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Irishman vs. The Irishman:
Charles Stewart Parnell and Perceptions of Irish Masculinity in the English Comic Press (1880-91)

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Sir Parnell.

Figure 1 'Sir Parnell.', *Punch (*London, 4th August 1888)
p.59

CONTENTS

Introduction

'It is not very deeply said that no man is indispensable. Few men are. One man was'.[1]

Louis Garvin, 'Parnell and His Power' (Dec. 1898)

Ireland occupied a paradoxical space in English political discourse, imperial vision and gender identity. The Irish were at once members and subjects of the British metropole, racially similar yet markedly inferior to the British imperialist. Crucially, perceived to be at once destructively violent and overly passive, the Irish constituted a negative Other in the construction of English masculinity. Charles Stewart Parnell represented the embodiment of Irish masculine culture. He was a mythologised figure throughout both his ascendancy and his fall from power and was of constant interest to the English press as a figure that in many ways embodied Victorian Ireland. The historian R.F. Foster said of Parnell; 'he broke and shaped moulds; he remains uniquely glamourous and shamelessly unique'.[2] Indeed, I argue that Parnell's depiction, as a symbol for Victorian Ireland, challenged English perceptions of Irish masculinity, albeit temporarily and partially. Remarkably, in a society convinced of the degeneracy of the Irish 'race', Parnell emerged from the pages of the Victorian comic press relatively unscathed. Whilst his fellow Irish are bestialised, feminised and ultimately de-humanised, Parnell escapes not just with his humanity, but with his masculinity.

In the early 1880s, Parnell rose rapidly from an insignificant parliamentary member for Meath to the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) and the head of the Land League, an agrarian pressure group. Parnell, an Anglo-Irish, elite Protestant, was therefore placed at the forefront of the struggles of constitutional and radical nationalism. Parnell's identity thus rests on the boundary of multiple binaries; Anglo and Irish, colonial subject and member of the colonial metropole, constitutional and radical. His famed steely composure, conventional good looks and skilful politics compounded to form a figure that was tied inextricably to the Irish fight for Home Rule throughout the 1880s. The historian F.S. Lyons' extensive work and writings on Parnell paint him as a figure carved from stone, drawing heavily on his ancestry by highlighting his paternal grandfather's reformist views and his maternal grandfather's heroic role in the

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[1] L. Garvin, 'Parnell and His Power', *The Fortnightly Review,* Vol. 64, Issue 3345 (Dec. 1898), pp.872-883, p.872
[2] R.F. Foster, *Paddy and Mr. Punch: Connections in Irish and English History* (Middlesex, 1993) p.76-77

American civil war.[3] However, his remarkable ascendancy was followed by a devastating fall from grace due to his illicit relationship with the married Kitty O'Shea and the subsequent divorce scandal in December 1890. He died in relatively obscurity in Brighton in October 1891. Historian J. Valente argues that every aspect of Parnell's political life can be better understood if one considers the importance of his gender performance.[4] This dissertation will focus on the presentation of Parnell's gender performance in the English Press in order to highlight the centrality of masculinity in the perception of Irish national and political identity. Yet, masculine identity is a complex and unstable construction, particularly within a political framework, and Parnell's portrayal in the English press was fraught with internal and external contradictions.

Historiography

The portrayal of the Irish in the Victorian press has been explored at length within the historical profession. L.P. Curtis' *Apes and Angels* argues that 'the Irish Celts were among the favourite objects of satire and parody by Victorian comic artists'.[5] He contends that an evaluation of Victorian caricature demonstrates the fact that Victorians perceived of the Irish as belonging to a distinct race.[6] However, D. Grube criticised Curtis for placing too much emphasis on race rather than the broader social and cultural Other.[7] Indeed, later works, such as R.F. Foster's *Paddy and Mr. Punch* focus more on religious and class status rather than race.[8] This increased emphasis on the fact that British attitudes to the Irish were complex and shifting according to specific events and times broadened and qualified the existing debate. Yet, M. de Nie argues effectively that British reporting on Ireland was 'crucially informed by enduring stereotypes that constituted Irish identity', using race as a 'metalanguage' in a discourse that encompassed issues of social status, religion and political violence.[9] I agree with de Nie's analysis of race as a 'metalanguage', as the Victorian period was fraught with Social Darwinian and imperial discourse that was expressly concerned with racial difference and its implications for the proliferation of Empire.

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[3] F.S. L. Lyons, *Charles Stewart Parnell* (London, 1977) see p.1-40 for extensive material on Parnell's ancestry and early life.
[4] J. Valente, 'The Manliness of Parnell', *Éire-Ireland* 41.1 (2006) pp.64-121; p.64
[5] L.P. Curtis, *Apes and Angels: Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (London, 1997 [first edition 1971]) p.23
[6] Ibid.
[7] D. Grube, *At the Margins of Victorian Britain: Politics, Immorality and Britishness in the Nineteenth Century* (NY & London, 2013) p.27
[8] R.F. Foster, *Paddy and Mr. Punch,* p.182
[9] M. De Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press (1798-1882)* (London, 2004) p.5

Despite de Nie's statement that 'Parnell's visage was stock-in-trade for British cartoonists', he focuses on Parnell only briefly.[10] He claimed that Parnell was consistently portrayed negatively and shown as another example of the degenerate Irish. I argue that this is a considerable oversimplification and aim to contribute a more nuanced view of the English press' portrayal of Parnell to the debate. Indeed, the portrayal of Parnell in the comic press is largely unexplored area of historical research. J. Loughlin produced an article which explored Parnell 'the political spectacle', arguing that Parnell constructed a popular persona that was designed to contrast with popular conceptions of Irish Celtic characteristics.[11] However, this focused on how Parnell sought to create and maintain his public image, rather than how he was actually portrayed. Additionally, W.M. Murphy in the *Parnell Myth* (1986) discusses the phenomenon of the 'Parnell Myth' after his death in 1891. He distinguishes between Parnell's public image and the Parnell Myth, yet does not expressly focus on the portrayal of Parnell by the British press during his lifetime.[12] This dissertation will focus on Parnell as a symbol for Ireland as nation and his specific influence in challenging English perceptions of Irish masculinity within his lifetime.

The historiography of masculinity has developed substantially in last two decades. Crucial to the study of masculinity is J. Butler's theory of gender as performance. At the centre of this understanding was the process of Othering. In other words, gender was understood as not constructed in isolation, but through a dialogical exchange between people and places.[13] Butler argued that the role of the Other in the formation of masculine identity should be regarded as an active one. This is furthered by R.W. Connell's work on 'hegemonic masculinity', the normative opposition to the non-confirmative Other.[14] This identification of 'hegemonic masculinity' entailed the phenomenon of orientating one's stylisation of gender behaviour on the current patriarchal (here meaning the subordination of men by other men) framework. The concept of the Other and the hegemon, within the structure of gender performance, is central to this dissertation as it explores how Parnell navigated the constraints of Irish identity in relation to the English imperial man.

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[10] M. De Nie, *The Eternal Paddy* p.209
[11] J. Loughlin, 'Constructing the Political Spectacle: Parnell, the Press and National Leadership 1879-86' in D. George Boyce and A. O'Day (eds.), *Parnell in Perspective* (1991) p.223
[12] W. Michael Murphy, *The Parnell Myth and Irish Politics, 1891-1956* (New York, 1986) p.2
[13] S. Salih, *Judith Butler: Essential Guides for Literary Studies* (London and NY, 2002) p.20
[14] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkley and L.A., 2005) p.77

L. Segal argues masculinity is complicated by the immense symbolic weight of manhood, which leads her to argue that 'masculinity is always in crisis'.[15] Yet historian J. Tosh challenged the view of manliness as the dominant ideology of masculinity by distinguishing between the two. Tosh distinguishes between 'manliness' and 'masculinity' respectively as a social attainment defined by one's peers and 'an expression of personal subjectivity'.[16] Tosh argues that in Victorian Britain, manliness was the only term through which gendered concerns could be aired. He therefore highlights that manliness is historically rooted in specific conditions, whereas 'masculinities', specifically plural, is a product of the 'post-modernist vision of the world' marked by the proliferation of identities.[17] In short, he argued that manliness presents a convenient, but misleading, target for historians, whereas masculinity refers to 'the corporate whole of men's sense of self'.[18] This is summed up by H.E. Ellis and J. Meyer; 'masculinities… construct complex but coherent forms of identity'.[19] Throughout this dissertation, I refer to both masculinities and manliness as part of a broader attempt to incorporate those masculinities which lay outside of the construct of the 'manly' imperial male.

The historian J. Bristow highlights a 'new consciousness' of 'post-coloniality' that grew out of the study of masculinity and gender within the history of Empire.[20] Indeed, J. Tosh highlights that 'empire was above all a massive assertion of masculine energies'.[21] Post-colonial scholars such as E. Said, H.K. Bhabha and G. Spivak have been crucial in shaping my analysis of the function of the feminised or bestialised Irishman as a negative Other to the imperial male. This dissertation also draws upon broader studies of colonial masculinity, such as those concerned with imperial India, to explore the concept of colonial masculinity and the Other. Crucially, J. Valente's study of the myth of manliness in Irish culture and his theory of the 'double-bind' of Irish manhood within an imperial setting is central to this thesis.[22] Valente highlights that late Victorian conceptions of masculinity valorised ideals of virility, strength and aggression, yet also rested on the gentlemanly trait of self-restraint. Attempts to achieve self-government through force were theorised as exceeding the masculine ideal, whilst passivity under colonial

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[15] L. Segal, 'Back to the Boys? Temptations of a Good Gender Theorist', *Textual Practice,* 15:2 (2001) pp.231-250, p.239

[16] J. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Edinburgh, 2005) p.2-3

[17] Ibid, p.3

[18] Ibid, p.22

[19] H.E. Ellis and J. Meyer (eds.) *Masculinity and the Other: Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge, 2009) p.11

[20] J. Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World* (London, 1991) p.1

[21] J. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities,* p.13

[22] J. Valente, *The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture 1880-1922* (Illinois, 2011) p.9-10

control indicated a failure to meet the fundamental standard of English masculinity. Thus, the Irish were entrapped in what Valente deemed the 'double-bind' of manhood in the colonial metropole.

Methodology

Parnell was first and foremost a symbol. Parnell's figure, bearded and in a top hat, came to symbolise Ireland as a nation. W.M. Murphy argued that 'in him there was national self-respect embodied'; he was a symbol lived beyond his own life.[23] This is furthered by Grube, who argued that 'until his fall, Parnell in many ways *was* Ireland'.[24] Therefore, to compromise or to promote Parnell's masculinity was to compromise or promote the masculinity of the nation. The contrast in the portrayal of Parnell to the Irish in general provides a valuable case study of the perceived, whether conscious or unconscious, importance of gender performance in the colonial and political sphere. As highlighted by Foster, expressions of attitudes, such as the production of typologies within caricature, are essential subjects for de-construction in the historical exploration of mentalities.[25]

In this dissertation, I draw from four major English periodicals. Between 1800 and 1900, 125,000 newspapers and periodical titles were published in Britain, and over the course of the nineteenth century, periodicals and newspapers became a ubiquitous presence in everyday life that came to structure readers days, weeks and months.[26] These publications came from all over Britain, yet, as the centre of the imperial metropole, this dissertation is based on London-based publications. My express focus is the illustrations of the comic periodical, the majority of which were published weekly and sold for a penny.[27]

The first periodical is *Punch;* or *The London Charivari*, a weekly magazine of humour and satire established in 1841 and running until 2000. The magazine 'measured by circulation, influence, and longevity', is one of the most successful that ever existed.[28] It also exerted an

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[23] W. Michael Murphy, *The Parnell Myth and Irish Politics, 1891-1956* (New York, 1986) p.74

[24] D. Grube, *At the Margins* p.34

[25] R.F. Foster, *Paddy and Mr. Punch* p.171

[26] A. King, A. Easley and J. Morton (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth Century British Periodicals* (London and NY, 2016) p.2

[27] J. Donn Vann, 'Comic Periodicals' in J. Donn Vann and R.T. VanArsdel (eds.), *Victorians Periodicals and Victorian Society* (Toronto, 1994) p.278

[28] P. Leary, *The Punch Brotherhood: Table Talk and Print Culture in Mid-Victorian London* (London, 2010) p.2

overwhelming influence in establishing the dominant modes for enacting visual humour in Victorian periodicals and is therefore central in the development of the comic press.[29] The second, *Judy; or London Serio-Comic Journal*, was one of the many comics created to rival *Punch*. It ran from 1867 to 1895, followed the same weekly format and functioned as the Conservative counterpart to the comic *Fun. Fun*, also London based, was *Punch*'s most successful rival.[30] It ran from 1866 to 1900 and advocated Liberal politics. *Fun* and *Judy* distinguished themselves by appealing to the lower-middle class, as opposed to *Punch's* upper-class readership.[31] Finally, *Funny Folks*, subtitled 'A Weekly Budget of Funny Pictures, Funny Notes, Funny Jokes, Funny Stories', ran from 1875 to 1894 and was intended as a comic companion to the newspaper. Originally a satirical publication aimed at a middle-class adult audience, it eventually shifted its focus to working classes, and eventually, to children. Therefore, I am drawing from a source base that varies in its audience, politically and socially.

Crucially, the cartoonists that created the sources I draw from in this dissertation did not work in isolation from the culture and society that surrounded them. L.P. Curtis highlights that caricaturists 'live and practice within ideology, drawing literally and figuratively on prejudices that already lurk…in the audience'.[32] Therefore, contemporary caricature can serve as a window into broader societal trends. The historian D. Clark argues resolutely that cartoons have the power to shape public discourse.[33] This is perhaps an overstatement, but they certainly reinforce and exemplify existing fears and anxieties. Although this dissertation will draw mainly on sources that were intended to be humorous, or at least entertaining, I argue that their comic value increases, rather than decreases, their value for the purpose of historical deconstruction. It is apparent, even today, that laughing at jokes defines social boundaries. Shared laughter is a powerful tool in promoting hegemonic discourse, perpetuating stereotypes and evoking deep-seated prejudice.[34] The wide-scale production and consumption of the Victorian periodical in England contributed to the creation of what B. Anderson famously

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[29] B. Maidment, 'Illustration' in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth Century British Periodicals* p.118
[30] J. Don Vann, 'Comic Periodicals' p.187
[31] D. Kunzle, 'Busch Abroad: How a German Caricaturist Willy Nilly Helped Launch the New Cheap Comic Magazines in Britain and the United States', *Victorian Periodicals Review,* Vol.25, No.3 (Fall, 1992) pp.99-108, p.99
[32] L.P. Curtis, *Apes and Angels* p.x
[33] D. Clarke, 'Paddies, Pigs and Perils: The Irish American Cartoon Depiction' in *Images and Indignations: How Cartoons Shape Our Views* (Philadelphia, 1985) p.3-5
[34] O.S. Anna, 'Did You Call in Mexican? The Racial Politics of Jay Leno Immigrant Jokes', *Language in Society,* 38, No.2 (Feb 1, 2009) pp.23-45, p.30

termed 'imagined communities'.[35] The creation of an imagined community of an English reading public implicitly created an 'in group' and an 'out group'. Through encapsulating the Irish in visual metaphor, Victorian cartoonists draw on 'a profound and indispensable way of knowing', prejudice against the outsider in the form of comic metaphor, in order to cement the status of the Irish as Other.[36] Caricature is therefore a rich source for understanding how Irish masculinity was perceived by the English press and by extension its public.

Dissertation Plot

In order to argue that the portrayal of Parnell in the English comic press represented an important, albeit partial and temporary, resemblance of perceptions of Irish masculinity, this dissertation has been divided into two chapters. These two chapters build on Valente's theorising of the 'double bind' of Irish masculinity and aim to demonstrate how Parnell challenged the view of the Irish as at once violent and out of control, yet also as weak and feminine, through a specific performance of masculinity. Chapter One discusses the trend in the Victorian comic press to simianise the Irish along neo-Darwinian lines. It will then consider how the portrayal of Parnell challenged this to argue that he created a new ideological space for conceptions of Irish masculinity. Chapter Two will discuss the feminisation of Ireland through its representation as Hibernia and Parnell's, often contradictory, interaction with discourses of feminisation and masculinity. It will demonstrate that Parnell temporarily challenged the feminisation of Ireland as a nation, but this was compromised, with devastating political consequences, following the divorce scandal.

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[35] See; Anderson, B., *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983)

[36] R. Nisbet, *Prejudices: A Philosophical Dictionary* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982) p.217

Chapter 1 - Simianisation

In the English comedic press Charles Stewart Parnell was portrayed not just as masculine, but as a composed human whole. This created a clear contrast to the prevalent image of the simianised Fenian and was crucial in his resemblance of ideals of colonial masculinity. Parnell stood in the 1880s as the 'universally recognised leader of the Irish "race": at home and abroad', and is therefore a central figure in the perception of Ireland as a nation.[37] Simianisation in the English comic press represented 'the figuration of sub-altern as sub-species', as the Irishman was condemned for exceeding the acceptable standard of Victorian masculinity.[38] This chapter will examine the significance of Parnell's portrayal in contrast to the generalised portrayal of the Irishman as ape or degenerate man. Although Parnell escaped this particular ideological fate he was often tied to the simianised Fenian in other, non-direct, ways. It is also notable that Parnell came from an aristocratic background, unlike the generally working-class Fenian. I will therefore explore the limitations of comparing the portrayal of Parnell with the everyday Irishman qualified by class considerations. Ultimately, Parnell's portrayal as human male challenged one side of Valente's 'double bind'; it replaced the image of the out of control ape-like radical with a composed figure capable of self-government.

1.1 From Primitive Peasant to Ape-Like Monster

There was a distinct tendency in Victorian caricature to portray the Other as Ape.[39] This was likely tied to the prevalence of Darwinian and neo-Darwinian thought that formed part of a broader obsession with physiognomy as an outer indication of personal character.[40] The Irish proved to be no exception to this. The Irishman in the English comic press was generally characterised in a number of ways, a dominant type of which was the simianised 'Paddy', 'a truly dangerous figure' who constituted the destructive and violent Fenian.[41] This particular portrayal emphasised the Otherness of Irish radicals to the English through their animalistic appearance.

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[37] D. George Boyce and A. O'Day (eds.), *Parnell in Perspective* p.1
[38] J. Valente, *The Myth of Manliness* p.13
[39] R.F. Foster, *Paddy and Mr. Punch* p.182
[40] M. Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist: The Representation of Type and Character in Victorian Art* (Cambridge, 1989) p.*xviii*
[41] L.P. Curtis, *Apes and Angels* p.*xxii*

Figure 2 'The Irish Caliban', *Funny Folks* (London, Sept. 04 1880), Issue 301, p.281

The simianisation of the Irish is clearly demonstrated in 'The Irish Caliban', published in September 1880 (Figure 2). The figure on the left, intended to represent the Irish Fenian, is marked by his animalistic features and sub-human expression. Throughout the 1860s and 70s there had been increased Irish agitation over the so-called 'Land Question', leading to the beginning of the Land War in April 1879. This marked the beginning of a series of increasingly radical developments in Irish politics and the formation of the Irish National Land League, with Parnell as its president. The title of this caricature is an explicit reference to Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, significantly, written at the time of Britain's first major overseas expansion. Caliban, the son of the witch Sycorax, was the half-monster, and, crucially, sub-human, inhabitant of an island who was forced into servitude when it became occupied by Prospero and his daughter Miranda. The main focus of the cartoon is between Prospero and Caliban, the coloniser and the colonised, the composed ruler and savage subject. The political and colonial themes of *The Tempest* excited a considerable degree of interest in the late nineteenth century, as they interacted with and reinforced social Darwinian and imperialistic doctrine.[42]

The literary scholar T.R. Griffiths argues that the widespread impact of Darwinian ideas in the 1860s meant that Caliban was now seen as Shakespeare's 'imaginative precreation of Darwin's "missing link", as well as an under-developed native and a member of the rebellious proletariat'.[43] Indeed, the 'Irish Caliban', from his implicitly degenerative posture and to the physical shape to his facial features, is in direct contrast with the dignified figure on the right. This is a classic example of the neo-Darwinian portrayal of the Irish Fenian as distinctly

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[42] T.R. Griffiths, '"This Island's Mine": Caliban and Colonialism', *The Yearbook of English Studies,* Vol. 13 (1983), pp.159-180; p159

[43] T.R. Griffiths, '"This Island's Mine"'p.163

different from the Anglo-Saxon ideal. Published in 1880, this cartoon would have likely been influenced by Darwinian discourse in Victorian London and draw on the new 'science' of 'ethno-cultural binarism', entailing the perceived inherent physical and psychic differences between ethnic groups.[44] This trend is clearly seen in Figure 3 and 4, both taken from before our timeframe, yet demonstrating the temporal extent of the trend of characterising the Irish Fenian as sub-human or ape-like. Figure 3 also draws on *The Tempest* as a metaphor for Irish and English relations. The Irishman in this picture is even more explicitly simianised than in Figure 2. The figure is in striking contrast to the Greco-Roman ideal demonstrated in Gladstone and Hibernia. He has his teeth bared, weapons strapped to his waist and fist clenched as he exclaims 'This Island's Mine'. This image not only illustrates the perceived danger of Irish radicalism, but the degeneracy of its proprietors. It also entails that the Irish were deemed to be lacking in that essential quality of Victorian masculinity, self-control.[45]

THE IRISH "TEMPEST."

CALIBAN (RORY OF THE HILLS). "THIS ISLAND'S MINE, BY SYCORAX MY MOTHER, WHICH THOU TAK'ST FROM ME."—*Shakspeare.*

Figure 3 'The Irish "Tempest"', *Punch* (London, 19th March 1870) p.110

THE FENIAN-PEST.

HIBERNIA. "O MY DEAR SISTER, WHAT *ARE* WE TO DO WITH THESE TROUBLESOME PEOPLE?"
BRITANNIA. "TRY ISOLATION FIRST, MY DEAR, AND THEN————"

Figure 4 'The Fenian Pest', *Punch* (London, 3rd March, 1866) p.89

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[44] L.P. Curtis, *Apes and Angels* p.*xi*
[45] J. Valente, *The Myth of Manliness* p.21

E. Said's *Orientalism* provides a useful framework for analysing the significance of Othering in British discourse in the context of colonialism. Said, in pursuit of understanding the process of domination and power, articulates a particularly colonial way of seeing the world as divided between East and West.[46] G. Spivak extends Said's investigation of colonial discourse and argues that Europe consolidated its sovereignty through the 'epistemic violence' of Othering.[47] Evidently, these famous examples were written with the non-white Other in mind. However, the above examples illustrate that the Irish were also subjected to a degree of Othering through hegemonic imperial discourse. I argue that, as well as an ideological divide between East and West (as perceived by the colonisers), there was also a more nuanced division between English and non-English. The Irish were subject to this as racially similar yet crucially distinct from their English counter-parts. The projection of the British civilising mission in Ireland was articulated in constructing the Irish male as wild and savage. In India, the male was constructed as weak and effeminate. Yet, both ideological stereotypes were informed by a broader imperial mission of subordination.[48]

By portraying Irish Fenians as ape-like monsters, sub-human and necessarily lesser than the colonial male, the Victorian comedic press reinforced hegemonic cultural values surrounding the degeneracy of the Irish. They also implicitly and explicitly invoked themes of imperial control and power. This theme, illustrated explicitly in the few examples above, is also evident in a large number of the caricatures that follow. These periodicals had a wide readership, and by producing and re-producing these images and ideological tropes, the English comedic press contributed to an endemic process of Othering. However, Parnell challenged this portrayal of the Irish. Although qualified by his class and religion, this was significant in challenging English perceptions of Irish masculinity.

1.2 Parnell: Alongside, Yet Not Subjected To, Simianisation

Parnell, portrayed as classically handsome and dignified, stood in contrast to, yet often alongside, the bestial and violent Irishman. In the English comic press, Parnell was often

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[46] See: Said, E., *Orientalism* (London, 1995 [NY, 1978])

[47] G. Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in P. Williams and L. Chrisman (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (1994, Columbia) p.76

[48] See: S. Thapar-Björkert and L. Ryan, 'Mother India/Mother Ireland: Comparative Gendered Dialogues of Colonialism and Nationalism in the Early 20th Century', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 25, Issue 3, (May-June 2002) pp.301-313

portrayed as a Frankenstein who had created, but could not control, the monster of Fenianism and the Land League (explicitly depicted in Figure 5). He was therefore saved from simianisation, but inextricably tied to it. However, Parnell's resistance to simianisation represents a crucial resemblance of colonial masculinity. J. Tosh argues that

> 'masculinity…is both a psychic and a social identity: psychic, because it is integral to the subjectivity of every male….; social, because masculinity is inseparable from peer recognition, which in turn depends on performance in the social sphere'.[49]

Parnell's gender performance in the social sphere was constructed in order to correlate with that of Victorian masculine ideals and therefore achieve peer recognition. His subsequent portrayal in the English comic press personified Ireland as a strong subject nation that was no lesser than the English in character and form.

THE IRISH FRANKENSTEIN.

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

Figure 5 'The Irish Frankenstein', *Punch* (London, 20th May, 1882) p.235

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[49] J. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities* p.51

Parnell's portrayal alongside the simianised Irish is demonstrated in Figure 6. Again, this cartoon references Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, yet in this source the simianised 'Caliban' is portrayed alongside the aristocratic Parnell, a fellow Irishman. The cartoon conveys the notion that Parnell, as leader of the Land League, rewarded Irish radical nationalism rather than discouraged it. Indeed, the Land League, based on the partnership of Parnell and the nationalist John Devoy, essentially united constitutional nationalism and Fenianism in order to mobilise the Land Question in pursuit of separatist goals. Crucially, this source provides a clear contrast between Parnell's depiction and that of the Fenian.

CROWNING THE O'CALIBAN.

[" Never was there a movement . . . . with such odds against it, in association with which there was so much moderation, and such an utter absence of crime and the strong passions which lead to crime."—*Mr. Parnell's Speech at the Rotunda, Dublin.*]

Figure 6 *'Crowning the O'Caliban'*, *Punch* (London, 22nd Dec, 1883) p.295

One of the ways this is illustrated is in the markedly different facial proportions and angles. Nineteenth century Darwinian pseudo-science manipulated the anthropologist Petrus Camper's theory of facial angles, published in 1770, in order to argue that individuals with sloping facial angles were lesser than those with higher. Although Camper's work was intended to prove that the denaturalisation of black people based on their looks was false, in a post-Darwinian world this was exploited as proof of the supremacy of high facial angles over low.[50] Camper produced a series of engravings that showed the varying facial angles of monkeys, Africans, Europeans and Greco-Roman statues. This craniological profile was later taken in temporal succession in order construct a connection between the structure of the skull and a hierarchy of ascribed cultural values. So, the higher the facial angle, the closer the individual came to the Greco-Roman ideal; conversely, a sloping forward facial angle was associated with primates and degeneracy.

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[50] M. Kemp, 'Slanted Evidence', *Nature,* Vol. 402 (1999) p.727

The simian Fenian was the most blatant example of this, yet L.P. Curtis argues that there was a topography of Irish features in caricature that correlated with this belief. For example, Figure 7 is an explicit reference to the perceived difference between Irishmen in the South and the North. Both are portrayed with prognathous features, yet in distinctly different ways. The loyalist Ulsterman (right) is deemed worthy of trust yet is clearly subservient to his Protestant landlords. Curtis labelled this type of portrayal as 'Pat', a good looking rustic male labourer who is ignorant or indifferent to the Irish cause.[51] The catholic 'Paddy' (left) is lazy, dirty and potentially violent, 'a primitive or degenerate homosapien' who supports Home Rule but not unchecked violence.[52] This trend is evident Figure 8, as impish looking Irishmen prance around with weapons in hand. Crucially, their faces are markedly different from both Parnell, presumably their leader, and the English soldiers on horseback. Parnell is redeemed from the fate of degeneracy and resembles the English soldiers rather than the Irish 'Paddy' he is celebrating with. According to Curtis' typography, Parnell is closest in resemblance to the tall, muscular figure of the Northern Irish protestant and loyalist Ulsterman.[53] This correlates with his portrayal in Figure 9 which pictures Parnell as the 'Irish Grievance Grinder', controlling but not partaking in the violence of the Land League. However, Parnell, as tied to the radical Land League, was certainly not a loyalist and hailed from Southern Ireland. He therefore presented a challenge to entrenched stereotypes of Irish masculinity in the English comic press. The representation of the Irish in the comic press as Pat, Paddy or Fenian reinforced neo-Darwinian and imperial ideas of the degeneracy of the Irish. Yet, Parnell's portrayal as dignified human male challenged the cultural hegemony of the colonial English male.
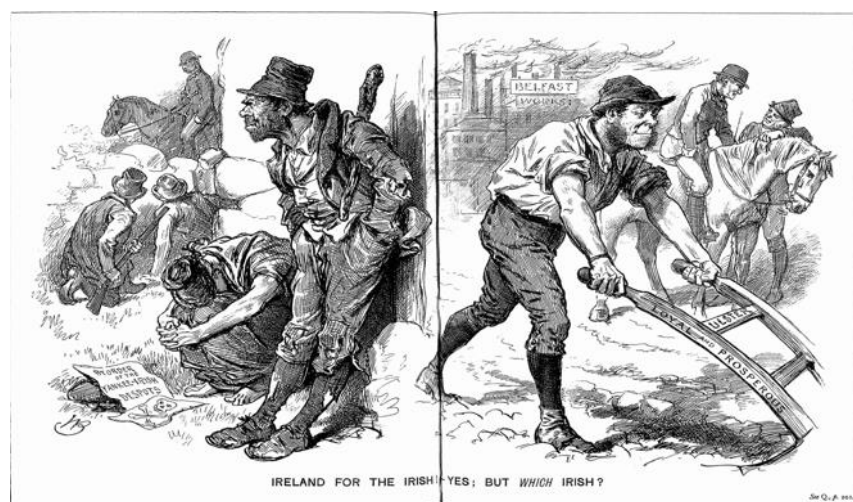

Figure 7 'Ireland for the Irish! Yes; But *Which* Irish?', *Judy* (London, 26th Oct, 1887) p.197

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[51] L.P. Curtis, *Apes and Angels* p.*xxi.*
[52] Ibid. p.*xxii.*
[53] Ibid.

Figure 8 *'The Irish Harvest Home', Funny Folks* (London, 27th November, 1880) p.377

Figure 9 *'The Irish Grievance Grinder', Fun* (London, 6th Oct 1880) p.136

1.3 Redeeming Factors: Morality and Class

In the late 19th century there was a shift to viewing moral deviants, rather than religious minorities, as 'the chief outsiders against whom Britain could unify against in shared disdain'.[54] This constituted, in the main, homosexuals, prostitutes and the allegedly criminal Irish. Otherness thus became a moral question. The perception of the Irish as Other was increasingly reinforced throughout the century as a string of successive Coercion Acts, granting greater power to law enforcement and the army in Ireland, were issued. These Acts served to both establish and reinforce the perception of the Irish as troublesome and unruly, lacking in civility and therefore unable to govern themselves. This is highlighted by contemporary Irish nationalists, T.P. O'Connor and R.M. McWade, who begged the question as to at what point did a legitimate government response to unrest become a continuous campaign labelling the Irish as criminal.[55] The question of morality was central to mid-Victorian ideals of masculinity. J. Bristow locates the central attributes of which as being 'physically strong and morally incorruptible'.[56] The importance of morality in the question of Otherness was played out throughout Parnell's career, a central event of which was *The Times* scandal from 1887-9.

The centrality of morality in Victorian ideology, and by extension gender performance, is demonstrated in the treatment of Parnell in the comic press relating to charges levied against him by *The Times*. In 1882, two leading members of the British government were murdered in Dublin's Phoenix Park by the Irish
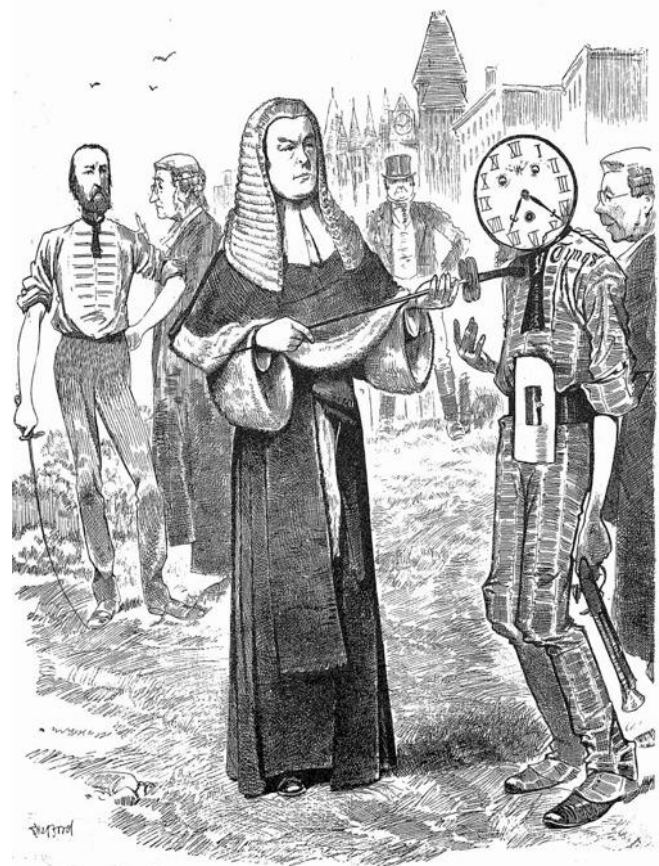
THE PARNELL v. "TIMES" DUEL.
UMPIRE HANNEN ARRANGES THE PRELIMINARIES OF THE FIGHT.

Figure 10 'The Parnell V. "Times" Duel', *Funny Folks* (London, 22nd Sept. 1888) p.297

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[54] D. Grube, *At the Margins*, p.2
[55] T.P. O'Connor and R.M. McWade, *Gladstone-Parnell and the Great Irish Struggle* (1886) p.346-353
[56] J. Bristow, *Empire Boys* p.53

PENANCE!

"HIS HONOUR ROOTED IN DISHONOUR STOOD,
AND FAITH UNFAITHFUL MADE HIM FALSELY TRUE."—TENNYSON.

Figure 11 *'Penance!'*, *Punch* (London, 9th March, 1889) p.114

Nationalist group "The Invincibles". In 1887, *The Times* published a series of articles titled 'Parnellism and Crime' in which Home Rule leaders were accused of involvement with the murders and violence committed during the Land War. They produced a number of letters, later proved to be false during the 1888-89 Parnell Commission, which allegedly bore Parnell's signature and condoned the murders in Phoenix Park. Figure 10, produced in September 1888, before the start of the Special Commission, shows Parnell, strong and confident in the background, preparing to duel with a quivering, already defeated-looking figure representing *The Times*. This reverses the dominant pattern represented by the Simianisation of the Irish. In these cartoons, the criminal is the English newspaper and the righteous hero the Irish constitutional nationalist. This was a pivotal moment in the development of Anglo sentiment towards the Irish. Parnell was perceived to be within the law before the commission had even began, whilst the English paper was humiliated by its moral discrepancy (see Figure 11). This qualified his 'Britishness' more than anything else. Yet, this moral high ground was not to last, as it was compromised by the O'Shea divorce scandal the following year.

Parnell certainly challenged dominant perceptions of the Irishman in caricature, yet it must be highlighted that he came for a distinctly different social and cultural background than his Fenian contemporaries. Boyce and O'Day emphasise that Parnell was a surprising candidate for 'political canonisation'.[57] He was a Protestant landlord and spoke with an English accent,

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[57] D. George Boyce and A. O'Day (eds.), *Parnell in Perspective* p.2

yet he reportedly came to represent the object of veneration of people who shared relatively few of his political views.[58] Given this contradiction, it is arguable that Parnell has been over-romanticised as a figure that represented nationalist Ireland. Foster specifically attempts to place Parnell in 'unromantic contexts', labelling him as a 'tenant-reform landlord fallen on hard-times' and a 'closet protectionist'.[59] It is therefore arguable that what redeemed Parnell from simianisation in caricature was not his nationality but his class and social status. Parnell was, and viewed himself as, an 'Irish gentleman', and expressed frustration when he was not treated as such by English and Americans alike.[60] This presented a conundrum for English caricaturists. M. Cowling highlights the Victorian obsession with physiognomy as part of the pervasive compulsion to 'create orders and constructs' in order to make sense of their evolving political environment.[61] Yet, Parnell challenged attempts to categorise Irish national character by complicating it was class politics.

This is particularly evident in the uncharacteristically sincere portrait, titled 'Sir Parnell', in *Punch* in 1888 (Figure 1). In this portrayal, Parnell is most clearly identified as aristocratic and poised, in clear contrast with the prevailing tradition of the depiction of the Irish in the English comic press. However, he was not entirely protected from speculation over his racial standing. In an article on Parnell written several years after his death, the journalist Louis Garvin comments on Parnell as a 'racial product' of 'English extraction, Irish atmosphere, American maternity deriving from Scotch and Welsh blood' to conclude that he was a 'microcosm of the English-speaking races'.[62] This perhaps distanced Parnell from his fellow Irish by emphasising his complex nationality, making him more acceptable to the English palate. Ultimately, Parnell's inclusion in British political society was enabled by his class, though limited by his nationality, and facilitated a shift in the perception of Ireland as a nation and the politics of constitutional nationalism. The contrast between the working-class Pat or Paddy, the bestial Fenian and the aristocratic Parnell is undeniably tied to social status. Yet, Parnell's portrayal is still significant as it allows interplay between nationality and class, constructing a more complex image of Irish masculinity.

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[58] Ibid.
[59] R.F. Foster, *Paddy and Mr. Punch* p.48
[60] Ibid, p.54
[61] M. Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist* p.*xviii*
[62] L. Garvin, 'Parnell and His Power' p.873-4

It is evident that Parnell was in part shielded from neo-Darwinian deconstruction by virtue of his class and partial inclusion in English society. Yet, his resistance to the pervasive trend of simianisation is significant when one considers the importance of morality to English identity. Parnell, not just a faceless typified Irishman, but a dignified gentleman, was seen, in light of the Parnell Commission, as morally upright and therefore firmly within the masculine sphere. Pictured alongside the simianised Fenian and the racially inferior Pat or Paddy, Parnell provided a clear contrast to the generalised depiction of the Irish male and reduced the cultural gulf between the Irish and English. This was significant due to his high-profile position as an Irish constitutional nationalist, inextricably tied to the plight of the nation, including his more radical counterparts. The English politician Henry Labouchère, in his obituary for Parnell in 1891, stated that the Irish fetishism for Parnell 'placed him on a higher level than common humanity'.[63] Indeed, this was true of his portrayal in the English press. Placed above, yet often alongside, the typified depiction of the Irishman, Parnell's specific and individualised portrayal demonstrated his implicit reorientation of pervasive English views about the Irish as a nation. However, Parnell's resilience to comic deconstruction was to flounder under the pressures of the endemic feminisation of Ireland.

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[63] H. Labouchère, 'Charles Stewart Parnell, Obituary', *Truth* (London, Oct. 15th 1891) pp.772-777, p.775

Chapter 2 - Feminisation

This chapter will focus on the importance of Parnell's gender performance in contrast to the feminised state of Ireland in English caricature. Parnell's rise and fall as a political icon, and his subsequent treatment in the English press, encapsulates the role of masculinity, or lack thereof, as an important measure for power in the Victorian era. Indeed, 'Parnell was a national icon to be adored precisely inasmuch as he was perceived as a man, or *the man* in an honorific sense'.[64] Parnell, self-restrained yet assertive, navigated Valente's 'double bind'. This enabled him to traverse boundaries between revolutionary nationalists, constitutional reformists and Conservative English politicians alike. Central to this section is the idea of hegemonic masculinity, the stylisation of one's behaviour towards the accepted patriarchal standard.[65] Parnell, as member of a subaltern nation, was subject to this patriarchy (of imperial male over subject male) yet was partially protected from it due to his class and character. To be within this realm of masculinity was often perceived as a link to power, whilst deviation from it entailed weakness.[66] Parnell evidently navigated these nuances of gender performance successfully yet was eventually compromised by the perceived moral failure that marked the end of his career.

2.1 The Sister Isle

Cultural theorist G. Meaney contends that a history of colonisation is a history of feminisation.[67] Indeed, Victorian caricature interacted with and contributed to the structural 'unmanning' of Ireland as part of a broader process of cultural imperialism.[68] Often portrayed in the form of Hibernia, Ireland was deemed in terms such as 'the sister isle' or as belonging to a 'metropolitan marriage', implicitly subservient to its imperial male counterpart. In its different forms, the depiction of Ireland as Hibernia stressed passivity, romanticism and passion – the antithesis of the Victorian masculine ideal.

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[64] J. Valente, 'The Manliness of Parnell' p.93
[65] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* p.25
[66] T.W. Reeser, *Masculinity in Theory: An Introduction* (Sussex, 2010) p.20
[67] G. Meaney, 'Sex and Nation: Women in Irish Culture and Politics' in A. Smyth (ed.), *Irish Women's Studies Reader* pp.230-44 (Dublin, 1993) p.233
[68] J. Valente, *The Myth of Manliness* p.10

Hibernia, as depicted in the Victorian comic press, was often portrayed alongside or threatened by the simianised Fenian. For example, in Figure 12, the artist depicts a classically beautiful Hibernia accepting flowers from Gladstone, the metaphorical gift of the Second Land Act, whilst a shunned Fenian of the Land League looks on. The most radical land legislation that the British government had ever passed, the Land Act of 1881 introduced fair rent, fixity of tenure and free sale for Irish tenants. The historian B. Solow argues that the Act was 'less…an economic policy than… a political stroke'.[69] This sentiment is certainly evident in Figure 12. The Act is imbued with significance as Gladstone, suited in a top hat and offering flowers, and the simianised Fenian, dirty and armed

Figure 12 *'The Rivals.', Punch* (London, 13th Aug., 1881) p.67

with dynamite, both attempt to win over Hibernia. A clear divide can be seen between the classically beautiful, passive figure of Hibernia and the savage figure of the Fenian. This articulates both aspects of Valente's double bind, at once representing Ireland as wild and as tame, in need of control and in need of protection.

In representing Ireland as Hibernia, the colonised are represented in a highly gendered way by the coloniser for specific political purposes.[70] Caricature such as Figure 12 constituted part of a broader colonial discourse that represented Irish men as threats to Ireland and, significantly,

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[69] B.L. Solow *The Land Question and the Irish Economy* (Cambridge, Ma., 1971) p.155
[70] S. Thapar-Björkert and L. Ryan, 'Mother India', p.305

THE FENIAN-PEST.

Hibernia. "O MY DEAR SISTER, WHAT *ARE* WE TO DO WITH THESE TROUBLESOME PEOPLE?"
Britannia. "TRY ISOLATION FIRST, MY DEAR, AND THEN———"

Figure 13 'The Fenian Pest!', *Punch* (London, 3rd March, 1866) p.89

Irish womanhood.[71] Thus, Irish men were incapable of self-government, as well incapable as fathers and husbands. In colonial states, idealised figures of womanhood such as Hibernia were 'not merely transformed into symbols of the nation' but, crucially, represented 'the territory over which…power is exercised'.[72] In Figure 13, a cowering Hibernia is protected by the stoic strength of Britannia from a threatening Fenian. Britannia and Hibernia, in guise evocative of imperial Greece and Rome, represent the metaphorical strength of Empire in contrast to the ape-like Fenian. Produced in October 1881, this caricature alludes to the banning of the Land League following the arrest and incarceration of Parnell in Kilmainham Gaol, Dublin. This led to Parnell, now a martyr for the cause, calling for a national rent strike. This particular cartoon is deeply imbued with gender

significance. Britannia, although female, represents a distinctly different gendered performance than Hibernia. Britannia is pictured as strong and stoic, whilst Hibernia appears younger; shorter, frailer and cowering at the breast of Britannia, her protector. This is a clear allusion to the ideological belief that Ireland was in need of protection from itself. Indeed, this belief had historical precedent throughout the nineteenth century (see Figure 14 and 15 for example).

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[71] Ibid, p.306
[72] A. Smyth (ed.), *Irish Women's Studies Reader* (Dublin, 1993) p.232

TWO FORCES.

Figure 14 'Two Forces.', *Punch* (London, 29th Oct, 1881) p.199

THE IRISH "TEMPEST."

CALIBAN (RORY OF THE HILLS). "THIS ISLAND'S MINE, BY SYCORAX MY MOTHER,
WHICH THOU TAK'ST FROM ME."—*Shakspeare.*

Figure 15 'The Irish "Tempest".', *Punch* (London, 19th March, 1870) p.111

Figure 16 'The Irish Vampire.', *Punch* (London, 24th Nov., 1885) p.199

THE IRISH BRENNUS.

MR. F. HUGH O'DONNELL, IN THE RÔLE OF OUR ANCIENT FRIEND BRENNUS, THROWS HIS WEAPON INTO THE SCALE, BUT WITH A VERY DIFFERENT RESULT!

Figure 17 'The Irish Brennus.', *Funny Folks* (London, 17th Dec. 1881) p.393

The cultural theorist H.K. Bhabha stresses the ambivalence of colonial discourse towards the Other. He qualifies Said's Orientalism by redressing his emphasis on knowledge and the production of information by suggesting that the Other is also a site of desire and anxiety.[73] This creates a certain ambivalence in the production of images of colonial subjects. Bhabha explores racial stereotyping through a psychoanalytic lens in order to understand racism as a 'fetishistic disavowal' of difference.[74] In the case of the Irish, they are threats, as the ape-like Fenian, a site of control and paranoia; yet they are also sites of desire.[75] Hibernia is a pertinent example of this. Particularly in Figure 16, Hibernia is hyper-feminised. Lying prone on the ground, she represents the epitome of beauty and vulnerability, at risk of being attacked by the menacing National League. Depicted as a vampire bat with Parnell's head, the Land League is clearly portrayed as a menacing villain, threatening the idealised, virginal Hibernia. The virginal, expectant Hibernia is echoed in Figure 17 in the portrayal of 'Erin'. Hibernia and Erin in the comic press appear to represent the ideal colonised state, compliant and passive, whilst Parnell and his Fenian counterparts are the negative Other of this gendered ideology. Colonial discourse is therefore fractured and contradictory.

[73] See: H.K Bhabha, 'The Other Question', *Screen,* Vol. 24, Issue 6 (Nov, 1983) pp.18-36
[74] H.K Bhabha, 'The Other Question' p.30
[75] H.K Bhabha, 'Of Other and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', *Discipleship,* Vol.28 (Spring, 1984) pp.125-133, p.126

The above representations illustrate the importance of gender in the English comic press, and, by extension, English imperial discourse. The hyper-feminised image of Erin and Hibernia are the antithesis of the masculine strength of imperialism, emphasising the perception of Irish colonisation as a natural, and even necessary, state. Ireland in this feminised state represented a source of desire and vulnerability. Ultimately, the representation of Ireland as a feminine extreme was part of a broader process of cultural imperialism and repression. This was challenged, in part, by the gender performance of Parnell and his resulting representation in the comic press.

2.2 Parnell and Feminisation

M. Weber, a nineteenth-century German sociologist, wrote of a specific phenomenon which he termed 'charismatic authority'. This was defined as a 'certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or…exceptional power of qualities'.[76] On the basis of this, an individual is recognised as a leader. Yet, this is an unstable state, and is prone to failure. This analysis certainly applies to the figure of Charles Stewart Parnell. During his rapid rise to power, Parnell was regarded in both England and Ireland as possessing extraordinary powers of personality. Parnell's gender performance was constructed and deconstructed in the English press throughout his career. Yet, in the context of a growing social purity movement, the revelation of his long-term affair with the married Kitty O'Shea broke the back of his political power and permanently confined him to relative obscurity. Ultimately, it is evident that Parnell's representation of a 'specific masculinity' was pivotal to both his charismatic leadership and political success, and his deviation from this was his downfall.[77]

Parnell's persona was carefully constructed so as to contrast with the popular conception of Irish Celtic characteristics of 'verbosity, emotionalism and gesticulation'.[78] He was revered as a political icon and interacted with the iconography of political masculinities constantly. Crucially, Parnell was educated in the boarding schools of England from a young age, as were

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[76] M. Weber; A. R. Anderson and T. Parsons (trans.), *Theory of Social and Economic Organisation* (New York, 1978 [1922]) p.10
[77] D. Wallerius, '"A Traitor, An Adulterer!", in K. Starck (ed.), *A Man's World? Political Masculinities in Literature and Culture* (Cambridge, 2014) p.98
[78] J. Loughlin, 'Constructing the Political Spectacle', p.223

most of the Anglo-Irish elite. J. Bristow stresses the importance of the Victorian public school in forming and maintaining the popular definition of masculinity, namely that of the male who is 'physically strong and morally incorruptible'.[79] This form of masculinity is evident in Figure 18, in which Parnell is engaged in a duel with the shadowy figure of *The Times*. Even the setting, the masculine realm of the duel, emphasises the importance of gendered performance. Produced in 1887, it was not clear at this stage whether or not the claims made by *The Times*, linking Parnell with the brutal Phoenix Park murders of 1882, were true, although fiercely denied by Parnell himself. Parnell is depicted in a strong stance, threatened but not overwhelmed by the allegations made against him. It is evident that *Fun* were not willing to condemn Parnell immediately. The motif of Shakespeare reoccurs here, with Parnell being referred to as 'the Irish Macbeth'. This is a clear allusion to the potential tragedy of moral character that might befall him.
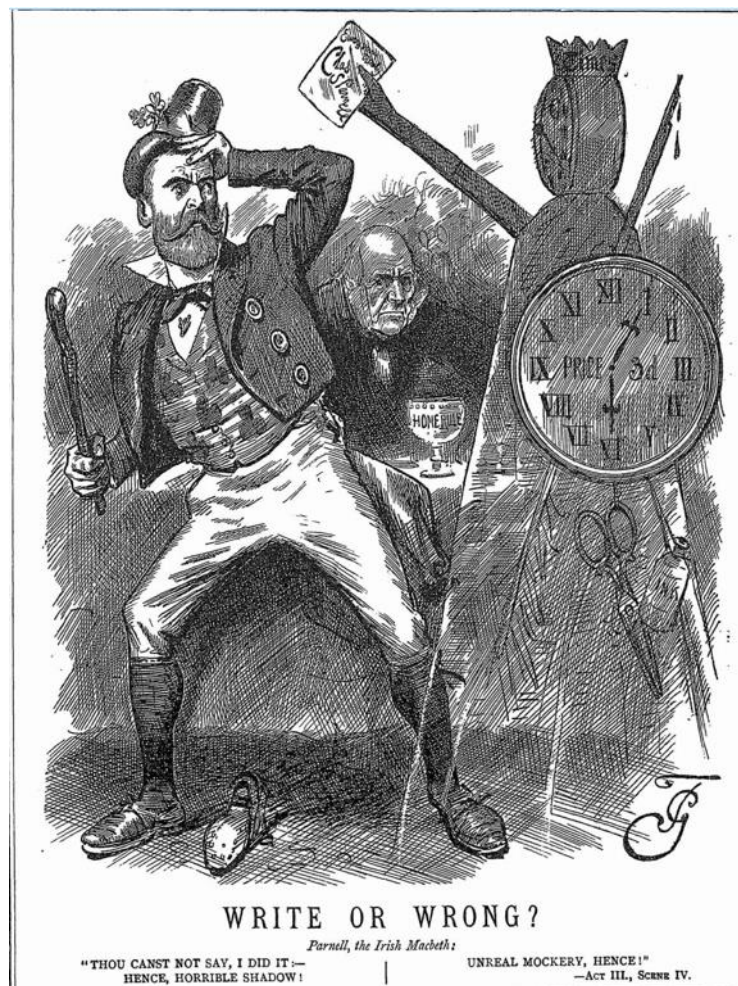

Figure 18 *'Write or Wrong?.'*, *Fun* (London, 27th April 1887) p.176

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[79] J. Bristow, *Empire Boys,* p.54

ANOTHER "STRONG MAN."

A DRESS REHEARSAL.—THE IRISH HERCULES SHOWING HIS MUSCLE.

[See *Cartoon Verses*, p. 52.

Figure 19 *'Another "Strong Man"'*, *Fun* (London, 29th Jan., 1890) p.46

However, the tables are turned in Figure 19. No longer Macbeth, 'the Irish Hercules', has defeated the diminutive figure of *The Times* with a grip of steel, whilst bearing the literal weight of Home Rule. Published in January 1890, Parnell had been vindicated of the claims made against him and emerged as the moral victor of this conflict. This is a clear portrayal of moral and physical strength, as Parnell is literally depicted as a political athlete. Throughout his depiction in different medias, including the comic press, Parnell's air of self-reliance and self-sufficiency became synonymous with the potential for Irish national independence.[80] This resulted in a counteracting of the imperialist bias of the masculine ideal. To return to Bhabha, the concept of mimicry is central here. Bhabha argues that part of the colonial "civilising mission" was an attempt to construct a 'reformed Other' through a process that he labels 'mimicry'.[81] This resulted in a resemblance of colonial discourse, as the ambivalence of

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[80] J. Valente, *The Myth of Manliness*, p.93
[81] H.K Bhabha, 'Of Other and Man', p.126

mimicry resulted in ideological 'slippage' as 'authorised versions of Otherness' appeared.[82] Therefore, mimicry is not a repression of difference, but a form of resemblance that defends its presence by displaying its difference in part. Parnell represents this 'authorised version' of Otherness, almost the same but not quite equal to the English imperialist. In the above depictions, he is decorated with the symbol of the shamrock, emphasising his racial Otherness, yet in the same instance representing the strength of his distinctly masculine character. This allowed Parnell to defy colonial emasculation, and by extension the emasculation of the Irish people. However, looming in the background of Figure 19 is a larger weight bearing the name 'O'Shea Divorce Case', implying that whilst Parnell has maintained his "strong man" persona thus far, there looms a greater challenge ahead.

Certainly, Parnell did not escape feminisation entirely. In Figure 20, published by *Fun* in December 1885, Parnell is depicted as the dandified gentleman. Following the November General Election, the IPP, with Parnell at its head, held the balance of power between the Liberals and Conservative. This cartoon depicts the newfound power held by the IPP and Parnell. Parnell's depiction is marked by his self-assured, yet almost feminine stance. He is impeccably well dressed, with shining boots and hat, despite his location in a stable. In Figure 21, published in August 1887, *Fun* again focuses on Parnell's perceived preoccupation with grandeur and status. In a lavish coat, metaphorically representing the Conservative Prime Minister Arthur Balfour's major Land Act, depicts a 'Tory Tailor' pandering to Parnell. It implies the inherent self-absorption of Parnell, who comments 'Rather tight yet, I fancy', an allusion to the narrow parameters of the recent Land Bill, to which the tailor replies 'No sir! A perfect fit…'. Prone to whims of fashion and vanity, Parnell in the above images represents the Victorian dandy. This aligned him with the aesthetes of the Victorian fin-de-siècle, in particular the likes of Oscar Wilde, a fellow Irishman. Evidently, there was a fine line between the aloofness, ignorance and superficiality of the dandy and the cold, composed exterior that Parnell strove to evoke. In these instances, Parnell not only represents a failure to conform to the ideal form of masculinity, but 'the travesty of the manly ideal'.[83]

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[82] H.K Bhabha, 'Of Other and Man'. p.129
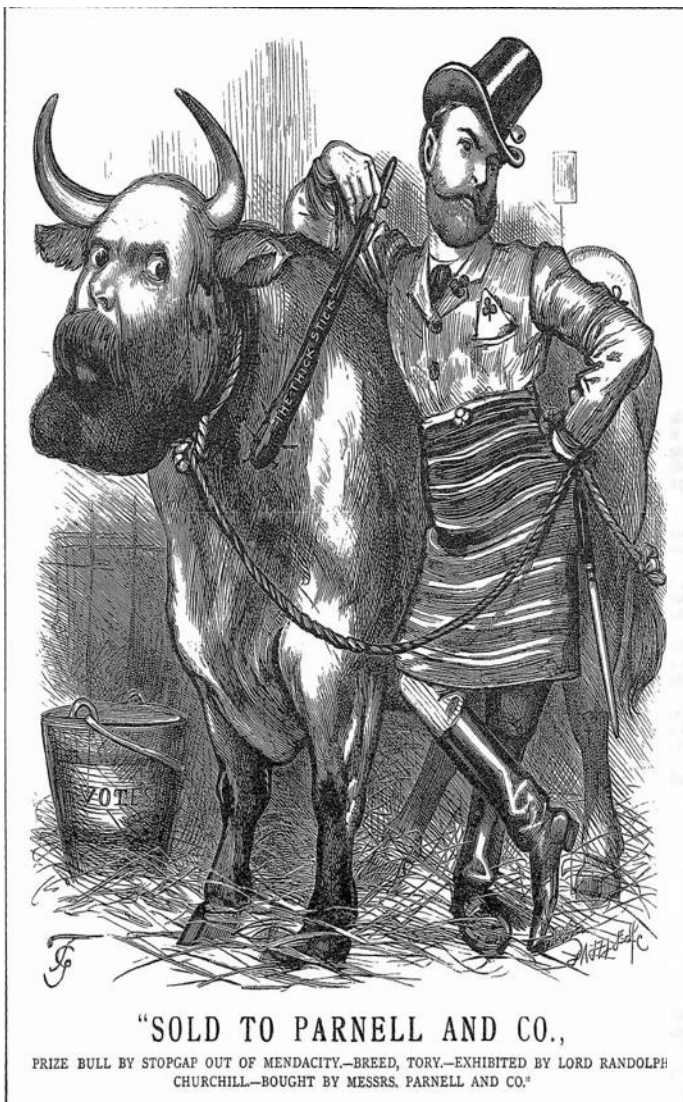[83] J. Valente, *The Myth of Manliness,* p.57

Figure 20 'Sold to Parnell and Co.', *Fun* (London, *9th Dec., 1885*) p.250

"SOLD TO PARNELL AND CO.,

PRIZE BULL BY STOPGAP OUT OF MENDACITY.—BREED, TORY.—EXHIBITED BY LORD RANDOLPH
CHURCHILL.—BOUGHT BY MESSRS. PARNELL AND CO."

Figure 21 *'Tory Tailoring.', Fun* (London, 3rd August,
1887) p.47

The O'Shea Divorce Case is a pivotal example of the importance of morality in the English conception of masculinity. It demonstrated the precariousness of Parnell's 'gendered political persona' and the arbitrary nature with which power was given and rescinded.[84] It was through sexual, and by extension moral, transgression, that Parnell's gender performance in the comic press was ultimately compromised. Figure 22 was published in January 1890, one month after Captain O'Shea filed for divorce from Kitty. It depicts a sheepish looking Parnell, hunched over with his head down. No longer the self-assured victor of the Special Commission, Parnell appears untrustworthy, poorly dressed and diminutive. A different guise of masculine failure is evident in Figure 23, published the same month. Parnell is symbolically rejected from the masculine sphere of political dealings, as Gladstone refuses to shake his outstretched hand. Dressed still in armour, Parnell's face appears older and worn and the depiction fails to convey masculine strength. Parnell, through his involvement in the divorce case, became embroiled in political deception and moral weakness which became 'indistinguishable from the corruption of the manly spirit of the Irish political enterprise'.[85]
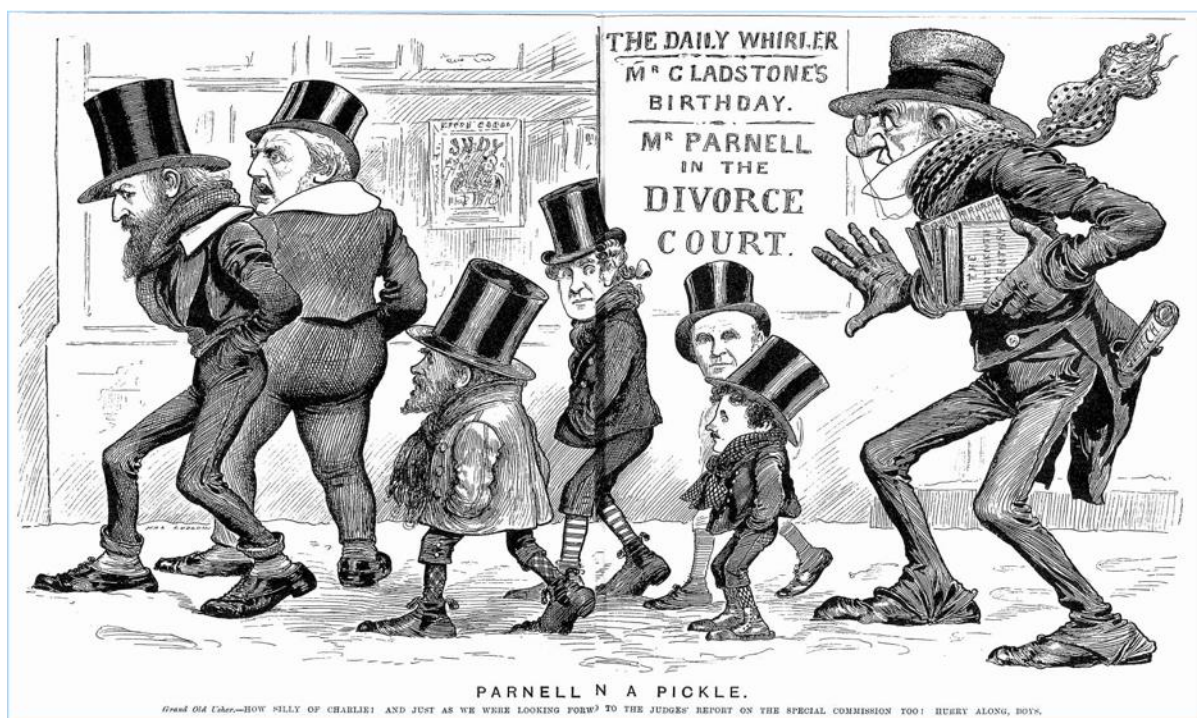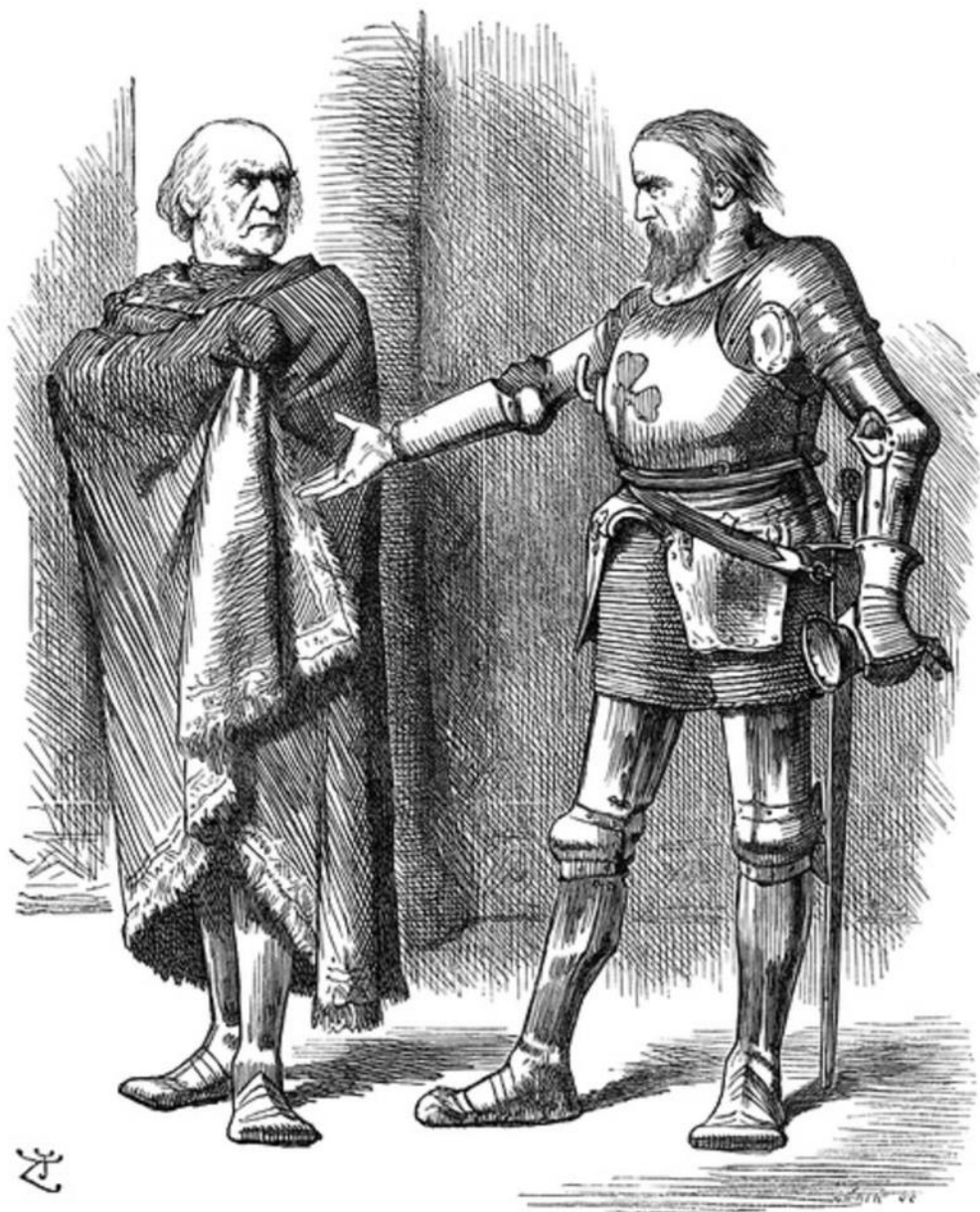

Figure 22 'Parnell in a Pickle.', *Judy* (London, 8th Jan., 1890) p.17

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[84] D. Wallerius, '"A Traitor, An Adulterer!", p.99
[85] J. Valente, *The Myth of Manliness,* p.55

"SEPARATISTS."

Douglas . . . . Mr. Gl-dst-ne.   Marmion . . . . Mr. P-rn-ll.

Douglas. "THE HAND OF DOUGLAS IS HIS OWN;
    AND NEVER SHALL IN FRIENDLY GRASP
    THE HAND OF SUCH AS MARMION CLASP!"—*Marmion*, Canto VI.

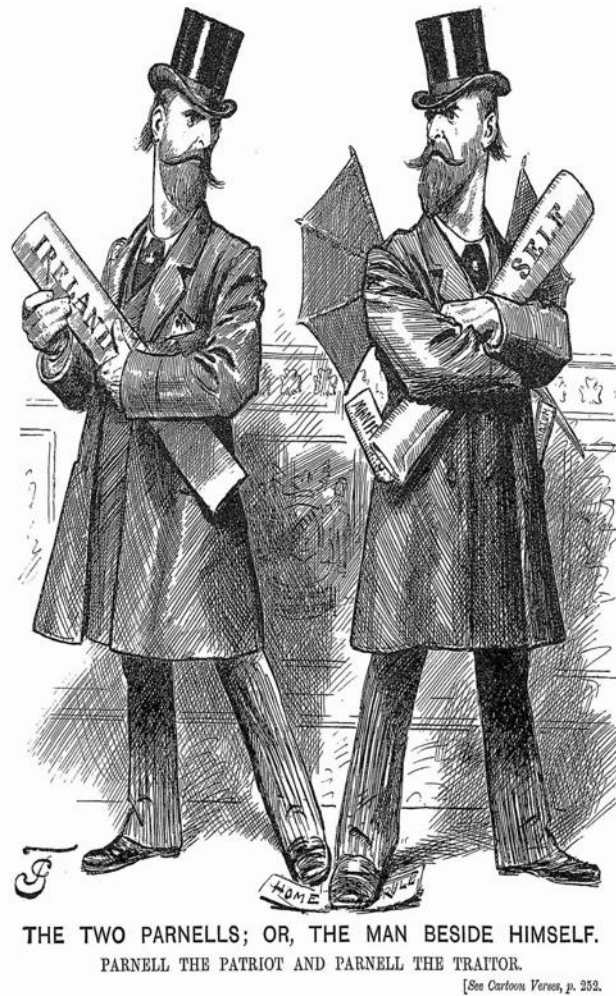**Figure 23** 'Separatists.', *Punch* (London, 12th June., 1890) p.271

Figure 24 'The Two Parnells; Or, The Man Beside Himself.', *Fun* (London, 10th Dec., 1890) p.246

The particular moral climate of the 1880s, characterised by an increased public interest in social purity, energised the moral debate surrounding the O'Shea vs. O'Shea divorce scandal. This led to calls for Parnell to resign from parliamentary life on the grounds that he was morally unfit for leadership.[86] J. Jordan contends that, ultimately, it was 'Nonconformist churchmen' who determined the fate of Parnell and, by extension, Irish Home Rule.[87] Indeed, Wallerius argues that Parnell 'exemplifies the complex interrelation of powerful institutions and (political) gender performance in late nineteenth century Ireland'.[88] This is illustrated in Figure 24, in which the moral implications of the O'Shea divorce scandal are clearly implicated. Published in *Fun* in December 1890, the cartoon depicts 'Two Parnells' torn between 'Ireland' and 'Self', a metaphorical divide between pre- and post-divorce scandal Parnell. 'Parnell the Traitor' is a winged devil, yet the similarity between the two figures perhaps implies the inherent immorality of 'Parnell the Patriot' beside him. Ultimately, Parnell is seen to be forsaking Ireland, and by extension the Home Rule cause. The O'Shea divorce case was the nail in the coffin for Parnell's political career as his inability to keep his private life private was seen as putting his party into a feminised state.[89]

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[86] J. Jordan, '"Our Modern Code of Morals": Public Responses to the 1890 O'Shea v. O'Shea Divorce Case'. *Victorian Review*, Vol.37, No.2 (Fall, 2011) pp.75-87, p.76
[87] Ibid, p.85
[88] D. Wallerius, '"A Traitor, An Adulterer!", p.98
[89] J. Valente, *The Myth of Manliness*, p.55

Parnell's moral failure led to outright political downfall. In Figure 25, Parnell's fate is sealed as he regards the setting sun of his fading power. Published in *Judy*, December 1890, the IPP had split and was fragmented into two sections. In Figure 26, from the same issue, Parnell is depicted as attempting to maintain control of a horse that is desperately trying to kick him off. Symbolically alluding to the IPP split, and Parnell's subsequent refusal to let go of power, the caricature is humiliating in its depiction of Parnell as undignified and out of control of both himself and his party. This sentiment is also conveyed in Figure 27. A shabby looking Parnell plays to a hellish mass of politicians and figures, tangled in the ensuing mess of the divorce scandal and resulting IPP split. Crucially, in the bottom right hand corner of the frame, Parnell is implicitly labelled as the *de-crowned* King of Ireland, as his symbolic crown has fallen and is crushed under a rock. In Figure 28, Parnell has been unceremoniously de-horsed by Gladstone and reduced to a humiliated, fallen soldier. Published in *Judy* in November 1891, one month before Parnell's death, this image illustrates the depths to which Parnell's influence and power had fallen to whilst emphasising his inability to meet his political rivals in battle. Ultimately, Parnell's moral failure led to his conversion from the 'paragon to antitype of (Irish) manliness', as he failed to uphold the fundamental standards of Victorian masculinity.[90]
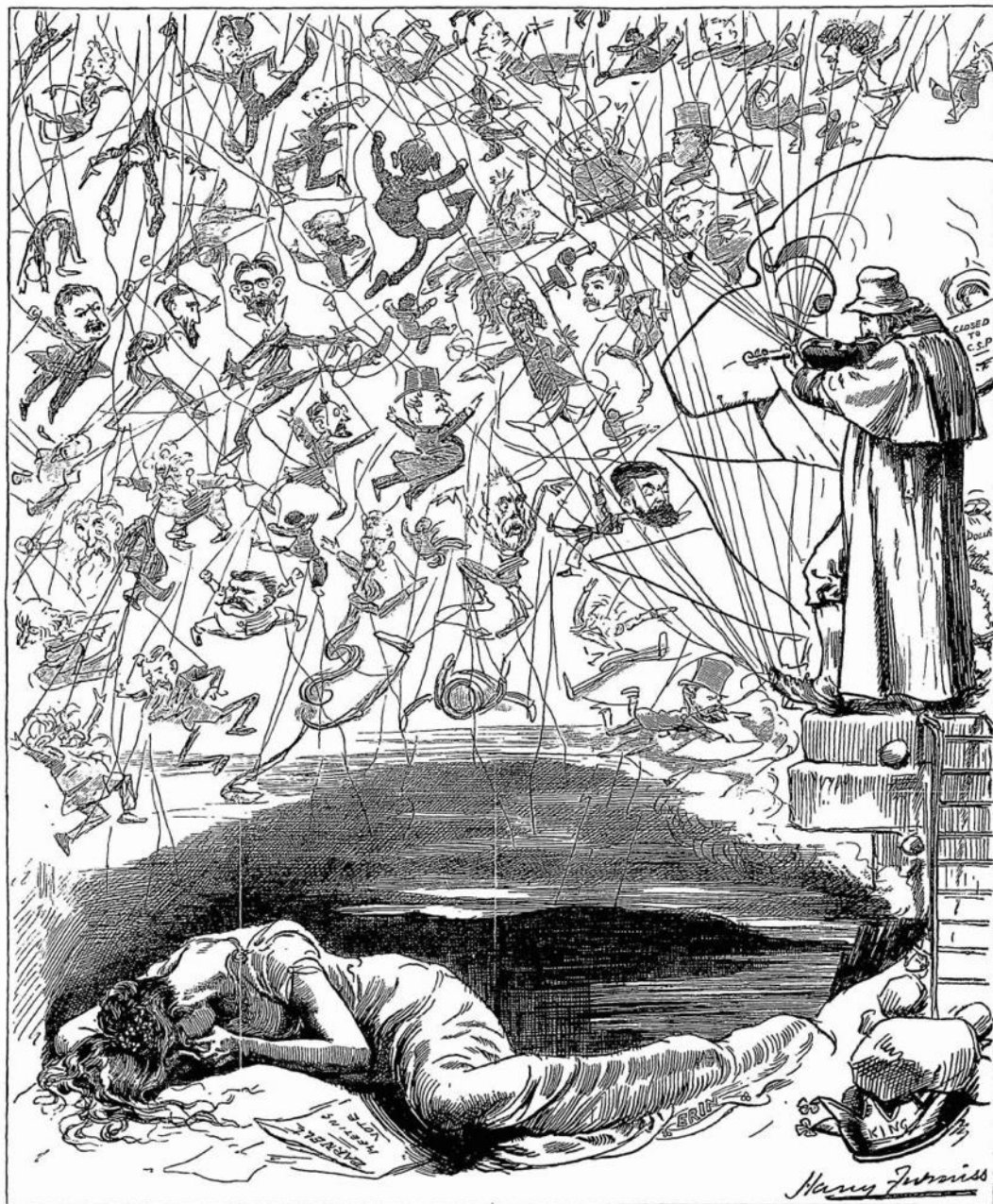

Figure 25 'The (Par)Nell of Parting Day', *Judy* (London, 10th Dec., 1890) p.277

SITTING TIGHT.

Figure 26 'Sitting Tight', *Judy* (London, 10th Dec., 1890) p.294

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[90] Ibid.

PARNELL'S PARLIAMENTARY PUPPETS.   THE STRINGS IN A TANGLE!

Figure 27 'Parnell's Parliamentary Puppets. The Strings in a Tangle!', *Punch* (London, 13ᵗʰ Dec., 1890) p.286
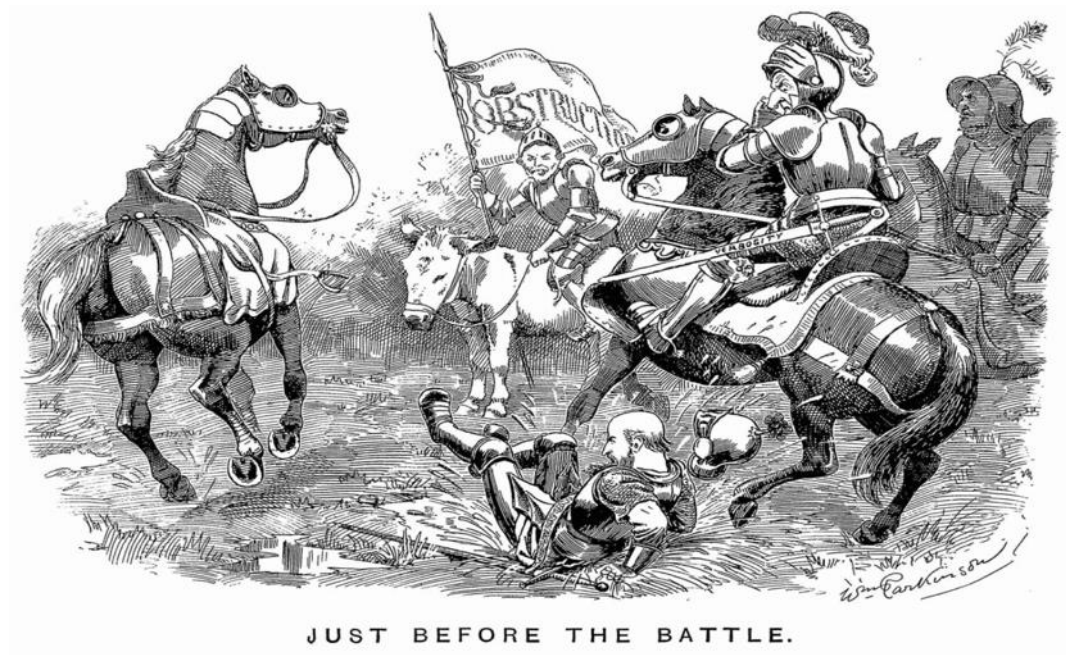
Figure 28 'Just Before the Battle', *Judy* (London, 26th Nov., 1890) p.258

Thus, Parnell became part of a strong link forged by past and successive English governments linking the Irish to criminality and immorality, and a parable of the defects of the Irish.[91] The instability of Parnell's gender performance is demonstrated in his depiction as the dandy and as the fallen soldier. Parnell's political career rested on a unique process of engaging with, and challenging, hegemonic masculinity, through which he resisted the discourses of Othering. However, Parnell's performance as masculine was compromised, which therefore compromised the masculinity of Ireland as a nation.[92] His portrayal in the English comic press reproduced and reflected the importance of gender performance in the Victorian political sphere, and its depictions of Parnell were imbued with motifs of feminisation and his subordination to other, more acceptable, figures of masculinity. Ultimately, Parnell's public persona could not withstand the stringent moral codes inflicted on Victorian masculinity, nor the pressures imposed by imperial structures.

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[91] D. Grube, *At the Margins*, p.54
[92] D. Wallerius, '"A Traitor, An Adulterer!"', p.98

Conclusion

'...He fronted headlong hate and scourging scorn,
Impassively persistent. But the task
Of coldly keeping up that Stoic mask
O'ertaxed him at the last; it fell, and lo!
Another face was bared to friend and foe...'.[93]

(Punch, Oct 17th 1891)

Charles Stewart Parnell, thirty years old when he began his political career and forty-five when he died suddenly, represented a crucial resemblance of gendered imperial ideals about the Irish. Evidently, contemporary political commentary and caricature of the Irish was based on feminisation and simianisation, yet Parnell carved a new discursive space for the Irish man. He was generally depicted neither as ape-like nor feminine, but as a poised gentleman. This dissertation has sought to demonstrate that, by embodying a form of upright masculinity, Parnell displayed qualities that were able to resist Valente's 'double bind' and assimilate to the hegemonic masculinity of the era. This was evidenced by his portrayal in the English comic press. However, this was eventually compromised by his involvement with moral scandal in the form of the O'Shea divorce case, which illustrates the rigid parameters within which Victorian manliness was constructed.

The above verse illustrates the ultimate significance of gender in Parnell's political career. It was the dropping of his 'stoic mask', a key trait of Victorian masculinity being self-restraint, that led to his downfall. 'Another face' was bared, one that did not conform to the standards of Victorian society, one that was unacceptable. Significantly, the historian S. Collini emphasises that Victorian understandings of manliness, and by extension masculinities, were shaped in contrast 'less with the feminine' and more with the 'bestial, non-human, childlike and immature'.[94] Thus Parnell's resistance to simianisation in the English comic press, in the context of neo-Darwinian social theory, held more significance than his eventual capitulation to the trope of feminisation. Nothing could have illustrated the stereotype of the undisciplined Irish more graphically than the chaos surrounding Parnell's fall; yet, years after his death it was

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[93] 'A Fallen Leader', *Punch* (London, Oct. 17th 1891) p.191
[94] S. Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850-1930* (Oxford, 1991), p.186

the 'forceful self-possession of Parnell's person' that lingered in the minds of the Irish.[95] Perhaps then it can be argued that Parnell's particular performance of masculinity, and its ensuing presentation in the English press, was ultimately successful in challenging gendered imperial discourse. After his death, it was not his faults that were remembered, but his compelling ambiguity of character, reserved strength and, crucially, his striking image, suited and in a top hat, that remained in the popular memory.

Although Parnell's individuality must be highlighted, as he stood largely as an exception to the rule for most of his short career, and was protected by his class and character, this dissertation has argued that his significance as an individual is dwarfed by his importance as a symbol. The above discussion of caricature in the English comic press demonstrates that Parnell's gender performance, within the broader imperial discourse about the degeneracy of the Irish, was central to the plight of Irish Home Rule. This is evidenced by both his rise and fall from power. Crucially, Boyce and O'Day contend that 'Parnell's era remains the only time where Irishmen seemed capable of dictating to British leaders'.[96] Indeed, in the months after his death, his obituaries, English and Irish alike, painted Parnell not as the fallen soldier but as 'never less than the Uncrowned King of Ireland'.[97]

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[95] J. Valente, *The Myth of Manliness,* p.119
[96] D. George Boyce and A. O'Day (eds.), *Parnell in Perspective,* p.4
[97] Unknown, 'Topics of the Day. The Death of Mr. Parnell', *The Spectator* (London, 10th Oct 1891) p.20

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