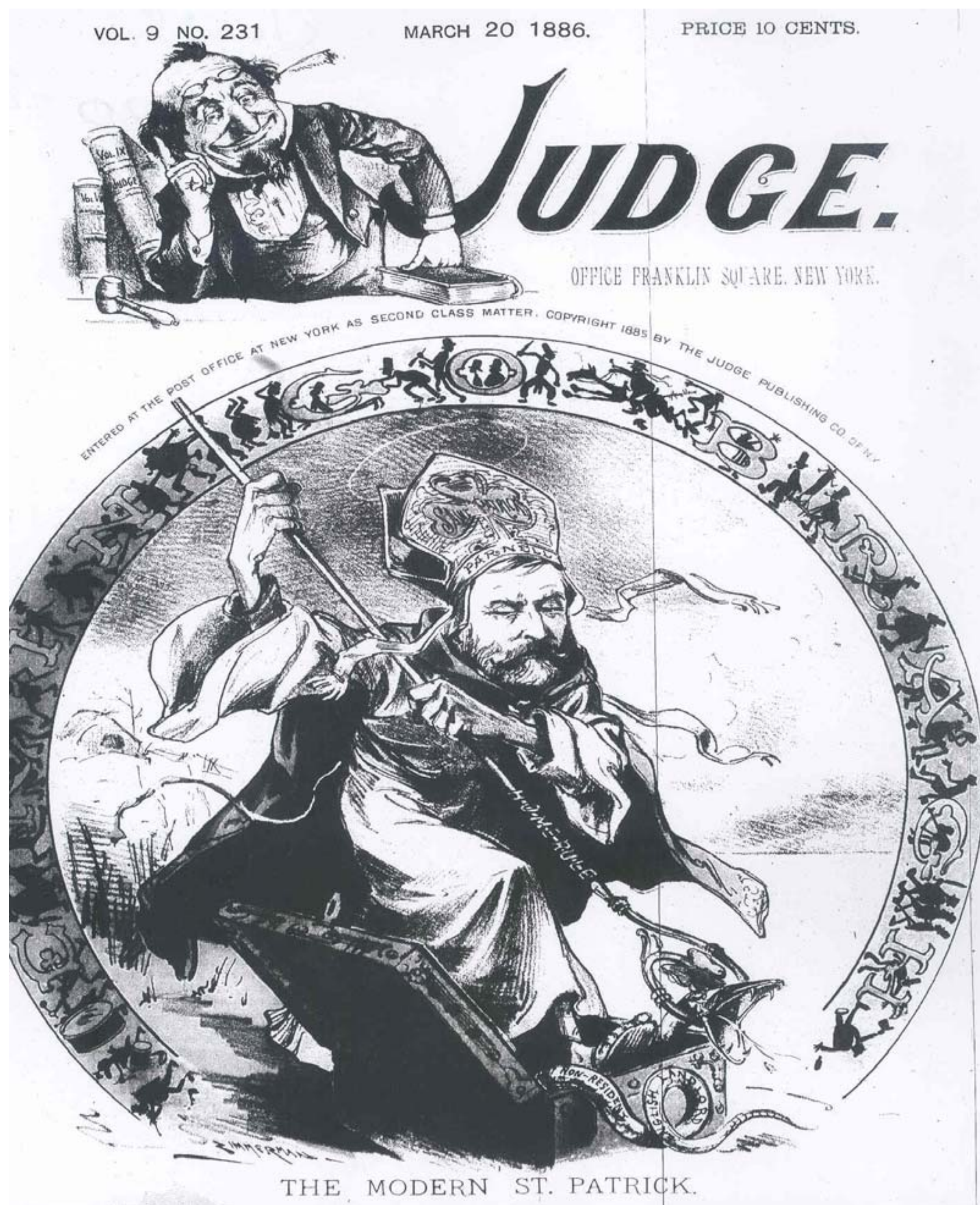

Figure 3.7: Zimmerman, "The Modern St. Patrick" in *Judge*, March 20 1886. Library of Congress.

Unlike the first image, two cartoons published by *Life* in the late nineteenth century provided less political commentary and focused instead more on social observations in their depictions of St. Patrick. Each cartoon makes St. Patrick's banishment of snakes from Ireland a central motif, but each provides a different interpretation.[27] The first of the two, published in 1889, portrays St. Patrick in his most celebrated act of ridding Ireland of snakes. (Figure 3.8) Yet, according to the cartoon, the saint appears to have performed this extraordinary feat quite accidentally. With a bright red nose, papal tiara askew, crooked hand at his side, unsteady gait, empty bottle atop his shepherd's staff, and having apparently just exited the bar just behind him, this drunken St. Patrick only inadvertently steered Ireland's snakes off a cliff and into the sea. As the figure most representative of the Irish people, St. Patrick demonstrates the same predicament that nineteenth century observers of the Irish would argue was an essential characteristic of the community, excessive drunkenness. Furthermore, he only performed his much praised "miraculous" act because he was too intoxicated to know what he was doing. That drunken fighting was a common Irish pastime is evidenced by the brawl taking place just outside the "Bar Room" doors.

[27] CHIP, "From Our Collection of Old Prints: St. Patrick's First Attack" in *Life*, March 21, 1889. Unknown, "Untitled", in *Life,* March 13, 1890. Library of Congress.

Figure 3.8: CHIP, “From Our Collection of Old Prints” in *Life*, March 21, 1889. Library of Congress.

Figure 3.9: Unknown, “Untitled”, in *Life*, March 13, 1890. Library of Congress.

Unfortunately for the brawling masses, neither the policeman nearby nor St. Patrick himself notice the destructive fighting or attempt to stop it. Apparently this aggressive and belligerent behavior was such second nature to the Irish that it attracted little attention or notice from those nearby. Overall, this is a highly unflattering portrait of Ireland's most holy figure. It mocks both his own physical and behavioral characteristics, as well as the event which made him such a celebrated figure. Furthemorer, by making Saint Patrick into a drunken reveler, the cartoon implies he drove out the snakes by accident. The cartoon also intimates that with a patron saint like St. Patrick, there is little wonder why the Irish had the reputation they did in the nineteenth century.

In the following year of 1890, an untitled cartoon appeared in *Life* bearing many similarities to "From Our Collection of Old Prints". (Figure 3.9) This cartoon also depicts St. Patrick in the act of banishing snakes from Erin. In the image, St. Patrick is different, though arguably no less prejudicially depicted. In an interesting transnational twist, this cartoon blends American stereotypes and Irish iconography. It employs the common nineteenth-century stereotype of the American police force as almost entirely populated by Irish Americans, and grafts this stereotype onto the Irish figure of St. Patrick. This St. Patrick, depicted as a police officer, corrals the snakes of Ireland, as he would corral the troublemakers of New York City. As part of the police officer motif, St. Patrick, speaking in an Irish brogue, urges the snakes, "Come – Come – Come – Now – Move an! Get out o' this – aff wid yez"!![28] Dressed in a long black robe, with an

[28] Ibid., *Life*, March 13, 1890.

officer's badge and a police helmet encircled by a halo, this St. Patrick marries police imagery with the symbols typically used in the depiction of saints. Perhaps this St. Patrick provides a more balanced representation of "Irishness" than the previous depiction a year earlier. While he is a crude figure with stereotypical Irish speech and is engaged in a yet to be respected profession, he also provides Ireland with a valuable service in the dispatching of snakes. Moreover, he is provided with a halo and religious robes for the performance of this act, suggesting that he is doing good in God's eyes. His overall character, and by extension that of all Irishmen, appears to be slightly uncouth but fairly harmless in general. Unlike the drunken and unaware St. Patrick of the previous year, this St. Patrick acts in a commendable manner by ridding Ireland of snakes, even if he is doing it in a style that continues to lampoon supposed Irish characteristics of speech and occupation.

As with St. Patrick's Day parades, the refashioning of St. Patrick's image by American cartoonists created images that commented on both the situation and character of the Irish people as a whole. Using St. Patrick, one of the central figures of Irish mythology, in a variety of manners and situations provided American cartoonists with another avenue through which they could explore the nature of "Irishness", in both a political and social context. Zimmerman's "Parnell" St. Patrick used the political tools within his reach to eradicate the "snake" of English landlordism, an issue that concerned Irishmen on both sides of the Atlantic. On the other hand, CHIP's drunken St. Patrick has goals that are neither noble nor impressive. He stumbles into the role of "snake banisher" without any realization of his actions or understanding of the consequences left

in his wake. Finally, the untitled cartoon published the following year offers the most intriguing and ambiguous refashioning of St. Patrick and his mythology. By combining the images associated with sainthood and American law enforcement, the cartoonist creates a truly transnational figure that is neither entirely holy nor entirely ridiculous. Thus, as a figure representing the core of Irish values and characteristics, St. Patrick afforded American cartoonists a variety of lenses through which "Irishness" could be viewed.

IV

While parades celebrating St. Patrick's Day and the refashioning of the saint's image allowed American cartoonists the opportunity to comment on Irish behavior as a whole, they were not the only themes utilized during the weeks surrounding St. Patrick's Day to depict "Irishness". Many cartoonists looked beyond the parades and the central figure of the day's celebration, to focus on a more generalized depiction of Irish Americans and the characteristics, aims, and behaviors of the community. The humor journal *Puck* became particularly adept at using the days around St. Patrick's Day to make broad comments about the nature of the Irish in America and their overall aims in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first of these cartoons came early in *Puck*'s publishing history -- a portrait of an Irishman on St. Patrick's Day for their March 12, 1879 issue.[29] (Figure 3.10)

Wearing the attire often associated with an Irishman marching in a St. Patrick's Day parade, including a top hat, tails, sash, and shillelagh, this figure struts down the

[29] J. A. McWales, "The 17th of March: He Owns The Town" in *Puck*, March 12, 1879. Library of Congress.

center of a major New York avenue as if he "owns the town". In the background lining the streets is a cheering crowd validating the figure as he marches past them. It is a fairly simple cartoon, but when placed within the context of the Irish experience in the United States during the later half of the nineteenth century, this small and plain cartoon conveys a great deal of meaning. Based on the simian facial features of this figure, he is clearly an Irishman of the lowest social order. Yet his dress and mannerisms suggest an individual with a healthy sense of confidence and belonging to the world through which he strolls.

Figure 3.10: J. A. McWales "The 17th of March: He Owns the Town" in *Puck,* March 12, 1879. Library of Congress.

The title of the cartoon, however, reminds the audience that this Irish figure's sense of belonging and entitlement is conditional upon a specific circumstance, namely the celebration of St. Patrick's Day on "the 17th of March." It is in this combination of image and title that the cartoonist's message becomes clear to the audience. Although this Irishman, representing all Irish Americans, feels that he owns the town at this particular moment, the reality of the situation on every other day of the year is quite different and this Irishman would be delusional to think otherwise. Thus the cartoonist, J. A. McWales, acknowledges that with their numbers and political involvement in city government, it is true that on St. Patrick's Day, Irishmen "own the town" and have a significant impact on American society. The cartoon also serves as a reminder that this sense of belonging and importance is not lasting, that the Irish are contained by their inferiorities of class the rest of the time, and are too irrational to recognize their own limitations within this American context.

While the above cartoon was small in scale and scope, placed in the middle of textual newsprint, the *Puck* cartoon two years later is completely opposite. Also created by McWales, this two page cartoon contains ten different scenes to convey "A St. Patrick's Day Vision: When Erin Conquers the 'Saxon'".[30] (Figure 3.11) The cartoon focuses largely on Irish issues from the other side of the Atlantic and the highly contentious relationship between Ireland and England. Though a few scenes contain symbols relevant to an American context, most scenes concern a broader notion of "Irishness," highlighting again the transatlantic nature of the American Irish experience,

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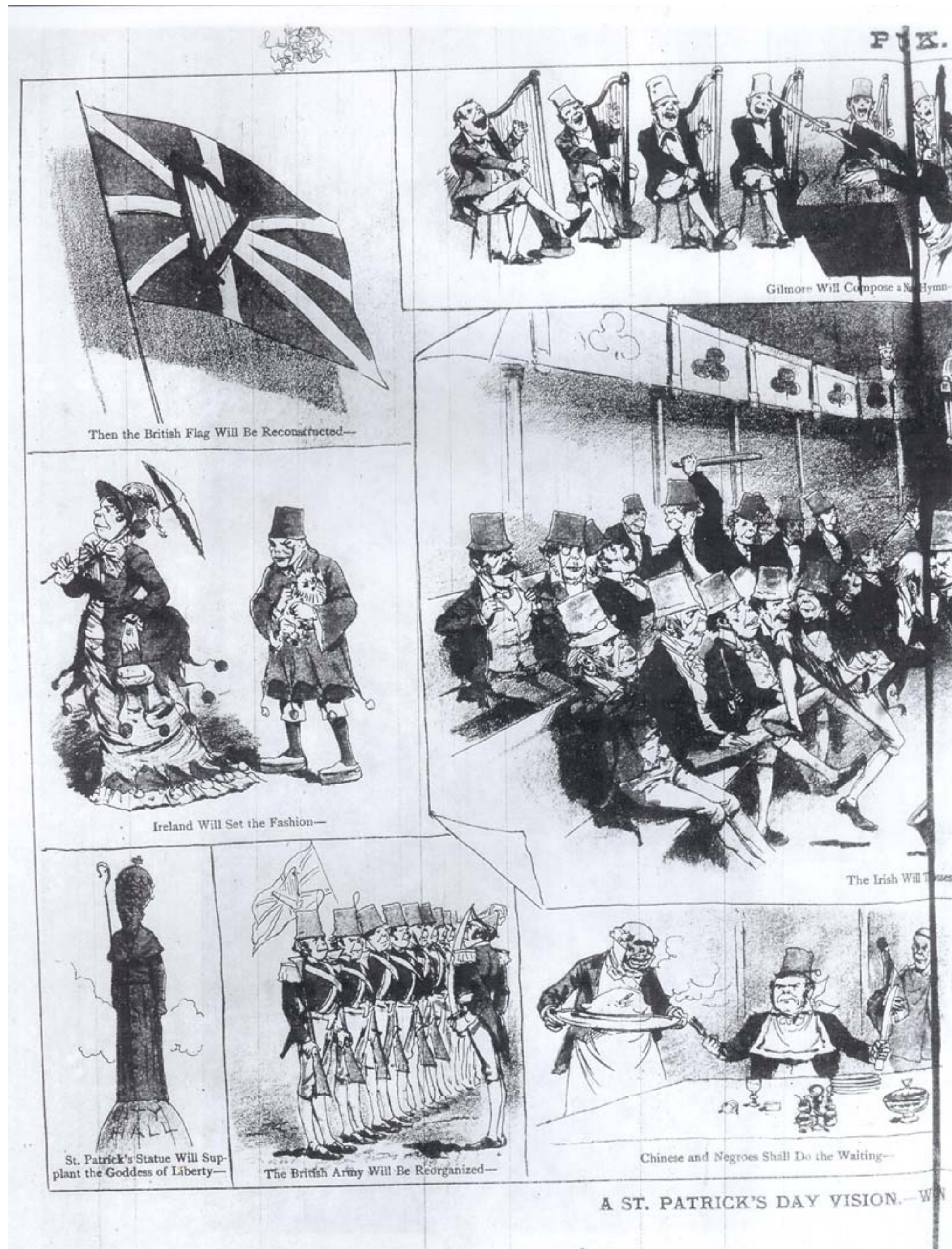
[30] J. A. McWales, "A St. Patrick's Day Vision: When Erin Conquers the 'Saxon'", in *Puck,* March 16, 1881. Library of Congress.

particularly when all of the scenes combine to demonstrate what life would be like in the world after an Irish "victory" over Anglo-Saxons, both in England and the United States. A number of the scenes comment upon nationalist issues, including the largest of the ten scenes, which occupies the center of the image and spans both pages of the cartoon.

The caption reads "The Irish Will Take Possession of the Houses of Parliament," as Irishmen with simian features serve as MPs in their version of Parliament. Chaos reigns on the floor, as two members from opposing sides of the house engage in a fight, to the amusement of many of the others, who do nothing to stop the tussle. Other acts of violence amongst the MPs occur on all sides, under the watchful gaze of the Pope's portrait hanging in the back of the room. In addition to the notable change in décor is the pattern of shamrocks lining the upper part of the walls, while the Irish harp hangs just above the portrait of the Pope. As this frenzied scene unfolds, the other scenes surround the central image to accentuate the variety of ways society would be affected by Irish domination. Corresponding with the depiction of an Irish Parliament, the scene in the upper left hand corner of the first page portrays a refashioned "Union Jack," with a caption that reads "Then the British Flag Will Be Reconstructed." Added to the St. George's and St. Andrew's crosses that made up the original flag symbolizing the United Kingdom, McWales envisions an Irish harp occupying and dominating the center of the new flag. The scene to the right of the flag continues with the nationalist tones similar to those portrayed by Parliament and the flag. In this scenario a group of nine Irish harp players perform what the caption refers to as a new "National Hymn". Clearly this new

composition will have distinctly Irish characteristics and ignore other ethnic musical traditions.



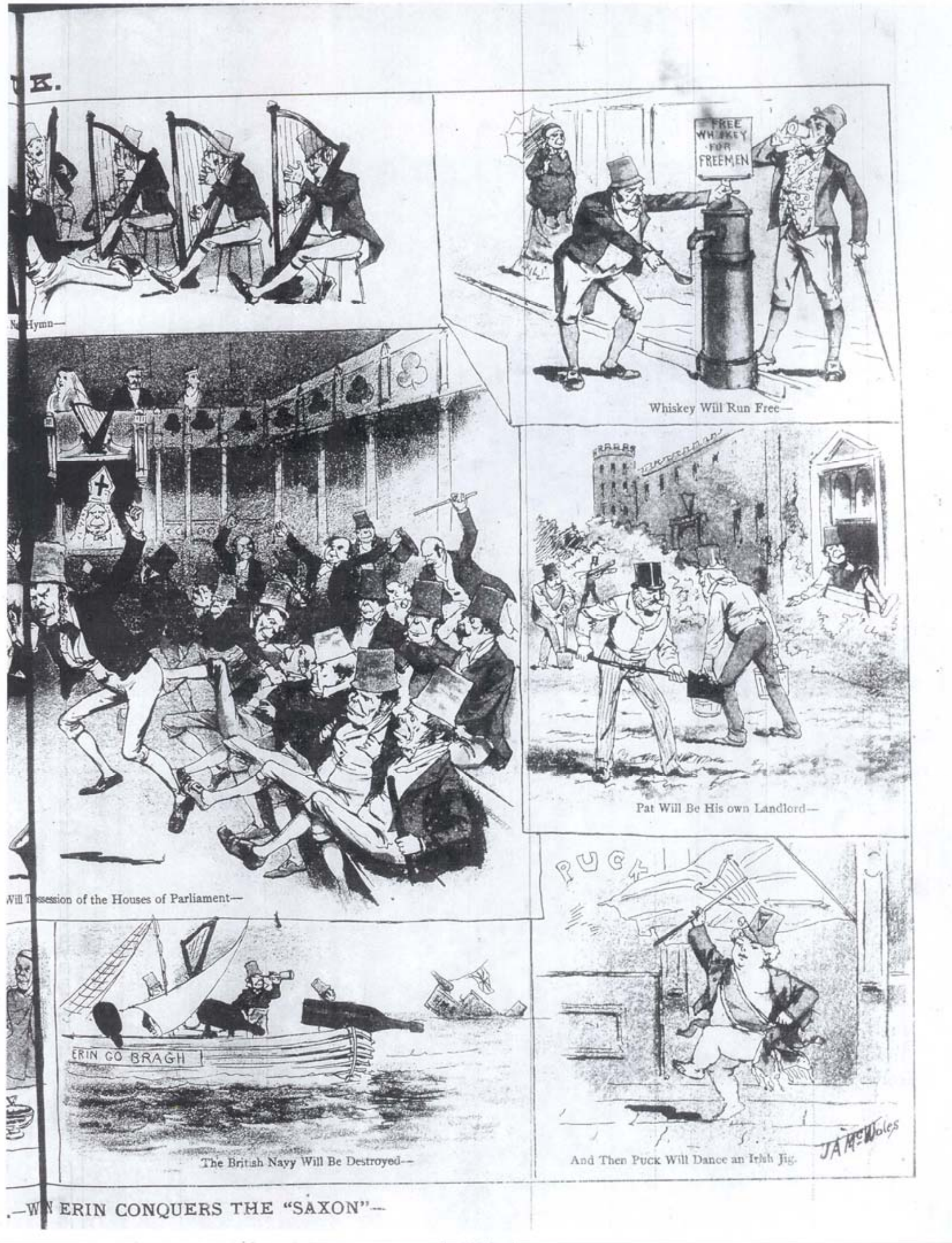


Figure 3.11: J. A. McWales, "A St. Patrick's Day Vision: When Erin Conquers the 'Saxon'", in *Puck,* March 16, 1881. Library of Congress.

Two more scenes follow this line of Irish nationalist restructuring. In the first, the caption reads "The British Army Will be Reorganized," and the second reads "The British Navy Will be Destroyed." The depiction of a reorganized British army portrays a company of soldiers in the familiar British redcoats, except these coats are worn by Irishman with simian facial features. These militia men are led by an Irish commander, and complete the transformation of the corps by carrying the refashioned flag that includes the Irish harp. Likewise, in the scene showing the destruction of the British navy, a ship commissioned the "Erin Go Bragh", with an Irish harp depicted on its sail, watches a British naval vessel as it sinks in the distance. Particularly amazing in this scene are the cannons onboard the Irish ship, which seem to be impractical weapons as they are all shaped like whiskey bottles. Despite this drawback, the Irish ship has clearly been successful in its goal of defeating the British navy. The final scene of nationalist imagery occupies the bottom left hand corner of the cartoon. Its caption reads "St. Patrick's Statue Will Supplant the Goddess of Liberty". Instead of the allegorical figure of Liberty residing on top of City Hall, McWales suggests that the figure of St. Patrick will communicate Irish power and might to the masses.

With six of the eleven scenes in this image relating in some way to the construction of a nationalist identity, it appears logical to conclude that Irish nationalism was a concern to both American and British societies. The creation of a flag, national anthem, army and navy combined with parliamentary domination and the symbolic takeover of City Hall to embody ways the Irish both in the United States and particularly in Great Britain could refashion a nation in their own image with a "victory" over Anglo-

Saxons. In fact, the way in which these scenes unfold suggested a self-consciousness on the part of American and British societies, who realized that Irishmen have been left out of their national political and social lives and would seek retaliation in the form portrayed in the cartoon. At the very least, these scenes suggest that both American and British societies recognized that there were more issues at stake for the Irish than simply agitating for political independence, though the centering of a large image with an Irish parliament implies political independence was perhaps the most important issue. The more symbolic aspects of nation building were important to the Irish as well, as seen in the recreation of the flag, the restructuring of the military, and a newly composed national anthem. Anglo-Americans and Britons understood, then, that Irish nationalist aims comprised both political and symbolic changes in their relationships to Anglo-Saxons. Additionally, Irish positions in the class and social structures of American and British society continued to cause concern, which can be seen in the remaining five scenes of the image.

The next three scenes have a decidedly American context. Located below the refashioned flag, the first scene is titled "Ireland Will Set the Fashion." In this scene an Irish woman walks down the street in her "finest" fashions, with her Chinese servant following behind carrying the pet dog. The woman's dress is incredibly flamboyant, particularly with regard to standards of dress and decorum for the 1880s. Although her hat, purse and parasol are all overdone, it is the detailing on her coat and dress that is particularly noteworthy. Both coat and dress contain a circle of dangling balls hanging from the hem, a detail also seen on the hem of her Chinese servant's shirt. There are

several possible interpretations of this “coincidence”; perhaps the Irish woman has insisted that her servant match her own style of dress, or more shockingly, that she got the idea for this style of dress from her servant. A more implicit message behind this scene is that class distinctions based on clothing have been eliminated with this Irish ascendancy. Whatever the case may be, it certainly does not suggest the height of fashion from an Anglo-Saxon perspective.

Another scene incorporating Irish notions of fashion, or lack there of, is found in the upper right hand corner of the cartoon. In this scene, two Irishman in “gentleman’s” attire partake from the pump labeled “Free Whiskey for Freemen.” As the gentlemen enjoy the free alcohol, a Chinese man walks on the sidewalk behind them. By labeling the pump for “Freemen” and placing the Chinese man in the scene, the artist creates an interesting perception of the Chinese man’s social status. He does not appear to be on his way to consume the libations with the Irish “freemen,” suggesting that this Chinese man does not occupy the same social standing as the Irish figures. While the overall tone of the scene mocks the common perception that Irishmen, no matter what their social standing, are drunken louts, it also conveys a broader notion of Irish views of race and class distinctions.

Nothing demonstrates this perception better than the scene situated at the cartoon’s bottom in which “Chinese and Negroes Shall do the Waiting.” As with the previously described scene, the Irish figure in this scene is a person of some wealth or status, for he has servants in his employ. The Irishman is seated at his dining room table and is being served by an African American man to the left and a Chinese man to the

right. Each has a distinct role in their service to the Irishman; the African American man provides the food service while the Chinese man is the liquor steward, as evidenced by the large bottle in his arms. It is interesting to note that this cartoon, in its imaginings of a world in which the Irish are victors over Anglo-Saxons, place figures of color in servile roles, not Anglo-Saxons. The servile role of the Irish in Anglo society during this period is certainly well documented, and it could be assumed that the Irish would want to turn the tables on Anglo-Saxons rather than place other ethnic groups in a subservient position. Yet, such a scenario is not the picture that McWales presents to his audience. Perhaps even more intriguing than a lack of Anglo servants, is the behavior of the servants in comparison with the manners of their master. Both the African American and Chinese men, though drawn with stereotypical features, exude a sense of dignity in service to their Irish master. His behavior is less appealing; there is a definite lack of delicacy and gentlemanly manner in the way his napkin is tied like a bib around his neck and he sits with his fork and knife already in hand before the food even reaches the table. He has even kept his hat on for the meal, resting his pipe on the hat's brim. Thus the actions of the master are inferior to those of his servants. This created an interesting commentary on both class and racial issues in the United States, and the place of the Irish within this complex hierarchy. For Anglo-Americans, the Irish, both racially and socially, were the true inferiors in American society.

Although the three scenes described above belong in a largely American context, the next scene is better classified as an "Old World" commentary. Directly to the right of the large, central depiction of the Irish parliament is the image described as "Pat Will Be

his Own Landlord." In this scene we observe work being carried out at a manor estate, similar to those found in England and Ireland. In this instance the Irish figure does not occupy the central position, but rather is found on the right hand side of the scene, lounging away the day in the window of *his* manor home. The center and majority of the scene portray upper class gentleman in suits and top hats laboring in the fields in front of the manor. This configuration clearly reverses the existing class structure in Ireland and England, much to the glee of the Irishman and at the expense of the British gentry. Although the scene does not integrate a racial element into its depiction in the same manner as the image of the Irish man's dinner, the issue of class and the place of Irishmen within that hierarchy certainly resonates across the Atlantic.

Finally, the bottom right hand corner of the cartoon offers a parting statement on what would happen when "Erin Conquers the 'Saxon'". Decked out in an Irish sash, coat and tails, and top hat, the cherubic figure personifying the journal *Puck*, dances with the Irish flag as the caption reads, "And Then Puck Will Dance an Irish Jig." While this statement is likely intended to denigrate Irish Americans and the way in which their celebration of St. Patrick's Day overwhelmed American cities in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the statement and image of *Puck* dancing an Irish jig foreshadows the public's embracing of St. Patrick's Day in the latter half of the twentieth century, when everyone "gets to be Irish for the day."

In a variety of ways, from the boisterous St. Patrick's Day parades to the reinterpretation of the venerated saint himself, American cartoonists found numerous ways to use the celebration of St. Patrick as an opportunity to offer broader commentary

on the nature and characteristics of the Irish. While some cartoonists, such as Thomas Nast, found the Irish to be dangerous and threatening, more often than not, American humor journals published St. Patrick's Day cartoons that depicted the Irish as foolish and self-important, but ultimately harmless. A minority of cartoons produced for St. Patrick's Day ever focused on the goals and aims of the Irish, both in the United States and abroad. Issues such as nationalism, land rights, class, and race all found a place in St. Patrick's Day cartoons, showcasing broader Anglo-American concerns and viewpoints with regard to the Irish. Ultimately, depictions of the Irish on St. Patrick's Day provided American cartoonists with a plethora of opportunities to comment upon Irish nature. For Irish publications, however, St. Patrick's Day did not inspire similar images to those found in American publications.

V

The celebration of St. Patrick's Day has a long tradition among the Irish in the United States. It dates back to the mid-eighteenth century, and certainly occupies a position of importance in the Irish community to the present day. For a number of reasons previously discussed, controversy surrounded St. Patrick's Day celebrations in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Dissenting opinions came from within the Irish community itself on the style and tone of its celebrations in the face of such critical issues as Irish self-government, famine relief, American nativism, and boisterous Irish behavior. Irish-produced newspapers offered a forum for this debate, both in the form of editorials and political cartoons. Yet, it is important to note that, on the whole, Irish newspapers

published few cartoons on the subject of St. Patrick's Day. Likely, the satirical nature of cartooning played a role in this regard. St. Patrick's Day was simply too important to the Irish community to be the subject of satire. Another possible explanation for the dearth of Irish produced cartoons on St. Patrick's Day was the desire of Irish leaders to downplay a celebration that conflicted with American nationalist sentiments. Whatever the reason, while the issues surrounding the celebration of St. Patrick's Day occupied a large number of articles and editorials in Irish newspapers, there is a decisive lack of cartoons published in Irish papers on St. Patrick's Day.

The New York-based publication *The Irish American* provides insight into the debates among the American-Irish surrounding the way in which the saint's day was celebrated. Throughout the 1860s and 1870s the paper offered its opinion on the festivities and the importance of the day's celebration to the Irish community in the United States. For the *Irish American*, the cause of Irish nationalism, and the ability of the Irish in America to aid in nationalist endeavors, played a central and recurring role in the celebrations of St. Patrick's Day. For instance, in an editorial from 1869, the editor urged American Irish to make St. Patrick's Day that year:

> …deserve to be recorded in our future calendars, as the occasion on which the scattered children of the Irish race, with one resolve, determined that their native isle should be FREE, and that, God willing, they should make it so.[31]

While the Irish nationalist movement lacked cohesive leadership in this period, the sentiment of an "Ireland for the Irish" is felt clearly in statements such as the one above. The importance of making these statements on a day of symbolic celebration for Ireland

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[31] Editorial, *Irish American*, March 13, 1869.

reinforced the idea among the American-Irish that the best way to honor St. Patrick's legacy was by liberating Ireland.

By the 1880s, the Irish nationalist movements, both in Ireland and in the United States, had developed solid leadership and organizations dedicated to political, economic, and social changes in Ireland. This leadership generally questioned the American celebrations of St. Patrick's Day and the appropriateness of such acts in the face of Ireland's continuing problems. The editors at *The Irish American* took a different view, suggesting that with the correct organization and tone, American Irish celebrations of St. Patrick's Day could benefit the overall struggle for Irish nationalism. In an editorial from 1884 the editors contended:

> Let the celebration of St. Patrick's Day, then, after its religious character has been properly recognized, be a grand Irish National League holiday, -- to be used only for the benefit of the purposes of the National League, and the man of men who would seek to divert its results from such a purpose can be very properly ranked with the enemy.[32]

By linking Irish American celebrations of St. Patrick's Day with the ongoing struggle of Irish nationalism, the editors of *The Irish American* illustrated what scholars have increasingly noted about Irish communities of the late nineteenth-century. The struggle for Irish independence was a truly transatlantic issue that resonated as strongly in the Irish communities of the United States as it did in Ireland itself. This point is reinforced in a second editorial, printed one week after the first, in which the editors noted the fact that Irish communities around the world participated in the veneration of Ireland's patron saint, and recognized these remembrances as important to the fight for Ireland's nationalist aims.

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[32] Editorial, *Irish American,* March 15, 1884.

In Canada, Australia, India, Africa – wherever the Irish race have found a foothold, -- the expression of love and hope for the Old Land will be the same, and should be directed to the same end – the hastening of her deliverance from the hated yoke of the stranger.[33]

The celebration of St. Patrick's Day by Irish communities world wide, both through their financial efforts as well as their symbolic statements, played a valuable part in promoting Ireland's nationalist struggles. Editorials from *The Irish American* indicate this, as do the few political cartoons from the period that commented on the subject of celebrating St. Patrick.

The myth of St. Patrick contained important symbols that crossed the Atlantic and remained meaningful for Irish in both the New and Old Worlds. St. Patrick's mythology, whether through symbols or direct references played an important role in the comments made by American Irish cartoonists on Ireland's nationalist struggle. Interestingly, the first cartoon *The Irish American* produced on the subject of St. Patrick actually appeared months after the celebration of the saint's day. In October of 1880, a cartoon titled "Giving Them 'A Twist'" used imagery associated with St. Patrick to comment upon Irish land concerns.[34] (Figure 3.12) The unknown cartoonist depicts an Irish tenant, using the club of "public opinion" to beat back the reptiles in his path – the snake labeled "Landlord League" and the toad who issues a "Proclamation of Martial Law." While these "English" reptiles allude to St. Patrick's famous miracle, the caption accompanying the cartoon provides a more explicit reference to the acclaimed saint. In the caption, "Pat" asserts, "I always heard say that St. Patrick banished all the toads and snakes out of

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[33] Editorial, *Irish American*, March 22, 1884.

[34] Unknown, "Giving Them 'A Twist'", in *Irish American,* October 23, 1880. Library of Congress.

Ireland; but here are a pair that must have come in about the same time as 'the curse of Cromwell'. I will have to give these reptiles a twist myself; and now is the time to do it".[35]

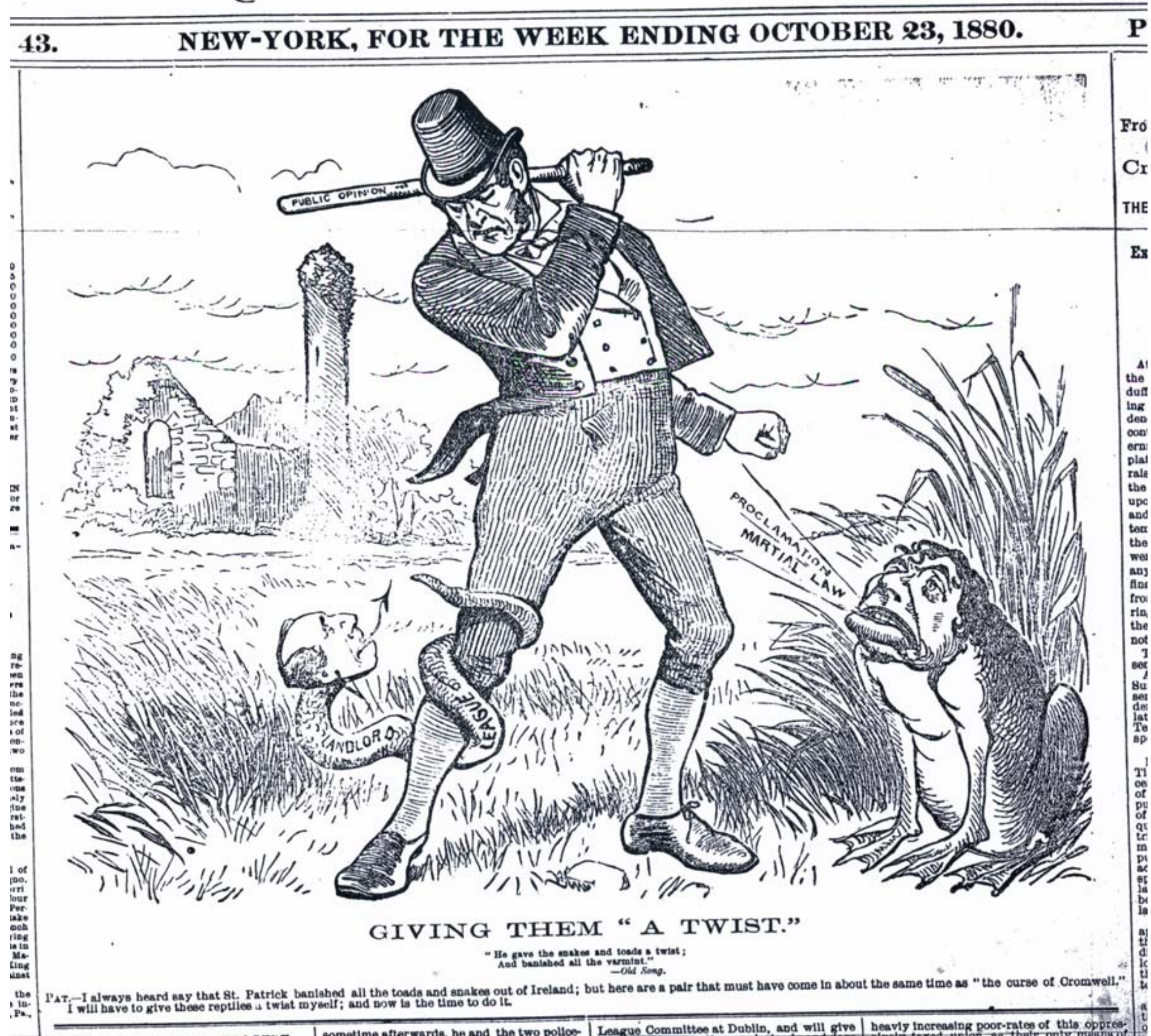

Figure 3.12: Unknown, "Giving Them 'A Twist'", in *Irish American*, October 23, 1880. Library of Congress.

Taking his cue from St. Patrick, Pat argues that the Irish people must now unite themselves and take up where St. Patrick left off by ridding Ireland of its current plague,

[35] Ibid.

English landlords and English political control. The grotesque mutations of the snake (with a landlord's head) and toad (with a politician's head), coupled with Pat's expression of disgust mixed with determination, indicate the serious nature of Ireland's political struggles. Moreover, the cartoonist clearly notes that while St. Patrick was responsible for the original feat of banishing reptiles from Ireland, the Irish people themselves needed to be the active agents in getting rid of the latest English pests. This allusion to St. Patrick and his feats can ultimately be seen, not as a celebration of past Irish victories, but rather, a reminder of the many struggles yet to come.

Similar to this out -of-season reminder of St. Patrick's gift to the Irish people, the *Irish American* offered another reinterpretation of the saint's actions in a cartoon first published in March 1883, and reproduced with some alterations in March 1888.[36] In the cartoon by an unknown artist, St. Patrick stands in the left hand portion of the image as a figure that either is looking down from heaven above or is appearing to the audience in some other mystical way. Dressed in resplendent robes with Celtic motifs, carrying his bishop's crook, St. Patrick observes the scene in front of him, which is filled with a number of horrific looking reptiles. Each toad, snake, or other creature is labeled with a word describing its offence to Ireland and the Irish people. These include "Coercion," "Informer," "Felonious Landlordism," "Eviction," "Intimidation," "Official," "Emergency," and, spelled backwards, "Murder." The background scenery is bleak, lacking warmth and definition, looking nothing like the storied images of Ireland. Thus, as St. Patrick surveys the reptile dominion over Ireland and the destruction they cause,

[36] Unknown, "St. Patrick's Day, 1883" in *Irish American*, March 24, 1883. Unknown, "St. Patrick's Mission", in *Irish American*, March 24, 1888. Library of Congress.

there appears to be little hope of relief in sight. While the captions of the two cartoons differ slightly, they echo similar sentiments of despair. The first, from 1883, reads, "On his Anniversary, St. Patrick re-visits his well beloved Ireland, and finds that he has to do one part, at least, of his work over again- to drive out the noxious reptiles." The second image from 1888 reads, "Ireland's Apostle has yet Another Brood of Reptiles to Crush in the Land of His Love."[37] Both cartoons imply that the job of St. Patrick is not fully finished and requires his immediate rectification, as these English reptiles destroy Ireland.

These three cartoons centered on the theme of St. Patrick present different messages. The second two use images that suggest only mystical or holy powers can solve the current crisis. The first cartoon, in contrast, asserts that the Irish people should take "St. Patrick-like" action on their own behalf. It is possible that the reason for this desire for deliverance by a higher power seen in the second two cartoons (Figures 3.13 and 3.14) is due to the uncertainty surrounding the Irish nationalist movement in 1883 and 1888. During these years tensions between nationalist leaders threatened to derail the movement. Also, the failure of the Home Rule Bill in 1886 led to deep disappointment among nationalists in the last years of the decade. While on the whole the 1880s witnessed a vigorous and active movement for Irish independence both in Ireland and the United States, the years of 1883 and 1888 offered fewer opportunities for substantial changes to the British political domination of the Irish as other years seemed to provide.

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[37] Ibid.

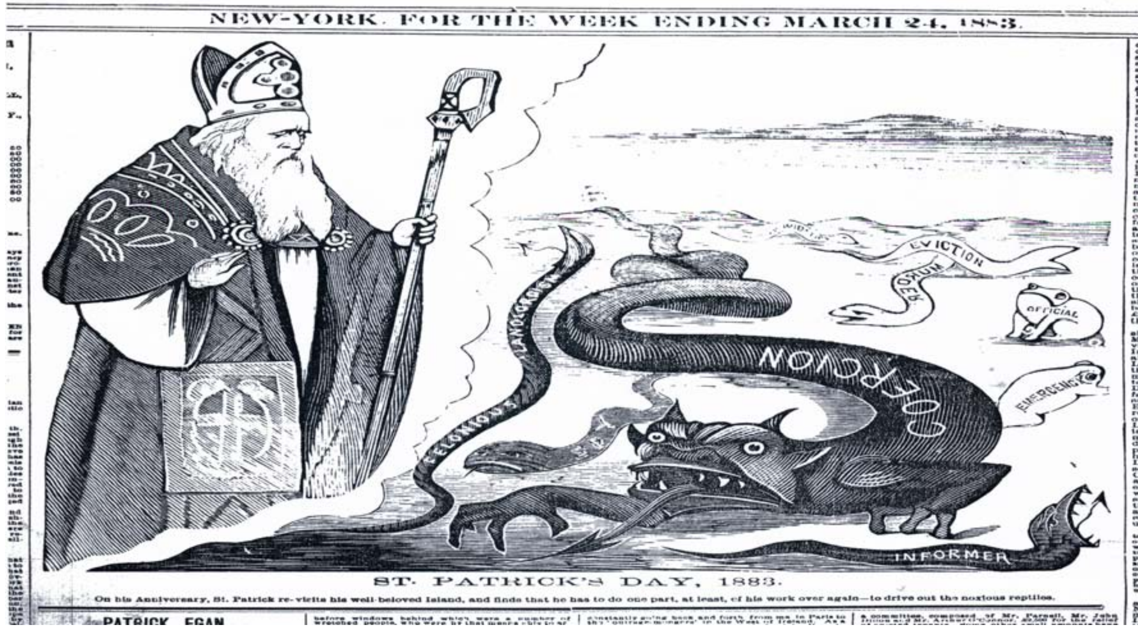

Figure 3.13: Unknown "St. Patrick's Day, 1883" in *Irish American*, March 24, 1883. Library of Congress.

Figure 3.14: Unknown, "St. Patrick's Mission" in *Irish American*, March 24, 1888. Library of Congress.

These images of St. Patrick clearly represent a transatlantic connection between the Irish-American community in the United States and the issues and concerns of Ireland itself. While British humor journals rarely utilized St. Patrick's image, Anglo-American cartoonists used his image to examine overall Irish issues and characteristics. Moreover, St. Patrick's figure became an important tool for Irish artists and newspaper publishers. Although Anglo-American cartoons featuring St. Patrick more often than not lampooned the Irish for their drunken and foolish behavior, occasionally even found in St. Patrick himself, Irish cartoons of the saint were more respectful and, often, more purposeful. Certainly, because he was the patron saint of Ireland, Irish publications were more inclined to celebrate and honor the legend of St. Patrick, and particularly, utilize his image and story to further the cause of an independent Ireland. While some images, such as *The Irish Americans'* repeated cartoon in 1883 and 1888, used the figure of St. Patrick himself to demonstrate Ireland's latest troubles, others merely invoked the myth of reptilian banishment to communicate Ireland's need for another miracle. The interpretations of St. Patrick's image seen in the above cartoons focus specifically upon issues important to the cause of Irish nationalism and the impoverished condition of Ireland itself. Whereas cartoons of the saint focused on transnational issues and imagery, other cartoons produced by Irish American publications in the period dwelled on expressly American subjects that seemed to downplay their "Irishness", just as Cronin and Adair suggest. These images, published in the 1870s and 1880s, reflect an American Irish community looking to emphasize those qualities that the Irish possessed which American society most highly prized.

The most common themes found in depictions of St. Patrick's Day celebrations by American publications are the chaos and disorderly manner in which these celebrations took place. These cartoons strongly implied that these qualities were inherent to Irishmen, and something that separated them from "typical" American citizens. Thus it is hardly surprising that one of the first images of St. Patrick's Day produced by an Irish-American publication presented a scene of precision and orderliness. The image, not quite a cartoon due to its more realistic replication of the recent parade, provides insights into how Irish Americans wished their celebration of St. Patrick's Day to be viewed by their own community and the public at large. Published by St. Louis' *Western Watchman*, the scene depicts the St. Patrick's Day parade that had lately taken place in downtown St. Louis.[38] (Figure 3.15)

The most prominent aspect of this image is the formation of marching Irishmen. They emerge in perfect order, stretching as far as the eye can see to the back of the scene. Undoubtedly, one explanation for the artist creating an illusion of parade participants marching into infinity is that it conveys to the audience the sheer size of the Irish community and how these numbers imply power and importance to the community as a whole. Another, perhaps deeper, reason for showcasing the Irish marchers in this manner is that it highlights the order and precision of the participants. Readers of the newspaper will not find the disorganized and chaotic scene of Irishmen roaming the streets, as could be seen in cartoons such as Nast's "The Day We Celebrate" and *Frank Leslie's*

[38] Haskell Eng Co., "St. Patrick's day Procession in St. Louis, As Seen Passing Down Fourth St.", in *Western Watchman,* March 27, 1875.

Illustrated's "The Riot on St. Patrick's Day." In contrast in the St. Louis image readers will find Irishmen behaving respectably and with decorum.

Figure 3.15: Haskell Eng Co., "St. Patrick's Day Parade in St. Louis, As Seen Passing Down Fourth St.", in *Western Watchman*, March 27, 1875.

In addition to these positive aspects of Irish character on display, the scene depicted in the paper also shows a respectful crowd watching the St. Patrick's Day procession with keen interest. Perhaps the crowd came hoping to see a display of "typical" boisterous Irish behavior, but whatever the motive for attendance the crowd of Irish and non-Irish alike witnessed the procession attentively. Finally, in addition to displaying such American traits as respect, order, and discipline, this depiction of St.

Louis' St. Patrick's Day parade highlights the militaristic formations of the marchers. This is perhaps the most important quality for the artist to emphasize. It serves as a reminder to the Irish and American communities of the service Irishmen gave to the United States during the Civil War and other moments of combat in American history. This theme of military service to the United States, present and yet understated in this cartoon, can be seen even more clearly in the following two cartoons from Irish papers commemorating St. Patrick's Day in the post Civil War decades.

The first of these cartoons was published in a special St. Patrick's Day edition of New York's *Irish World* and is titled "The Irish Soldier's Address to Columbia on St. Patrick's Day."[39] (Figure 3.16) The cartoon has an interesting design, with a central image of an Irish soldier offering clovers to Columbia, flanked by two smaller scenes reflecting Irish and American symbols. Outside the clover are two additional scenes. The cartoon is also accompanied by a poem by Michael Scanlan, first published in *New York Weekly*, which highlights the services Irish Americans had given to the United States throughout its history.

The center scene of the cartoon, also centrally located inside the clover, is the largest and most prominent of the depictions of American and Irish friendship. As noted above, the Irish soldier is dressed in Civil War attire and carries a rifle in his right hand and a few clovers in his left. The soldier offers the clovers to Columbia, seated on a throne with the American eagle at her side, and who smiles encouragingly at this Irishman's offer. To the right of this main image within the clover is a scene containing

[39] Unknown, "The Irish Soldier's Address to Columbia on St. Patrick's Day", in *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, March 1877. New York Public Library.

several European men who also seek to pay homage to Columbia. At the front of the line, and judging by his position at the head of the line seemingly most desirous of an audience with Columbia, is the figure of John Bull, demonstrating England's strong desire to be on good terms with the United States. But John Bull and the other European statesmen must wait their turn, however, for Columbia is focused on the friendship of the Irish soldier first and foremost.

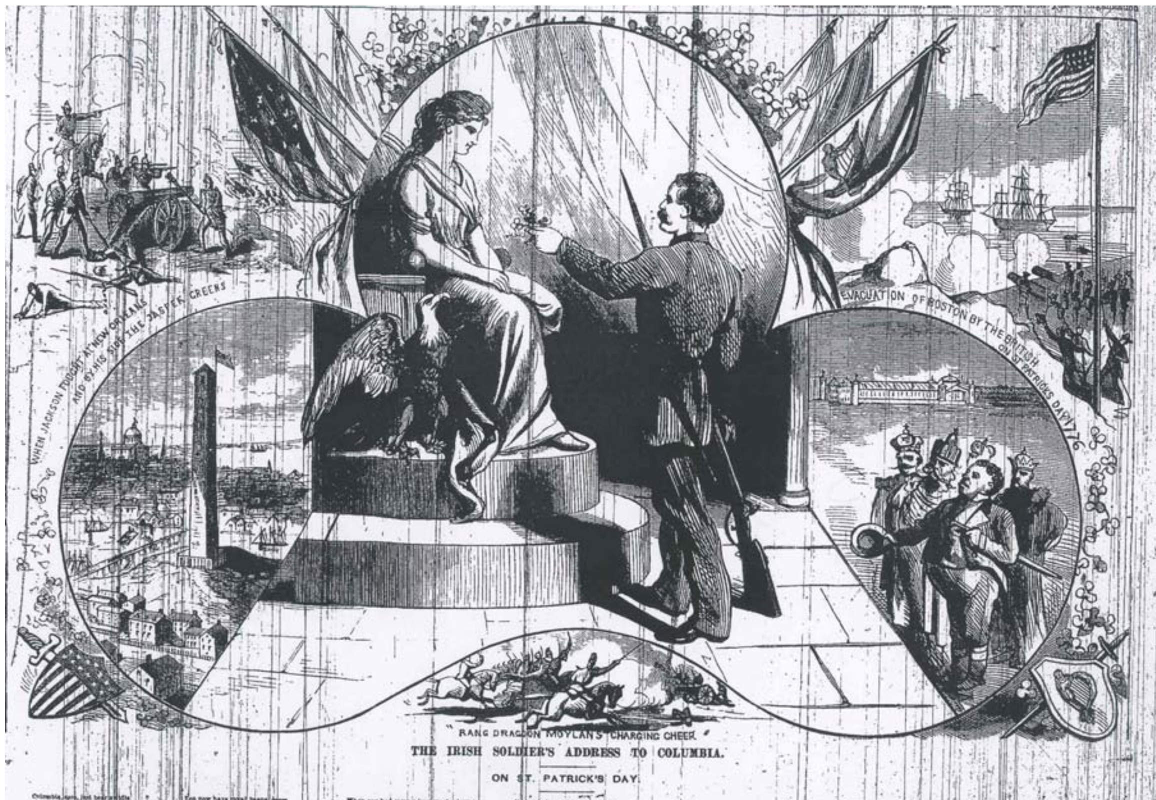

Figure 3.16: Unknown, "The Irish Soldier's Address to Columbia on St. Patrick's Day", in *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, March 1877. New York Public Library.

As the gentlemen await an audience, the scene to the left of Columbia and the Irish soldier appears to be a landscape of Washington, D.C. Most visible is the towering

Washington Monument, with the Capital Building appearing in the background. The inclusion of this scene suggests that American power and authority equaled European power, underscored by the waiting gentlemen in the opposite scene. Likewise, the scene implies that this power had been achieved in part because of Irish participation in America's national development. This implication is made even more evident when combined with the two scenes occupying the outside edges of the clover design. These scenes directly mention Irish participation in American military victories over the British in the past century.

On the right, the inscription "Evacuation of Boston By the British on St. Patrick's Day 1776," accompanies a depiction of American (and Irish) soldiers hoisting an American flag as cannons fire on British ships leaving Boston harbor. The fact that this event occurred on St. Patrick's Day near the start of the American Revolution further highlights Irish participation in and connection to dates of importance to Americans. Likewise, the scene on the left spotlights the participation of a famous Irish regiment in a military victory over the British. The inscription, "When Jackson Fought at New Orleans and by His Side the Jasper Greens," describes the scene in which Andrew Jackson on horseback commands the surrounding troops, a regiment of Irishmen from Georgia, in his attack on British forces during the War of 1812. Not only does this small scene call attention to Irish military service throughout American history, it also serves as a reminder of Jackson's presidency, which Irishmen claimed as an important ethnic contribution to American society, even though Jackson was Scots-Irish and a Protestant. On the whole, the tone of the cartoon is celebratory. First and foremost it celebrates the

friendship between the Irish and Anglo-Americans, especially the military contributions Irishmen had made throughout American history. Second, it celebrates the fact that Columbia acknowledges these contributions as significant. These sentiments are summarized by the final lines of Scanlan's poem, "Now lift your head to all man's view, Columbia, while I drink to you: *The Green*, the Red, the White, and Blue."[40]

A little more than a decade after the *Irish World's* cartoon celebration of the friendship between the Irish community and the United States, a cartoon from the *Irish American* also used the celebration of St. Patrick's Day to remind readers of the military connection between Irishmen and Americans. This second cartoon was much more somber in tone than the previous one. Titled "The Irish Brigade Monument, at Gettysburg, PA," the second cartoon points specifically to the most recent contributions Irishmen had made to American military endeavors during the Civil War.[41] (Figure 3.17) Dedicated in Gettysburg on July 2, 1888, this drawing offers *The Irish American's* readers a preview of a monument to be dedicated to Irish military service at the Battle of Gettysburg. The monument contains a "Celtic" cross, the symbol of many Irish regiments that fought in the Civil War, and at the foot of the cross, an Irish wolfhound (a common symbol of loyalty) rests respectfully in commemoration of the fallen Irish troops. This monument to the Irish troops who fought at Gettysburg joined hundreds of other monuments built on the battleground by different veterans groups in the decades

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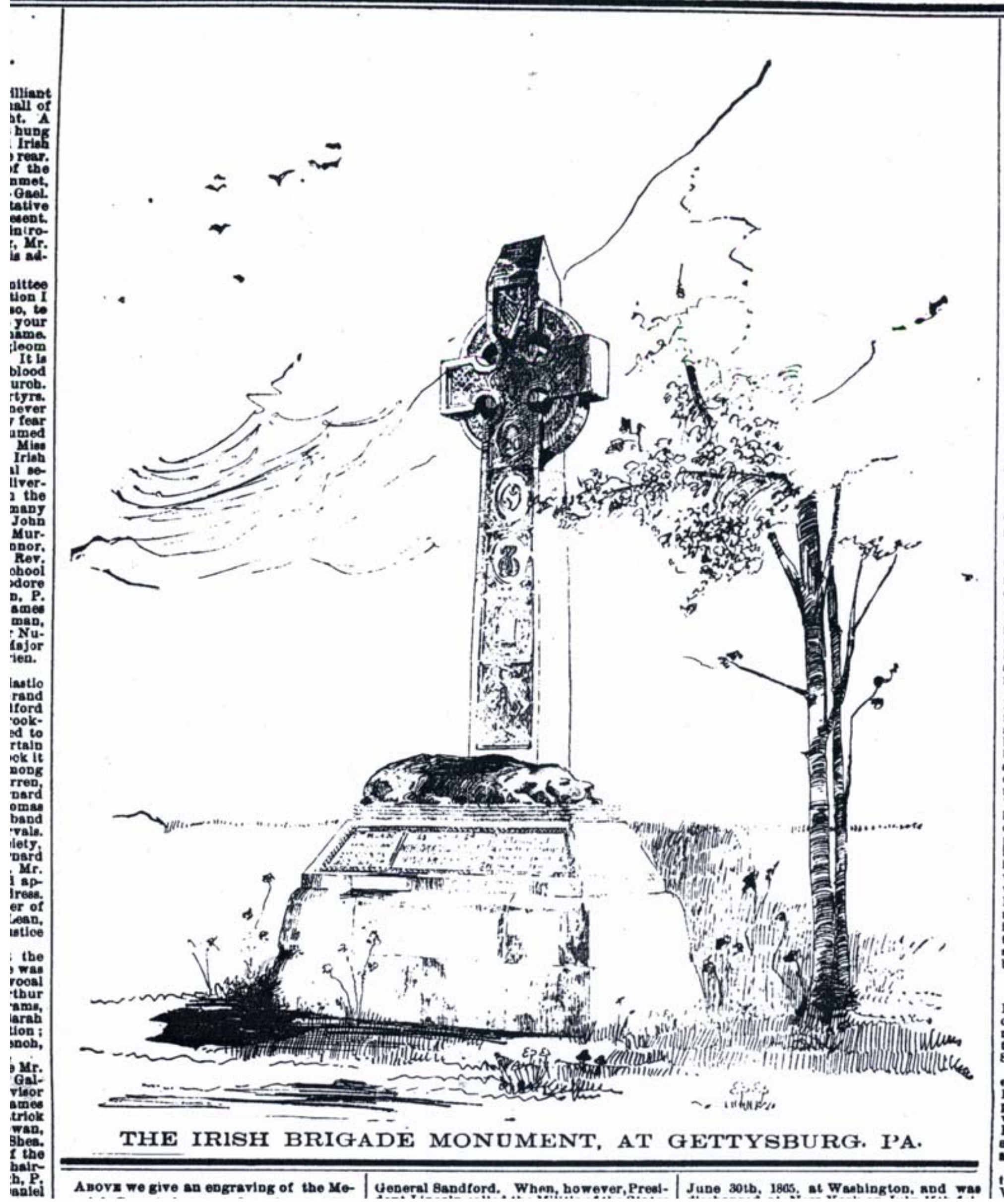
[40] Ibid.

[41] Unknown, "The Irish Brigade Monument, at Gettysburg, PA", in *Irish American*, March 17, 1888. Library of Congress.

after the war and has since become one of the most prominent symbols of Irish military service for the whole of the Civil War.



NEW-YORK, FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 17, 1888.

THE IRISH BRIGADE MONUMENT, AT GETTYSBURG. PA.

ABOVE we give an engraving of the Me- | General Sandford. When, however, Presi- | June 30th, 1865, at Washington, and was

3.17: Unknown, "The Irish Brigade Monument, at Gettysburg, PA", in *Irish American*, March 17, 1888. Library of Congress.

By publishing the image of this memorial on St. Patrick's Day, the editors of *Irish American* took the opportunity to use the most Irish of days to remind their Irish audience, and the American community as a whole, of the proud service Irishmen had given to the United States. The Civil War memorial cartoon takes a decidedly different tone from the cartoon the paper would publish in the following week featuring St. Patrick and the reptiles currently plaguing Ireland, discussed previously in the chapter.[42] Instead of focusing on themes central to the fight of Irish nationalism, the Civil War memorial cartoon soberly and courteously reminded Irishmen and Americans that the experience of the Irish in the United States was not one of ethnic isolation, but rather a unity of purpose for the preservation of the Union.

Together, the cartoons from the *Western Watchman,* the *Irish World,* and *The Irish American* demonstrate that while not a common occurrence, cartoons on or about St. Patrick's Day provided Irish newspapers with the opportunity to depict their own understandings of the nature of "Irishness" in a variety of contexts. Some focused on issues originating on the other side of the Atlantic, and used the image and mythology of St. Patrick to comment upon the ills of English rule in Ireland. Others focused on the American experiences of the Irish, most notably Irish military service to the United States, to illustrate the long lasting and continuing ties between the American Irish and the rest of the American people.

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[42] *Irish American*, March 24, 1888.

VI

The legend of St. Patrick and the importance of his story to the people of Ireland in their annual celebrations of his life, provided cartoonists with excellent opportunities to create commentaries on the nature of "Irishness". By far, American publications produced more cartoons associated with the Irish on St. Patrick's Day, though Irish American papers on occasion also used the legend and celebrations of St. Patrick as symbolic tools. St. Patrick's Day cartoons created by Americans concentrated on several different themes, among them the grandiose parades by New York's Irish population, the refashioning of St. Patrick's image to appear more like Anglo-American stereotypes, and of course, stereotypical views of Irish traits and characteristics. More often than not, Anglo-American cartoons conveyed a sense of the Irish as non-threatening buffoons, though some cartoonists, including the famous Thomas Nast, portrayed Irish celebrations quite differently. There is an element of fear in the depictions of the 1867 St. Patrick's Day riot, a fear of the growing Irish population and also alarm at what seemed to be natural Irish tendencies toward violence. Whether they portrayed the Irish as buffoons putting on airs or violent thugs, American cartoonists took advantage of the St. Patrick's Day celebrations to present their view of the Irishmen's character.

For Irish American publications, cartoons connected to St. Patrick's Day were far less numerous. Most likely this was due to the fact that the essence of cartooning is satirical and thus inappropriate for a day of reverence for a nation's patron saint. The few cartoons Irish American publications did produce relating to St. Patrick's Day underscored two very different messages. One focused on the transnational nature of the

Irish nationalist movement, highlighting Ireland's "troubles" with English rule and the need for relief similar to what St. Patrick had provided when he banished Ireland's reptiles. The other message in Irish American cartoons emphasized the American experience of Irishmen and the strong bond, particularly through military service, that Irishman had with their adopted home. The dual nature of the St. Patrick's Day cartoons published by Irish Americans suggests that there was a significant transnational element to the way in which the Irish community in the United States viewed the "most Irish of days". While never forgetting their "Irishness," Irish-American cartoons also strongly emphasized the Irish connection with the United States and its development as a nation. Ultimately, St. Patrick's Day inspired positive, serious cartoons in Irish-American publications, while at the same time motivating Anglo-Americans to produce cartoons fraught with ambiguity over the true nature of the Irish.

Chapter 4: Dynamite, Bombs, and Knives: Images of Violence and the Irish

In an editorial from the New York *Tribune*, published on August 27, 1880, the author takes the following stance on the character of Irish Fenians, [1] a group of Irishmen who actively pursued independence from Britain during the 1860s and 1870s. "The difficulty in the way of the Fenian is not altogether laws and landlords. It lies largely in himself, in his shiftlessness and ignorance, in the influences to which he has been accustomed by birth."[2] Implied, but not explicitly stated in this assertion, is the idea that the violence associated with Fenians also came from within Irish culture, and was not merely a byproduct of the British colonial system in Ireland. While much of British and American society saw the Fenians as a radical sect of Irishmen, not truly representative of the Irish as a whole, it would be next to impossible to examine representations of the Irish in the later half of the nineteenth century without including a significant discussion of violence and the place it holds in the depiction of the Irish "character".

[1] The Fenians belonged to the school of thought that only armed conflict could remove the British presence from Ireland, and throughout the late 1860s and into the 1870s they engaged in a variety of plots to forcibly eliminate the British in Ireland. While the Fenians unquestionably made a name for themselves in the struggle for Irish independence, and gained the occasional victory along the way, they also faced considerable setbacks and struggles that ultimately hindered their efforts. Most debilitating to the aims of the Fenians were the disagreements amongst the leadership of the organization and the ease with which British police informers infiltrated the Fenian membership. With trust and unity in short supply, the Fenians could not sustain a lasting impact in their struggles against the British in Ireland. They also began to face competition for support from a group that wished to use more peaceful methods in achieving Irish goals. For more on the Fenian movement see: Thomas E. Hachey, *Britain and Irish Sepratism: from the Fenians to the Free State, 1867-1922*, (Chicago: Rand McNally Publishing Company, 1977); T. W. Moody, *Davitt and Irish Revolution, 1846-82,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); R. V. Comerford, *The Fenians in Context: Irish Politics and Society, 1848-82,* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1985); Terry Golway, *Irish Rebel: John Devoy and America's Fight for Ireland's Freedom,* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); and Mitchell Snay, *Fenians, Freedmen, and Southern Whites: Race and Nationality in the Era of Reconstruction,* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007).

[2] Editorial, "The Agitation in Ireland" in New York *Tribune*, August 27, 1880.

Images involving the Irish and violence varied in many important ways. They included themes such as the political violence associated with the Irish nationalist movement to the claim of some that a natural "thugishness" and uncontrollable passion were inherent to Irishmen. Likewise, the relationship of the Irish to acts of violence varied according to the producers of the political cartoons depicting violence. Most mainstream American cartoons showed the Irish and Irish-Americans committing acts of violence against each other, Englishmen, the Americans, and other ethnic groups. These acts were portrayed in a manner that suggested the Irish were dishonorable and unpredictable, no matter their nationalist aspirations. Cartoons produced by Irish and Irish-American cartoonists also included depictions of violence, but in a variety of different ways. Similar to non-Irish publications, they also showed acts of violence committed by Irishmen, but they used these images to convey Irish strength and power in the face of adversity. In a different context, one noticeably missing from non-Irish images, Irish-American newspapers showed Irishmen as the victims and recipients of these acts of violence, in order to highlight their own struggles and nationalist aspirations. In addition, there is even an example of the Irish rejecting the use of violence outright. Thus, the representation and association of violence depicted in political cartoons of nineteenth-century Irishmen is a complex but crucial component in understanding the way in which "Irishness" was understood by British, Americans, and the Irish themselves.

I

Scholars, both in Ireland and the United States, have examined issues of violence with regard to the nineteenth-century Irish community in a variety of ways. In his synthesis of historical accounts and studies of the "American Irish," Kevin Kenny remarks on both the perceptions of violence and actual incidents of violence associated with the Irish community in the United States during the later half of the nineteenth century.[3] Utilizing the work of previous scholars, Kenny describes the various ways in which Irish violence, or perceptions of it, have been explored. In highlighting the prominence of the topic of violence in many studies of the American Irish, Kenny's focus is on several different areas, including the participation of Irish soldiers during the Civil War, Irish involvement in the 1863 New York City Draft Riots, labor disturbances such as the 'Molly Maguire's' incident, and the popular perceptions of the Irish as a people with inherently violent characteristics. From such examination, Kenny contends that violence associated with the Irish-American community varied according to its context. Sometimes Irish violence was viewed as admirable by the broader American community, as in the case of soldiers taking up arms in defense of the Union during the Civil War, but more often the association of Irishness and violence was seen as a threat to American security and stability. As Kenny notes, "The much lampooned comic Irishman of the late nineteenth century was widely believed to have a thinly concealed savage side as well."[4] Implied in these insinuations of Irishmen's natural propensity for

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[3] Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History*, London: Longman Press, 2000.

[4] Ibid., 147.

violence is the idea that there was little or no hope for this trait to diminish even in an American environment, removed from Ireland where these characteristics had no doubt developed. Consequently, the stigma of violence followed the American Irish as they attempted to traverse the late nineteenth-century American landscape and find their place in American society.

While Irish participation in the Civil War appeared to be an acceptable use of violence to American society, more often than not, Irish acts of violence committed in the United States reinforced American views of the Irish as an inherently "savage" people. This perception intensified during the 1870s and 1880s as some Irishmen, in both the United States and Ireland, embarked upon a campaign of political violence as part of the broader Irish nationalist movement to free Ireland from British rule. Although in the twentieth century this kind of political violence is more associated with the Protestant-Catholic conflicts surrounding Northern Ireland, the nationalist violence of the 1870s and 1880s played an important part in defining Irish characteristics in the period.

The Irish reputation for violence in the later half of the nineteenth century is also the subject of historian Carolyn A. Conley's work.[5] By utilizing surviving Irish records of violent crimes and attempting to examine the motives for the violence as well as the relationships between the victims and assailants, Conley argues that Irish violence was more often than not recreational in nature. According to Conley, the image of the Irish as a particularly violent people is inaccurate in that the actual amount of violence in Ireland

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[5] Carolyn A. Conley, *Melancholy Accidents: The Meaning of Violence in Post-Famine Ireland*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 1999.

was usually less than in England and Wales."[6] By showcasing the manner in which violent acts occurred and were oftentimes tolerated by the Irish people, Conley offers a different view of the "savage" Irishman depicted in British and American portrayals. Though Conley discusses violence based on political motivations, she largely concentrates on social relations within the Irish community to explain how violence unfolded within that society. "The bulk of Irish violence was personal," she notes. "The Irish were far more likely to use violence against family, friends, and neighbors than against social, economic or political leaders or superiors."[7] With this type of violent action as the dominant form of aggression in post-famine Ireland, Conley presents a world in which Irish acts of brutality have a context broader than the notion that it was "simply" a natural Irish characteristic. Essentially, she asserts that Irish interpersonal violence was a direct product of their colonized status.

Though Conley's work suggests that the realities of Irish violence were not overtly political in nature, political cartoons from the nineteenth-century tell a different story. The first scholar to take a thorough look at violent depictions of the Irish in political cartoons was L. Perry Curtis.[8] As noted in an earlier chapter, Curtis' work concentrates on the physiognomy of Irish features and how that translated into nineteenth century caricatures. While his argument centers on understandings of race in the Victorian age, Curtis also devotes attention to depictions of violence, since they also

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[6] Ibid., xi.

[7] Ibid., 215.

[8] L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature,* Revised Edition, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.

played a role in the way Irishmen were represented in caricature and political cartoons. Focusing more specifically on the Fenian and Land League period in Irish nationalist history, from 1867 to 1882, Curtis examines how acts of violence committed by Irishmen contributed to the "grotesque" simianization of Irish features. He notes that in the efforts of the British press "to play up the menace of Fenianism to English civilization, many cartoonists in London depicted Fenian Paddy as an ape-like monster."[9] Certainly, Curtis is not suggesting that this is the first or only time in which British cartoonists used this technique to depict Irishmen; however he does stress that Irish acts of violence directly correlated with changes in how the Irish were depicted.

Nowhere is this more evident than in Curtis' discussion of the 1882 Phoenix Park murders, in which a small group of radical Irish nationalists assassinated the two top officials associated with British rule in Ireland, the Chief Secretary and Under Secretary, in Dublin's Phoenix Park. Gladstone's nephew by marriage, Lord Frederick Cavendish was the newly appointed Chief Secretary, and Thomas Burke was the long serving Undersecretary who were brutally murdered by the radical nationalists as they walked through Phoenix Park in early May, 1882. As a result of this gruesome incident, British artists increased the number of Irish "simian" representations. Curtis observes, "For several months after this notorious crime, London's comic weeklies were filled with cartoons of ape-like monsters with huge mouths and sharp fangs."[10] As Curtis points out, the actual features of the Irishmen depicted in these images correlated to the intensity and

[9] Ibid., 37.

[10] Ibid., 38.

specific details of the assassination. In particular, the "sharp fangs" appear to be a direct parallel to the sharp daggers the Phoenix Park assassins had used to commit the murders. Thus, the form of violence associated with the Irish in this instance actually became a physical characteristic of the Irish in cartoon depictions.

Representations of the Irish from this period, between 1865 and 1890, surely encompassed a broad spectrum ranging from "apes to angels," but in the latter half of the nineteenth century the Irish were often portrayed in British cartoons as savages whose inherent violence was a threat to society. Curtis himself notes this in his conclusion, stating that "Readers of London's comic weeklies from the 1860s to the 1880s grew accustomed to a bestiary or simianary of Irish and Irish-American gorillas, not to mention dragons, who wielded shillelaghs, revolvers, blunderbusses, and sticks of dynamite with which to destroy not only the Act of Union, but also the very sinews of British civilization."[11] Curtis' investigation of depictions of the Irish in nineteenth century British cartooning with its emphasis on violence opened the door for further scholarly investigation of how, in political cartoons, violence was inextricably tied to the characterization of Irishmen.

Echoing Curtis, Michael de Nie examines the evolving identity of Irishmen found in the nineteenth century British press, utilizing both textual and image analysis.[12] As previously stated in an earlier chapter, de Nie emphasizes that portrayals of the Irish in the British press wavered between sympathy and hostility, depending upon the issues of

[11] Ibid., 180.

[12] Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882*, Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004.

the day. Consequently, it is not surprising that the issue of violence is also a prominent theme throughout de Nie's assessment of the British press, since it was often acts of aggression that altered popular British views of the Irish. Specifically, de Nie's study explores how issues of violence during the Fenian Era (1867-1870) and the Land War (1879-1882) fundamentally changed British perceptions of Irish identity and nature. He argues, "[s]ympathy for Ireland and optimism about it gave way to frustration and finally to disgust. British observers wearied of their obstinate Irish patient and concluded that Ireland and Irishness could not, after all, be cured."[13] Placing his study in a transatlantic context, de Nie further examines how the interaction between Irish Americans and Irishmen in Ireland during this period is important in understanding how the British portrayed Irish violence, particularly in the Fenian Era. Much of the support for the Fenian movement rested within the American Irish community, and for the British press that distinction was incredibly important. De Nie stresses that by focusing on the *American* origins of Irish violence, the British press could depict Irishness without necessarily including aggressive characteristics. As such, depictions of this nature represent transitional stances, which recognize violence yet continue to give it American, not Irish, origins. While the British press associated Fenian violence with Irish Americans most of the time, the years between 1867 and 1879 also begins a shift in British cartoonists' characterizations of Irish nature. Increasingly, British imagery became more violent and aggressive.

[13] Ibid., 276.

British cartoonists during the Fenian Era struggled to make sense of escalating violence and looked to the American Irish community as the source of blame. By the 1880s, however, the British press recognized that Irishmen in Ireland also sought to utilize violence in their nationalist efforts. In response, they began creating images that showed the inherent savagery and aggression of the Irish people. De Nie makes note of this, arguing, "For significant portions of 1880, 1881, and 1882, Ireland appeared to British observers almost as a land of darkness, a place governed by a savage code where normal standards of civilization and morality did not apply."[14] The violence occurring in Ireland no longer had foreign origins in the eyes of the British press. Instead, it derived from the character and nature of the Irish "race" itself, encouraged by irresponsible politicians, including Charles Stewart Parnell, the nationalist leader. To trace this change in perception de Nie focuses on two cartoons commenting on the notorious Phoenix Park Murders published by *Punch* in May 1882. In the first cartoon, a hideous monster holding a dagger dripping with blood terrorizes a crouching gentleman. A second cartoon, titled "The Irish Frankenstein" was, as de Nie analyzes it, an out of control monster. The cartoon makes this explicit: "Parnell has lost control of his own creature, which stalks the land, pistol and dripping dagger in hand." De Nie further notes that "Frankenstein's monster was used on a number of occasions in the nineteenth century to censure Irish political leaders."[15] Using the imagery of monsters and violence in

[14] Ibid., 216.

[15] De Nie, 249.

association with nationalist political leaders, the British press looked to the Irish themselves, and not outside influences, for the causes of Irish violence.

Although de Nie's analysis of the Irish image in the British press takes into account changes in the depiction of Irish character brought about by violence, his examination centers on the role played by Irish Americans in the creation of this image. Likewise, since his examination ends in 1882, he is unable to address the myriad of violent encounters that occurred throughout the last 18 years of the nineteenth century. While the works of de Nie and Curtis began the analysis of the Irish image in political cartoons, there is still much work to be done. By examining images of the Irish created by Anglo-Americans and the British, and including images created by Irishmen themselves, this chapter seeks to understand the various facets of the image of the "savage Irishman." Central to this effort are transnational symbols and imagery.

II

American political cartoonists often included allusions to, or outright portrayals of violence in their depiction of Irishmen during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the 1880s these representations of Irish violence became increasingly political in tone, and reflected growing American concern over the Irish nationalist movement's use of violence in its struggles for Irish independence from Great Britain. Of particular concern was the active support of the Irish community in the United States for violent acts perpetrated across the Atlantic in England and Ireland. The American press expressed

visually this larger social concern with intense focus on Irish connections to knives and bombs.

The American humor journal *Puck* certainly had few qualms about depicting Irish Americans utilizing violence during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Over the course of the 1880s the journal produced a number of cartoons showing the Irish either in the preparation of or already utilizing violence in some manner. One of the earliest of these cartoons emerged within an interesting context, one in which violence would not seem to have a place; namely, the growing famine crisis in Ireland. In this cartoon, titled "An Irish Jig", the artist suggests that Irish American famine relief efforts have the unfortunate side effect of encouraging Irish violence.[16] (Figure 4.1) The central figure in the cartoon is a fattened Irishman, nearly bursting from his clothing, who holds a shillelagh in one hand and a dagger in the other. Along with his weapons, this Irishman has the classic simian features associated with depictions of the Irish in the period, highlighting the worst, most savage aspects of Irish nature. At his feet lies an open barrel sent to the Irish county of "Cork." The selection of Cork as the Irish county represented in this image was likely intentional, for it was the county where many Irish immigrants to the United States embarked, thus becoming synonymous with Irish immigration in the nineteenth century. The barrel's contents, sacks full of "corn" and "potatoes," lie empty, as does the whiskey bottle next to them. Finally, in the upper right hand corner of the cartoon are the figures of John Bull and Uncle Sam, who observe the Irishman with looks

[16] J. A. Wales, "An Irish Jig" in *Puck*, November 11, 1880. Library of Congress.

of disgust on their faces. The cartoon's caption has John Bull telling Uncle Sam, "See what your American food has done! I've got to lick it out of him again."[17]

This cartoon emerged during a period of concern and crisis in Ireland, when it appeared the Irish people were headed for another period of famine similar to the one they experienced during the 1840s and 1850s. Fund raising efforts for famine relief occurred on both sides of the Atlantic, but the American Irish community played a particularly active role in sending money and food. One of the cartoon's underlying themes is the sly suggestion that the Irishman in the image tricked gullible, though well-meaning Irish-Americans into sending relief. Meanwhile, this corrupt Irishman has not only taken what was generously given by Irish-Americans to satisfy his own gluttony, he also prepares to use violence to take even more.

Yet, along with famine relief, the Irish American community also raised funds for the development of the nationalist Land League, an organization dedicated to Irish Home Rule. The *Puck* cartoon in Figure 4.1 also addresses these activities, with a tone of derision and a sense of fear on the part of American and British society. Certainly, the Irishman depicted in this cartoon does not appear to be suffering from the effects of famine, particularly after he has stuffed himself on the food supplies sent to County Cork. While this engorged Irishman appears to diminish famine concerns, it is the knife in his left hand that is the real cause for American and British concern. Support from the Irish-American community has emboldened this Irishman and encouraged him to assert himself in ways that appear quite threatening to John Bull and Uncle Sam.

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[17] Ibid.

Figure 4.1: J.A. Wales, "An Irish Jig" in *Puck*, November 11, 1880. Library of Congress.

The Irish potential for violence symbolized by the knife seems to be a recurring issue, at least for the British John Bull who comments "I've got to lick it out of him

again."[18] Increasing the aggressive tension between the Irishman and the figures of John Bull and Uncle Sam is the way in which the dagger appears ready to strike John Bull, who himself is rolling up his sleeves in preparation for a fight. The cartoonist makes it abundantly clear that while John Bull will not hesitate to use violence in response to the Irishman, the aggressor and figure most to blame for the incident is the bloated and raucous Irishman.

At the very least, the Irishman in Figure 4.1 is not a victim, either of famine or of any violence that may come his way. His threat of violence, demonstrated after already ransacking much needed relief supplies, suggests that the Irish actually deserved British repression. Likewise, in an image also published by *Puck* several years later, the Irishman is the perpetrator and not the victim of the violent actions around him. In this cartoon, titled "Waging a Windy War," the Irishman rests comfortably on the American side of the Atlantic while flying a kite filled with dynamite, guns, and knives over the English Parliament buildings.[19] (Figure 4.2) This Irishman is not the bloated figure found in the previous cartoon, but instead displays other characteristics associated with "Irishness," such as the stovetop hat and corncob pipe. More important than his appearance is the fact that he is lounging against a "stars and stripes" pillow while flying his deadly kite. This indicates that the Irishman has the full support and backing of the United States behind him in his operation.

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Fredrick Opper, "Waging a Windy War," in *Puck*, April 4, 1883. Library of Congress.

Figure 4.2: Frederick Opper, "Waging a Windy War," in *Puck*, April 4 1883. Library of Congress.

Also apparently receiving American support is the large roll of twine that enables the kite to make its flight across the Atlantic. The twine is labeled with a small sign that reads "Land League Funds." It rests easily on American soil next to the Irishman. Implicit in these images is the charge that fund-raising by the Land League in the United States leads directly to Irish violence in Britain. As for the kite itself, the top half is shaped like a coffin, and is marked with an image of a skull and crossbones, indicating danger and death. Written just below the image are the words "Irish Independence." The image and wording on the kite also support the insinuation that Irish nationalists, such as those of the Land League, initiated violent acts in England. Finally, along with the physical depictions of violent devices (dynamite, bombs, guns, and knives) attached to the kite's tail, various words also hang from the tail, reading "Down with England,"

"Incendiary Speech," "Murder the Tyrants," "Down with Them," "Arson," and "Assassination."

When examining this cartoon it is important to note that at this point in the Irish nationalist struggle, violence was increasingly seen as a possible solution for gaining Irish independence from Britain. Men such as Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, a nationalist figure who argued most agressively for the use of violence in the 1880s, actively raised funds for and coordinated calculated attacks on the British government. Rossa convinced the Irish, both in the United States and Ireland, to shift their focus away from parliamentarian efforts and instead to utilize acts of violence to advance their cause. Cartoonist Opper's depiction of a booby-trapped kite menacingly hovering above London thus reflects concerns for those who are the target of Irish violence, the British, but also questions the seeming complicity of the United States as a place where the Irish could comfortably and safely promote their cause.

The charge of American complicity in Irish nationalist acts of violence also resonates in a *Puck* cartoon from March 1884. Titled "Gorilla Warfare Under the Protection of the American Flag," the cartoon depicts a bomb wielding Irishman with simian features hangs off of an American flag while attacking England.[20] (Figure 4.3) Of all the Irish figures discussed in this chapter thus far, the Irishman in this cartoon is by far the most simianized. In addition to the figure's facial features, this Irishman has apelike arms and legs, and even a tail coming out of his backside. These simianized extremities appear to be essential tools in this Irishman's work, allowing him to carry

[20] Frederick Opper, "Gorilla Warfare Under the Protection of the American Flag", in *Puck*, March 19, 1884. Library of Congress.

dynamite bombs in his hands, feet and tail, while also being able to swing across the Atlantic from the American flagpole. Along with the simianized features of the Irish figure, the spelling of "guerrilla" warfare in the cartoon's title as "gorilla" warfare further highlights the popular connection between Irishness and apes so prevalent in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In addition to the cartoon's comment on the less-than-human aspects of Irish nature, this image also sharply critiques both Irish nationalist leaders and the American government, the former for actively promoting the use of violence and the latter for doing nothing to stop it. With regard to the actions of Irish nationalists, Opper attaches a badge to the Irishman's clothes that reads "O'Donovan Rossa". Looking closely at the face of this Irishman/ape we discover that it is actually Rossa himself, carrying out one of his strikes against the British. While the part played by Irish nationalist leaders, such as Rossa, in these violent acts understandably finds expression in political cartoons, it is quite surprising to find the United States implicated in these incidents as well. Yet the presence of the American flag as a means of support for the actions of the dynamite-throwing Irishman undeniably indicates that at least some members of American society found the government's unwillingness or inability to stop these events nearly as bad as outright support for these actions.

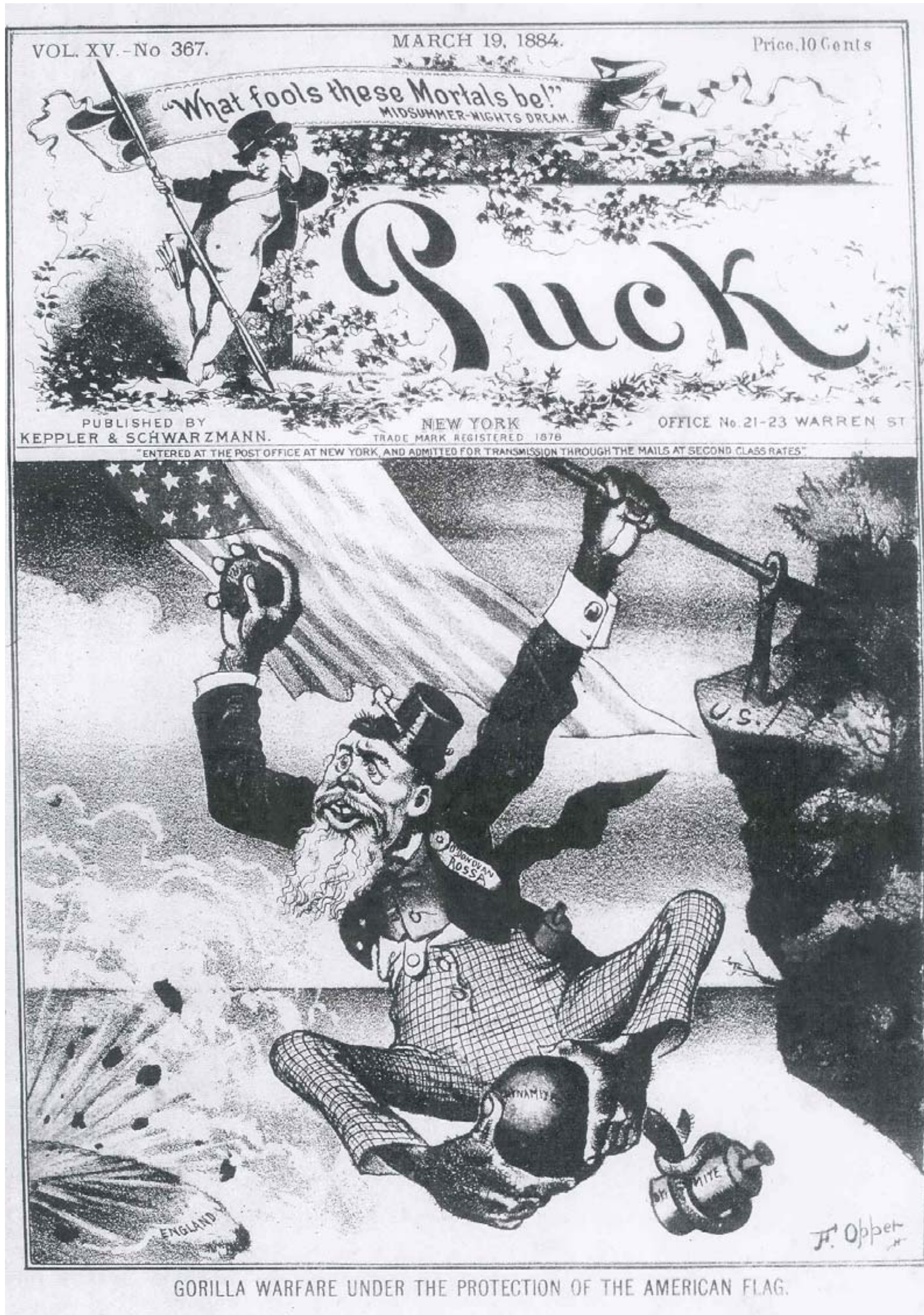

Figure 4.3: Frederick Opper, "Gorilla Warfare Under the Protection of the American Flag" in *Puck*, March 19, 1884. Library of Congress.

This sentiment was strongly felt by mainstream British and American society in 1884, the year this cartoon was published, due to the increase in Irish nationalist violence during this period. The financial and physical support for these acts of aggression clearly originated from the American Irish community, who increasingly had the resources to take this kind of action. While this cartoon issues an indictment against inadvertent or covert American support for Irish nationalist violence, the true blame for these actions are focused squarely on the central figure of the image, the simianized Irishman.

The next cartoon published by *Puck* on the subject of Irish-produced violence also features a simianized Irishman. Appearing on June 11, 1884, and titled "Ireland's Evil Genius," the cartoon places a monstrous Irish figure between two very angry allegorical figures, Britannia on the left and Erin on the right.[21] (Figure 4.4) The title of the cartoon has an ironic tone, for though the Irishman in this image could be characterized as "evil", his simianized features would suggest he is not a "genius". As the focal point of the cartoon, the Irishman's simianized features stand out, but are nonetheless scaled back considerably from those of the Irishman in the previous cartoon. Certainly, this version does not have the arms, feet or tail of a primate. As with other simianized Irish figures, this Irishman wears a top hat with a corn cob pipe in the brim and a long cloak that helps him conceal his nefarious purpose. In this case, his tools of mayhem and destruction are clearly visible in the form of two "dynamite" bombs dangling from his waist. Finally, the Irishman has a smile on his face as he looks menacingly at Britannia, while at the same time his left elbow raises as if he is preparing to nudge the figure on his left, Erin,

[21] Unknown, "Ireland's Evil Genius," in *Puck*, June 11, 1884. Library of Congress.

indicating that he feels that she is in on his plan and supports his efforts. Alternatively, he may be nudging Erin out of his way. This suggests that the interests of Ireland as a nation came second in the minds of Irish nationalists, who instead sought their own glory and power. Based, however, on the expressions of both women it seems clear that his malicious plan is in jeopardy from both sides.

The allegorical figures of Britannia and Erin, while depicted with striking differences, also appear unified in their desire to obstruct the simianized Irish figure and show him the error of his ways. Britannia, displaying the common symbols of English might associated with her personage during this period, such as classical Greek dress and a Trojan helmet, sandaled feet and the Union Jack tied at her waist, holds in her right hand a scroll that reads "Concessions to Ireland." With her left hand Britannia shields these concessions from the offending Irish figure, making it clear that Ireland will not receive these compromises through the use of violence such as the Irishman's two dynamite bombs.

The figure of Erin, standing barefoot in a peasant's skirt and displaying none of the signs of power or strength found in the figure of Britannia, represents what the cartoonist felt were the emotions of the majority of Irishman. Both of Erin's fists are clenched as she appears ready to use her own methods of force to stop the violent intentions of the Irishman beside her, especially as it appears that his acts of aggression are the obstacle lying between Ireland (Erin) and negotiations with Britain (Britannia).

VOL. XV.-No. 379. JUNE 11, 1884. Price, 10 Cents

"What fools these Mortals be!"
MIDSUMMER-NIGHTS DREAM.

Puck

PUBLISHED BY
KEPPLER & SCHWARZMANN.
NEW YORK
TRADE MARK REGISTERED 1878
OFFICE No 21-23 WARREN ST

"ENTERED AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, AND ADMITTED FOR TRANSMISSION THROUGH THE MAILS AT SECOND CLASS RATES"

Figure 4.4: Unknown, "Ireland's Evil Genius", in *Puck*, June 11, 1884. Library of Congress.

This image of a cooperative Britain and Ireland seldom appeared in political cartoons on either side of the Atlantic. It suggests, therefore, that the subject of violence was a significant one, not only to the two groups in question, but also to the Anglo-American audience observing the two figures. On a final note, by using women, albeit allegorical ones, as the principal figures seeking to prevent the use of violence, the cartoon presents a picture of strength and power not often associated with women in the latter nineteenth-century. This is particularly true in cartoon depictions of violence and women, as will be seen later in the chapter.

As noted above, this particular moment in the Irish nationalist struggle found many Irishmen on both sides of the Atlantic advocating for increased use of violence to force Britain's hand on Irish issues. Although occurrences of violence in Great Britain at this time were few, the *possibility* of Irish aggression and violence existed, creating an air of fear and suspicion. As the next cartoon from *Judge* demonstrates, the creation of dynamite in the 1870s unleashed strong anxieties about the violent potential of the new weapon. In particular, dynamite and bombs became strongly associated with European anarchist movements. For Americans, anxieties over dynamite and bombs rose in 1886, after the Haymarket riots in Chicago, which involved demonstrating labor activists. As dynamite held a powerful attraction for activist and revolutionary groups in the later half of the nineteenth century, factions of Irish nationalists were no exception.

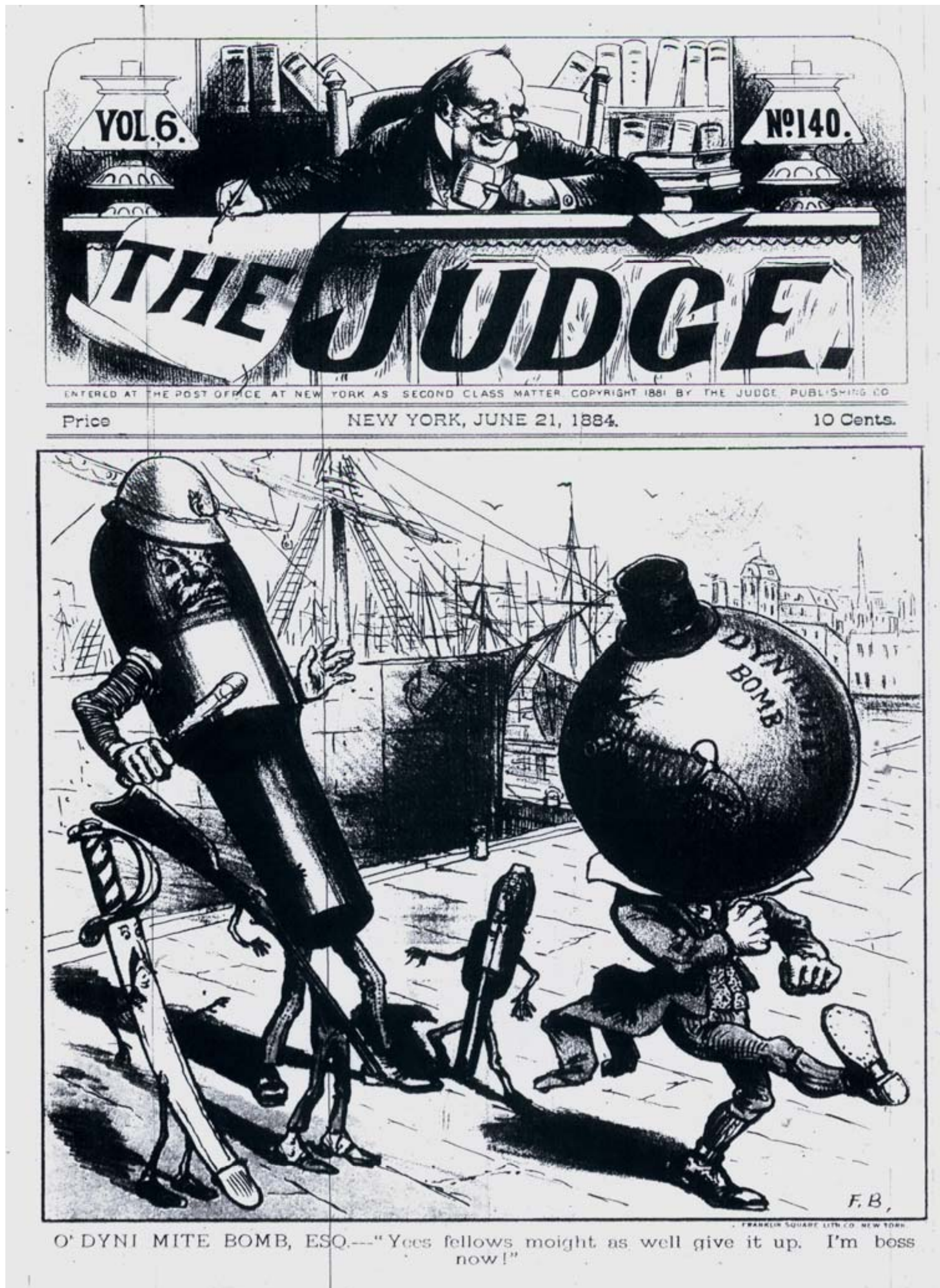

Figure 4.5: F.B., "O'Dyni Mite Bomb, Esq.", in *Judge*, June 21, 1884. Library of Congress.

Ten days after *Puck* depicted a dynamite-carrying "Evil Genius" seeking to use violence on behalf of the Irish cause, the humor journal *Judge* published a cartoon that echoed *Puck's* concerns over Irish interests in dynamite. Titled "O'Dyni Mite Bomb,

Esq.", the cartoon shows anthropomorphized depictions of a sword, rifle, night stick, revolver, and dynamite bomb.[22] (Figure 4.5) These tools of violence gather in a harbor area as the "O'Dyni Mite Bomb" tells his comrades, "Yees fellows moight as well give it up. I'm boss now!"[23] In addition to his sweeping pronouncement as the "boss" of violent acts, the dynamite bomb kicks out his right leg, perhaps in jubilation for his status, or possibly as a sign of the violence he will shortly engage in. The other weapons, some with more distinguishable features than others, all appear to recoil at the bomb's pronouncement, particularly the mustachioed sword and police officer's night stick. The features of the bomb are the most definable, and based on his name and the accented dialect, along with his top hat and corn cob pipe, the cartoonist clearly identifies the dynamite bomb as a thoroughly Irish figure.

The jubilant and aggressive Irish incendiary device in this cartoon represented the reckless violence many in the mainstream American society feared was an inherently Irish characteristic. As this image suggests, it was not enough for the Irish that other tools for violence, such as night sticks, revolvers, rifles and swords, were readily available to the community. "O'Dyni Mite Bomb's" statement "I'm Boss Now," to his fellow comrades in "arms," intimates that the Irish relished the enormity of this kind of superior and deadly firepower, which could feasibly give them license over others. During the summer of 1884, when the cartoon appeared, the target of Irish violence was Great Britain, as some Irish nationalist leaders hoped to demonstrate the physical strength

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[22] F.B., "O'Dyni Mite Bomb, Esq.", in *Judge*, June 21 1884. Library of Congress.

[23] Ibid.

of their position. What many Americans feared, as evidenced by the next cartoon, is that Irish violence would turn its focus from issues across the Atlantic and instead direct its aggression towards the United States.

The dynamite campaign and Irish nationalist violence in general did not help to inspire American trust in the Irish community. An 1889 cartoon from *Puck* illustrates as much; titled "The Mortar of Assimilation - and the One Element that Won't Mix", the cartoon portrays the violent, knife-wielding Irish as the one group that does not blend into the burgeoning American melting pot.[24] (Figure 4.6) At the center of the scene is the mortar of "Citizenship" filled with representatives from a variety of ethnic groups, such as Italians, Germans, Russians, Spaniards, Scots, and even Africans. To the right of the mortar is the classicized figure of Columbia wearing the stars and stripes as a skirt, who uses the spoon of "Equal Rights" to stir the contents of the mortar. On the left, poised on the lip of the mortar, is an Irishman brandishing the nationalist "Clan Na Gael" flag in his left hand and a dagger in his right. He appears poised to dive into the masses below him and wreak havoc on the balanced mixture of ethnicities within. Perhaps he is even aiming at the representation for Anglo Saxon America, Columbia, herself.

[24] C. J. Taylor, "The Mortar of Assimilation – And the One Element that Won't Mix", in *Puck*, July 3, 1889. Library of Congress.

Figure 4.6: C. J. Taylor, "The Mortar of Assimilation – And the One Element that Won't Mix", in *Puck*, July 3, 1889. Library of Congress.

This interesting commentary on immigrant assimilation into American society unequivocally presents the Irish as an intrinsically violent group incapable of mixing with any other group of people. With Columbia, the allegorical figure for the United States, working hard to use the spoon of "equal rights" to combine the plethora of ethnic groups in the melting pot of "citizenship," the process of assimilation appears relatively smooth and undisturbed. None of the other ethnic groups represented pose a threat to the harmony of American citizenship; only the Irish figure appears threatening by brandishing his dagger.

It is important to note, however, that the cartoonist provides some context for the Irishman's behavior, which indicates that there is a specific reason as to why the Irish element does not "mix". Both the flag in the Irishman's left hand and the sash across his chest offer clues to the root of Irish aggression. The sash labels the Irishman as a "Blaine Irishman", referring to James G. Blaine, the 1884 Republican Presidential nominee who lost to Democratic candidate Grover Cleveland. Blaine had an Irish background that had gained him some support from the Irish community, but he could not avoid numerous political scandals that felled his campaign. Those Irishmen who supported Blaine were passionately vocal and forceful in their beliefs, just as the Irish nationalist organization Clan Na Gael was about utilizing every tool possible, including violence, to gain Ireland's freedom. It is little surprise, then, that the Irishman's banner is the flag of the Clan Na Gael organization, thus linking the violent struggle for Irish nationalism with the Irish community's inability to be full fledged members of the American citizenry. The refusal of the Irish-American community to fully "assimilate" into American culture, and

their ethnic and religious loyalties in particular, appeared threatening to mainstream Americans. Moreover, their perceived tendencies for violence only increased American anxieties about the Irish. Consequently, Irish violence, especially the violence that bonded the Irish community to the Irish nationalist struggle, kept Irishmen in the United States from truly becoming American.

III

While humor journals in the United States saw Irish violence as innate to their nature, and a detriment to their assimilation into American culture, nationalist leaders both in Ireland and the United States saw the use of violence quite differently. During the 1880s two different newspapers published by Irishmen, *United Ireland* (Dublin) and the *Irish-American* (New York), depicted the Irish relationship to violence in a number of ways. The first method involved illustrating Irish figures, as the victims of violence and aggression at the hand of the British government. A second way Irish cartoons portrayed violence, however, was through the depiction of Irishmen, and sometimes even Irish Americans, as valiant defenders of Irish honor, whose show of strength demonstrated that Ireland was more than capable of becoming an independent nation. Finally, Irish cartoonists even demonstrated that the Irish were willing to reject violence altogether should it meet their needs. Ultimately, whether as victims or aggressors, Irish portrayals of violent acts demonstrated that cartoons alluding to brutality and even bloodshed were essential tools in the nationalist fight to gain recognition and legitimacy for the cause of Irish independence.

An early example of Irish American cartooning on the subject of violence comes from an issue of the *Irish American* published June 3, 1882.[25] (Figure 4.7) This image, titled “The ‘New Departure’”, depicts the figure of Erin sitting on a throne with Charles Stewart Parnell standing at her right shoulder. Facing Erin is the British Prime Minister William Gladstone with his fist raised and ready to strike the innocent woman seated before him, while to his left are the “resources of civilization” that he calls upon to temper Parnell and Erin. These “resources” are decidedly violent; they include a cannon, several bayonets, and a hangman’s noose. The captions for the cartoon offer a brief dialogue between Gladstone and Erin, in which Gladstone begins the exchange by warning Erin that “I am about to bring on you these other ‘resources of civilization’ which I forbore to use before, and which will destroy you if you do not yield at once.” Erin responds, “Your nation has tried [to destroy Ireland], ere now, the policy of gibbet and triangle, of scourge and rope, of cannon and bayonet; it always failed and it will fail again ignominiously”.[26] Both Erin and Parnell project calm assurance in the face of this threat, whereas Gladstone, his hair in disarray and shaking his fist, appears almost unhinged as he berates the two figures. Clearly in this image, Ireland is the victim of unreasonable and excessive British ire and unjust oppression.

To emphasize Ireland’s victimization in this cartoon, the artist uses the allegorical figure of Erin to represent the Irish people. Granted, Erin does have the support of a male figure with Parnell directly behind her, but, by turning the full force of British might onto

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[25] Unknown, “The ‘New Departure’”, in *Irish American*, June 3 1882. Library of Congress.

[26] Ibid.

the figure of a woman, the *Irish-American* accentuates the vulnerability of the Irish people while simultaneously lambasting the British government as terrorizing brutes.

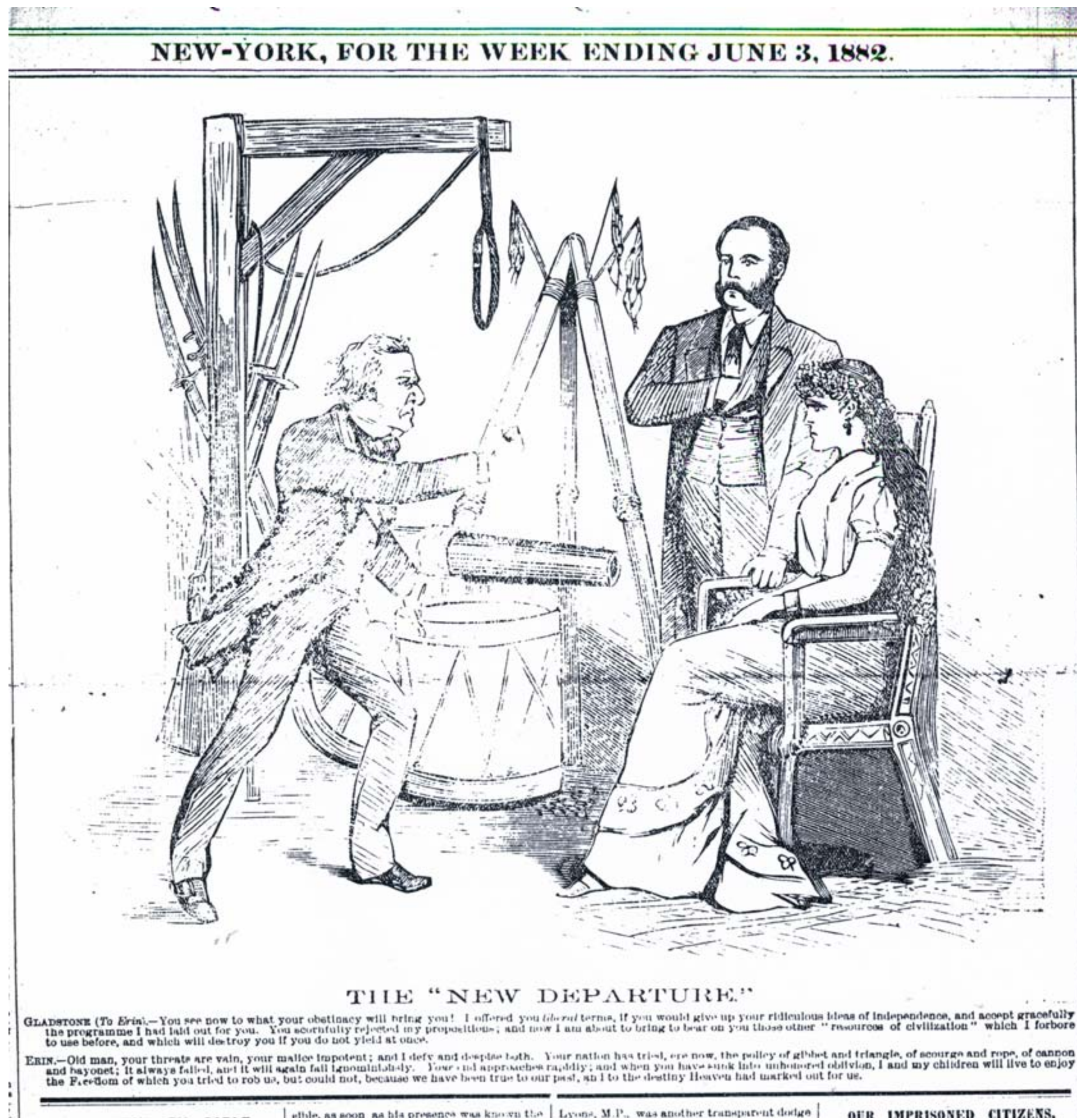

Figure 4.7: Unknown, "The 'New Departure'", in *Irish American*, June 3, 1882. Library of Congress.

This show of force from Gladstone towards Erin also inverts proper gender behavior for a Victorian man. Gladstone should be a protector, not abuser, of Erin and all she represents. Even her strong language and calm yet defiant demeanor suggest a more

feminine type of fortitude, one that is fiercely protective of her “children”, the Irish people themselves. Another tool the cartoonist uses to highlight Ireland’s victimization at the hands of the British is the excessive amount of weaponry on hand with which to threaten Parnell and Erin. The combined use of a cannon, bayonets and noose appears unwarranted and cruel, seemingly based on irrational fear and hatred of the Irish. Gladstone’s enraged demeanor also contributes to this impression of the Irish as victims of British injustice, as the cartoon omits any clues as to the cause of Gladstone’s fury. A broader understanding, however, of Anglo-Irish relations during this moment adds another dimension to the violence threatened against Erin and Parnell.

One month prior to the cartoon’s publication, the Phoenix Park murders occurred in early May 1882 in Dublin’s Phoenix Park.[27] The murders were committed by a radical sect of Irish nationalists, known as the Invincibles, and targeted the two highest British officials in Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish, Secretary of Ireland, and Thomas Burke, Undersecretary of Ireland. The public outcry against the violent assassination of such prominent figures reverberated through Ireland, Great Britain and even the United States, and as the accompanying article on the front page of the *Irish American* suggests, the assassins were still at large by the time of the publication of the cartoon. Thus, Gladstone’s ire, as the British Prime Minister and as a relative of one of the murdered men, becomes more understandable. The “resources of civilization” at Gladstone’s disposal become tools for rooting out assassins and his anger at Erin and Parnell for “allowing” such an event to occur can also be construed as a grief stricken reaction to a

[27] For a more in depth analysis of the Phoenix Park murders and cartoon reactions to the event, please see Chapter 5.

personal loss. Yet, what tilts these depictions in favor of the Irish and their nationalist cause is the heightened threat of force. Though grisly, the crime of assassinating British government officials was an isolated and widely deplored event. As a result, the broader context of the cartoon reinforces the impression that British threats of force, issued by a distraught and over-reactive Prime Minister Gladstone, victimize the Irish people, represented by the figures of Charles Stewart Parnell and Erin.

The theme of violence as a British threat against the figure of Erin appears again in an issue of the *Irish American* from October 1883.[28] (Figure 4.8) In the cartoon titled "What the 'Union' Means," the artist depicts Erin tied to a post by "Coercion" as the figures of Landlordism and a thuggish "Orangeman" threaten to beat and whip her while Gladstone turns away. The landlord, just to the left of the captive Erin, is identified by his crown (symbolizing the aristocracy), the eviction notice tucked into his belt, and the "Land Corporation" banner held in his left hand. More ominously, in the landlord's right hand is a whip labeled "Eviction." On the far left of the image, accompanying the landlord in his brutal assault on Erin is the "Orange ruffian," identified by his "Glorious Pious and Co." Protestant sash, the "Orange Manifesto" banner in his left hand, and bigotry club in his right hand. His features, interestingly, have many of the simian characteristics British and American cartoonists ascribed to the Irish in this period. This indicates that Irishmen were not only aware of how the British and American press portrayed them in political cartoons, but also that they actively sought to turn that characterization around and apply it to those who Irishmen saw as the truly "uncivilized".

[28] Unknown, "What the 'Union' Means", in *Irish American*, October 13, 1883. Library of Congress.

Figure 4.8: Unknown, "What the 'Union' Means", in *Irish American*, October 13, 1883. Library of Congress.

The caption for the cartoon offers a brief description of the above image and the "Union" that brought about these violent conditions for Ireland. It reads:

> Sir Stafford Northcott's 'Union' – after nearly a hundred years of testing,- is shown,- by the result of the late Orange meetings in Belfast and Carrickfergus,- to mean that, while Ireland is to be bound fast to the English 'Government' stake, by the iron bands of coercion laws, the landlord crew and the Orange rowdies are to have free scope

to attack her; - while Mr. Gladstone goes off to talk 'liberalism' to the 'gamins' and 'sans-culottes' of Paris.[29]

In this cartoon, as opposed to the previous one, Gladstone does not take an active hand in the violent threats aimed at Erin (and the Irish Catholic majority as a whole). He does nothing to stop the aggression but instead turns his back on the captive Erin, leaving her to whatever fate the landlords and minority Protestant "orange ruffians" have in store for her. Based on the weapons brandished by the landlord and Orangeman figures, Erin appears to be in danger of receiving a terrible beating and lashing. The combined force of this attack, especially on a bound woman, has the potential to lead to her disaster and ruin. Present in this cartoon is an underlying sense of Erin as the victim of sexual exploitation, along with other threats of physical violence. Allegorically speaking, the physical assault confronting Erin and the suggestion of sexual violence that underlies the scene, underscores a broader struggle confronting the Irish people. In the eyes of Irish nationalists, landlords and Protestant "Orangemen" had long been conspiring to assail Ireland economically and politically. Thus the physical or sexual exploitation of Erin can be construed as the metaphorical "rape" of Ireland. At the very least, the fear for Erin's safety evoked in this cartoon, echoes fears for Irish safety in the face of landlord evictions and what many Catholic Irishmen considered the "bigotry" of Protestant Orangemen during the contentious era of the Irish Land War.

Parliament passed the Land Act of 1881 in an attempt to appease Irish calls for land reform, however, real change was slow to develop and hostilities continued between

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[29] Ibid.

Irish landlords and their tenants.[30] Occasionally these tensions boiled over into violence, which originated both from the Irish, with tenants leading uprisings in the countryside, and from the British, who passed the Coercion Acts authorizing the use of force against "subversive" movements. From the point of view of the *Irish-American,* however, the origins of land violence rested solely with the aggressive landlords and Orangemen, and continued with the tacit approval of the British government (in the form of Gladstone). The Irish people remained the helpless victim of this aggression, which seemingly has no end in sight.

While Figure 4.7 and 4.8 present the views of the Irish-American press on situations in Ireland, the next two cartoons come from Dublin's *United Ireland.* As with the previous images, the allegorical figure of Erin played an important role in demonstrating Great Britain's violent suppression of the Irish. In a *United Ireland* cartoon from 1887, titled "The Freedom of the Press," the cartoon depicts a shackled Erin holding tightly to a torch that illuminates recent troubles in Irish villages, as a man prepares to stab her in the back.[31] (Figure 4.9) The man is identified by the caption below the cartoon as Arthur Balfour, who tells the audience, "All England is gazing at these horrors; I must put out the light and stab the torch-bearer, or the game is up".[32] Balfour, a longtime member of Britain's Conservative Party, was the newly appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1887. Known for having little sympathy for Irish

[30] Brown, 113-115.

[31] J. D. Reigh, "The Freedom of the Press" in *United Ireland*, October 8, 1887. Library of Congress.

[32] Ibid.

nationalism, Balfour strictly enforced the Coercion Acts and in the process acquired the nickname “Bloody Balfour.” This nickname certainly fits with the depiction of Balfour in the cartoon, where he stands prepared to commit both of his intended actions. In his left hand he holds a cap labeled “Prosecutions” to put out Erin’s torch, and in his right hand the dagger of “Coercion” ready to stab Erin in the back. While Balfour creeps up behind Erin, she stands upright in her position with the loyal Irish wolfhound at her side, seemingly unaware of the approaching danger. Indeed, Erin’s vulnerability to Balfour’s attack is reinforced by the chains that bind her hands, though she still lifts high the “Freedom of the Press” torch. In the background the night sky is illuminated by burning villages labeled “Glenreign”, “Gweedore”, and “Bodyke”. This dark, almost Gothic scene places Erin not in her usual role of the Irish people, but instead as the champion of an unrestricted Irish nationalist press. With Balfour’s strict enforcement of the Coercion Acts, the Irish nationalist press faced constant threat from censorship and even arrest. In the eyes of the press, at least, it was through its work that violent conflicts between landlords and their tenants in Irish villages could be brought to light. There is thus little wonder why the figure of Balfour appears so intent on extinguishing that light.

This cartoon from *United Ireland* has been analyzed previously in an article by art historian Joel A. Hollander.[33] In his analysis, Hollander focuses on the depiction of Erin as a warrior; however he spends little time considering the approaching danger behind her. In describing Erin, Hollander notes, “Hibernia’s [Erin’s] statuesque form and attire

[33] Joel A. Hollander, “ ‘Beauty and the Beast’: depiction of Irish female types during the era of Parnell, c. 1880-1891” in Lawrence W. McBride ed., *Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999, 53-72.

presuppose a virtuousness and chastity that renders her untouchable and thus almost asexual."[34]

Figure 4.9: J.D. Reigh, "The Freedom of the Press", in *United Ireland*, October 8, 1887. British Library.

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[34] Ibid., 66.

While Erin's form indeed suggests that she is "untouchable," the looming figure behind her certainly appears poised to act aggressively against her. Hollander views the Balfour character differently, arguing, "Reigh's handling of the iconography operates similarly, since Balfour's inclination to put out the light of the nationalist press appears as a foolish effort whose effect will be entirely opposite from that intended".[35] By interpreting Balfour's actions as foolish and counterproductive, Hollander fails to address the broader tone of violence that emanates from the image. The dagger in Balfour's hand, along with the burning villages in the background and the coffin maker, whose work suggests those struggles cost Irish tenants their lives, all indicate that Balfour's threat was very real. Though Erin appears capable of handling herself, the potential for serious harm to her person and her cause appears greater than Hollander allows.

Nearly a year later, *United Ireland* published a cartoon with several similarities to Figure 4.9.[36] In this instance, however, the figure of Erin appears better prepared to meet the threat before her. Whereas in the previous cartoon the figure of Erin had her back to the approaching danger, this depiction has her facing her attackers straight on. And while Erin's costume is classically warrior-like, similar to the one worn in Figure 4.9, she also has the added advantage of the "Plan of Campaign" shield and a "National League" sword. Balfour again makes his appearance as the man on the left attacking Erin with the sword labeled "Holy Inquisition;" he is joined by an aristocratic landlord who attempts to run Erin through with the sword of "Eviction".

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[35] Ibid., 66.

[36] J. D. Reigh, "For Faith and Fatherland" in *United Ireland*, May 26, 1888. British Library.

Figure 4.10: J. D. Reigh, "For Faith and Fatherland" in *United Ireland*, May 26, 1888. British Library.

The background of this scene contrasts greatly with the previous cartoon's burning villages, showing instead a tranquil cottage and church spire in the distance on the left hand side of the image. These edifices appear under the protection of Erin, a supposition bolstered by the caption below the image, "BALFOUR THE BRAVE: She is sore pressed by the Evictor. One stab of this weapon, which I have stolen from Rome,

may kill her Faith and Nationality together. ERIN: Against all comers I fight the old fight, for my altar and my home".[37]

The cartoon represents an important juncture regarding violence in Irish-produced cartoons. Erin, as the representative for the Irish people, is now both the potential victim of violence as well as an empowered figure with her own tools of aggression. As with the previous Irish-published cartoons discussed above, Erin's life is threatened by representatives of the British establishment, in this case in the figures of Balfour, the Chief Secretary of Ireland, and the unnamed landlord representing British colonial land practices in Ireland. More specifically, the cartoon represents important conflicts between Irish nationalists and Balfour's use of Coercion during the late months of 1887 and early months of 1888. The "Plan of Campaign" shield held by Erin refers to an Irish Land League strategy devised by Irish nationalists to aid tenants seeking a fair reduction of rents from their landlords. The League would also aid those tenants facing the threat of eviction if they were unable to pay the Irish rents and so had sought a reduced rate. Balfour as Chief Secretary for Ireland met these efforts with force authorized by the Coercion Acts. The tensions raised in Irish villages by Balfour's use of Coercion combined with nationalist efforts to continue supporting evicted tenants created an atmosphere of great unrest throughout Ireland. As a way to quell growing Irish crime and discord, Balfour called upon the Vatican to insist that Irish Catholic priests denounce the

[37] Ibid.

efforts of Irish nationalists.[38] Thus, Balfour's use of the sword labeled "Holy Inquisition," depicts his actions in 1888, when he turned to the Catholic Church to help him gain better control over the Irish people. For many Irish Catholics, and certainly for Irish nationalists, Balfour's dealings appeared as yet another assault on a cherished Irish institution. At this point, then, Erin not only defends the Irish people from the economic attacks of English landlords, but also must prevent Balfour from using the Catholic Church against the Irish people.

While the other representations of Erin confronted their attackers with only their nobility and wits, this Erin meets her foes with a shield, and more importantly, a sword of her own. Erin's "National League" sword refers to the nationalist organization that relied on the threat of agrarian violence in their struggle for reforms in Ireland. By brandishing a sword of this nature, Erin (and the Irish nationalist press) made a clear statement that the Irish people would not merely be victims of violent acts, but would also act the part of the aggressor in order to defend their home and their faith. A further important element in displaying Irish resolve in defense of the nationalist movement came from cartoons in which the Irish-American community played a prominent role.

The role for this community can be seen in *The Irish-American's* cartoon from November 1880, "What May come to Pass".[39] (Figure 4.11) In this image, the figure of Erin once again represents the Irish people, as she stands in the far left hand corner of the

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[38] Alvin Jackson, *Home Rule: An Irish History, 1800-2000,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 326-327. Emmett J. Larkin, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Plan of Campaign in Ireland, 1886-1888,* (Cork, Cork University Press, 1978).

[39] Unknown, "What May Come to Pass" in *Irish American,* November 27, 1880. Library of Congress.

image on the land of “Ireland.” With raised arms she beckons to a group of men on the right in “America.” These men are dressed in Civil War uniforms with shamrocks pinned to their shirts. With arms raised they appear to be answering Erin’s call. This image offers an intriguing reversal of Erin from the image presented in Figure 4.10. While the Erin of *United Ireland’s* cartoon had all the weapons and determination necessary to protect herself and advance her cause, this figure conforms more closely with the standard gender roles of the Victorian Age by looking to men as the source of relief and rescue.

Intriguingly, the men whom Erin turns to in her time of crisis are not from Ireland, but instead are the “exiles of Erin.” To understand why Erin picks Irish-American men as her saviors, we must look to the attributes they bring with them. Perhaps the most important element in the depiction of these Irish American soldiers is the abundance of weapons they carry. This armed force, ready at a moment’s notice to come to Erin’s aid, represented the belief held by most Americans, British, and Irishman alike, that the Irish-American community would take violent action in defense of Ireland. This belief was not necessarily unfounded, as the Irish community in the United States had played an important role in the American Civil War, thus possessing military knowledge and skills that could have proved useful to any armed resistance to British rule.

Figure 4.11: Unknown, “What May Come to Pass” in *Irish American*, November 27, 1880. Library of Congress.

With the creation of the “New Departure” strategy in 1879, Irish nationalists signaled their awareness that the Irish-American community offered a number of potential assets in the fight for Irish independence. At the time of this cartoon’s publication in November 1880, Charles Parnell’s fundraising tour through the United States had already occurred and had successfully gathered a large number of donations for nationalist efforts. As this image suggests, money was not the only contribution the

Irish-American community could provide to the Irish nationalist struggle. Calls for American arms and experienced American fighters went out throughout the world, especially during the contentious nationalist struggles of the 1880s. Many nationalist leaders, and likely much of the Irish populace, envisioned a large and eager Irish-American force ready to take up arms and use their military skills in a noble fight for independence from Great Britain. This sentiment, found in New York's *The Irish American* cartoon from 1880, echoes in an image by Dublin's *United Ireland* from 1885, which again alludes to the value of having an Irish American "force" at the ready.

J. D. Reigh's "An Error in Calculation" was published in the September 19, 1885 edition of *United Ireland*.[40] (Figure 4.12) In the cartoon, Erin is apparently locked in a jail cell and is chained to the cell wall. A figure to her left brandishes a whip that reads "Never" and is in the process of lashing Erin when he is startled by a hand on his shoulder. The hand belongs to a man with a gun under his arm who seems ready to fight on Erin's behalf. The caption below the image identifies the man with the whip as Joseph Chamberlain, Liberal MP, and the man with the gun as an "Irish-American." The caption reads, "Mr. Ch-n-: We are thirty-four million against your four, and by G-, if you give us any of your infernal tongue--. Irish-American: Thirty-four million against four! Hullo stranger, draw it mild! You are forgetting ME! There are fifteen millions more where *I* come from!"[41]

[40] J. D. Reigh, "An Error in Calculation", in *United Ireland*, September 19, 1885. British Library.

[41] Ibid.

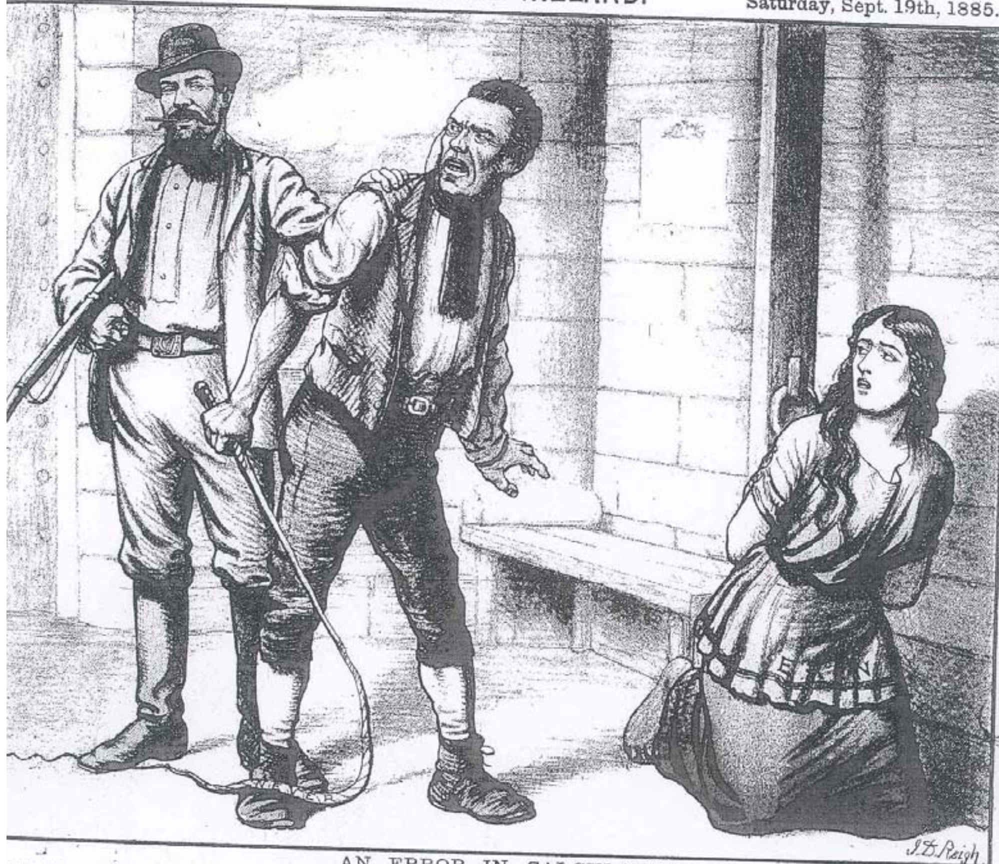

Figure 4.12: J.D. Reigh, "An Error in Calculation" in *United Ireland*, September 19, 1885. British Library.

As a radical member of Britain's Liberal Party, Chamberlain adamantly opposed Home Rule for Ireland, and eventually split with the Liberals over this and other issues. In this image, Chamberlain's startled expression directly contrasts to the confidence found on the Irish-American man's face. As he stops Chamberlain from whipping Erin, the Irish-American simultaneously indicates that British aggression would be met equally with the combined force of Irish and Irish-American violence. What is intriguing about this cartoon is the suggestion that Irish-American force and violence were essential

components in the Irish nationalist struggle. This is all the more interesting because of the major political intrigues during the later months of 1885, with Irish MPs playing a major role during the political in-fighting amongst Tory and Liberal MPs.

Under Parnell's leadership, members of the Irish Party in Parliament switched their backing from Gladstone's Liberal party to the Conservatives who promised to investigate possible land reforms in Ireland. According to historian Lawrence McCaffrey's, Parnell also looked to the Conservative party "because he had more confidence in Randolph Churchill, the right young champion of Tory democracy, than in the cold personality of Joseph Chamberlain, a possible heir apparent to Liberal leadership".[42] Though Parnell found Chamberlain untrustworthy, a view clearly echoed in the *United Ireland* cartoon depiction of him, he eventually did receive a better offer from Gladstone and returned Irish support to the Liberal party. At the moment of the cartoon's publication, however, Chamberlain and the Liberals appear as an enemy. Interestingly, they seem as enemies not only of the Irish in Ireland, but more importantly of the "fifteen million" Irish Americans eager to fight on behalf of their homeland. For the editors of *United Ireland*, the publication of this cartoon suggests that they believed parliamentary diplomacy alone would not achieve nationalist goals. The strategic use of violence, particularly with American Irish force acting in support, appeared to be essential for the success of Irish nationalism.

Attitudes towards the use of violence as a tool for nationalist success changed towards the end of the 1880s. This is no better illustrated than by a cartoon in *The Irish-*

[42] Lawrence J. McCaffrey, *The Irish Question: Two Centuries of Conflict*, Lexington, KY: The University of Kentucky Press, 1995, 97.

American published on October 25, 1889.[43] (Figure 4.13) In the cartoon titled "The Lesson from Chicago," the figure of Erin vehemently rejects an offer of "Dynamite Assassination" from the hooded and masked figure in front of her. This figure resembles the "Grim Reaper" or "death" and his presence has several implications. First, it indicates that Irish use of violence would result in death, not only for the targets of their violence, but also for themselves. Secondly, the presence of "death" in this image could have a metaphorical implication, namely that using violence for the cause of Irish nationalism would "kill" the spirit of the movement for Irish independence. Next to this figure of "death," Erin stands adjacent to the "Land League Platform" as she holds the "Declaration of Irish National Rights" in her left hand. While no captions below the cartoon explain the exchange between Erin and this spirit of violence, the cartoon's title hints at Erin's reason for dismissing the use of "dynamite assassination." The "Lesson for Chicago" refers to the Haymarket Massacre, which occurred in Chicago in 1886. Six policemen were killed by a bomb thrown by unknown persons at a workers' mass meeting in Haymarket Square. The terror and disgust felt by American citizens in the aftermath of this incident "removed whatever romance remained in the popular view of dynamiters", including Irish nationalists, according to historian Thomas Brown.[44]

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[43] Unknown, "The Lesson from Chicago", in *Irish-American*, October 25, 1889. Library of Congress.

[44] Brown, 162.

Figure 4.13: Unknown, "The Lesson from Chicago" in *Irish-American*, October 25, 1889. Library of Congress.

This image in Figure 4.13 suggests that the lesson that Irish nationalists learned from Chicago in 1886 resonated for the next three years, causing them to reject violence as a tactic. However, a cartoon from *Irish-American* published four years prior to the Haymarket Massacre, on May 20, 1882 challenges this presumption. Titled "Non Tali Auxilio," which means "not such aid, nor such defenders" from Virgil's *Aeneid,* this

cartoon uses the exact same image as figure 4.13 above. Only the title and caption of the cartoon are different.[45] The 1882 depiction of Erin rejecting the spirit of violence came just weeks after the infamous Phoenix Park Murders. This earlier image of Erin (and the Irish people) rejecting violence as a tool for "Irish National Rights" indicates that the legitimate use of violence as a nationalist tool depended greatly on the political context of the moment. In the wake of the Phoenix Park Murders, any attempt by Irish nationalists to utilize violence to advance their goals would have been met with fierce British resistance, and this can readily be seen in the *Irish-American's* cartoon "Non Tali Auxilio." Likewise, the same image, utilized for *Irish-American's* 1889 cartoon, reflects a similar concern over backlash from violent acts, with nationalists fearing responses similar to those that happened after the Haymarket Massacre. Ultimately, Erin's vehement dismissal of violence -- both in 1882 and 1889 -- suggests that Irish nationalist attitudes towards acts of violence evolved and shifted depending on the context of the moment.[46]

IV

Throughout the nineteenth century the Irish were associated with acts of violence in political cartoons. Those images produced by the mainstream British and American presses principally showed the Irish as instigators of horrendous and senseless acts of

[45] This cartoon (Figure 5.11) is discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

[46] In addition to the broader message against the use of violence, the re-use of this image in 1889 can also indicate that it was financially expedient to reuse an existing image, rather than create a new cartoon. For further discussion of the *Irish-American's* practice of reusing images in published political cartoons, please see Chapter 1.

aggression in which Irish figures delighted in using a wide variety of weapons. During the 1880s in particular, the weapon of choice for Irishmen seemed to be dynamite or explosives of some kind, a situation reflecting the development of this new tool for creating chaos and violent destruction. The use of dynamite became associated in the popular mind with political agitatiors of various kinds, among them the Irish nationalist cause. There were reasons for this association. As this chapter has demonstrated from a number of cartoons published in the American journals *Puck* and *Judge*, Irish struggles for independence from Britain took a particularly violent turn in 1883 and 1884, when several Irish nationalist leaders embarked on a "dynamite campaign" against Great Britain. These efforts were met with the mixed emotions of fear and derision in the mainstream press, as seen once again in political cartoons that often lampooned Irish bombers as either fools or monsters, and sometimes both. Likewise, the American press also revealed concern over Irish acts of violence that had distinctly American connections. Specifically, some cartoons aimed to show the root of Irish violence in the financial and emotional support of the American Irish community, while others highlighted Irish violence directed at the larger American society to indict the Irish as an inherently violent people.

At the same time that outsiders in Britain and the United States caricatured Irish violence, Irishmen on both sides of the Atlantic produced their own cartoon depictions of violence and pondered Irish associations with aggressive acts. Many Irish-produced cartoons, seen in newspapers like New York's *Irish-American* and Dublin's *United Ireland,* depict the Irish as the victims of British violence and aggression as they sought

to maintain political and social control of Ireland. In nearly all of these representations the allegorical figure of Erin, representing either the Irish people as a whole or Irish nationalists more specifically, faces excessive levels of violence against her person. In such cartoons Erin is passive, weak, and an utterly feminine creature is in danger of being shot, stabbed, hung, shelled, whipped, and beaten by representatives of the British government. The Irish press, however, did not see the Irish people or the nationalist cause solely as victims of this institutionalized violence. In several other instances Erin, or other Irish representatives, are seen standing up for themselves and their rights. Indeed, these figures do not passively wait for the violence that threatens them, but utilize their own weapons to act as defenders of Ireland. By demonstrating that the Irish community, both in Ireland and the United States, were not merely passive pawns in their struggles, these images assert that the Irish did have the strength and power necessary to be independent from Great Britain. Finally, Irish cartoons demonstrated that there were also occasions when the total rejection of violence was a necessary component of nationalist struggles. This was particularly the case during periods in which specific violent acts had produced a high degree of horror and consternation in the public as a whole. In sum, while American and British newspapers were content to depict Irishmen as mindless, raging monsters during the 1880s, the Irish and Irish-American press of the period envisioned a more complex relationship between Irishmen and violence. Depending on the message and the occasion, the cartoons produced by Irish publications depicted violence from a number of perspectives. While these views differed, all were intended to serve the best interests of the Irish nationalist cause.

Chapter 5: "And on the ground two lifeless bodies lay:" The Phoenix Park Murders in Political Cartoons

By most accounts, May 6, 1882, was a fine day in Dublin, perfect for the swearing in of Britain's new Chief Secretary for Ireland, Frederick Cavendish. As historian Tom Corfe notes, "This was an exciting moment for Irishmen; …. the Chief Secretary seemed to the crowds who lined the route to represent new hope, a new understanding of Ireland such as the English overlords who sent them out had not displayed before in the long unhappy years that had passed since the Act of Union [in 1800] had bound together the two countries".[1] As this statement suggests, nineteenth-century Irish history was filled with hostility and even violence, as the British government struggled to impose political, economic and religious constraints on the Irish people. Many Irishmen hoped that Cavendish's installment as Chief Secretary in 1882 would signal a new direction in Britain's relationship with Ireland.

While the processionals and ceremonies went smoothly, the beautiful spring day in May 1882 would end in horror. Late in the afternoon Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Burke, the long-serving Under Secretary of Ireland, were attacked and murdered, as the British officials walked through Dublin's Phoenix Park, by a group of knife-wielding Irishmen, members of a secret society who called themselves the "Invincibles." The two men were killed in brutal fashion, slashed and stabbed with surgical knives, dying where they fell, in pools of their own blood. Reaction to the events in Phoenix Park poured in from numerous quarters. Many espoused sentiments similar to those

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[1] Tom Corfe, *The Phoenix Park Murders: Conflict, Compromise and Tragedy in Ireland, 1879-1882* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968, 15.

found in County Mayo's *Connaught Telegram*: "In reckless daring, in diabolical determination and fiendish atrocity, it stands absolutely unparalleled in the dreadful annals of premeditated murder".[2]

The assassination of Cavendish and Burke could not have come at a more precarious moment in Anglo-Irish relations. Just days prior to the murders, Irish nationalist leaders, led by Charles Stewart Parnell, had reached a compromise with British Prime Minister William Gladstone on some of the most pressing issues of land ownership and tenantry plaguing Ireland in the late nineteenth-century. This settlement had developed out of a series of events that began in the fall of 1881. The Land Act of 1881, passed by Parliament in August under the leadership of Gladstone, had sought to fix rents at a fair price and allow a tenant to sell his right to the farm. Though these were considered sweeping changes to the established system of landlordism in Ireland, Parnell and the Irish Parliamentary Party had loudly disparaged the Land Act. They had dual purposes in their denunciations. The explicit reason had focused on tenants who were in debt to landlords, a concern not addressed in the bill. The more implicit (and political) motivation for rejecting the Land Act had stemmed from Irish nationalist concerns that their movement would lose the support of radicals in the Irish-American community who were essential in raising money and arms for the cause if they accepted the Land Act. The protests of Parnell and other nationalists had grown louder until Gladstone lost his patience with the detractors and imprisoned them under the Coercion Act in Dublin's Kilmainham Jail in October 1881. The following months had seen a period of

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[2] Editorial, "The Phoenix Park Tragedy" in *Connaught Telegram*, May 13, 1882.

negotiations between the jailed Parnell and Gladstone, resulting in what came to be known as the "Kilmainham Treaty". Under this agreement, Parnell and other nationalists had been released from prison and agreed to stop protesting the Land Act in exchange for an investigation by Gladstone of the debt issue and suspension of coercion arrests. Each side had been satisfied with the "treaty's" terms and the possibility for further talks on Ireland's future seemed within reach.[3]

Naturally, nationalist leaders were concerned about the impact the Phoenix Park crime would have on the struggle for Irish independence, particularly as British and American publications attempted to implicate the broader nationalist movement in the assassinations. Indeed, Parnell's original reaction to the murders was to offer up his resignation as the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party as a gesture of good faith to Gladstone. While Gladstone ultimately rejected the offer, Parnell submitted another gesture of respect and conciliation in the form of a "manifesto". Appearing in nearly all the London and Dublin papers, Parnell and the Irish nationalist leadership stated the following, "We feel that no act has ever been perpetrated in our country during the exciting struggles for social and political rights of the past fifty years that has so stained the name of hospitable Ireland as this cowardly and unprovoked assassination of a friendly stranger, and that until the murderers of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke are brought to justice that stain will sully our country's name".[4] Parnell's

[3] Corfe, see chapters 4, 5 and 6.

[4] Ibid., 207.

statement helped to soothe the angry feelings of some Britons, but true closure did not come until after legal proceedings against the Invincibles concluded.[5]

Consequently, the murder of Cavendish and Burke, mere days after the release of Parnell and other nationalists from Kilmainham Jail, had serious potential to derail any progress made in Anglo-Irish relations. This was particularly evident when looking at British and American reactions to the event. As noted in the previous chapter, mainstream British and American society considered the Irish to be an inherently "savage race", prone to senseless violence and thuggish behavior.[6] Increased nationalist tensions in the first years of the 1880s had further bolstered their belief that the Irish were fundamentally brutal and aggressive by nature. The editorials and political cartoons produced by British and American publications in reaction to the Phoenix Park murders did not only allude to Irish proclivities for violence; they portrayed the Irish as deranged monsters, out for blood at any cost. While British and American responses to the tragic event were not particularly surprising, fear of derailing the quest for Irish independence led Irish publications on both sides of the Atlantic to tread cautiously in their cartoon depictions of the murders. In a way, the Phoenix Park murders became an opportunity

[5] The process of arresting, trying and executing members of the Invincibles for the murders of Cavendish and Burke took a little over a year. The Dublin police had strong suspicions soon after the assassinations of the identity of the murderers. The difficulty for the British government and Dublin police force lay in securing enough evidence to convict those involved. Relying on informants with limited credibility, the Dublin police eventually collected enough evidence to feel confident in arresting sixteen members of the "Invincibles" on January 13, 1883, nearly seven months after the assassinations. In the end, with many of the sixteen men initially arrested making deals to testify against their fellow conspirators, five men were tried, convicted and executed in the spring of 1883 for the murders of Cavendish and Burke. The executions of Joseph Brady, Daniel Curley, Thomas Caffrey, Michael Fagan, and Timothy Kelly were a cause for celebration in Great Britain. On the other hand, many Irish felt that the methods used to convict the "Invincibles" were underhanded and manipulative, with the result that the men eventually became martyrs to countless Irish. Ibid., 241-260.

[6] See Chapter 4: Dynamite, Bombs, and Knives: Images of Violence and the Irish.

for Irish nationalists, both in Ireland and the United States. They sought to address the issue of Irish aggression, and make clear to the British and American public that the Irish nationalist movement did not endorse violence of this kind. Thus, reactions to the assassination of Cavendish and Burke found in British, American, Irish, and Irish-American political cartoons afford scholars an excellent opportunity to examine the way in which these images played a role in the battles to define perceptions of the Irish and how those perceptions shaped Anglo-Irish relations of the late nineteenth-century.

I

The scholarship surrounding the Phoenix Park murders is surprisingly small, considering the level of intense reaction to the event after it occurred. According to the Royal Historical Society Bibliography, there are only seven works specific to the event itself, though the murders are often mentioned in broader works on the Irish nationalist movement.[7] Of these works, the only monograph is Tom Corfe's *The Phoenix Park Murders*, published in 1968, which focuses on describing the events leading up to the murders. Corfe begins with the creation of the New Departure movement in 1879 by a group of Irish nationalists, which was meant to address Irish concerns by utilizing both

[7] These are the seven works on the Phoenix Park murders in chronological order. Dillon Cosgrave, "The true history of the Phoenix Park Murders " in *New Ireland Review*, 25, 1906, 225-36, 274-84. T. H. Corfe, "The Phoenix Park Murders, May 6th 1882" in *History Today*, 11, 1961, 828-35. Tom Corfe, *The Phoenix Park Murders: Conflict, Compromise and Tragedy in Ireland, 1879-1882* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968. E. P. De Blaghd, "Tim Kelly: Guilty or Not Guilty", in *Dublin Historical Record*, 25, 1971, 12-24. A. B. Cooke and John Russell Vincent, "Lord Spencer on the Phoenix Park Murders", *Irish Historical Studies*, 18:72, 1973, 583-91. John McEldowney, "Miscarriages of Justice? The Phoenix Park Murders, 1882", in *Criminal Justice History*, 14, 1993, 143-49. Colin Graham, "Colonial Violence, Imitation, and Form: Samuel Ferguson and the Phoenix Park Murders" in Alan Marshall and Neil Sammells ed., *Irish Encounters: Poetry, Politics and Prose since 1880*, Bath, U.K.: Sulis Press, 1998, 5-15.

aggressive and more politically expedient tools. Additionally, Corfe tracks the group who called themselves "The Invincibles," as they plotted a different form of nationalist expression, namely murder and assassination.[8] Corfe's work concentrates heavily on the fall of 1881, when the passage of the Land Act and subsequent arrest of Parnell and other nationalist leaders left a window open for a group such as "The Invincibles" to form. In his discussion of the group's formation, Corfe acknowledges evidence concerning the group, is "riddled with doubt and untruth, vagueness and confusion, evidence which permits of no definitive account or conclusive explanation, and which leaves much still hidden in mystery."[9] Based on the available sources, He claims that the Invincibles conceived of themselves, and Ireland, as being "at war" with the British army and thus their goal was to rid Ireland of *any* British presence. Interestingly, the stance of the "Invincibles" mirrors the view of the Irish Republican Army in the 1960s, when Corfe's work was published. While it is possible that Corfe is reading backward into the events of 1882, the sentiments of the "Invincibles" can also be found expressed by other groups fighting for Irish independence over the course of the nineteenth-century, such as the "Young Irelanders" and the "Fenians." Thus, Corfe's analysis of the motivations of the "Invincibles" holds sway considering the evidence available.

In addition to exploring the motivations behind the assassinations of Cavendish and Burke, Corfe notes, briefly, some of the responses to the murders in political cartoons. As part of his compiled illustrations, he includes the cartoon from *Punch*, titled

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[8] Corfe, *The Phoenix Park Murders*, 7.

[9] Ibid., 135.

"The Irish Frankenstein,"[10] though he does not offer any mention of this image in the text of the chapter. He does describe another cartoon published about the Phoenix Park murders, this one from Parnell's own paper *United Ireland.* Corfe notes, "William O'Brien [editor of the paper] sacrificed his usual biting cartoon in *United Ireland* for a black bordered 'In Memoriam' panel that admitted his country's shame and sorrow".[11] Unfortunately, these are the only two references to political cartoons on the Phoenix Park murders in Corfe's work, or in any other work on the murders for that matter. That being said, Corfe's exploration of the episode offers the most comprehensive analysis of the factors leading up to the tragic event as well as the aftermath.

The first scholarly work on the murders appeared in *The New Ireland Review* in 1906. Dillon Cosgrave, an early twentieth-century Irish historian, wrote a two-part article, "The True History of the Phoenix Park Murders", as a commentary or reaction to Tighe Hopkins' work *Kilmainham Memories, the Story of the Greatest Political Crime of the Century,* which he felt misconstrued the incident in Dublin's Phoenix Park. In the first part of the article, Cosgrave notes the "inaccuracies" and "omissions" in Hopkins' account, which, he argues, "should contain every important detail."[12] In the second part of the article Cosgrave proceeds to give his account of the murders and their aftermath, focusing particular attention on the political context in Ireland before the incident, as well as the lengthy trial of the murderers and its repercussions. Unfortunately, the article does

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[10] Ibid., 210. Curiously, this image is not listed on the page titled "List of Illustrations". See also Figure 5.5.

[11] Ibid., 213. See also Figure 5.9.

[12] Dillon Cosgrave, "The true history of the Phoenix Park Murders" in *New Ireland Review*, 25, 1906, 230.

not contain any citations, thus we are left to take Cosgrave's argument at face value, when considering his scholarly evidence.

His article stood as the only scholarly work on the Phoenix Park murders until Corfe's examination of the subject in the 1960s. Corfe's efforts inspired further exploration of the Phoenix Park murders in the following decade by two authors who offer different perspectives through which we can examine the deaths of Cavendish and Burke. The first of these articles by an amateur historian, E. P. DeBlaghd, investigates Tim Kelly, one of the men put on trial for the assassinations of Cavendish and Burke. He argues that scholars have been remiss in not questioning the guilty verdicts handed down against Kelly and the others. He asserts, "Historians seem to have stopped questioning, and to have become content to accept as axiomatic the answers furnished by trial juries' verdicts and the evidence given by the members of the group, and their associates, who took fright and decided to give information to the authorities".[13] DeBlaghd re-examines the evidence presented at Kelly's various trials and questions in particular the testimony provided by James Carey, one of "The Invincibles" who became an informant. The article is premised on DeBlaghd's evaluation of the evidence by the legal measure of "beyond a reasonable doubt." Designating himself a member of the jury for Kelly's first two trials, DeBlaghd discusses the various testimonies and evidence presented at trial. He ultimately concludes, "[I]f I had been a wholly unbiased juror at the first or second trials, I should have held firmly out for a verdict of 'Not Guilty'."[14] In the end, while his

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[13] E. P. De Blaghd, "Tim Kelly: Guilty or Not Guilty", in *Dublin Historical Record*, 25, 1971, 12.

[14] Ibid., 24.

approach to discussing the evidence and trials of the Phoenix Park murder defendants is interesting, the lack of citations hinders DeBlaghd's examination of the affair.

The second of the two articles on the Phoenix Park murders published in the 1970s takes a different approach by offering a brief glimpse into the reaction of Lord John Spencer, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the aftermath of the murders. A. B. Cooke and John Russell Vincent's article, "Lord Spencer on the Phoenix Park Murders," offers up a newly discovered memo commenting on Lord Spencer's thoughts on the assassinations of Cavendish and Burke. Based on the memo, Cooke and Vincent note, "Lord Spencer did not think that the Russian government could be too heavily condemned [for suppression of the Russian people], but at the same time strongly protested against the idea that assassination could ever be a legitimate weapon. He said that exactly the same thing had been urged in Ireland and that it was under this idea and from mistaken patriotism that the Phoenix Park murders were committed".[15] Regrettably, Cooke and Vincent do not interpret how Lord Spencer's views influenced his actions in governing Ireland in the years after the Phoenix Park murders.

The Phoenix Park murders were revisited once again in the 1990s, when two articles incorporated a brief discussion of the event into broader analyses of other subjects. Not surprisingly, given the drama involved in the murders, authors have used them as dramatic reference points or examples of larger subjects they wish to probe. These later articles demonstrate that scholarship on the Phoenix Park murders focused on

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[15] A. B. Cooke and John Russell Vincent, "Lord Spencer on the Phoenix Park Murders", *Irish Historical Studies*, 18:72, 1973, 588.

the symbolism surrounding the incident, rather than the repercussions of the assassinations itself. The first, from James McEldowney, is in a book review essay found in the journal *Criminal Justice History.*[16] In a review of Jarlath Waldron's, *Maamtrasna: The Murder and the Mystery*, McEldowney uses the events surrounding the Phoenix Park murders as a jumping off point in his discussion. In fact, the only direct reference to the murders comes within a larger discussion of changes to jury laws during the agrarian violence of the 1880s. McEldowney notes,

> In 1881 the House of Lords Select Committee on Irish Jury laws recommended the abolition of jury trial for certain specified crimes and for limited periods. Although the recommendation was never implemented, stronger coercive legislation was passed in an attempt to curtail violent crime. On 6 May 1882, the Phoenix Park murders in Dublin resulted in the deaths of Thomas Burke, the Irish Undersecretary of Dublin Castle, and Frederick Cavendish, nephew of Gladstone, the British Prime Minister, and newly installed Chief Secretary to Ireland. Irish violence had reached a new peak.[17]

This mention of the incident in Phoenix Park thus serves only to set the stage for a discussion of agrarian, nationalist violence in the 1880s.

Similar to McEldowney's essay, Colin Graham's work is less about the actual events of 1882, than in using reactions to the events to make a larger statement about British-Irish cultural interactions, in this case as viewed through a post-colonial framework.[18] Graham's work examines the process of transculturation, the movement of cultural forms across identity boundaries, by discussing Samuel Ferguson's poems on the

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[16] John McEldowney, "Miscarriages of Justice? The Phoenix Park Murders, 1882", in *Criminal Justice History*, 14, 1993, 143-149.

[17] Ibid., 143.

[18] Colin Graham, "Colonial Violence, Imitation, and Form: Samuel Ferguson and the Phoenix Park Murders" in Alan Marshall and Neil Sammells ed., *Irish Encounters: Poetry, Politics and Prose since 1880*, Bath, U.K.: Sulis Press, 1998, 5-15.

Phoenix Park murders. Published in 1887, Graham argues the poems bear a resemblance to the form of British poet Robert Browning. He continues,

> Before going on to examine Samuel Ferguson's poetic imitations in reaction to this event [the murders], it is important to examine how he might fit into the political difficulties raised by the murders and how his writing in imitation [of Browning] negotiates the culture and politics of nineteenth-century Ireland. Ferguson can be placed in that now apparently anomalous position, but one in which the nineteenth century was not unusual: in political terms he was a Unionist, in cultural terms he believed in the difference of Ireland from other nations.[19]

Thus, Graham asserts, Ferguson's attempts to negotiate these seeming contradictions resulted in poems that imitated the form of Browning, which exemplifies the sense of cultural forms crossing boundaries, like those of "colonizer and colonized." What is intriguing about Ferguson's approach, Graham notes, is that even while his form imitates Browning's, he also attempts to use these poems to highlight cultural *differences* between England and Ireland. He states, "If the colonial mimicking process is one of 'resemblance and menace', the example of Ferguson shows that in an Irish context the closeness of the participants in the colonial encounter can exaggerate both the similarities in cultural production and the disruption they uncover".[20] Graham's examination of Ferguson's poems show that the format of the poems is modeled on Browning's "confessionary monologue" style, however they also offer distinct departures from the works of Browning. By examining these works and showcasing both their similarities and differences, Graham argues that he is not only able to view not only a particularly intense moment in Anglo-Irish relations, the horrific violence of the Phoenix Park

[19] Ibid., 6-7.

[20] Ibid., 13.

murders, but he can also examine a broader transcultural exchange between colonizer (England) and colonized (Ireland).

Graham's examination of the Samuel Ferguson poems was the last published scholarly work focused primarily on the events surrounding May 6, 1882. While each of the works discussed above examines the aftermath and reactions to the Phoenix Park murders, none take a thorough look at the political cartoons created on the subject in the months following the tragedy. These cartoons appeared in newspapers and humor journals on both sides of the Atlantic, offering a visual response to the gruesome attacks from a variety of perspectives. Interestingly, these images can be easily divided into two categories; those produced by British and American publications focusing on the violent and grisly attacks themselves, and those by Irish publications concentrating on the sadness and regret felt in response to the incident.

II

In the days immediately following the Phoenix Park murders, the incident not surprisingly occupied an enormous amount of attention in newspaper publications on both sides of the Atlantic. British, American, and Irish newspapers all published accounts of the attacks, as well as provided editorial commentaries on the murders. These ranged from outraged calls for Ireland's destruction to lamentations that inferred that English politicians "had it coming" to them for occupying Ireland in the first place. American publications found occasion to comment on this event, with an editorial from the *New York Tribune* noting, "The blood of the murdered officials cries to heaven. Not

England alone, but the civilized world, recoils in horror from the ghastly spectacle of these mangled corpses in the great pleasure ground of the English capital".[21] Whether erring intentionally or accidentally in placing Phoenix Park in London, rather than Dublin, the *Tribune's* message to its readers clearly urges them to view the murders as an act of terrorism. Certainly the readership of the *Tribune*, and many other British, Irish, and American publications were fascinated by the grisly attacks, with the interest of the readership driving further coverage of the murders. The first political cartoon on the murders was published five days after the incident, providing another source through which we can interpret the varied reactions to the attack on Cavendish and Burke.

One of the earliest journals to publish such cartoons on the Phoenix Park Murders was the Manchester, United Kingdom publication *Momus*, titled "The Only Argument Now."[22] (Figure 5.1) The cartoon focuses exclusively on the figure of Britannia as she unsheathes her sword, while a newspaper at her feet reads 'Assassination of the Chief and Under Secretaries of Ireland.' The figure of Britannia is especially muscular and masculine in this image, with her resolute facial expression and widespread arms in particular radiating power and strength. The image of Britannia, fully prepared for battle, coupled with the cartoon's title suggests that in light of the assassinations in Dublin, the only response left for England towards Ireland was force. Even the angle of the image, with Britannia seen from below, looking up at a dramatic angle, heightens her and the cartoon's power. Without using complicated images, or any further form of explanation,

[21] Editorial, *New York Tribune*, May 7, 1882.

[22] W. G. Baxter, "The Only Argument Now", in *Momus*, May 11, 1882. British Library.

Momus infers that any previous negotiations or "agreements" between England and Ireland ended with the murders. Thus, with peaceful negotiations negated by the violent assassinations in Phoenix Park, *Momus'* Britannia provides the only other solution to Irish troubles, namely through her armed force.

Figure 5.1: W. G. Baxter, "The Only Argument Now" in *Momus*, May 11, 1882. British Library.

The other cartoon published on May 11, 1882 offered a very different view of the Phoenix Park murders. The Bristol, United Kingdom humor journal, *Zigzag*, published its cartoon, "Ireland's Attitude," focusing on the sensational attack itself, rather than on Britain's response to it.[23] (Figure 5.2) In the cartoon, a woman with wildly streaming hair, wearing a mask over her eyes, holds a bloody dagger in her right hand. The sash around her waist reads "MURDER", and at her feet are two dead bodies lying in their own blood. No caption accompanies the image, save for the title "Ireland's Attitude;" but the meaning behind this representation is clear.

The woman occupying the center of the cartoon resembles the Irish figure of the *banshee*, a spirit in Irish mythology who is an omen of death and is recognizable by her grey or white dress, flowing hair, and wailing at the places where death occurs. The characteristics in the image, from the woman's open wailing mouth to her disheveled hair, coupled with the bloody dagger and "murder" sash indicate that she is the one responsible for the two bodies lying at her feet. The banshee does not contain the usual symbols indicating her identity as Erin, or Hibernia, the allegorical representation of Ireland; nonetheless the banshee legend is strongly associated with the Irish people. Hence it is logical to conclude that in this instance she represents "Ireland's Attitude" and intention to commit the murders in Phoenix Park. Though not explicitly labeled as such, the bodies of Cavendish and Burke at the bottom of the image appear to have met their fate at the hands of the Irish people themselves, or at least their allegorical representative.

[23] F.S.L., "Ireland's Attitude", in *Zigzag*, May 11, 1882. British Library.

Thus “Ireland’s Attitude”, according to *Zigzag*, is deliberate, murderous and eventually resulted in the gruesome and appalling attacks on Cavendish and Burke.

Figure 5.2: F.S.L., “Ireland’s Attitude”, in *Zigzag*, May 11, 1882. British Library.

Two days after *Momus* and *Zigzag* published their cartoon interpretations, another regional journal, *The Yorkshire Busy Bee* produced a cartoon on the incident. Printed in Leeds and titled, “The Man in Possession,” the cartoon contains similar

imagery to that found in the *Zigzag* image.[24] (Figure 5.3) In this depiction a solitary man stands upon a very small island, labeled "Ireland." The man is attired in "old fashioned" clothing, appearing more eighteenth (or backward) than nineteenth century (or modern) in his general appearance. Of particular note is his hat, which contains the word "Anarchy" across the front. From what we can see of the man's face and arms, he has hairy, seemingly simian features, creating a wild looking appearance overall. Most importantly, the man carries a bloody dagger in his right hand, and at his feet is a rifle or musket. Once again, this image is not accompanied by a caption, only the title, but the symbols assigned to the man in the cartoon offer up their own explanations.

As with Figure 5.2, this reaction to the Phoenix Park murders concentrates more on the act and on those who committed the attack, than on England's reaction to the event. In this case, Ireland is represented in two different ways; first, through the small island on which the man is standing, and second, in a more specific sense, by the man himself. As the title of the cartoon suggests, "The Man in Possession" of Ireland is the man surrounded by violence with allegiance only to "anarchy." By this solitary man possessing all of Ireland, the cartoon indicates that anarchy reigns supreme there. The cartoon, however, is unclear on whether it is the murders that instigated the anarchy or the anarchy that prompted the murders. In spite of the ambiguity surrounding the causal relationship between anarchy and Ireland, the cartoon makes clear that Ireland is trapped in violence by the "man in possession" and incidents such as the Phoenix Park murders further the sense of anarchy present in late nineteenth-century Ireland.

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[24] Unknown, "The Man in Possession" in *The Yorkshire Busy Bee*, May 13, 1882. British Library.

Figure 5.3: Unknown, “The Man in Possession” in *The Yorkshire Busy Bee*, May 13, 1882. British Library.

Two weeks after the deaths of Cavendish and Burke, the more mainstream British humor journals weighed in on the Phoenix Park murders. The London based *Funny*

Folks placed on its cover a cartoon titled "The 'Friends' of Erin".[25] (Figure 5.4) In this cartoon an angry and defiant Erin twists her arm away from two men offering her their "friendship". The closer of the two men, with blood-stained hands, wears a hat labeled "Fenianism", while the second man wears a hat marked "Ribbonism". Both men carry guns with them and the first man also carries a dagger in his left hand. Similar to the man in the previous cartoon, these men are dressed in attire more closely associated with the eighteenth century than the nineteenth century. The cartoon also includes a brief caption from Erin, giving her feelings on the two men before her. Erin's poem reads as follows,

> Not Friends, but Fiends, that in the patriot's name compass perdition. Plotters in the night: weaving the treacherous web for innocent feet, or flashing, in the light, the assassin's knife. To dye with blood the Olive branch – with blood of those who bear it – messengers of peace! Out on such friends![26]

Combined with the image above it, Erin's poem speaks to the anger and despair many people were feeling in the aftermath of the Phoenix Park murders. Yet interestingly, the cartoon does not focus on England's pain, but rather on "Erin's" as she is betrayed by people claiming to offer her friendship.

Though a British publication, the *Funny Folks* cartoon depicts Erin's struggle, not Britannia's in the aftermath of the Phoenix Park murders. The cartoonist appears to have a great amount of sympathy for Erin's position, based both on how her style of dress is represented and in the portrayal of her "so-called" friends.

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[25] Stafford, "The 'Friends' of Erin", in *Funny Folks*, May 20, 1882. British Library.

[26] Ibid.

Figure 5.4: Stafford, "The 'Friends' of Erin" in *Funny Folks*, May 20, 1882. British Library.

While Erin wears a neo-classical, Roman style dress and cloak, suggesting a sense of nobility, the two men have pronounced simian features accompanying their outlandish

old-fashioned dress and deadly weapons. With the audience's sympathy firmly aligned with Erin, the artist further bolsters the viewers' dislike of the two men by marking their allegiances to two groups widely distrusted as "terrorist" organizations. Although Fenianism, associated with the man on the left, was widely known for its use of violence to attain nationalist goals during the nineteenth-century, Ribbonism, inscribed on the second man's hat, was a lesser known organization more specifically focused on using violence against Irish Protestants. Both of these groups had reputations for violence, and though not specifically stated in the cartoon, either of them could have been accused of having a hand in the Phoenix Park murders. Overall, what seems clear from both the image and accompanying caption, is that the publishers of *Funny Folks* felt the people of Ireland as a whole were victims of their violent "friends" almost as much as Cavendish and Burke themselves.

This sense of sympathy for Ireland as a whole is not present in a cartoon from the famous humor journal, *Punch*. Also published on May 20, "The Irish Frankenstein," drawn by the famous cartoonist Sir John Tenniel, utilizes the imagery of monsters to illustrate their view of the attacks.[27] (Figure 5.5) The central figure of the cartoon is the "Irish Frankenstein" himself, a gruesome figure with heavily simianized facial features, including bestial fangs, wearing a mask over his eyes, carrying a revolver in one hand and a bloody dagger in the other. He lurches as he walks, appearing completely out of control. To the left of this monster is the crouched figure of Charles Parnell who attempts to stop or rein in the creature looming over him. At the feet of "Frankenstein" is

[27] Sir John Tenniel, "The Irish Frankenstein", in *Punch*, May 20, 1882. British Library.

a sheet of paper bearing a message with the skull and crossbones on top, and signed by "Captain Moonlight," a reference to an infamous Australian bank robber. Finally, a short caption accompanies the image, which the journal cites as coming from the works of Parnell. It reads: "The baneful and blood stained monster *** yet was it not my master to the very extent that it was my creature? *** Had I not breathed into it my own spirit?"[28] The quotation, which in reality comes from the text of Mary Shelly's *Frankenstein*, coupled with the image above it, suggests that the unhinged monster responsible for the Phoenix Park murders was not solely culpable for the attacks. By attributing the quotation in the caption is from the works of Parnell, the publishers of *Punch* implicate Parnell in the attacks due to his lack of control over this vicious creature. Also, by likening Parnell to Dr. Frankenstein, Tenniel places blame for the creation of the monster on Parnell's political activities, especially his agitation for Home Rule.

While some members of the British press asserted that Parnell was to blame for influencing those who committed the murders, the issue of Parnell's culpability has also been a subject of vigorous debate by various scholars. Indeed, *Punch's* cartoon has become since its publication an image readily utilized by a number of scholars in a variety of fields, including philosophy, literature and art.[29] L. Perry Curtis and Michael

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[28] Ibid.

[29] This is a brief sample of works utilizing the image of "The Irish Frankenstein" published by *Punch* in May 1882. Richard Kearney, *Strangers, Gods, and Monsters: Interpreting Otherness*, New York: Routledge, 2004; Debbie Lee, *Slavery and Romantic Imagination*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002; Stephen Howe, *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; Dennis Walder, *The Realist Novel*, New York: Routledge, 1995.

de Nie, the two historians who have produced the most in depth examination of political cartoons on the Irish, also noted Tenniel's cartoon on the Phoenix Park murders.

Figure 5.5: Sir John Tenniel, "The Irish Frankenstein", in *Punch*, May 20, 1882. British Library.

De Nie offers a brief paragraph on the cartoon, arguing that Tenniel's cartoon has similarities with other nineteenth-century cartoons showing Irish politicians loosing control of their violent "monsters," by which he means their political movements. De Nie notes, "In these cartoons, the traditional depiction of Irish demagogues and their dupes was reversed somewhat , as the masses, driven to a frenzy by irresponsible men such as Daniel O'Connell or Parnell, now escaped their creator's control and threatened violence and anarchy".[30] Curtis also discusses the "Irish Frankenstein" cartoon, although his discussion is not in the main body of the text, but in a brief caption accompanying the image. He asserts that, "Tenniel's monster is meant to convey the essence of the 'new departure' in Ireland,"[31] but unfortunately he does not elaborate this point. However undeveloped, Curtis' argument is likely correct, as the cartoon does imply that Parnell's involvement in the New Departure movement contributed to the violence enacted in Dublin's Phoenix Park. Both Parnell's actions in the cartoon and the *Frankenstein* quotation used in the cartoon's caption imply that Parnell's association with men who accepted agrarian violence as a nationalist tactic, led to his culpability in the murders. Parnell's potential role and culpability in the murders would remain an issue in England and Ireland throughout the rest of the 1880s. It eventually led to his lawsuit against the London *Times*, which had used forged documents to "prove" that he had actually ordered the assassinations of Cavendish and Burke. The court ultimately sided with Parnell;

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[30] Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882*, Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004, 249.

[31] L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997, 43.

however the ugly implications of cartoons such as “The Irish Frankenstein” lingered in the public’s mind.

The last of the British cartoons on the murders, published over a month after the event, again comes from Manchester’s *Momus*. Titled “A Cry For Help,” the cartoon offers a bleak and terrifying depiction of the actual attacks in Dublin’s Phoenix Park.[32] (Figure 5.6) The center image of the cartoon revolves around a man on his hands and knees, most likely Lord Frederick Cavendish, surrounded by three attackers. The first attacker, on the left, holds the man’s head up by his hair and is preparing to stab him with a long dagger. The second man, directly behind the victim on the ground, also has his dagger raised and ready to strike, while the third attacker to the right points a revolver at the victim with one hand, while the other hand holds a club. As this horrifying scene plays out in the foreground, the equally significant background scene occurs on the other side of the “Irish Channel.” The figure of British Prime Minister William Gladstone in a suit of armor, carrying the sword labeled the “Prevention of Crime Bill,” is shown being restrained by four figures associated with the Irish nationalist movement: Charles Parnell, Joseph Biggar, John Dillon, and Joseph Cowen. Together these men prevent Gladstone from stopping the violent attack unfolding in front of him.

[32] W. G. Bailey, “A Cry For Help” in *Momus*, June 15, 1882. British Library.

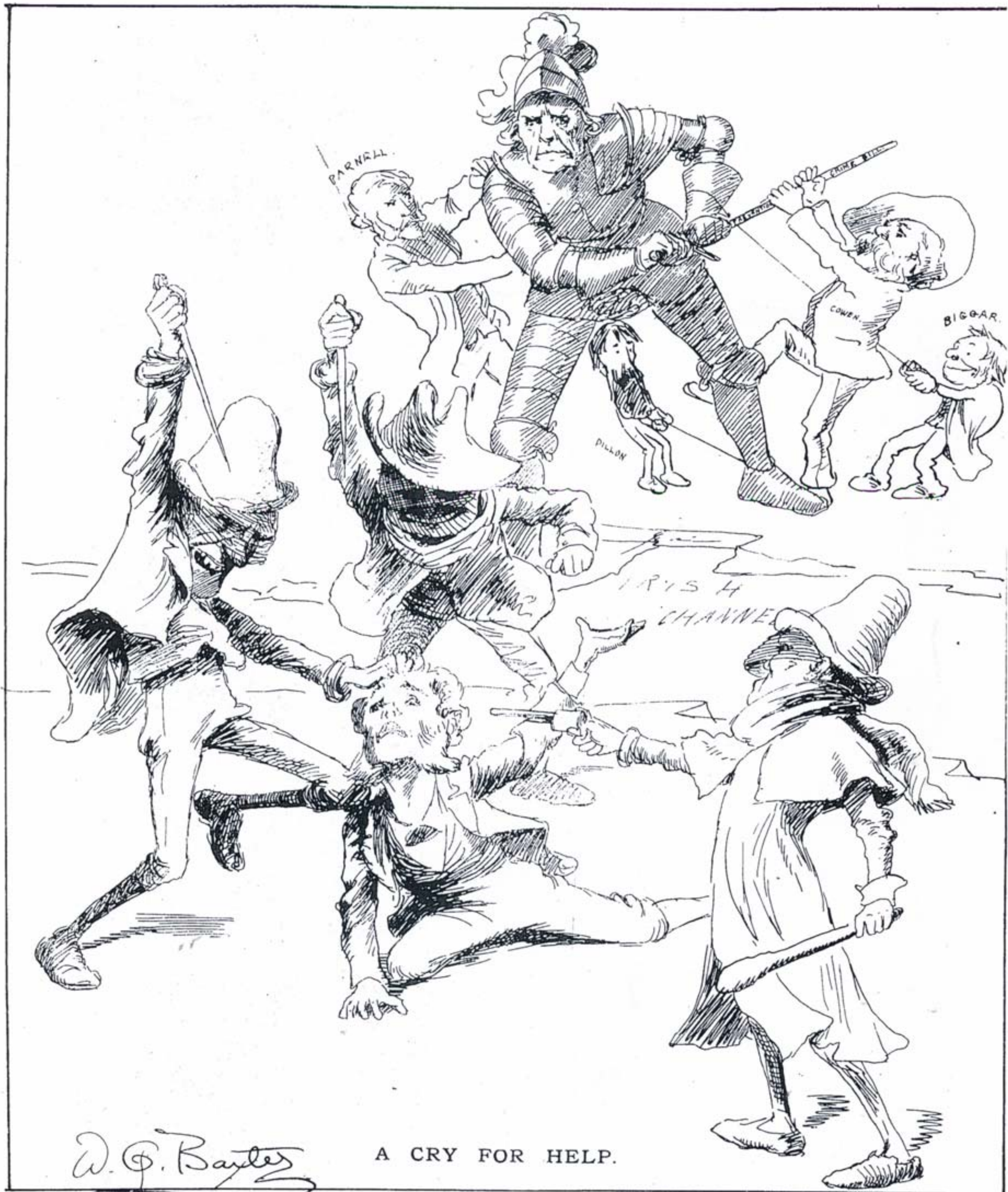

Figure 5.6: W. G. Bailey, "A Cry For Help" in *Momus*, June 15, 1882. British Library.

This cartoon offers an even more pointed accusation of culpability for the Phoenix Park murders than "The Irish Frankenstein". More graphic than any other British cartoon on the subject, this is the first British image to concentrate on the gruesome nature of the attacks with its foregrounded depiction of Cavendish in his final moments at the hands of his assassins. Clearly this image is meant to convey to its viewers the combined emotions of horror and outrage; horror for the awful event itself, but also outrage for the way in which Irish nationalist leaders had prevented Gladstone from stopping the incident before it even occurred by introducing a stringent crime bill. This second concept was a bit of an exaggeration on the artist's part, as the sword Gladstone brandishes refers to the Prevention of Crime Bill, introduced in Parliament five days *after* the incident. According to Parnell's biographer, F. S. L. Lyons, "What the tragedy did was to accelerate the timetable and to impose upon the government the necessity of a new Coercion Act significantly harsher than the one which in ordinary circumstances might have come into operation when the Protection of Person and Property Act expired in the autumn".[33] In spite of this anachronistic detail, the cartoon's message was quite clear; the actions of the Irish nationalist leadership in their efforts to prevent further "coercion" measures in Ireland directly contributed to the deaths of Cavendish and Burke.

Directing anger and frustration over the Phoenix Park murders towards the Irish nationalist leadership was not limited to British political cartoonists. Though the British public was more familiar overall with the players in this Anglo-Irish drama, American newspapers and humor journals also offered their perspective in the aftermath of the

[33] F. S. L. Lyons, *Charles Stewart Parnell* (London: Collins, 1977), 211.

attacks. As with most of the British publications, American political cartoons on the Phoenix Park murders focused more on the emotional reactions of the British and on portraying the gruesome scene itself, rather than in exploring the feelings of the Irish. Moreover, American publications occasionally offered a suggestion about the role Americans and the American Irish played in the Anglo-Irish relationship.

The first of the American publications to produce a cartoon depicting the Phoenix Park murders was the humor journal *Puck*. In a two page spread titled "Beyond Control," cartoonist Joseph Keppler offers up two scenes playing out in Dublin's Phoenix Park.[34] (Figure 5.7) In the foreground, William Gladstone, dressed in a toga, places a tribute labeled "Coercion" upon the flaming "Altar of Peace." As he places this tribute on the altar, he is attacked by a pack of snarling, biting dogs looking like they will tear him to pieces. Each dog has a distinctive collar, identifying it as "Secret Societies," "Fenians" or "Assassins". On the ground next to the dogs, lying in a heap, are the figures of Charles Parnell, Michael Davitt, and John Dillon, all of whom are clearly unable to maintain control of the attacking dogs. This chaotic action taking place in the foreground of the cartoon almost masks the small scene in the cartoon's background. Lying in the winding lane, a small distance from the skirmish at the altar, are the mutilated bodies of Cavendish and Burke, sprawled in the positions of their deaths. There is no caption to accompany the cartoon, but the cartoon's title, "Beyond Control," and the images themselves clearly lay out the perspective of Keppler and the publishers of *Puck* on the murders. The nationalist leadership's lack of control over violent Irish "Secret Societies"

[34] Joseph Keppler, "Beyond Control" in *Puck*, May 17, 1882. Library of Congress.

and “Fenians” directly led to the deaths of Cavendish and Burke. Even more importantly, the leadership’s lack of control had also destroyed any potential for peace between England and Ireland.

Figure 5.7: Joseph Keppler, "Beyond Control" in *Puck*, May 17, 1882. Library of Congress.

The scene unfolding in Keppler's cartoon of the Phoenix Park murders is incredibly violent and graphic, particularly with the combination of attacking dogs in the foreground and dead bodies in the background. Contrasting this violence is the white

stone “Altar of Peace” on the left hand side of the image, as well as the toga-clad figure of Gladstone who attempts to lay his tribute on the altar. These images are meant to place the audience on the side of Gladstone, who is giving up his own weapon of Coercion in the name of peace, while the Irish nationalist leaders around him fail to keep a “leash” on their own tools for violence. Not only do the attack dogs of the nationalist leaders appear to savage the figure of Gladstone, they also are tarnishing the hope of a peaceful compromise between England and Ireland in the process. The fault for the collapse of an Irish-British political compromise thus lies in the incompetent hands of Parnell, Davitt, Devoy and the other Irish nationalist leaders. Likewise, implicitly, blame for the deaths of Cavendish and Burke lies with these same incompetent nationalist leaders who could not control “The Invincibles” and prevent them from assassinating British officials in the name of Irish independence.

Echoing the theme of Irish violence destroying hopes for peace, the *Harper’s Weekly’s* cartoon in the aftermath of the Phoenix Park murders uses allegorical figures to illustrate the lasting damage caused by the deaths of Cavendish and Burke. Published on May 20, “Fiendish Assassins” features the figures of Britannia, Columbia, and Erin as they each react to the scene on their left, where the bodies of Cavendish and Burke are lying.[35] (Figure 5.8) Drawn by the famous cartoonist Thomas Nast, this image combines the bleak spectacle of dead bodies with reactions from the figures representing England, America, and Ireland. Nast even included a statue of a phoenix in the background (to the

[35] Thomas Nast, “Fiendish Assassins” in *Harper’s Weekly*, May 20, 1882.

left of Britannia) to make certain that the audience fully understood the events depicted in the cartoon.

As the central figures in the image, Britannia, Columbia, and Erin portray varying reactions to the Phoenix Park murders. Standing tall in her typical dress of a Roman warrior, the figure of Britannia observes the murders unfolding just behind her with stoic determination. Her demeanor, matched with the sword of “Justice” in her right hand, suggests that Nast believed that Britain was justified in actively and unmercifully seeking out the assassins of Cavendish and Burke, using all the power and might at her disposal. Additionally, Britannia’s left hand holds up the left hand of the weeping Erin, signifying that Britain’s role in the aftermath of the murders also involves “supporting” the rest of Ireland’s population. Erin, who also and more visibly clings to Columbia for support, is on her knees, unable to stand from the “body-blow” dealt to her by the assassinations and also the emotions that seem to overwhelm her. Nast has hidden Erin’s face from the audience, so the specifics of her overpowering emotions are left for viewers to decide. Grief, shock, and horror are all natural possibilities for Erin’s emotional state, but knowing Nast’s storied prejudice against the Irish in America, it is possible that he also intended to associate Erin’s grief with guilt and shame as well. More certain than Erin’s true emotions are those of Columbia, who like Britannia, supports her. Columbia’s face is visible to the audience and her expression strongly suggests her outrage at the events unfolding on the left hand side of the image. Taken together, this grouping of Britannia, Erin, and Columbia provides the audience with a number of figures and emotions to identify with in the wake of this tragedy.

Figure 5.8: Thomas Nast, "Fiendish Assassins" in *Harper's Weekly*, May 20, 1882.

Finally, the ultimate consequence from the Phoenix Park murders, as depicted by Nast, lies at the feet of all three women. The broken olive branch and crumpled "Conciliatory Policy for Ireland" indicate that the assassination of Cavendish and Burke would have a lasting impact on the relations between England and Ireland, and that lasting peace between the two was further away than ever before.

American reactions to the Phoenix Park murders distinctly differed from British responses to the assassinations. Ultimately, American cartoons expressed outrage over the deaths of Cavendish and Burke, similar to the emotions emanating from British cartoons on the event, but they also emphasized the loss to Ireland as well as the broken promises of peace accompanying the bodies of Cavendish and Burke. While both the *Puck* and *Harper's Weekly* cartoons provided a depiction of Cavendish and Burke's murder scene to their American audiences, the artists placed these figures in the background, and instead offered a broader look at the situation from a variety of perspectives. In the *Puck* cartoon, Keppler's "Land League" attack dogs could not be controlled by Irish politicians and are the cause for the attacks on both Cavendish and Burke, undoing Gladstone's sacrifice to peace. Nast offers a different perspective in *Harper's Weekly*, focusing not on who was to blame for the attacks but on the various reactions of those concerned in the affair. It appears to have been important to both Keppler and Nast to depict to American audiences the lasting damage they felt the Phoenix Park murders would have on any peaceful compromises between Great Britain and Ireland.

III

Irish and Irish-American-produced images of the murders of Cavendish and Burke took a far more somber tone in their commentary than either the British or American cartoons. Irish publications on both sides of the Atlantic avoided any appearance of triumph or joy in their depictions of the assassinations. Instead, Irish political cartoons attempted to create a sense of solidarity with those mourning the dead. At the same time, they strongly suggested that violence in the name of politics did not accord with the Irish nationalist cause. It was particularly important for Irish-produced publications to tread carefully at this moment for several reasons. The first motivation for creating images evoking sympathy rather than triumph after the Phoenix Park murders rested on Irish fears of British military and political retribution. Irish cartoonists sought desperately to convince the British, as well as Anglo-Americans, that the majority of Irishmen did not countenance and should not be held accountable for the actions of the few. The second of these motivations likely came from Irishmen on both sides of the Atlantic recognizing an opportunity to counteract British and Anglo-American characterizations of inherent Irish violence by focusing on Irish shock and horror in the face of this dual assassination. Finally, cartoons like those found in *Punch* and *Puck* distinctly suggested that true culpability for the tragedy in Dublin's Phoenix Park rested squarely on the shoulders of those in the Irish nationalist movement, leading Irish publications to use their cartoons as a means of refuting those allegations. Regardless of motivation, the three Irish publications creating visual images in reaction to the Phoenix

Park murders (*United Ireland, Pat,* and *The Irish-American*) did their best to exude sympathy for all of Britain in the wake of this tragic occurrence.

The first of the Irish publications to produce an image commenting on the Phoenix Park murders was Dublin's *United Ireland*. Interestingly, in place of a cartoon or other image depicting the murders, the front page of *United Ireland* simply displayed a eulogy for Cavendish and Burke in the May 13, 1882 edition, the first published after the murders.[36] (Figure 5.9) Written in a variety of fonts, almost like an epitaph on a tomb, is the following message: "In Token of Abhorrence and Shame For the Stain Cast Upon the Character of our Nation for Manliness and Hospitality, By the Assassination of Lord Frederick C. Cavendish, Chief Secretary for Ireland and of Mr. Thomas Burke, Under Secretary, In the Phoenix Park, Dublin, 6th May, 1882."[37] No other image accompanies the words; they apparently take the place of the week's cartoon. The solemn language offers what an image perhaps could not, sincere condolences on the murders of Cavendish and Burke combined with shame over the violence that occurred on Irish soil, committed by Irishmen. *United Ireland's* epitaph in place of a cartoon reflects the deep sense of shock and horror many Irishmen felt on the assassinations of Cavendish and Burke. However, the choice to use words, rather than images, to express this sentiment raises a number of questions for scholars of this moment in history.

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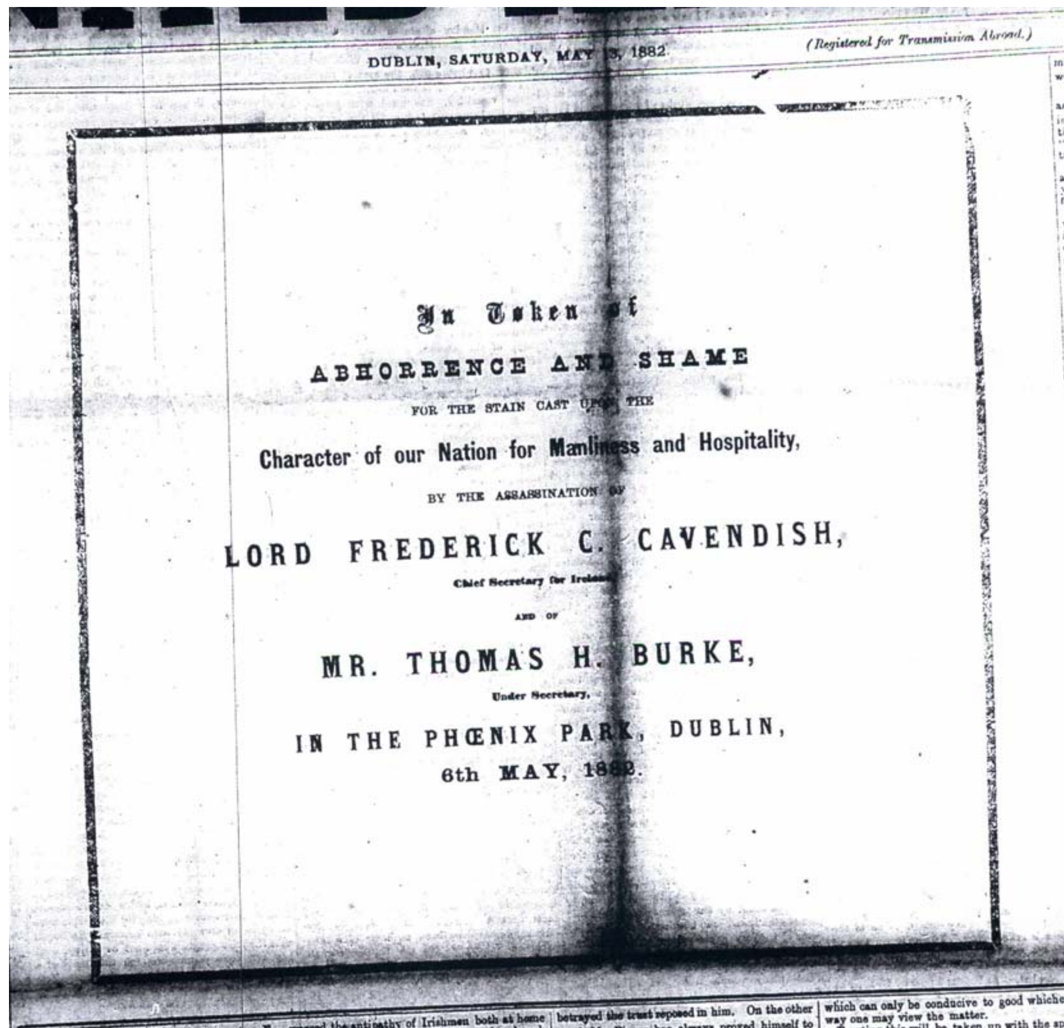
[36] Unknown, Untitled, in *United Ireland*, May 13, 1882. British Library.

[37] Ibid.



DUBLIN, SATURDAY, MAY , 1882.

(Registered for Transmission Abroad.)

In Token

ABHORRENCE AN SHAME

FOR THE STAIN CAST THE

Character of our Nation for Manliss and Hospitality,

BY THE ASSASSINATION

LORD FREDERICK C. CAVENDISH,

Chief Secretary for Irel

AND OF

MR. THOMAS H. BURKE,

Under Secretary,

IN THE PHŒNIX PA, DUBLIN,

6th MAY, 18.

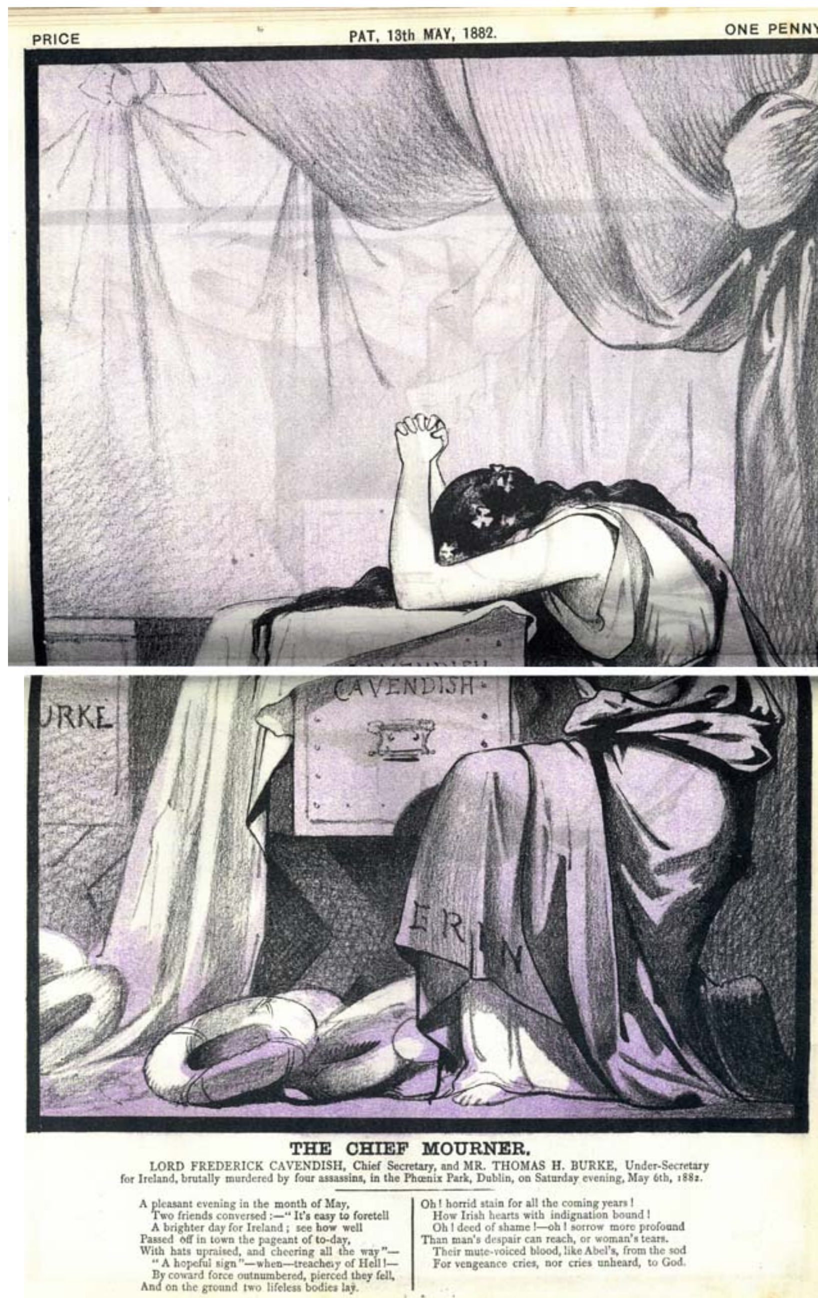
Figure 5.9: Unknown, Untitled, in *United Ireland,* May 13, 1882. British Library.

The first question that arises from this image in *United Ireland* is why the publishers chose to use words rather than illustrations to express their reaction to the Phoenix Park murders. One obvious answer is that a cartoon, by its very nature and devices, proved too satirical in tone to convey properly the sentiments of the *United Ireland* publishers. More importantly, as Parnell's newspaper, *United Ireland* could not appear to mock in any way the assassination of Prime Minister William Gladstone's nephew, for fear that any semblance of triumph or sarcasm on Parnell's part would

irreparably damage the Irish nationalist movement. Thus, the Phoenix Park murders, and the possible political ramifications resulting from the deaths of Cavendish and Burke, inspired the publishers of *United Ireland* to approach their weekly cartoon from a more solemn perspective. A second question revolves around the choice of words used by *United Ireland's* publishers. Their language suggests that they wanted to distance themselves from political violence like the assassinations of Cavendish and Burke. By stating that they felt "abhorrence and shame" for the murders, and that the incident "stained" the reputation of Ireland, *United Ireland's* publishers utilized the epitaph to distinguish themselves from those who used violence as a political tool. Certainly, Parnell and his fellow Irish nationalist leaders wished to distance themselves from the men who committed the Phoenix Park murders, and felt that acknowledging this public "shame" felt by all of Ireland would help reinforce their distance from the perpetrators. At the very least, the carefully chosen language in *United Ireland's* tribute suggests that Parnell and his fellow publishers were consciously seeking to dissociate the Irish nationalist leadership from any connection to the Phoenix Park murders and more broadly, to discourage the use of violence as a political tool in their struggles with the British.

The same day that *United Ireland* published their imageless cartoon on the Phoenix Park murders, the Dublin humor journal *Pat* published its own cartoon in reaction to the tragic event. Taking a more traditional approach, *Pat* produced an actual cartoon. Titled "The Chief Mourner" it echoed the somber theme of mourning found in

United Ireland through the figure of Erin, grieving alongside the coffins of Cavendish and Burke.[38] (Figure 5.10)


PRICE PAT, 13th MAY, 1882. ONE PENNY

THE CHIEF MOURNER.

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH, Chief Secretary, and MR. THOMAS H. BURKE, Under-Secretary for Ireland, brutally murdered by four assassins, in the Phœnix Park, Dublin, on Saturday evening, May 6th, 1882.

A pleasant evening in the month of May,
Two friends conversed :—" It's easy to foretell
A brighter day for Ireland ; see how well
Passed off in town the pageant of to-day,
With hats upraised, and cheering all the way"—
" A hopeful sign"—when—treachery of Hell!—
By coward force outnumbered, pierced they fell,
And on the ground two lifeless bodies lay.

Oh! horrid stain for all the coming years!
How Irish hearts with indignation bound!
Oh! deed of shame!—oh! sorrow more profound
Than man's despair can reach, or woman's tears.
Their mute-voiced blood, like Abel's, from the sod
For vengeance cries, nor cries unheard, to God.

Figure 5.10: Unknown, "The Chief Mourner", in *Pat*, May 13, 1882. British Library.

[38] Unknown, "The Chief Mourner", in *Pat*, May 13, 1882. British Library.

The image published in *Pat* is uniformly subdued in tone. One of the few humor journals publishing political cartoons in color during this period, a typical *Pat* cartoon was quite bright, even when the subject matter was controversial. On this occasion, however, the publishers of *Pat* chose to use a single shade of purple to accent the figures in the cartoon. This gave the coffins a royal visage and offered an overall muted atmosphere to the audience. In addition to their color choice, the artist and publishers were likely as careful and conscientious about their choice of images as *United Ireland* was about its choice of words. The figure of Erin, identifiable by both the wreath of shamrocks in her hair and the word "Erin" on the hem of her skirt, rests her head on the coffin of Cavendish while folding her hands in prayer. The coffins of Cavendish and Burke rest side by side with funeral wreaths scattered on the ground below them.

Again, there is no satire or expressions of triumph in this reaction to the Phoenix Park murders. On the contrary, it appears that Erin, personification of all Ireland, mourns the deaths as much as anyone. As with *United Ireland's* epitaph, this cartoon and the poem accompanying it, attempted to demonstrate Irish rejection of political assassination. Indeed, this sentiment can clearly be found in the line "How Irish hearts with indignation burn", found in the accompanying poem.[39] Perhaps fear of British retribution motivated this commiserating sentiment, or perhaps Irishmen creating cartoons in the aftermath of the Phoenix Park murders truly felt shame that such an act occurred on Irish soil. Whatever the case may have been for the publishers of *Pat* and *United Ireland*, their

[39] Ibid.

images in response to the tragedy in Phoenix Park offered sympathy and pity in the wake of the murders of Cavendish and Burke.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the *Irish-American* took a slightly different approach in its cartoon reaction to the Phoenix Park murders. In the May 20 cartoon titled "Non Tali Auxilio," the figure of Erin directly responds to an offer of violence as a political tool with a resounding no.[40] (Figure 5.11) The cartoon's title is an incomplete quote from Virgil's *Aeneid*, "non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis", which translates as "not such aid nor such defenders does the time require".[41] Combined with the image and accompanying caption, the title solidifies the *Irish-American's* position on the use of violence as a political tool, asserting that the Irish nationalist movement needed "no such aid." Indeed, Erin's stance towards the menacing figure offering her "Dynamite Assassination" strongly signals her displeasure at the offer. With her right hand keeping the cloaked figure literally at arm's length, Erin holds a "declaration of Irish National Rights" in her left hand. Erin's face expresses her mistrust of the shadowy "Red Spirit," as he is identified in the cartoon's caption. This spirit not only offers up his wares to Erin, he offers up the following sales pitch: "Have you not struggled long enough to regain your freedom by legitimate means; and all in vain? Try, now, my methods, as they are doing in Russia and all over the Continent of Europe. The instruments are here, ready to your hand; *and they cost so little*." The Red Spirit's offer does not convince Erin, who, while physically keeping her distance, replies: "No martyr's blood has ever been shed by

[40] Unknown, "Non Tali Auxilio", in *Irish-American*, May 20, 1882. Library of Congress.

[41] Virgil, *The Aeneid*, (NY: Penguin Classics, 2008), 38.

my hands; and I will not sully them now with the stain of cowardly assassination. The dagger is not my weapon. My cause is just, and with the arms of justice and virtue, and those alone, will I advance it to its triumph, which in God's good hour will come, as surely as He is just, and I and my children are guiltless." [42]

Figure 5.11: Unknown, "Non Tali Auxilio", in *Irish-American*, May 20, 1882. Library of Congress.

[42] "Non Tali Auxilio," ibid.

Erin's outright rejection of the Red Spirit's offer emphasizes an important point that many leaders of the Irish nationalist movement attempted to make in the aftermath of the Phoenix Park murders. They asserted that the movement would not use political violence to enact their goals, be it in the form of bombings or assassinations. This assertion was aimed at British and American publications like *Punch* and *Puck,* which suggested that the Irish nationalist movement had condoned violence and was thus the root cause of the deaths of Cavendish and Burke. As the cartoon's title reminds the audience, Erin and the Irish nationalists declared that they needed "no such [violent] aid" in their quest for Irish independence because their cause was just and would prevail based on its justness. Thus, this cartoon addressed both the immediate issue of the Phoenix Park murders, and the larger question of the Irish nationalist movement's use of violence as a political tool.

On a final note, it is intriguing to observe that the other major Irish-American newspaper of the period, the *Irish World*, did not publish a cartoon in response to the Phoenix Park murders. They certainly provided a substantial amount of print coverage of the event in the form of articles and editorials in the weeks following the deaths of Cavendish and Burke. The lack of any image accompanying these commentaries stands in contrast to almost every other journal that routinely published political cartoons. There are several possible reasons why the paper did not publish a cartoon response to the Phoenix Park murders. Perhaps the paper felt silence on this aspect of the murders was a cautious approach to a heated topic. More likely, the lack of cartoon on the Phoenix Park murders stems from the fact that the *Irish World* did not produce any

cartoons between 1881 and 1883, and as such, had neither the inclination nor resources to issue a cartoon depiction of the assassinations. Still, at a moment when most British, American and Irish publications offered comment on the incident in cartoon form, the lack of a cartoon from the *Irish World* seems significant enough to note.

Ultimately, cartoons published in Irish and Irish-American papers had a common theme in their depiction of the Phoenix Park murders. Each cartoon sought to convey that Irishmen also suffered and grieved over the tragedy to the same degree or even more than did British or American audiences. An equally important second point in Irish cartoons was the insistence that Irish nationalist leaders did not advocate political violence in their quest for Irish independence. In Ireland, while *United Ireland* made a striking statement by omitting images and focusing on words to convey their sympathy and regret, *Pat* took a more traditional approach, highlighting the grief of all Irish people over the assassinations. On the other side of the Atlantic, the *Irish-American* vehemently rejected the idea that Ireland's nationalist goals could be achieved by violence. It is likely that these images were intended to reassure the Irish, as well as British and American, audiences that the Irish nationalist leadership played no part in the tragic event.   Irish cartoons also attempted to limit or forestall any political or military reactions from the British. These images provide an intriguing window through which we can examine Irish nationalist reactions to the Phoenix Park murders.

IV

In the month following the tragic events of May 6, 1882, British, American and Irish newspapers published a wide variety of political cartoons depicting and reacting to the deaths of Cavendish and Burke. Most British cartoons emphasized the emotional devastation of the assassinations and highlighted the monstrous nature of Irish nationalists, without necessarily painting all Irishmen as violent thugs. American depictions focused on lamenting the damage to any peaceful compromises between Irish nationalists and the British government, and looked to place some of the blame on the shoulders of Irish leaders like Parnell, who could not keep nationalist violence in check. In contrast, Irish produced cartoons, both in Ireland and the United States, stressed both the sorrow many Irishmen felt on the occasion, and also emphasized that violence was not a component of nationalist strategies for Irish independence. By examining these cartoons we gain increased insight into the aftermath and reactions to the Phoenix Park murders, and are able to better explore a moment in Irish nationalist history that touched numerous people on both sides of the Atlantic. First, the reactions by the British, American and Irish cartoonists on the Phoenix Park Murders reflected their overall attitudes toward Irish nationalism, in spite of the additional horror expressed towards the assassinations of Cavendish and Burke. Finally, these images highlight the fact that the movement for Irish independence itself was a transnational movement. Whether in Ireland or the United States, the Irish community supported Irish nationalism and were bonded together by that struggle.

Chapter 6: “Tammany Bridget” or “The Proud Beauty?” Conflicting Images of Irish Women in Political Cartoons

Figures 6.1 and 6.2: Frederick Opper, “The Tammany Bridget Re-Engaged”, in *Puck*, November 11, 1882. Library of Congress. J. D. Reigh, “The Proud Beauty”, in *United Ireland*, May 17, 1884. British Library.

The characters of Bridget and Erin in the above cartoons offer a glimpse of the divergent representations of Irish women from both sides of the Atlantic in the later half of the nineteenth-century. On the left, the slovenly domestic servant Bridget cares as little for her appearance as she does for the home she is in charge of cleaning, and has a subversive political agenda to boot. To the right of Bridget is fair Erin, the charming ingénue whose qualities of virtue, pride, and beauty suggest the best traits of Irish womanhood. Unsurprisingly, the Bridget image appeared largely in mainstream American humor journals, which profited from playing on popular disdain of Irish

domestic servants. It is equally unsurprising that the Erin figure appears in Irish and Irish-American publications where the celebration of an Irish woman's best qualities went hand in hand with the publications' larger aims of Irish independence. While political agendas sat at the heart of American, Irish, and Irish-American cartoons of Irish women, many of these images also touched upon social themes. In particular, the Victorian standards of appropriate behavior for women were a feature in nearly every cartoon of Irish women from the period. In many ways, the debate over Irish women's class and "respectability" intertwined with the political difficulties of Irish nationalism. Thus, the wide range of images depicting Irish women on both sides of the Atlantic in the 1880's highlights the complexity of gender roles in the late nineteenth-century Irish nationalist movement.

I

Generally, the scholarship regarding the Irish in political cartoons is small, but there have been a few important works on Irish women in political cartoons. In particular, Maureen Murphy and Joel A. Hollander each examine the Irish female image in political cartoons, but do so with two widely different perspectives of nineteenth-century Irish womanhood. Murphy explores the image of the "Irish servant girl" in the American humor journal *Puck* during the 1880s.[1] Setting the context for her study, Murphy notes that Joseph Keppler, Frederick Opper and fifteen other (non-Irish)

[1] Maureen Murphy, "Bridget and Biddy: Images of the Irish Servant Girl in *Puck* Cartoons, 1880-1890," in Charles Fanning, ed. *New Perspectives on the Irish Diaspora*, (Carbondale, Il: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000).

cartoonists for *Puck* created 130 different depictions of the Irish servant girl in the decade. Murphy argues that the images of Irish domestic servants in *Puck* show the progression of Irish social assimilation in the 1880s. Focusing her discussion on the two dominant forms that Irish women took in *Puck's* cartoons, the caricatures of Bridget and Biddy, she explains: "Cartoons exploiting negative stereotypes about Irish domestic servants focus on both Bridget, a young housemaid or children's maid, whose foibles usually come in for mild ridicule, and an older Biddy, almost always a cook, who is the target of more pointed mockery".[2] Murphy contends that it was the more biting images of Irish domestic servants, such as the Biddy figure, that reflected American fears of Irish social mobility.

While her main focus is on Irish female stereotypes in *Puck* as a window on Anglo-American fears of Irish social assimilation, she also indicates Irish-American women had an opportunity to participate in the transnational Irish nationalist movement. Utilizing a Frederick Opper cartoon published in 1885, Murphy argues that these Irish domestic servants had full control over the money they earned in the United States, and used it to support the nationalist cause in Ireland.[3] The cartoon suggests Irish-American women played a more active role in the Irish nationalist movement than has been previously argued. Moreover, it also reinforces Murphy's contention that Anglo-Americans feared Irish-American economic and social assimilation by underscoring the threat that resulted from giving Irish women the "power of the purse." Murphy's

[2] Ibid., 158.

[3] Ibid., 171. Frederick Opper, "Another Blind for the Biddies – The Dynamiters' New Device," in *Puck*, March 18, 1885. For more on this image please see Figure 6.8.

discussion of cartoons depicting Irish-American women's financial participation in the nationalist movement offers intriguing insights for scholars of Irish women, and highlights an area that has been previously little explored.

Whereas Murphy mentioned that Irish-American women's support of the nationalist movement was a subject of Anglo-American political cartoons, Joel Hollander makes the figure of Irish women in nationalist cartoons the central theme of his work. In his essay "Beauty and the Beast," Hollander explores the various images of women in Irish publications during the 1880s and 1890s and the meaning behind these representations.[4] He argues that Irish publications utilized a wide array of female forms to underscore their nationalist message in this period. A particularly important aspect of Hollander's study is that he utilizes cartoons from Irish papers, making him one of very few scholars to have done so. Thus, he is able to explore the way in which Irishmen actively employed certain images of women to promote their cause.[5] Hollander's examination focuses on the wide range of representations of women in these Irish political cartoons from the 1880s. One of these figures is "Erin", an allegorical figure who is a beautiful woman and whose representation ranges from naïve ingénue to stalwart protector of the Irish people and Irish values. He asserts that this highly feminized and romantic figure of Erin played into one particular aspect of Irish nationalism, the desire for domestic comfort and harmony in the aftermath of British rule in Ireland.

[4] Joel A. Hollander, "'Beauty and the Beast': Depiction of Irish Female Types During the Era of Parnell, 1880-1891", in Lawrence W. McBride ed., *Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999).

[5] Ibid., 53.

In a counterpoint to the allegorical figure of Erin, Hollander notes that Irish women were also depicted more realistically by nationalist cartoonists. The prime example of this is an 1881 *United Ireland* cartoon, which used realistic-looking women to convey a nationalist message. Hollander notes, "Capitalizing on their unassuming appearance, Reigh [John D. Reigh, the cartoonist] signals that the League members are patriots willing to fight Dublin Castle's coercive measures by defending the right of assembly and speech".[6] Unfortunately these representations of Irish women as realistic-looking champions of Irish nationalism were few, as Hollander's essay demonstrates. In the end, Hollander's efforts, along with Murphy's, are important contributions to understanding how representations of Irish women in political cartoons provide a better understanding of the realities and roles of nineteenth-century Irish women and the way gender characteristics played into the overall depiction of Irish nationalism.

Scholarship examining the real and symbolic roles of Irish women during the later half of the nineteenth century has opened up several interesting areas of exploration on women and the Irish nationalist movement. By adding the medium of political cartoons into the mix, scholars have the opportunity to investigate these themes in new and intriguing ways, as the research of Maureen Murphy and Joel A. Hollander has already shown. Murphy's examination of the figures "Biddy" and "Bridget" show the level of fear that many Anglo-Americans felt at the possibility of Irish-American women's on-going contribution to Irish causes. Though insightful, her discussion nevertheless lacks a comprehensive look at the place of Irish nationalism in cartoons of Irish-American

[6] Ibid., 61. J. D. Reigh, "More and More Puzzled," in *United Ireland,* December 17, 1881. This cartoon is discussed in Figure 6.18.

women. Likewise, Hollander's exploration of the female figure in Irish political cartoons presents new insights into the role and place of gender characteristics within the Irish nationalist movement during the late nineteenth-century. Yet Hollander fails to explore the social implications found in the various forms women take in Irish cartoons. Thus, this chapter builds upon their work by examining cartoons of the American Irish domestic servant with Irish-produced cartoons depicting women in several forms as they represented the Irish nationalist struggle. In doing so, this chapter will not only address the material left unexplored by Murphy and Hollander, but also unite the communities of Irish women in both the new world and old world as they were depicted in political cartoons.

II

In most cases during the late nineteenth-century Irish women were depicted in one of two ways depending on the publications' nationality. For Anglo-American publications, the figure of "Bridget" emphasized Irish-Americans' lower class status in American society. In the case of Irish and Irish-American cartoons, the image of "Erin" represented the best of Irish qualities and characteristics that justified Irish struggles for independence from Great Britain. It is important to note, however, that there were occasional anomalies or exceptions to these two approaches of depicting Irish women in the 1880s.

One example of this exception comes from a Belfast humor journal, with a political agenda diametrically opposed to Irish nationalism. The Unionist paper, *Blarney*,

looked to the figure of Erin for its message of Irish unity with Great Britain. As this chapter will show, the figure of Erin often exuded characteristics associated with Victorian ideals of womanhood, such as gentility, humility, and elegance. Irish and Irish-American cartoonists utilized these traits to convey and justify Irish nationalism in the period. Thus, this depiction of Erin as a friend and promoter of Ireland's continued connection with Great Britain directly contradicts the way Irish nationalists used the image of Erin, for their political ends.

In the cartoon, titled "Unity – As It Should Be," Erin joins hands with Britannia, the allegorical figure for Great Britain, in a sign of unity between the two.[7] (Figure 6.3) On the left, Erin wears a Roman toga draped with a cape, while holding onto a harp with her right hand. Britannia stands to the right of Erin while wearing a similar toga, and holding a trident in her left hand, with a lion standing at her feet. With these traditional national symbols surrounding both women, they are symbolically united by the holding of hands as well as by the flag placed directly between them. The flag is comprised of the Union Jack, with a superimposed image of an Irish harp with the British crown placed directly above. Completing the message and framing both Erin and Britannia is the phrase "Unity is Strength." Together, these images and symbols are intended to emphasize the power and opportunities available to Ireland by remaining a part of Great Britain. By presenting a positive image of Erin, the artist hoped to persuade Irishmen that they would be a respected partner in the multi-national United Kingdom.

[7] W.H.G., "Unity- As It Should Be", in *Blarney*, June 5, 1886. British Library.

Figure 6.3: W.H.G., "Unity – As It Should Be", in *Blarney*, June 5, 1886. British Library.

This depiction of Erin illustrates the way political cartoons could use similar images for different purposes. The Erin of *Blarney* has the same qualities and characteristics of beauty, grace, and virtue as the Erin seen in *United Ireland* and *Irish-American* later in this chapter. Thus, what makes Erin a very different figure in this cartoon, a figure that Irish nationalists would hardly recognize, is the way these qualities were put to use by *Blarney's* cartoonist. By pressing Erin into the service of Irish

Unionists who favored maintaining ties with Great Britain, she became a contested figure who was used by all sides to further political agendas.

Like nationalist papers in Ireland, Irish-American nationalist papers also saw Erin as Britain's antagonist in the nationalist struggles of the 1880s. The New York newspaper *Irish World* published a cartoon in 1887 titled "Ireland Blocks The Way," in which Erin actively opposes the will of Britannia.[8] (Figure 6.4) Standing on the far left hand side of the image, this is a very different Erin from the beautiful and innocent young girl of many Irish nationalist cartoons. This Erin wears battle armor over her toga, and carries a battle ax in her right hand. Her left hand is raised, gesturing Britannia to stop, while the expression on her face is decidedly determined and aggressive. Standing in front of Erin are a pair of lions hitched to a chariot pulling the figure of Britannia, who is also wearing armor over her toga. She holds a scepter in one hand, while a shield depicting the Union Jack is at her side. Most intriguing is the expression on Britannia's face. Far from the proud and haughty expression normally given to her, this Britannia is genuinely concerned, even intimidated, by the figure of Erin before her. Perhaps Britannia is nervous due to the bodies lying trampled underneath her chariot, and the fact that this trail of bodies extends into the background along the length of the image itself, symbolizing the many peoples killed or conquered by the British Empire. In contrast to these conquered people Erin takes a stand against the power and might of Great Britain. The cartoon's caption does not touch on the abuses of the British Empire as a whole; rather it admonishes Parliament for spending too much time changing its procedures to

[8] L. N. Pubser, "Ireland Blocks the Way", in *Irish World*, July 16, 1887. New York Public Library.

shut out its Irish members, at the expense of actually governing the empire. Consequently, Erin's stand against Britannia accomplishes what Parliament or the colonies could not -- namely stopping the British Empire in its tracks and forcing the government to account for its actions.

Figure 6.4: L. N. Pubser, "Ireland Blocks The Way", in *Irish World*, July 16, 1887. New York Public Library.

Practically no other image of Erin depicts her with such strength and vigor. Indeed, no other Erin, even in Irish nationalist cartoons, stood up to Britannia with matching armor or threat of force. Her depiction as a strong, aggressive woman who is

unafraid of the British establishment makes an evocative statement on the perceived power of the Irish nationalist movement during this period. In large part this is because this Erin maintains the virtue that is found in the more conventional depictions of Erin. The aggression of this version of Erin is admirable, because it is in defense of Ireland and all those similarly oppressed by Great Britain. Yet, in spite of the positive meanings it inferred for the Irish nationalist movement, this portrayal of a forceful Erin was an unconventional depiction of Ireland's allegorical figure. As this chapter will show, Erin often displayed characteristics far more aligned with Victorian ideals of womanhood, such as modesty and refinement.

Like the figure of Erin in Irish political cartoons, the image of "Bridget" in Anglo-American cartoons displayed consistent characteristics throughout the 1880s. Those characteristics often depicted Bridget as a domestic servant in Anglo-American households. In addition to her lower class status in society, Bridget often exuded other negative characteristics such as laziness, stupidity and vulgarity. Yet, an occasional exception to this version of Bridget appeared in Anglo-American political cartoons. A cartoon published in *Life* in 1884 offers a more nuanced depiction of Irish womanhood than often seen in Anglo-American publications. Titled "Not to Be Bulldozed,"[9] (Figure 6.5) this image shows a stout Irish woman with the features often ascribed to an Irish cook, as she uses her large umbrella to push back two hooligans approaching her. Her attire plays a significant role in conveying the cartoon's message. This large and

[9] F. Attwood, "Not to Be Bulldozed", in *Life*, Jul 24, 1884. Library of Congress.

imposing Bridget is wearing a shamrock covered dress and is draped in a "Democratic Party" shawl, revealing both her ethnicity and political affiliations.

Figure 6.5: F. Attwood, "Not to Be Bulldozed", in *Life*, July 24, 1884. Library of Congress.

It is interesting and important to note that while she is not a young or attractive woman, the Bridget in this cartoon is not a fool to be taken lightly. This is echoed in the cartoon's caption which reads, "Well Done Old Girl." Though the statement is a bit patronizing, it also applauds the Irish community, as typified by this Irish woman, for sticking to its political principles in the face of intimidation. The men are likely representatives of the Republican Party, which reached out to the Irish-American community during the 1884 presidential election, stressing the Irish heritage of the

Republican nominee, James G. Blaine.[10] The thuggish attempts of the two men in the cartoon to force Bridget's support of their cause, as evidenced by the club dropping from one man's hand, reinforces the praise of the cartoon's caption. The cartoonist is proud of Bridget for sticking to her principles and her party.

The tone of praise and commendation for Bridget is intriguing for the many ways in which it defies conventional depictions of Irish-American women in Anglo-American political cartoons. First, this image of Bridget lacks many of the traits often given to Irish-American women by Anglo-American cartoonists. She is not engaged in domestic service in this scene, nor does she display characteristics such as laziness, conceit, and vulgarity often attributed to Irish-American women. Her actions are lauded, rather than denigrated, by the cartoonist, suggesting that the audience should find her actions admirable as well. At the same time, the cartoonist does not utilize the allegorical figure of Erin. As the traditional figure representing Ireland and Irish interests, she would be a logical choice to represent Irish political loyalties in the United States, and not unfamiliar to an Anglo-American audience. Perhaps the best explanation for this unique depiction of Bridget lies with her status as a woman, who is both tough yeandt noble in her actions. By making the defender of Irish-American political leanings a woman, the cartoonist removes any implications of violence or social confrontation that could be inferred from

[10] James G. Blaine was the Republican Party's nominee for President of the United States in 1884. His mother was a Roman Catholic, and his campaign attempted to reach out to the Irish-American population based upon this heritage. The Irish community in the United States had a decades-long affiliation with the Democratic Party, and viewed Blaine's overtures with suspicion. Blaine also had a reputation for corruption which tarnished his image, and he lost to Grover Cleveland, having only achieved a small amount of Irish-American support. The Presidential election of 1884 is outlined in the following work: Mark Wahalgren Summers, *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion: The Making of a President, 1884*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

a male figure acting as a guardian of Irish-Americans' allegiances to the Democratic Party. Not only is the concept of a woman fending off unwanted suitors more palatable to Anglo-American audiences, but this kind of Irish-American woman is also just the one for the job. She is strong and virtuous, quite different from the stereotypical Bridget found in most Anglo-American cartoons of the 1880s.

This anomalous version of Bridget, along with the exceptional images of Erin, offer important insights into the ways artists played upon conventional figures to highlight their viewpoints. It is important to note, however, that these depictions were exceptional and that the conventional images of Erin, in Irish and Irish-American publications, and Bridget, in Anglo-American publications, were the dominant forms of Irish womanhood used in political cartoons of the 1880s.

III

American humor journals of the 1880s found a consistent source of amusement and ridicule in the form of the Irish domestic servant. Journals such as *Puck, Judge,* and *Life* all published cartoon depictions of these women, offering up unflattering portraits of their education, manners, dress, speech and work habits to the American public. These cartoons depict Irish domestic servants as the complete opposite to the Victorian feminine ideals of grace, refinement and humility. Historians like Hasia Diner and Janet Nolan, focusing on the experiences of Irish women in America, have examined how domestic service was looked down upon by upper and middle-class Americans in the nineteenth century because it was associated with the lower classes and a lack of education. Anglo-

American reluctance to take domestic service jobs created an employment opportunity for newly arrived Irish immigrant women.[11] While Nolan and Diner disagree over the factors leading to Irish women's immigration to the United States, both observe that American biases against domestic service, combined with other prejudices against the Irish in this period, account for the ridicule thrown Irish women's way. The following cartoons highlight the elements of Irish women's personalities and work habits that struck Anglo-American cartoonists as most objectionable.

An early multiple-panel *Puck* cartoon perfectly captures the scorn and derision aimed at Irish domestic servants in the 1880s. Titled "Our Servant Girls," the cartoon by J. A. Wales shows seven different scenes that convey the "struggles" American middle and upper-class women faced when dealing with the Irish domestic servant.[12] (Figure 6.6) The various scenes in the cartoon offer the story of the Irish servant girl, from her first arrival in the United States through what Wales suggests as "The Remedy" for troublesome Irish servants.

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[11] Hasia Diner, *Erin's Daughter's in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century,"* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983). Janet A. Nolan, *Ourselves Alone: Women's Emigration from Ireland, 1885-1920*, (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1989).

[12] J. A. Wales, "Our Servant Girls", in *Puck*, January 28, 1880. Library of Congress.

Figure 6.6: J. A. Wales, “Our Servant Girls”, in *Puck*, January 28, 1880. Library of Congress.

The various scenes of the cartoon do not read in the traditional left to right configuration, but rather rotate in a circle. The first scene, located in the upper left hand corner, shows a potential servant girl, Katherine Callaghan, upon arrival to the United States, wearing tattered clothing, having a downtrodden expression, and offering a seemingly earnest and humble plea for work. Whatever sympathy this small image might elicit is quickly driven away by the panel directly beneath it, which shows a gaudily dressed "Kittie" O'Callaghan three years after her arrival, putting in for a new position with a "first class family." Worse still is the scene occupying the top right corner of the cartoon, which shows the Irish servant, Miss O'Shea, inspecting potential American mistresses and then summarily dismissing them all as not living up to her standards. Again, garishly dressed in comparison to the respectable middle and upper class women who will eventually employ her, Miss O'Shea represents the arrogance of domestic servants who feel that they are the ones in charge. The scene directly below echoes this sentiment, with a perspective mistress offering her resumé to the domestic servant for her inspection.

Finally, the last outrage perpetuated by Irish domestic servants upon their mistresses and families is found in the center image of the cartoon, indicating it's central importance to the cartoon's overall theme. In this scene, the mistress of the household pleads on her hands and knees to the Irish cook, with the rest of the family looking on from the dining room, to forgive her for calling the cook "Biddy" and to serve dinner to the hungry family. Wales offers a suggestion to "remedy" this situation, which slyly suggests that the problems of servant girls do not lie solely with the Irish women. The

scene in the bottom right hand corner of the cartoon shows middle and upper class women attending cooking school, thereby eliminating the need for servants, especially pushy Irish domestics. It is a biting commentary that broadens our understanding of the position Irish women held as domestics in American households.

Class relations play a prominent role in this cartoon, as Wales depicts Anglo-American anxieties about the lack of deference shown by their Irish-American servants. This is demonstrated clearly by Wales in the figure of the servant girl "Kittie O'Callaghan." She is putting on airs and feels little loyalty to the family that originally rescued her from her impoverished position. Likewise, there is no clearer example of who holds the power in the servant/mistress relationship than the scene in which "Biddy" refuses to cook for the hungry family. The Anglo-Saxon Protestants expected that their Irish Catholic servants would "know their place." The scenes in this cartoon depict Anglo-American fears that Irish women, by force of their natural personalities coupled with American luxuries and niceties would take advantage of the situation and dominate the mistress/servant relationship, thus inverting the supposed "natural" class positions of Anglo-Saxons and the Irish. Finally, there is one other message found in Wales' cartoon. His final scene suggests a sweeping condemnation against women's housework as a whole, arguing that upper and middle class could solve their "servant problems" by doing "women's work" themselves.

Echoing the previous cartoon (Figure 6.6), the following two cartoons, one from an 1884 edition of *Puck* and the other from an 1888 edition of *Life*, each offer a glimpse into the homes where Irish women ran roughshod over the mistresses who employed

them. Frederick Opper's cartoon in an 1884 edition of *Puck*, similar to Wales' cartoon four years earlier (Figure 6.6), reveals two different types of Irish domesticity to the audience.[13] (Figure 6.7) On the left hand side of the cartoon is what was assumed to be a typical Irish scene; an Irish woman stands at the door of her run down cottage, watching as the landlord approaches to evict her, along with her ailing mother, her sickly child, and even their famished pig. This Irish woman, barefoot and dressed in rags, is clearly impoverished, and could be an object of sympathy for the cartoon's audience.

Figure 6.7: Frederick Opper, "Our Self-Made 'Cooks' – From Paupers to Potentates", in *Puck*, Februar 6, 1888. Library of Congress.

[13] Frederick Opper, "Our Self-Made 'Cooks' - From Paupers to Potentates", in *Puck*, February 6, 1888. Library of Congress.

Yet, the next scene offers a different and much less sympathetic portrayal of Irish womanhood. Once again the Irish woman takes center stage in this scene, but this time she has an entirely different attire and demeanor, thanks to the transformation that occurs from the very process of immigrating. As the cook for a middle or upper class family, this Irish woman appears more interested in fashion magazines and visiting with the Irish policeman who has come to call, than in preparing the family's meal. She has even posted a picture of the Pope on the kitchen's wall. Indeed, when the mistress of the household comes into the kitchen, this domestic servant shouts at her to get out, essentially "evicting" the mistress from her own kitchen. There is no better example that expresses the fears Anglo-Americans had concerning the impact of lower class Irish Catholics on upper and middle class Protestant Anglo-Americans.

The cartoon's captions echo the images, with the left hand panel reading "They Are Evicted in the Old Country," while the right hand scene reads "But in America, They Do All the Evicting Themselves."[14] The caption plays on the word "eviction," a particularly sensitive word for the Irish whose experience with evictions from their lands in Ireland formed the heart of the nationalist movement. In addition to this play on the dual meanings of the word "evictions" is a more nuanced message on class differences found in the cartoon's styling. One of the most important themes in nearly all the depictions of Irish domestic servants from the period is the garishness of their dress. For Opper and other cartoonists, it was an easy and telling way to symbolize Irish women's lack of the Victorian ideals of grace, dignity, humility, and common sense. Moreover, it

[14] Ibid.

highlighted the implication that Irish women (and perhaps Irish men) forgot their place in the New World, and put on airs in the most obvious and garish of ways. By doing so, it appeared the Irish-Americans assumed the status of equals with their genteel, educated middle and upper class employers. The tackiness of Irish fashions is on full display in this cartoon, with the exuberant pattern of the Irish woman's dress, stockings and shoes, and most elaborate and "fashionable" way of wearing her hair. Presented in sharp contrast to the respectably attired mistress, dressed all in black with minimal accessories and a modest hairdo, the Irish woman looks like a fool, and clearly acts like one as well.

Dress and fashion also play a role in Albert Sterner's 1888 *Life* cartoon. His examination of "The Powers That Be" again highlights the relationship between the Irish domestic servant and her mistress, and probes where the true power lies in that relationship.[15] (Figure 6.8) In this cartoon, the mistress of the household lies prone on the sofa, dressed in a modest black gown, looking weak and ill. She is speaking with her Irish maid, telling her, "Bridget, I wish you wouldn't go out this afternoon. I am not feeling very well." The servant, Bridget, who is fashionably dressed in the latest frock and hat has her back to the audience and responds, "Faith, but that's a cuare rayson [queer reason]! I'm well enough myself, ain't I?" Once again, the inverted power relationship between mistress and servant is on display. The Irish domestic who appears ready to go out for the afternoon, even against her mistress' wishes, clearly has the advantage.

[15] Albert Sterner, "The Powers That Be", in *Life*, September 20, 1888. Library of Congress.

Figure 6.8: Albert E. Sterner, "The Powers that Be", in *Life*, September 20, 1888. Library of Congress.

The exchange between mistress and servant also emphasizes the lack of education and manners in the character of Bridget; she has a typically Irish speech pattern that reveals her lack of breeding and it is evident that no exposure to her better educated mistress will correct this issue. Finally, the cartoon asserts that Irish domestic servants thought first of their own needs, wants, and desires over and above the duties and responsibilities they had in service to the families employing them. Once again, Irish servants do not "know their place'" and trample over the boundaries between the lower

and upper classes. It should be noted, however, that the indictment against Irish women is not nearly as severe in Figure 6.8, as it is in Figure 6.7. While the Irish servant in the *Life* cartoon does not recognize her place, she is not as domineering and threatening as the cook in the *Puck* cartoon. Not only do these depictions of Irish domestic servants serve as an indictment against Irish women, they appear by extension as a comment on the nature of all Irishmen, painting them as lazy, selfish and uneducated ingrates who take advantage of their new home in the United States, but give back nothing, not even gratitude.

Nineteenth-century Anglo-American cartoonists also noted that Irish women had interests outside of the homes in which they served. The intensifying struggles of the Irish nationalist movement during the 1880s prompted the following two cartoon depictions of Irish woman doing their part for the cause of Irish independence from the other side of the Atlantic. In fact, the two cartoons, though published in different journals, are eerily similar in the ways they envision Irish women becoming involved in the nationalist cause. As with all the previous depictions of Irish women in the United States, these cartoons underscore the lack of education and worldly experience of Irish women, and show them to be a people who can be easily deceived into participating in Irish political causes. Moreover, these images depict Irish-American women as having full control over the money they earn, highlighting an Anglo-American fear of both feminine independence and a lack of commitment to American values and political objectives.

In the cartoon below, Frederick Opper of *Puck* again takes aim at Irish "Biddies," this time for contributing funds to the Irish nationalist movement, which ended up using the money to fund campaigns of violence and terror in the name of Irish independence. Opper sketches a long line of Irish women who are eagerly offering up their money to be put in a deceptive machine.[16] (Figure 6.9)

Figure 6.9: Frederick Opper, "Another Blind for the Biddies – The Dynamiters' New Device", in *Puck*, March 18, 1885. Library of Congress.

The machine features a dummy dressed in Islamic clothing, with the machine itself reading "The Mahdi Bank – Receptacle for Mahdi-Pence." While Mahdi is an Islamic term that means "redeemer" and applies to many different men and movements

[16] Frederick Opper, "Another Blind for the Biddies – The Dynamiters' New Device", in *Puck*, March 18, 1885. Library of Congress. This cartoon was also examined by Maureen Murphy in her article "Bridget and Biddy". She offers her own analysis of the image on pages 171-72, which differ somewhat from my own interpretation.

throughout history, in 1885 it applied specifically to a Sudanese group dedicated to overthrowing the British imperial presence in Sudan. A sign above the machine further explains why Irish women lined up to give their money to a cause seemingly unrelated to Irish independence. The sign reads "Aid for the Mahdi! Subscriptions wanted for an Irish Regiment to Crush the British!" The implication is that strengthening the Mahdis in Sudan through financial contributions would also aid the Irish nationalist cause. By redirecting British attention away from Ireland and offering Irishmen the chance to actively participate in *any* fight against the Great Britain. Unseen by the long line of Irish women ready to donate to the Mahdi cause is the figure lurking on the other side of a door, directly behind the Mahdi machine. Though unidentified by the cartoonist, he represents the Irish nationalist leader Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, who spearheaded violent acts against British rule by Irish nationalists between 1883 and 1886. Thus, the cartoon's implication is that the "Mahdi Bank" is merely a ruse by O'Donovan Rossa to get more money out of Irish Americans for his dynamite campaigns.

As noted previously, Maureen Murphy examines this image, arguing that the central idea is that Irish women had control over their own money, separate from men or their employers, and consequently, that their financial contributions were essential to the nationalist movement.[17] While this argument has merit, it fails to account for the more pointed message in Opper's cartoon, which is that these Irish women were duped into giving their money to this cause. This message that Irish women were tricked has interesting implications for scholars. It suggests that these women were not smart enough

[17] Murphy, 171.

to pick up on the ruse before them. Moreover, the cartoon implies that women with money are empowered and a threat to the whole social order. The fact that they are so easily duped makes them even more dangerous to Anglo-Americans who worried about such a large, empowered, volatile and ignorant group in their midst.

Three years after the above *Puck* cartoon, *Judge* published a startlingly similar cartoon depicting Irish-American women freely giving their money to the Irish nationalist cause, though once again unaware of its ultimate destination.[18] (Figure 6.10) Instead of a "Mahdi Bank" as the front for collecting Irish-American women's money, the machine in this image uses an "Irish Agitator" dummy to collect from the "servant girls." As with Opper's cartoon, a long line of Irish-American women eagerly await their turn to deposit money into the machine, which encourages people to "Put Your Money in the Slot and the Figure Will Work its Jaw!" Just below the dummy itself is a sign reading "It Takes Money to Make This Figure Go." Though the cartoonist does not hint at the ultimate destination of these funds, the fact that the dummy is an "Irish Agitator" combined with the cartoon's caption, leads the audience to understand that these funds were solicited and used by Irish nationalists. The cartoon's caption makes clear the connection: "The Irish Home Rule Agitators are out of funds, and have resolved to appeal again to America for financial support."[19]

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[18] I. Victor, "Another Assessment on our Servant Girls", in *Judge*, March 10, 1888. Library of Congress.

[19] Ibid.

Figure 6.10: I. Victor, "Another Assessment on our Servant Girls", in *Judge,* March 10, 1888. Library of Congress.

Implicit in both cartoon and caption was the idea that Irish nationalist leaders were not directly appealing to the American Irish for funds, but instead used duplicity, such as in the form of the "Irish Agitator" dummy, to secure funds from otherwise unsuspecting Irish women.[20] The dummy, using words that are not his own, illustrates the difference between rational Anglo-American political speech, and the political speech from Irishmen, that only serves to "agitate" without retaining any blame for its true origins. Unlike Opper's cartoon with its similar implications and structure, this cartoon from *Judge* does not suggest that these Irish women were actively seeking to support Irish nationalism in any form. Rather, these simple women fell prey to the machinations of an unseen Irish nationalist movement, which sought to take the money they earned in the United States and spirit it to a far away land, for a cause in which they have little interest. Again, this cartoon highlights the danger of women empowered by money, and Irish women in particular whose lower class status makes them even more of a threat by their lack of education and sophistication.

Overall, the majority of cartoons depicting Irish women in the United States presented women who were lazy, domineering, ungrateful, unfashionable and unwitting participants in political acts. The speech, dress and behaviors of these women, coupled with their lowly status as domestics for middle and upper class American families, inspired an enormous amount of ridicule from American humor journals. The very nature of Irish-American domestic servants appeared to be a threat to Anglo-Saxon Victorian ideals, as demonstrated by the political cartoons deriding them. The character

[20] The "Irish agitator" dummy also harkens back to the use of the word "demagogue" in cartoons on Charles Parnell, discussed in Chapter Two.

of "Bridget" not only represented the worst characteristics of Irish women as Americans viewed them but also the Irish community as a whole.

IV

Like the stereotyped American image of Irish women as the lazy domestic servant Bridget, the allegorical figure of "Erin" was also ever-present in Irish cartoons on both sides of the Atlantic in the 1880s. Erin had a number of important qualities as a symbolic figure for all of Ireland. She was often quite young, but very beautiful, and she certainly endured many indignities in the various situations she faced. Erin's embodiment of the Victorian ideals of dignity, grace and determination made her an ideal figure for symbolizing an Ireland engaged in a difficult struggle for independence, and her image was frequently used by nationalist publications to counterbalance more damaging portrayals of a violent and thuggish Ireland in British and American publications. The figure of Erin plays on a tradition of the celebrated allegorical female, which has been explored by historian Mary P. Ryan.[21] She notes that by the mid-nineteenth century, two female allegorical figures (Liberty and Columbia) represented Anglo-American values. At the same time, Ryan argues that the figure of Erin became an important figure in Irish-American self-definition. She asserts that, "[Liberty] metamorphosed into the Maid of Erin, for example, the female allegory evoked ethnic diversity, not an abstract and unifying political ideology."[22] Ryan asserts that ethnic groups, like the Irish, could use

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[21] Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880,* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1990).

[22] Ibid., 35.

female allegorical forms to assert a positive identity that all could relate to, regardless of gender. Ultimately, Ryan argues that the figure of Erin played an important role in uniting the Irish community in the United States and aided in maintaining Irish ties to the homeland.

In addition to the ways Erin evolved as an Irish figure, it is also important to note that "Erin" was the Irish name given to Ireland's allegorical figure. British and Anglo-American publications often gave Ireland's allegorical figure the name "Hibernia," referring to the Roman name for Ireland. While the name Hibernia may have appealed to the neo-classical sensibilities of Britons and Anglo-Americans, Erin, for the Irish, was a preferable term than the one assigned by an early colonizer of Ireland. Thus, for the Irish on both sides of the Atlantic, Erin (not Hibernia) was prominently featured in their publications, representing the ultimate hopes, dreams and aspirations of Ireland.

An interesting cartoon using the figure of Erin from this period was actually published in several different editions of New York's *Irish American*. The first occurred in May 1883 with the cartoon "More Than He Reckoned For".[23] (Figure 6.11) In the cartoon, Erin confronts a shocked John Bull (a popular allegorical figure for England) with the news that at the Land League conference in Philadelphia more than ten million Irishman in America united for the cause of Irish independence. Wearing simple and humble Irish clothes, and a sash that identifies her as "Erin", she waves a scarf at John Bull while also holding up a sign informing him of this meeting. John Bull, often depicted as a portly man dressed in the manner of the landed elite, is clearly unnerved by

[23] Unknown, "More Than He Reckoned For", in *Irish American*, May 5, 1883. Library of Congress.

Erin and the information she unveils to him. Of the two figures, Erin appears to have the calm confidence of power, while John Bull cannot hide his horror at the news that Irishman in America have united for such a cause.

Figure 6.11: Unknown, “More Than He Reckoned For”, in *Irish American*, May 5, 1883. Library of Congress.

In addition to the drawn image of a cool and poised Erin, the caption accompanying the cartoon underscores that Erin is a figure not intimidated by the mighty John Bull. Erin tells him, “It is time you opened your eyes, Mr. Bull. The Irish people at home and abroad will no longer do your work by quarreling among themselves. They understand the value of unity at last, and will stick to that policy till they get rid of you

and your rule, as the Americans did. We demand National Independence; and we will have it".[24] Erin's confidence in and support of the Irish nationalist movement, coupled with her depiction, showcasing the important Victorian ideals of youth, beauty and respectability, suggested that she had the power to fell the blustering, bullying John Bull and the impositions of the British government. Consequently, not only is Erin a respectable figure, she makes the cause of Irish nationalism respectable as well.

This was not the only occasion in which the *Irish-American* used the figure of Erin to promote Irish nationalism. Indeed, in this next cartoon, Erin not only promotes an independent Ireland, but also stresses the importance of a united Ireland. Titled "Exorcising a 'Peist' [Pest]," the cartoon features Erin holding onto the figure "Ulster" with her left arm, while in her right arm she carries the flag "Nationality."[25] (Figure 6.12) In front of both women is the fire-breathing dragon, "Orangeism," who spouts "Blood," "Civil War," "Coercion," and "Religious Hate" with each breath. A caption accompanies the cartoon, with Ulster expressing gratitude for being back within the presence of "Mother Erin." Erin replies, "Welcome to my heart, beloved Daughter. As for this beast, we shall soon get rid of him. He is not half so formidable as he appears, for there is more of the donkey than the dragon in him."[26]

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Unknown, "Exorcising a 'Peist'," in *Irish-American,* December 2, 1883. Library of Congress.

[26] Ibid.

Figure 6.12: Unknown, "Exorcising a 'Peist'," in *Irish-American*, December 2, 1883. Library of Congress.

The "Orangeism" dragon threatening Erin and Ulster represents the Anglo-Protestant "Orangemen" residing in the Ulster region of Ireland's north, who sought to preserve Ireland's union with Great Britain. For Irish nationalists, the actions of Orangemen threatened both the cause of Irish independence and the unity of Ireland itself. As this cartoon demonstrates, Erin was not only fighting against the British government, but also against those within the Irish region of Ulster who threatened to

divide Ireland with "Civil War and "Religious Hate." In order to respond to this threat, Erin offers protection and guidance to the figure of "Ulster," who represents the Catholic Irish of the Ulster region seeking to join Erin under the banner of Irish "Nationality." Thus, Erin, ever graceful and dignified in her demeanor, acts as the defender of both Irish nationalism and Irish unity in the face of this "Orangeism" threat.

American Irish publications were not the only ones portraying Erin as a beautiful young woman who embodied the hopes of all Irishmen. In a cartoon from the Dublin humor journal, *Pat*, the artist depicts Erin turning down the "generous" offer by British Prime Minister William Gladstone to assist Irishmen in immigrating to British colonies.[27] (Figure 6.13) Standing in the right hand corner of the cartoon, Erin appears to be summarily dismissing the boatman Gladstone to her right, while holding a check for £100,000 "from America" in her left hand. Erin's dress is a simple -- a Grecian tunic with a wreath of shamrocks in her hair, a neo-classical image found in many other Irish cartoons of her. Again, as with previous cartoons, Erin stands strong in the face of British authority, even if that authority figure is wearing a child-like sailor's suit. Aiding Erin in her quest to stand firm for Ireland is the check from "America", giving her the funds to fight off encroaching landlords who were attempting to evict their tenants.

[27] Unknown, "There's No Place Like Home", in *Pat*, July 23, 1881. British Library.

Figure 6.13: Unknown, "There's No Place Like Home", in *Pat*, July 23, 1881. British Library.

It is interesting to note the Irish perception of an open and welcoming America who eagerly invites Irishmen to come to the United States. This certainly is a startling contrast to the depictions and views of Irishmen in American political cartoons from the

period, as seen above. At the very least, it suggests that Irishmen held out hope that they would receive support (emotional, financial, or even military) from the United States in their quest for independence.

The theme of Erin receiving assistance from the United States continues in another cartoon from *Pat*, published in 1882. In this image, titled "Will *She* Have to Wait Long?," Erin waits outside of a "British Prison" where many Irish nationalists leaders, including Charles Parnell, are being held under the Coercion Acts.[28] (Figure 6.14) Erin, in a simple tunic and with tears in her eyes, hold in her hand "Proofs of Innocence" for the imprisoned Irish leaders. To her right is the figure of Columbia, the allegorical figure of the United States. Dressed in a red and white stripped tunic, with a blue cape draped around her, Columbia has several other symbols indicating her affiliation with the United States, namely a headdress and tomahawk associated with Native Americans. With a fierce and determined expression on her face, Columbia appears to be on the verge of breaking down the prison door. The cartoon's caption explains Erin's reliance on Columbia's aid: "Erin: Oh! Madame, there is no use in your knocking; they won't mind you. I am here these many months trying to get that door open, but they spurn me away. Columbia: Yes, I dare say; but I guess I have a different way of knocking from you."[29] As Columbia states, the United States may have had the ability to aid Irish nationalist leaders imprisoned by the British government.

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[28] Unknown, "Will *She* Have to Wait Long?," in *Pat,* April 15, 1882. British Library.

[29] Ibid.

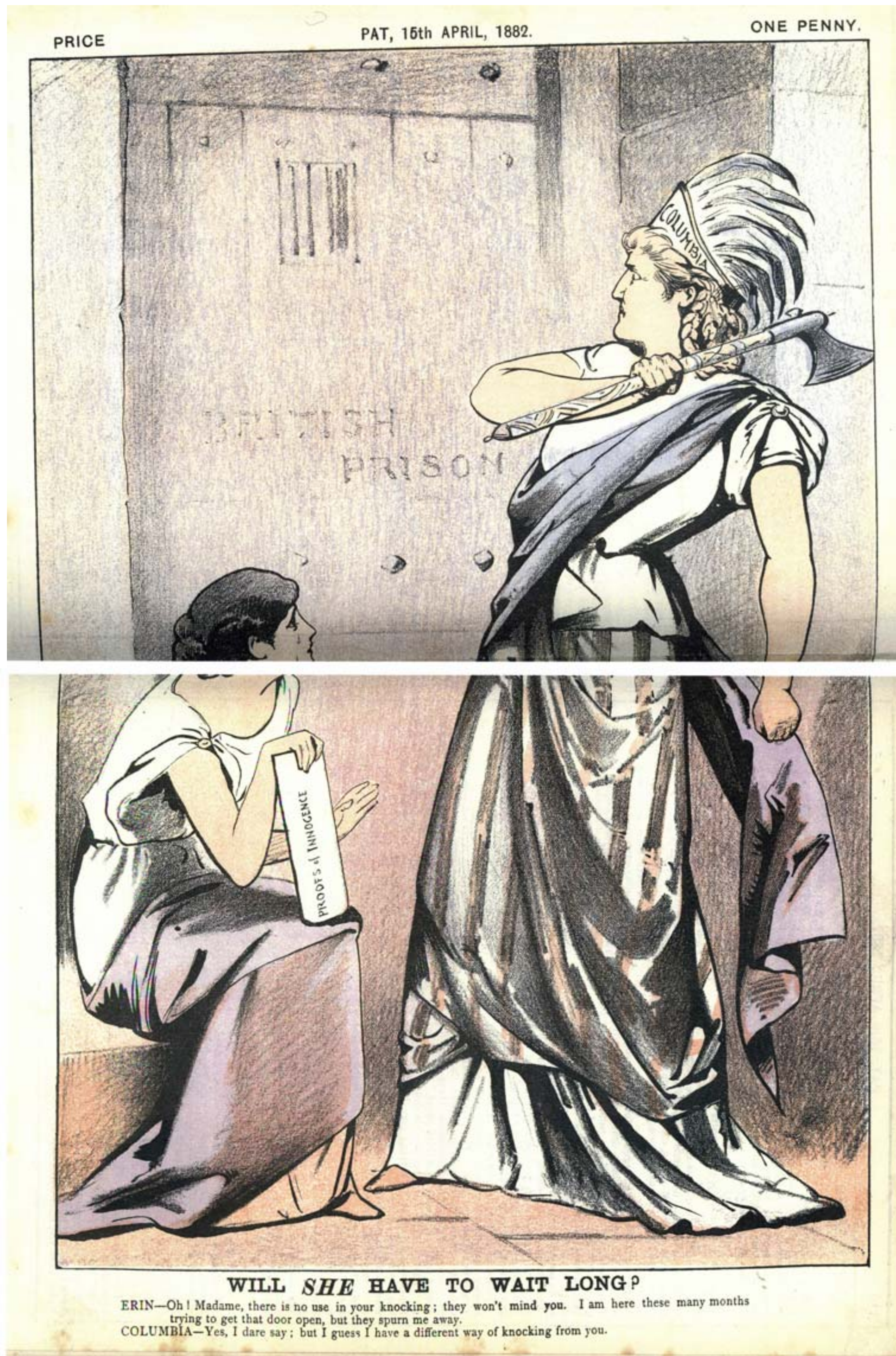

Figure 6.14: Unknown, "Will *She* Have to Wait Long?," in *Pat*, April 15, 1882. British Library.

Illustrating the power Americans had, and that the Irish currently did not, Columbia is clearly depicted as a middle-aged matron. Her status as an older female, and Erin's depiction as a younger, more innocent woman, showcased the power relationship between Americans and the Irish. Unfortunately for the Irish, as with the hopes expressed in the previous image (Figure 6.13) American support for Irish independence never materialized, and the cartoon instead reflected Irish expectations and assumptions that Anglo-Americans would actively support the Irish nationalist cause more than reality. Thus, Erin's demeanor and behavior in this image is not surprising in such a context. Conforming once again to Victorian ideals for women, Erin's simplicity and vulnerability were calculated on the artist's part in order to elicit sympathy to Anglo-Americans.

The allegorical figure of Erin played an important role in Irish and Irish-American political cartoons, as the embodiment of Irish hopes and dreams. By infusing her with Victorian ideals of womanhood, Erin's stance in defense of Irish nationalism became a virtuous and justified action. Moreover, the depiction of her as a respectable Victorian woman serves as a means of counteracting negative depictions of Irish-American women in Anglo-American cartoons. Yet Erin was not the only figure Irish and Irish-American cartoonists used to challenge Anglo-American depictions of Irish women. For a short period in the 1880s, Irish and Irish-American political cartoons also depicted real women actively supporting the Irish nationalist cause.

V

While the allegorical figure of Erin served as one way for Irish and Irish American political cartoonists to depict Irish women during the late nineteenth-century, another, more realistic portrayal of Irish women also emerged during the 1880s. More specifically, these realistic women all depicted some form of participation in the Irish nationalist movement. Scholars have explored the different ways in which Irish women participated in the movement during the nineteenth-century, and have found that gender did constrain women's efforts to be involved with Irish nationalism.[30] As historians like Margaret Ward and Jane McL Côté have demonstrated, Irish women attempted to actively participate in Irish nationalism, even going so far as to form their own organization in 1881, the Ladies Land League, led by the sisters of nationalist leader Charles Parnell. The organization was forced to disband in 1882 by male members of the Land League who found the actions of the Ladies Land League to be an interference with their own plans. Interestingly, Irish and Irish-American political cartoons from that period highlighted the activities of Irish women as dedicated and passionate leaders for Irish rights and the Irish people. In particular, there are several cartoons that focus on the contributions of the Ladies Land League in late 1881 and early 1882. These images highlighted the actions Irish women were willing to take, and the dangers they risked, in order to pursue the Irish nationalist cause.

[30] Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism*, (London: Pluto Press, 1983). Jane McL Côté, *Fanny and Anna Parnell: Ireland's Patriot Sisters,* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).

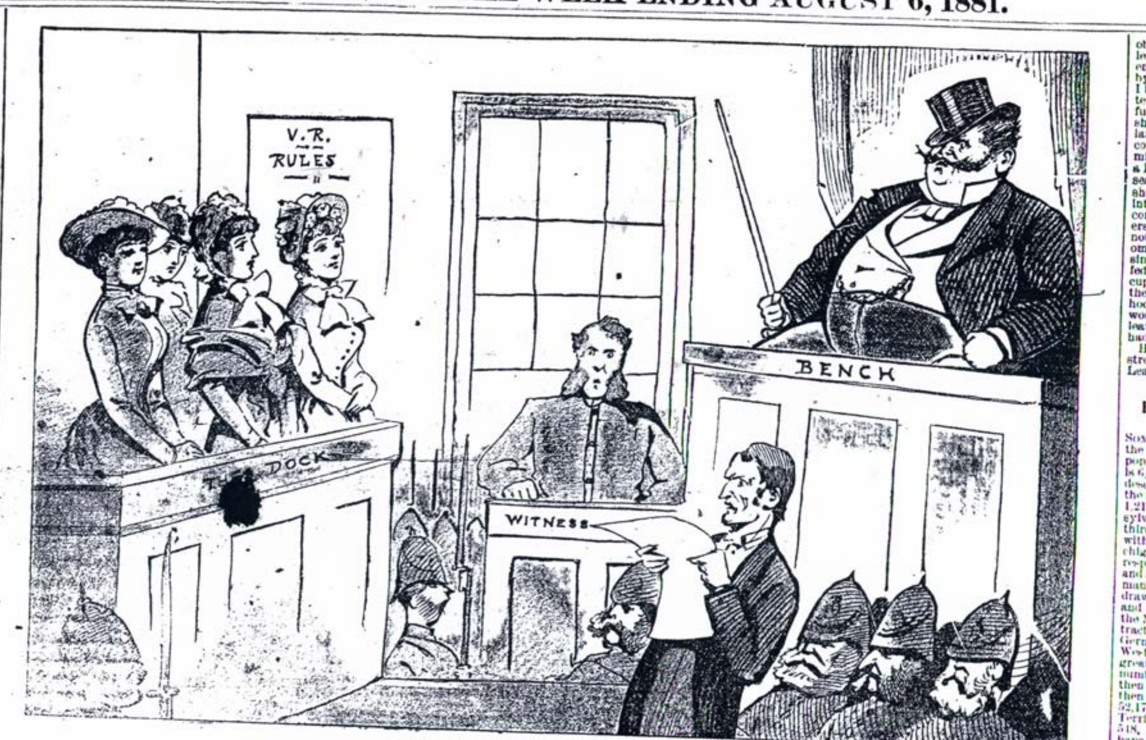

Figure 6.15: Unknown, "England's War on Irish Women", in *Irish American*, August 6, 1881. British Library.

One of the dangers confronting Irish women who worked on behalf of Irish nationalism can be seen in the above cartoon titled "England's War on Irish Women." In the cartoon, four women stand trial for the "crimes" they committed on behalf of the Irish nationalist movement.[31] (Figure 6.15) Spoofing a scene from Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, in which the ridiculous constable Dogberry brings charges before a

[31] Unknown, "England's War on Irish Women", in *Irish American*, August 6, 1881. Library of Congress.

magistrate, the cartoon pokes fun at the supposed threat these women posed to the English government. At the same time, the image also highlights the very real problems Irish women met when actively supporting Irish nationalism, namely arrest and imprisonment. Similar to Erin, these women all exude positive characteristics, but more importantly these traits are applied to real women and not an allegorical one. In addition to the modesty and respectability of their demeanor, the Irish women are dressed quite fashionably and appropriately. They conform to all of the Victorian standards for middle and upper class dress in the period and display none of the tackiness or ugliness found in American versions of Irish women. Not only does this kind of adherence to Victorian ideals counteract negative depictions by Anglo-American cartoonists, it also heightens the danger these "respectable" women face, as well as the implicit injustice of such morally good women being treated as criminals.

The final statement in the caption explains the scene as a whole, including the accusations against the women, their heroism in the face of danger, and the ultimate conclusion of the issue:

> At Killmallock Petty Sessions *four* 'Lady Land Leaguers' were summoned before and by the direction of Major Clifford Lloyd, R. M., for 'obstructing' a thoroughfare *thirty yards wide*. The case was so ridiculous that it was thrown out of court, and the Killmallock 'Dogberry' subsequently withdrew it. But the ladies are since held, 'under surveillance' by the police as being 'reasonably suspected' of being 'persons of a character dangerous to the Crown and Peace of her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Empress of India' and soforth.[32]

[32] Ibid.

This statement informs the readership that the charges originally brought against these respectable women were not only completely ludicrous, but ultimately were dismissed by the court. Their portrayal as upper or middle class women also highlights how reprehensible it was for these women to be treated as "common criminals." More importantly, however, this caption also relates that the women of the Ladies Land League continued to be under police surveillance because of the "threat" they posed to the peace and security of the English government in Ireland. This was a strong charge, similar to ones that had landed much of the male Irish nationalist leadership in prison. Consequently, Irish women found themselves not only as primary actors in the nationalist movement in this period, but they were also treated as such by the British government, facing many of the same punishments as their male counterparts.

The theme of danger is also found in another cartoon titled "England's War on Irish Women."[33] (Figure 6.16) In this image two Irish women aid an impoverished Irish family, recently evicted from their cottage. Coming in from the left side of the image are British soldiers led by Ireland's Chief Secretary, William Edward Forster, who had a reputation as a strict adherent to the Coercion Acts. Thus, as Forster leads British soldiers towards the Irish women in the cartoon, there would be little doubt for the viewing audience that the Irish women were likely to be captured, possibly even killed, by the looming British forces.

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[33] Unknown, "England's War on Irish Women," in *Irish-American,* January 28, 1882. Library of Congress.

Figure 6.16: Unknown, “England’s War on Irish Women,” in *Irish-American*, January 28, 1882. Library of Congress.

There is a long caption accompanying the cartoon, highlighting the resilience of the Irish woman, who continued in their assistance even in the face of danger. These women are identified as members of the Ladies Land League, and they tell the evicted tenants:

Do not fear dear friends and fellow sufferers in the cause of our Motherland. While we have a single available element of assistance left, we shall stand by you." Meanwhile, Forster commands his troops on, saying: "Do you hear men! These women are teaching sedition and encouraging the rebel Land Leaguers, whom we have evicted, to hold their grip on the land.[34]

Forster's insistence that these members of the Ladies Land League aided and encouraged illegal activities suggests that he viewed the women as equally dangerous members of the Irish nationalist movement. Granted, this cartoon was published by an Irish-American paper, which had no insight into the real views of Forster on the activities of the Ladies Land League, and thus exaggerated his characterization to fit their agenda. Nevertheless, this cartoon again illustrates the way in which respectable and noble Irish women stood up to the British in the fight for Irish nationalism, even in the face of danger.

While the above cartoon (Figure 6.16) highlights the possible retribution Irish women faced as actors in the Irish nationalist movement, the next cartoon showcases the unique powers Irish women could bring to the process. Titled "The Latest Kind of 'Boy-Cutting,'" the cartoon by an anonymous artist depicts four Irish women getting the upper hand over several English police officers.[35] (Figure 6.17) The title is a play on both the systematic "boy-cotting" employed by Irish tenants against their landlords during this period, as well as social "cutting" or snubbing that would have occurred amongst the upper and middle classes, where these women clearly belonged. In the center of the cartoon is a group of distressed English officers, three of whom are on their knees in

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[34] Ibid.

[35] Unknown, "The Latest Kind of 'Boy-Cutting'", in *Irish American*, March 26, 1881. Library of Congress.

visible despair. Surrounding the group of men, each of the four well-dressed, pretty Irish women have turned their backs on the officers. With heads held high, these women are clearly demonstrating that they have no romantic interest in the men at their feet. Undoubtedly, the people with the power in this situation are the Irish women not the officers whom they refuse to acknowledge. Emphasizing this point even further, the cartoonist shows that in their despair, the officers have dropped their weapons and arrest orders, leaving the only tools in their power sitting uselessly on the ground.

The cartoon's caption offers an additional demonstration of the power Irish women had in utilizing their "Boy-Cutting" skills to further the Irish nationalist movement. Quoting the journal *Irish Exchange,* the caption reads, "In several parts of the country the Irish girls are taking the advice of Miss Anna Parnell and ostracizing the police."[36] The quote refers to Anna Parnell, the sister of Charles Stewart Parnell and leader of the Irish Ladies Land League, and suggests that one of the ways in which women could be active contributors to the cause was through their feminine "wiles." Rather than welcoming the advances of English officers, Irish women should ignore them. Certainly this method of subverting British authority does not apply to Irish men along with women, and suggests there were limitations to the ways in which women could participate in the movement. Presenting a more conservative and traditional view of women, the cartoon implies that women were not equal partners in planning nationalist strategy. Yet it demonstrates both the effectiveness of women's participation in the nationalist movement as well as the willingness of women to undertake such a task.

[36] Ibid.

NEW-YORK, FOR THE WEEK ENDING MARCH 26, 1881.

THE LATEST KIND OF "BOY-CUTTING."

"In several parts of the country the Irish girls are taking the advice of Miss Anna Parnell and ostracising the police. Irish Exchange."

Figure 6.17: Unknown, "The Latest Kind of 'Boy-Cutting'", in *Irish American,* March 26, 1881. Library of Congress.

Another image of Irish women actively agitating on behalf of Irish nationalism became so powerful that it appeared in Irish papers on both sides of the Atlantic during the 1880s. Published first in Dublin's *United Ireland* in December 1881 and then again by New York's *Irish American* in February 1882, the cartoon serves as the ultimate depiction of Irish women taking a stand against the British government.[37] (Figures 6.18 and 6.19) On the left hand side of the cartoon, a group of Irish women stand together

[37] J.D. Reigh, "More and More Puzzled", in *United Ireland*, December 17, 1881. British Library. Unknown, "History Repeats Itself", in *Irish American*, February 4, 1882. Library of Congress.

carrying banners in support of the Ladies Land League. They face the threats of a British colonial soldier and the Chief Secretary of Ireland, William Edward Forster, who uses the Coercion Acts to threaten the Irish women with arrests and imprisonments. Although threatened by the head British colonial official of Ireland himself, the women of the Ladies Land League do not appear to be afraid, and steadfastly hold their ground and by implication their position on Irish nationalism. Indeed, both British officials look harried and foolish in comparison, waving their arms and stamping their feet.

This cartoon appeared with a different caption in each respective paper, though the message was similar for both. In *United Ireland's* version of the cartoon, the caption reads, "Mr. Forster sets up his Buggabow to intimidate the Ladies of the Land League, but they march steadily onwards in the good work, their courage daily increasing, as well as their power." The caption for *Irish American's* version of the cartoon is longer, and includes a statement from Forster himself:

> I think I have, at last, solved this 'Irish Question'. I have locked up all the leading men of the Land League; and now I have to frighten the women with the threat of police coercion and imprisonment. They will never stand the sight of the bayonets, and the threat of being sent to jail.[38]

Again, each caption clearly suggests that whatever threats Chief Secretary Forster used against the Ladies Land League, they were not going to back down. Not only does the failure of these threats flummox the British government (as represented by these officials) the threats also appear to strengthen the resolve of the Irish women themselves.

As with the cartoons in Figures 6.15, 6.16, 6.17, the members of the Ladies Land League conform to the Victorian ideals of womanhood for the period. Both their dress

[38] Ibid.

and behavior conform to the ideals of respectability and poise. By illustrating the Ladies Land League picketing Chief Secretary Forster and his enforcement of the Coercion Acts, this image depicts Irish women engaging in political behavior far more aggressive than their actions as "boy-cutters" or aiding families in need. Yet, even at their most political, the women of the Ladies Land League maintain the Victorian ideals that made their actions permissible in male eyes.

It is intriguing to note that during the period this cartoon was published, Dublin's *United Ireland* was under the control of the Ladies Land League, because Charles Parnell and other leaders of the Land League were either imprisoned or exiled. Jane McL. Côté examines this period in her work on Charles Parnell's sisters, Anna and Fanny Parnell. As leader of the Ladies Land League in Ireland, Anna took responsibility for publishing the weekly editions of *United Ireland*. According to McL. Côté: "Twenty-five years later Anna recalled that the 'running of *United Ireland* was the pleasantest part of all the work of the Ladies Land League.'"[39] What Anna and the other members of the Ladies Land League likely discovered while in charge of the newspaper is that they were able to control their own image as it was presented to the Irish public. Certainly, this does not necessarily mean that men did not appreciate these efforts as well, or wish to express that appreciation in the political cartoons they published. In fact, the publication of the same cartoon in *Irish American* two weeks later indicates that some men did feel and express their approval for the Ladies Land League, since the male editors of that paper were in full control of the paper's content when the cartoon was published.

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[39] McL. Côté, 211.

On the whole, Irish publications on both sides of the Atlantic portrayed Irish women as active and eager participants in the nationalist movement during the 1880s. These images applauded and supported a number of different actions taken by Irish women on behalf of the nationalist movement, and showcased their determination and strength in the face of British threats. Cartoons such as these also demonstrate that the efforts of Irish women were occasionally acknowledged and praised by the Irish community in the period. At the same time, however, these real women came to be displaced in Irish nationalist cartoons by the even more idealized allegorical figure of Erin. Difficult as that may have been for the women of the Ladies Land League, they accepted this "demotion" in status, likely believing that they were serving the best interests of the movement. Overall, however, these cartoons reinforce the notion that Irish women, even when engaging in political action, retained Victorian ideals of grace, dignity and propriety, which made their nationalist efforts justified and also counteracted the image of Bridget found in Anglo-American publications.

Figure 6.18: JR, “More and More Puzzled”, in *United Ireland,* December 17, 1881. British Library.

Figure 6.19: Unknown, “History Repeats Itself”, in *Irish American*, February 4, 1882. Library of Congress.

VI

Depictions of Irish women in political cartoons from the 1880s took on a variety of forms. While the two dominant forms were the low class servant Bridget in Anglo-American cartoons and the allegorical figure of Erin in Irish and Irish-American cartoons, this chapter has shown that not all depictions of Irish women followed these styles. For Anglo-American cartoonists, the experiences of Irish domestic servants in the United States provided an avenue for artists looking to depict the Irish in a derogatory manner. By emphasizing the presumed lower class characteristics of vulgarity and laziness of Irish domestic servants, American humor journals made sweeping judgments about the female Irish population in the latter half of the nineteenth century. These unflattering portraits of Irish women were not directly counteracted in Irish American and Irish publications. Instead, Irish cartoons from both sides of the Atlantic looked to the figure of Erin and the activism of the Ladies Land League as a demonstration of the Victorian ideals that Irish women embodied. By examining the allegorical figure of Erin found in both Irish and Irish American cartoons, we see that the feminine virtues inherent in her character were essential to nationalist demonstrations of Irish strength, determination and power. Likewise, the women of the Ladies Land League maintained their Victorian respectability, even while taking active part in the Irish nationalist movement. It is interesting to note, that in a period when women increasingly questioned gender norms in the United States and Europe, none of these norms are questioned in the cartoons of Bridget and Erin. Neither the Irish nor American and British cartoonists ever critiqued the Victorian standard of womanhood applied to these images. Ultimately, when it came

to the Irish female form, while Bridget and Erin were the dominant and competing forms for Irish women in the 1880s, the image of Irish women varied according to the agenda of those depicting her.

Conclusion

While the figure of the violent "Paddy" is the most common image associated with nineteenth-century Irishmen, this dissertation complicates traditional interpretations of the Irish image, by comparing Irish-produced images with cartoons of the Irish published by British and American cartoonists. The images produced by Irishmen on both sides of the Atlantic during the 1880s offer scholars the opportunity to examine the transatlantic ties of the Irish community in the United States to the Irish in Ireland. More specifically, political cartoons published in newspapers like New York's *Irish World* and *The Irish-American*, and Dublin's *United Ireland*, illustrated the ways in which late nineteenth-century Irish nationalism was defined and expressed through images. This dissertation fills a gap in the existing historiographies of Irish cartooning and Irish nationalism, which lack thorough examinations of the cartoons produced by Irish-Americans during the 1880s. Finally, it reminds scholars of the value political cartoons have as a source of historical analysis. A cartoon's ability to reach a broad audience, while speaking to specific topics, provides scholars with a means to understand the agendas and priorities of past communities.

In the last two decades, scholars have increasingly looked to political cartoons as an important analytical tool for understanding the motivations of a variety of ethnic and social groups. Scholars such as Martha Banta and Joshua Brown have offered intriguing insights into the complex depictions of ethnicity, race, gender, and the concept of "civilization" found in the political cartoons of late nineteenth and early twentieth-

century Europe and the United States.[1] In addition to these broader studies, several scholars have followed in the footsteps of historian L. Perry Curtis, and deepened the examination of the image of the Irish in political cartoons. While most of these scholars have produced article length works, historian Michael de Nie produced an in-depth study that builds upon Curtis' exploration of British cartoons on the Irish in the nineteenth-century.[2] All three scholars have noted that British depictions of the Irish in political cartoons were highly satirical and prejudicial, though each offers a different reason for these portrayals in the British press. Whether religion, class, race or politics were the primary motivators for British depictions of the Irish in the nineteenth-century, it was clear to each scholar that these portrayals reflected both audience preconceptions and editorial agendas.

Although the bulk of scholarship on the Irish in political cartoons focuses on British cartoonists, other scholars have started to concentrate on the image of Irish-Americans by both Anglo-Americans and Irishmen. These studies open the door for scholars seeking to understand the complexities surrounding the perceptions of the Irish

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[1] Joshua Brown, *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Every Day Life and the Crisis of Gilded Age America,* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002); and Martha Banta, *Barbaric Intercourse: Caricature and the Culture of Conduct, 1841-1936,* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[2] L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature,* (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institute Press, 1971); Roy Douglas, Liam Harte, Jim O'Hara, *Drawing Conclusions: A Cartoon History of Anglo-Irish Relations, 1798-1998,* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1998); Joel A. Hollander, "'Beauty and the Best': Depiction of Irish Female Types During the Era of Parnell, 1880-1891," in *Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination,* ed. Lawrence W. McBride, (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999), 53-72. Lawrence W. McBride, "Nationalist Political Illustrations and the Parnell Myth, 1880-1900," in *Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination*, ed. Lawrence W. McBride, (Dublin, Four Courts Press, 1999), 73-94. Maureen Murphy, "Bridget and Biddy: Images of the Irish Servant Girl in *Puck* Cartoons, 1880-1890," in *New Perspectives on the Irish Diaspora*, ed. Charles Fanning, (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 152-175. Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882,* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004).

in the nineteenth-century. Instead of the generic image of "Paddy," whose drunken, violent behavior permeates British political cartoons, Maureen Murphy's study of political cartoons on Irish-American servant women and Joel A. Hollander's take on the allegorical figures for Ireland introduces gender into the discussion of Irish illustrated figures. Likewise, Lawrence McBride's examination of Charles Stewart Parnell in Irish political cartoons highlights the importance that nationalists placed on creating the image of strong leadership in the face of British rule. This dissertation, for the first time, fuses together the scholarship on British and American depictions of the Irish with Irish depictions of themselves. More importantly, it examines an area not yet explored by scholars of the Irish in political cartoons, namely the cartoons published by the Irish-American community in the late nineteenth-century.

In addition to addressing scholarship on the Irish in political cartoons, this thesis offers new insights on late nineteenth-century Irish nationalism. While the Irish quest for independence from Great Britain has been covered by many scholars on a number of different perspectives, few scholars have addressed the cartoons associated with Irish nationalism from this period.[3] Those who have focused primarily on people and events in Ireland itself, have done so without taking into account images produced by the Irish in

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[3] Some of the most prominent works on Irish nationalism include: Thomas Brown, *Irish-American Nationalism*, *1870-1890,* (NY: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1966); Lawrence McCaffrey, *The Irish Diaspora in America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1976); Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: A History* (London: Longman, 2000); D. George Boyce and Alan O' Day, ed., *Ireland in Transition, 1867-1921,* (NY: Routledge, 2004); and Brian A. Jenkins, *Irish Nationalism and the British State: From Repeal to Revolutionary Nationalism,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006).

the United States.[4] This dissertation explores the transatlantic nature of nineteenth-century Irish nationalism by bringing the images produced by Irish-Americans into the discussion, alongside Irish, British and American depictions of the struggle for Irish independence.

In order to do so, it first examines the culture of the popular press during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and its importance to scholars in uncovering the political agendas of those who produced publications and those who consumed them. By understanding the backgrounds of the various newspapers and humor journals utilized in this dissertation, we are better able to appreciate the motivations for those producing political cartoons on the Irish. Furthermore, by taking an in-depth look at the New York based *The Irish-American,* this dissertation shows the complications that occasionally arose from publishing political cartoons in an ethnic newspaper. The paper's reuse of images over a ten year period, its use of images from the Dublin paper *United Ireland,* and its complete lack of cartoons for several years during the 1880s, indicates that it was likely financially expedient to avoid making unique cartoons each week of publication. Finally, an examination of *The Irish-American's* political cartoons from the 1880s illustrates the prime importance Irish nationalism played in the American Irish community. With the exception of nine cartoons published in the fall of 1888, all of *The Irish-American's* political cartoons concentrated on people, events and symbols associated with the Irish quest for independence from Great Britain.

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[4] As noted previously, the essays by Joel A. Hollander and Lawrence McBride examine Irish produced cartoons that focused on Irish nationalism, while L. Perry Curtis, Roy Douglas and Michael de Nie offer the British perspective on Irish nationalism in political cartoons.

This dissertation also examines political cartoons through several overarching themes, including the figure of Irish nationalist leader Charles Stewart Parnell, the celebration of St. Patrick's Day, Irish violence, the Phoenix Park Murders, and the depiction of Irish women. The depictions of Parnell in Irish political cartoons have been briefly addressed by historian Lawrence McBride, but this dissertation broadens the scope of examination by also observing British, Anglo-American and Irish-American images of nationalist leader. Together, these images offer a complex portrait of the Anglo-Irish politician who dominated Irish politics for over a decade. While it is certainly no surprise that British and Anglo-American cartoons greatly differed from those produced by Irishmen, what is surprising is that cartoons produced by Irish-Americans and Irishmen in Ireland varied throughout the 1880s.

In addition, this dissertation also analyzes political cartoons commenting on St. Patrick's Day celebrations from the 1880s. For Irishmen, St. Patrick's Day was an important rallying point for Irish nationalists, and was an occasion for raising funds for the cause of Irish independence. St. Patrick's Day nonetheless did not receive a large amount of attention from Irish and Irish-American cartoonists in this period, which could have been due to the satirical nature of cartooning. On the other hand, it is also possible that for the transnational Irish community depicting St. Patrick's Day celebrations, or any kind of celebration, simply did not raise the community's interest. For the Anglo-American press, however, St. Patrick's Day was the perfect opportunity to ridicule the lavish Irish-American celebrations of the holiday, and the Irish community as a whole. Anglo-American depictions of St. Patrick's Day ranged from the absurdly pompous to

the frighteningly riotous, while the figure of St. Patrick himself was a target for derision. On the whole, some of the most strident anti-Irish cartoons produced by Anglo-American humor journals were published on or around St. Patrick's Day.

Yet St. Patrick's Day was not the only occasion in which Irish violence was on display in political cartoons from the 1880s. Indeed, not only did British and Anglo-American cartoonists create many cartoons depicting the Irish engaged in violent acts, but Irish and Irish-American cartoonists also utilized violence in their representations. While British and Anglo-American cartoons portrayed the Irish as an inherently violent people, Irish and Irish-American cartoonists had a more nuanced approach to Irish violence. Unsurprisingly, some Irish and Irish-American cartons portrayed the Irish as victims of violence, particularly at the hands of the British colonial government. There were, however, also occasions when Irishmen on both sides of the Atlantic as readily depicted the Irish committing acts of violence. What makes these images distinct from those by British and American cartoonists, is that Irish and Irish-American cartoonists depicted the Irish use of violence as justified and an important demonstration of their potential strength as a people. These images of violence by Irish and Irish-American cartoonists were important tools in conveying the legitimacy of Irish nationalism to both the Irish community as well as the rest of the world.

Concentrating on a specific episode of violence, this dissertation looks at the Phoenix Park Murders. A shocking display of violence, the murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Burke, the highest ranking British officials in Ireland, was gruesome. In the aftermath of the murders, cartoonists on both sides of the Atlantic

depicted the murders and offered commentary on those associated with the horrific incident. This dissertation offers the first systematic look at the cartoons on the Phoenix Park Murders and demonstrates their seriousness to British, Anglo-American, Irish and Irish-American newspapers and journals. Additionally, the Phoenix Park cartoons indicate that Irishmen on both sides of the Atlantic were aware of their reputation for violence, and sought to counteract it by producing their own images. The Phoenix Park Murders marked an important moment in Anglo-Irish relations, and the cartoons that resulted from the murders showcase the range of emotions in the aftermath of the gruesome assassinations.

Finally, this dissertation devotes particular attention to the figure of Irish women in political cartoons from the 1880s. It demonstrates that the traditional figures of Bridget and Erin are complicated by figures of Irish women in political cartoons that do not conform to the standard images often used by cartoonists in the period. In particular, the cartoons featured in Irish and Irish-American publications depicting the Ladies Land League in 1881 and 1882 offer a very different version of "Irish womanhood" than seen in the figures of Bridget and Erin. More importantly, each depiction of Irish women in political cartoons, from Irishmen and non-Irishmen alike, suggest the overall belief in the Irish community in the importance of conforming to Victorian standards for women, and the pitfalls for a society whose women do not conform to that standard. Indeed, the depictions of Irish women suggest that the Irish nationalist movement had little room for women outside of the symbolic, and that an independent Ireland would not include the equal political participation of women.

Ultimately, this dissertation showcases the value political cartoons have as a source for historical analysis, by highlighting the transnational nature of the Irish nationalist movement in the 1880s as seen in the political cartoons by the Irish and Irish-Americans. Additionally, by comparing Irish-produced images with those produced by British and Anglo-American cartoonists this dissertation broadens and complicates the traditional Irish image of "Paddy" from the late nineteenth century. Finally, this thesis offers the first thorough study of political cartoons produced by Irish-American in the 1880s, which opens up a variety of new avenues for scholarly investigation concerning the experiences of the American Irish in the nineteenth century.

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