19th-Century Irish 'Ape-Man' Cartoons and the Aesthetic of the Grotesque.

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1. Introduction

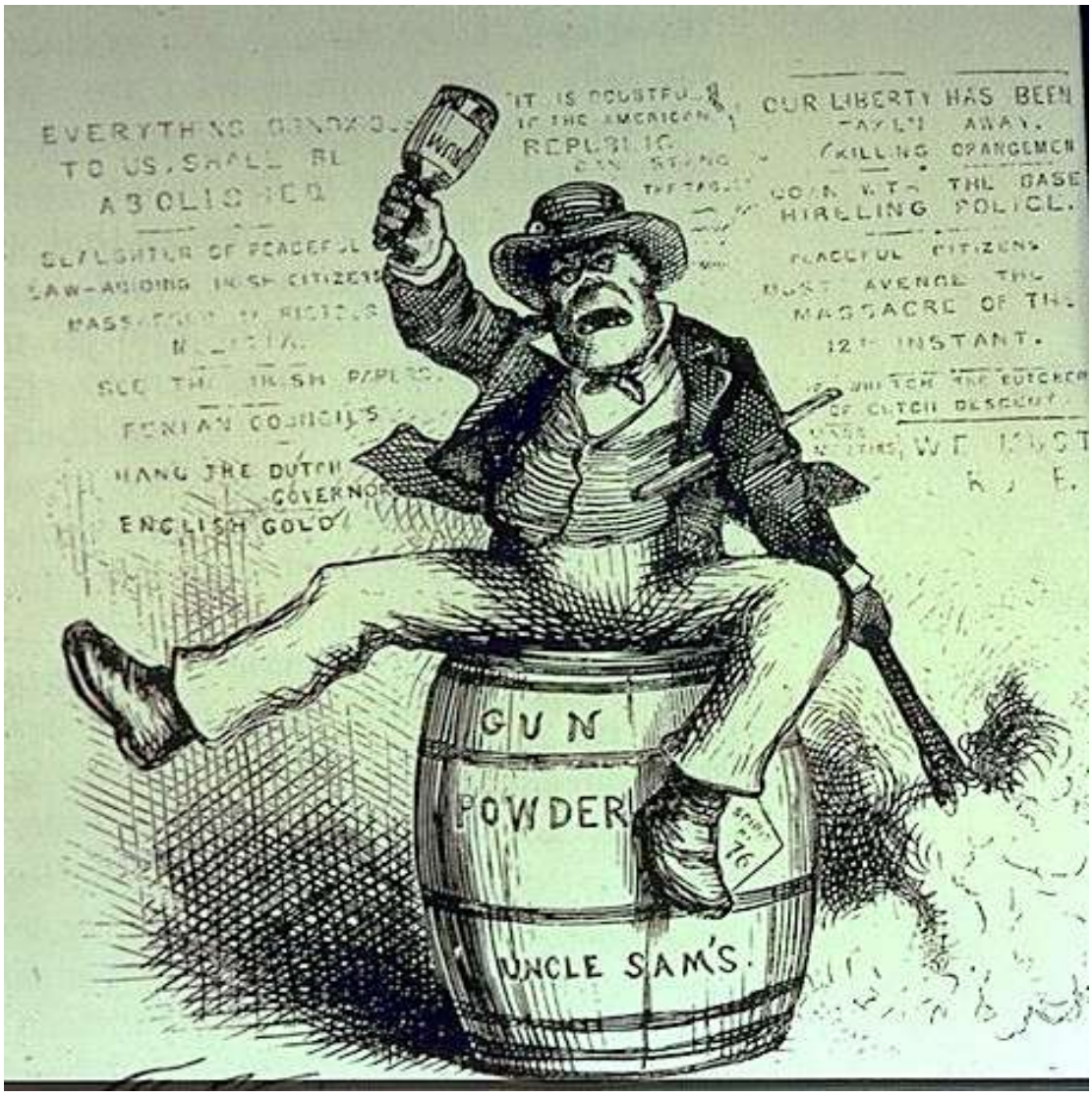


Fig: 1 - 'The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things' by Thomas Nast.
Harper's Weekly – September 2nd, 1871.

In the wake of the *Charlie Hebdo* massacre of early 2015 an article entitled '*Charlies Hebdo* cartoons similar to when Irish were seen as apes'[1] appeared on the Irish-American news website *Irish Central*.[2] It drew comparisons between the portrayal of Irish people as sub-human, often ape-like, violent savages in 19th-century American magazines such as *Harper's Weekly* and similarly negative images of Muslims in 21st-century French satirical magazines. The rather un-nuanced and populist article[3] was widely shared and commented upon and demonstrated the extent to which the representation of Irish people as apes and monsters in British and American political cartoons of the 19th century is the subject of an enduring fascination as well as continuing to provoke often heated discussion.[4] The main illustration for the article was an 1871 political cartoon called 'The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things' (See Fig: 1) by the renowned German-born American cartoonist Thomas Nast (1840-1902).[5] The cartoon portrays a distinctly ape-like Irishman. He appears to be very drunk and he is sitting on a barrel of gunpowder, which, in a fit of apparently random, uncontrolled aggression, he is about to light: despite the fact that he will destroy himself in the process. In the mid to late 19th century, Irish people, in particular 'Fenians' (radical, 'physical-force' Irish nationalists) increasingly came to be portrayed as sub-human, 'ape-men' and monsters in a large number of British and American political cartoons. Although Victorian comic journals teemed with social and cultural stereotypes: "many-hatted Jewish old clothes men, imbeciley grinning, moonfaced rustic [and] minstrel-show blacks" as well as "stage Irishmen;"[6] and although negative Irish stereotypes had long existed in both British and

American popular culture, there was something quite extraordinary about the extreme bestialization that occurred in the cartoon portrayals Irish people in this period. While it is true that major political cartoonists of the time such as John Tenniel and Thomas Nast, clearly drew on an already existing body of styles and stereotypes, as argued in recent biographies of the artists, both artists went much further in the elaborate extremes they went to in the representations of Irish people. [7]

A considerable amount of scholarship has been devoted to these 'ape-man' cartoons, beginning with pioneering works by Lewis P. Curtis, such as *Anglo-Saxons and Celts* (1968) and his masterly and influential *Apes and Angels – The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (1971),[8] along with the more recent, exhaustive review of images of the Irish in the British press in the 19th century, Michael de Nie's *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (2004).[9] This dissertation will examine the strengths and weaknesses of the main analytical perspectives that have thus far been taken on these cartoons, and then introduce a fifth crucial aspect: that of aesthetics.

The four existing perspectives are race, religion, social class and radical politics. This dissertation will argue that while these categories are extremely useful in understanding the ape-man cartoon phenomenon, they do not in themselves fully explain the emergence, popularity and sheer persistence of the Irish ape-man cartoons into the late 19th century. In order to do this the dissertation will attempt to place the cartoons in the context of a wider artistic and aesthetic tradition, that of the grotesque; arguing that, given the nature and readership of the periodicals in question, there was a

considerable amount of entertainment and even aesthetic pleasure to be derived from these cartoons.

The initial inspiration for this more pointedly aesthetic perspective was the commentary by L.P. Curtis on the Fenian monster in Matt Morgan's 1869 cartoon, 'The Irish Frankenstein', in the comic weekly *Tomahawk,*[10](see fig 2). Curtis describes the monster as being "one of the finest examples of the Irish ape-man genre."[11] Throughout his seminal study Curtis frequently praises the style and technique of many of the Irish ape-man cartoons, using such positive language as, "splendid examples of simianised Irish", "very fine specimens of the Irish ape" and the "finest Paddies",[12] without ever grappling directly with the peculiar irony of his admiring the artistry of many of the works whose moral content he systematically criticizes. This dissertation will attempt to grapple with that irony.

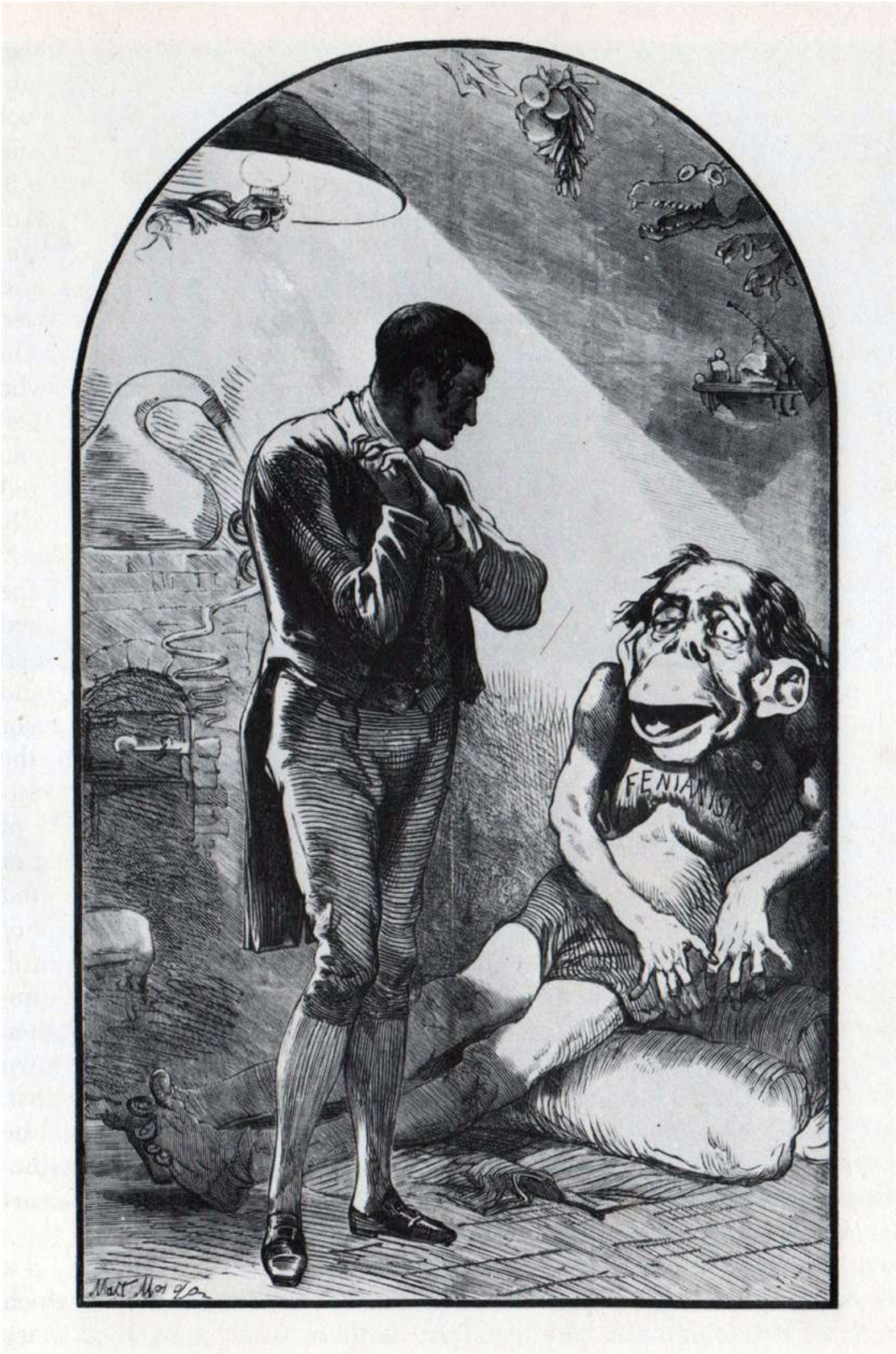


Fig: 2 - 'The Irish Frankenstein' by Matt Morgan.
Tomahawk. 18th December 1869.[13]

2. The Cartoons and their Context

Fig 3: "The Fenian Guy Fawkes' by John Tenniel.
Punch. 28th December, 1867

In his introduction to *Drawing Conclusions: A Cartoon History of Anglo-Irish Relations 1798-1998,* Roy Douglas writes that images of Irish people in 19th-century British political cartoons tended to "oscillate violently between representing Irish people as homicidal apes and as loyal, somewhat dim subjects of Queen Victoria."[14] At best, emotional and prone to fancy, moved more by their senses than by reason, albeit easily "duped by sinister agitators and demagogues such as popes and Irish-American Fenians"; at worst, bloodthirsty savages.[15] Cartoons portraying the Irish, or at least certain types of Irish people, as ape-like, sub-human beasts became increasingly pronounced in comic journals in Britain and the United States from the middle of the 19th century. And these "homicidal apes" have tended to be the best remembered of the two extremes identified by Douglas.[16]

The Irish Celts were, as outlined by Curtis Lewis *Apes and Angels*, among the "favorite objects of satire and parody by Victorian comic artists."[17] Moreover, by the middle of the 19th century, in particular by the 1860s, the dominant Irish stereotype of the Irish Paddy had to a very large degree moved away from that of the amusingly idiotic peasant and become increasingly menacing and bestialized creatures, eventually looking more like apes than men.[18] The Irish were also variously portrayed as monkeys, "Celtic Calibans"[19], Frankenstein monsters, Yahoos, devil-fish, ape-pigs, dragons and other fantastical combinatory creatures: almost always more frightening than merely humorous.[20] This dissertation uses the term 'ape-man' as an

umbrella term to refer to all of these combinatory cartoon creatures, following on the convention established by Curtis in *Apes and Angels*.[21]

The dominant Victorian stereotype of the Irish Paddy who, to an extreme degree, "looked more like an ape than a man"[22] was, however, a relatively new development when it began to appear in the mid 19th century. British perceptions and stereotypes of the Irish as savages had a history stretching back to the initial Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland in the 12th century,[23] and by the 18th century the drunken, simple-minded Paddy was a stock figure in popular American and British theatre.[24] Stereotypical representations of the Irish were nonetheless always basically human and rarely as terrifying in appearance as some of the Irish ape-men would be.

It was not until the late 18th and early 19th centuries that Irishmen in British, and later American, political cartoons began to appear more beast-like: heavy-jawed and wild-eyed. Somewhat feral-looking Irishmen had already begun to appear in some of the political caricatures[25] of Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) and James Gillray (1757-1815), particularly around the time of the 1798 United Irishmen rebellion in Ireland.[26] The Irishmen portrayed were still, however, clearly human. Irish immigrants in the United States were also, in popular illustrated periodicals of the time such as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News,* portrayed in what Thomas Nast's biographer, Fiona Deans Halloran, describes as "the typical manner of the time": uncouth and prone to drunkenness, conflict and violence.[27] But they were still basically human in appearance until the mid 19th century. Much of this was also an expression of the common belief in 'physiognomy', a popular 19th century pseudo-science that suggested a person's moral character was reflected in

their facial features and in shape of their skull. These beliefs were sometimes applied to entire ethnic groups.[28]

In 1845, in the popular illustrations for W.H. Maxwell's *History of the Rebellion in Ireland in 1798*,[29] the influential illustrator George Cruikshank (1792-1878) portrayed bloodthirsty, spear-wielding Irish rebels as looking more sub-human than ever before.[30] At this stage the British comic weekly *Punch* had begun to appear. From its inception in 1841 *Punch*, despite often claiming to hold radical ideals of social justice,[31] was strikingly consistent in its portrayal of Irishmen as savages, albeit still basically human in the very early years.[32] By the 1850s however, according to Marion H. Spielmann in his mostly sympathetic chronicle of the magazine '*The History of Punch (*1895), the magazine had acquired a distinct reputation for being anti-Irish.[33] Although, as Roy Foster demonstrates in *Paddy and Mr. Punch* (1995), attitudes in *Punch* to Irish issues did vary considerably throughout the 19th century: ranging from hostility, in the case of armed nationalism, to sympathy, in the case of certain moderate reforms.[34]

A more shockingly sub-human, monstrous Irish ape-man then began to appear in the 1860s – especially in the 'cuts' of *Punch's* senior cartoonist John Tenniel,[35] whose 1870 cartoon "The Irish Tempest' (See Fig 4), is a striking example of this new trend. Other cartoonists in Britain and the US soon followed suit. By the early 1870s in the American journal *Harper's Weekly,* Thomas Nast could, in a cartoon criticizing concessions to Catholic demands in New York, draw a gorilla in a crumpled suit and hat on the understanding, without any supporting text, that this was an *Irish* Catholic, (see Fig 5). By World War I cartoonists had on the whole "lost their taste for

simianized Paddies"[36], although anti-Irish jokes and caricatures in general would continue to be somewhat acceptable for decades.[37]

Fig 4: "The Irish Tempest' by John Tenniel. *Punch*. 19th March. 1870.

Fig 5: 'Something That Will Not Blow Over' (detail) by Thomas Nast
Harper's Weekly. 24 July 1871

3. Existing Perspectives

The existence of a considerable amount of anti-Irish prejudice in Victorian England is widely acknowledged;[38] the exact nature of and reasons for this prejudice is more problematic. The Irish were not alone in often being perceived as savages who needed to be subdued. Other colonial peoples such as Indians were widely viewed in a similar manner – albeit, as with the Irish, with occasional complex nuances.[39] It important to stress that such anti-Irish sentiments as existed were neither uniform or universally shared, as was borne out by an eloquent attack on anti-Irish cartoons and satire in the *Newcastle Chronicle* newspaper in 1882. [40] Morris also cites instances of other British journals of the time accusing *Punch* in particular of "racially maligning" the Irish.[41]

British perspectives on Ireland in the 19th century did not fall into clear liberal-conservative categories either: both persuasions being variously favorable to Ireland and the Irish at different times and for different reasons.[42] There were, as de Nie writes, "multiple and overlapping varieties of Irish-ness" and there was a constant "interplay of hostile and sympathetic conceptions of Paddy."[43] This can be seen very clearly in the 1881 John Tenniel cartoon 'Two Forces' (See Fig 6), in which two sides of Ireland are portrayed: the shabbily dressed, scheming Fenian terrorist is seen here in stark contrast with the smooth-limbed, demure Hibernia who buries her face in stern Britannia's protective shoulder. Curtis also discusses Hibernia in sexualized terms as representing a sort of "pre-Fenian, aboriginal innocence".[44] The "loyal" Irish in

general were also portrayed in more favorable terms, as conventional human beings, in British cartoons of the period.[45] Morris refers to the Hibernia/Paddy ape-man dichotomy as an “article of faith with England’s representatives in Ireland.”[46] He also cites another striking example of this dichotomy in which an anti-Fenian Catholic priest was portrayed in Punch as a “veritable Adonis.”[47] Although, as Curtis stresses, the “apes far outnumbered the angels”.[48]

The Irish ape-man cartoons have, as mentioned in the introduction, been analysed from four main perspectives: race, religion, social class and radical politics.[49] The next section will examine each of those perspectives before introducing a fifth distinct perspective, that of the aesthetic of the grotesque.

Fig 6: 'Two Forces' by John Tenniel. *Punch*. 29 October. 1881

3.1 – Race

In August 2012 a political mural appeared on the "International Wall" in nationalist West Belfast as part of a campaign against racist attacks on Roma People in Belfast,[50](see Fig 7). The mural, a layered political cartoon about political cartoons, drew parallels between contemporary (in this case anti-Roma) racism in Northern Ireland and the anti-Irish cartoons of the 19th century. "We're projections of 19th-century anti-Irish prejudice," declares the Irish ape-man, "we've never actually existed". The virus-like creature on the right-hand side is called "Ethnoid Steriotypus", and it claims to have concocted negative stereotypes about entire ethnic groups throughout history. The mural is especially notable for two reasons. Firstly, the Irish ape-man cartoons are still sufficiently well known for the original caricatures to not only be recognized, but to be subversively caricatured in this manner in a public space. Secondly, there is clearly an assumption that the original Victorian cartoons were the direct result of irrational, anti-Irish racism.

The racial or racist dimension is still the initial impression most Irish people have on viewing the 19th century ape-man cartoons, as has already been pointed out at the start of this dissertation, where the author of the 2015 news article cited refers unambiguously to "The racist cartoon campaign against the Irish" in many 19th century political cartoons.[51] The pseudo-Darwinian "racialist virus"[52] view of Curtis and others,[53] is pointedly criticized in Roy Foster's *Paddy and Mr. Punch,*[54] and in Sheridan Gilley's essay, 'English Attitudes to the Irish in England, 1780-1900.'[55] Gilley argues that Celticism and Saxonism were very ambiguous concepts in the 19th century.

Both Foster and Gilley argue that class and religion were far more important than race in stereotypical representations of the Irish.

'Racism' is nonetheless still widely seen as having been the main, if not the only, impulse behind the Irish ape-man cartoons and, indeed, anti-Irish prejudice in general in the 19th century. So to what extent was this really the case?

Fig 7: Anti-Racist Mural on the West Belfast '*International Wall*'. 2012[56]

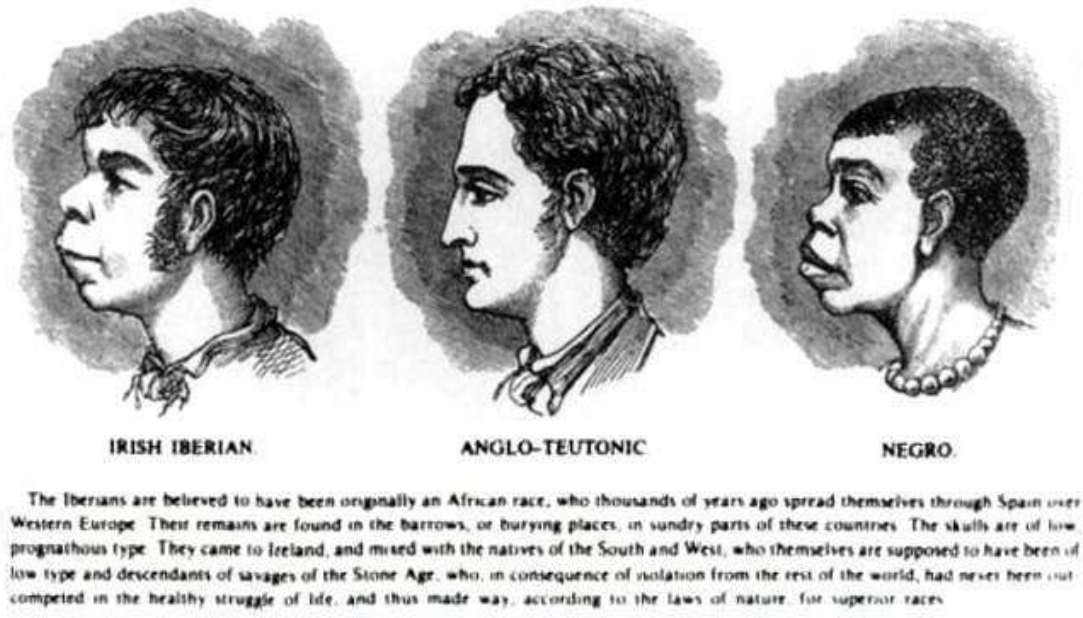


Fig 8: Published in *Harper's Weekly*, "mid 19th Century".[57]

Although there was, writes Curtis, a "widespread belief in Victorian England that Englishmen and Irishmen were separated by clear-cut ethnic or racial as well as religious and cultural barriers"[58] this view was, as has been explained in the introduction to this section, rarely monolithic. There was also a common view that the Irish constituted a separate race, somewhere between the "Anglo-Teutonic" and the "Negro" – as illustrated in a *Harper's Weekly* cartoon from the mid 19th century (see fig 8).

Generally, however, very specific types of Irish people were being satirized in the ape-man cartoons. The Irish ape-man was rarely if ever meant to represent *all* Irish people.[59] The very term 'race' itself is problematic in that in the 19th century it was used far more freely to refer to national, ethnic and even religious groups than is now the case.[60] It is also frequently argued in Ignatief's *How the Irish Became White* [61] for instance, that race was rarely if ever perceived to be an intrinsic, biological condition, rather a social

construct.[62] De Nie refers to it as being a "metalanguage in Anglo-Saxonist discourse".[63] 'Race' was therefore something that could be altered. While there were parallels between how the Irish were viewed by the British and how the British viewed Indians, Africans and other colonial peoples,[64]de Nie and Ignatief both note the Irish were the only "colonial" people whom, it was believed, could potentially be Anglicized.[65] Views of the Irish as lazy and irrational may therefore, to an extent, be seen as an overbearing sort of "Benthamite desire to organize the lives of others"[66] rather than a blind, atavistic racial hatred. That is not to suggest that such hatred did not exist in certain circles, however. Much of the racial theorizing of the 19th century was, as A.N. Wilson points out in *The Victorians*, inspired by a certain amount of good will and progressive idealism,[67] unpalatable as that may now seem after the horrors of the mid-20th century, when pseudo-scientific racism achieved its fullest expression in Nazi Europe. This was an era of innumerable self-help pamphlets and tracts, savings banks, sensible marriages and fervently idealistic programmes for improving all of humanity.[68] There was an empiricist fervor for logically examining and understanding everything, from particles of dusts to higher truths.[69] This desire to understand and improve could all too easily become desire to control and alter.

Descriptions of the Irish as barbarous murderers and savages dated back centuries, to the initial Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland. These prejudices were, however, formalized in the 19th century with the emergence of new sort of racial "science". Some authors such as the Scottish Anatomist Robert Knox observed biologically determined racial dimensions in *all* aspects of culture. In his book *The Races of Men* (1850) he went so far as to claim

that the Irish and the English were irrevocably separate races.[70] Others were more 'optimistic', for want of a better word, and – as has already been indicated – saw the stubbornly "barbarous Irish" as wallowing in a "social state" that could nonetheless be transformed through contact with civilizing English laws and customs.[71]

Having established that there was indeed a certain amount of racial prejudice behind the ape-man cartoons, why were the Irish in particular portrayed as *apes,* effectively a completely distinct species? Among what Curtis calls "popular scientific folklores"[72] in the 19th century was the widespread belief in a biologically determined hierarchy of races.[73] Drawing on Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Survival* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871) the idea of evolutionary stages of development became attractive to the 19th progressive mindset,[74] although theories of evolution had existed since the 18th century.[75] There was a widespread fascination with theories of evolution, and Darwin's *Origin of the Species* was one of the bestsellers of the age.[76] Public debates between Darwinist Thomas Huxley and anti-evolutionist Sir Richard Owen captured the public imagination and fueled a growing interest in gorillas and other "higher apes".[77]

It is also important to point out that Darwin's work itself was merely intended as observation and was not intended to buttress any particular economic or political agenda.[78] His observations were principally zoological and botanical. He never suggested people were descended from apes as such; rather that apes and humans shared a common ape-like ancestor. It

was Bishop Wilberforce's "mischievous" suggestion that Darwin was suggesting humans were descended from apes and monkeys that captured the public's imagination.[79] A.N. Wilson argues in fact that most Victorians, even those who had read Darwin's works, would have been oblivious to all but the broadest notions of Darwinian evolution, but they were happy to apply what they knew of it to more simplistic, popular notions of racial hierarchy.[80] In that context therefore, it made crooked sense to portray the Irish as apes: apes (Irish) were on the way to becoming human (English), but they were not quite human (English) yet.

How racist or bigoted were the individual creators of the ape-man cartoons? There appears to be no evidence that the prolific *Punch* cartoonist John Tenniel was especially bigoted against any one group of people.[81] *Punch's* John Leech was more openly anti-Irish, as well as being anti-Jewish.[82] The case of Thomas Nast is more complex. He appeared to loathe the Irish with an intensity that was almost personal,[83] yet he was energetically anti-slavery before and during the American Civil War. He saw the Irish, who in general opposed equality for black people,[84] as "representing the dangers of Northern racism".[85] His anti-Irish prejudices may also have had to do with his own insecurities growing up as part of a German-American immigrant minority in New York, for whom the main rival immigrant group was the Irish.[86] It must also be stressed that Nast was very much as man of his time and "prone to its minstrely stereotypes".[87] For instance on his still widely-reproduced Harper's Weekly cover, 'This is a White Man's Government' (see fig: 9), both figures are portrayed stereotypically, although it is the Irishman who looks really dangerous.

The pages of the comic press of the time "teemed with social and racial stereotypes", as Morris writes in relation to *Punch.*[88] Racial stereotyping was common in caricatures of all classes of people. Prime Minister Disraeli, for instance, was commonly portrayed as a "gypsy wizard" with an air of "Asiatic mystery", because of his Jewish background.[89] It is also worth pointing out that such racist hierarchies were not peculiar to English commentators, with a small number of Irish authors effectively inverting the prejudice and claiming the superiority of the eloquent, graceful Celt over the dull, materialistic Saxon.[90] An Irish letter-writer to the Times in 1852 wrote of the "flaxen-haired, bullet-headed, pig-eyed, huge-faced, long-backed, pot-bellied, bad-legged, stupid, slavish, lumbering, sulky boor of a Saxon."[91]Although even crude anti-English caricatures, such as notable Irish cartoonist Thomas Fitzpatrick's brutish "Bill Stiggins of Uxbridge" ,[92] rarely if ever descended to the extreme bestiality of the Irish ape-man cartoons, despite suggestions by Foster and Morris to the contrary.[93]

"Scientific'" racism therefore certainly informed the ape-man stereotypes in political cartoons of the 19th century, and the sensitive question of there being a lingering racist dimension to British attitudes to the Irish has not disappeared (as could be seen in the *Irish Times* "white nigger" controversy in 2003).[94] But such attitudes do not fully explain the emergence and persistence of the ape-man cartoons. Had there been deep-seated racism against *all* Irish people, as Roy Foster argues, such prominent figures as the radical chartist leader Feargus O'Conner in 19th century England would have been quite unable to gain the extraordinary degree of influence that they did.[95]

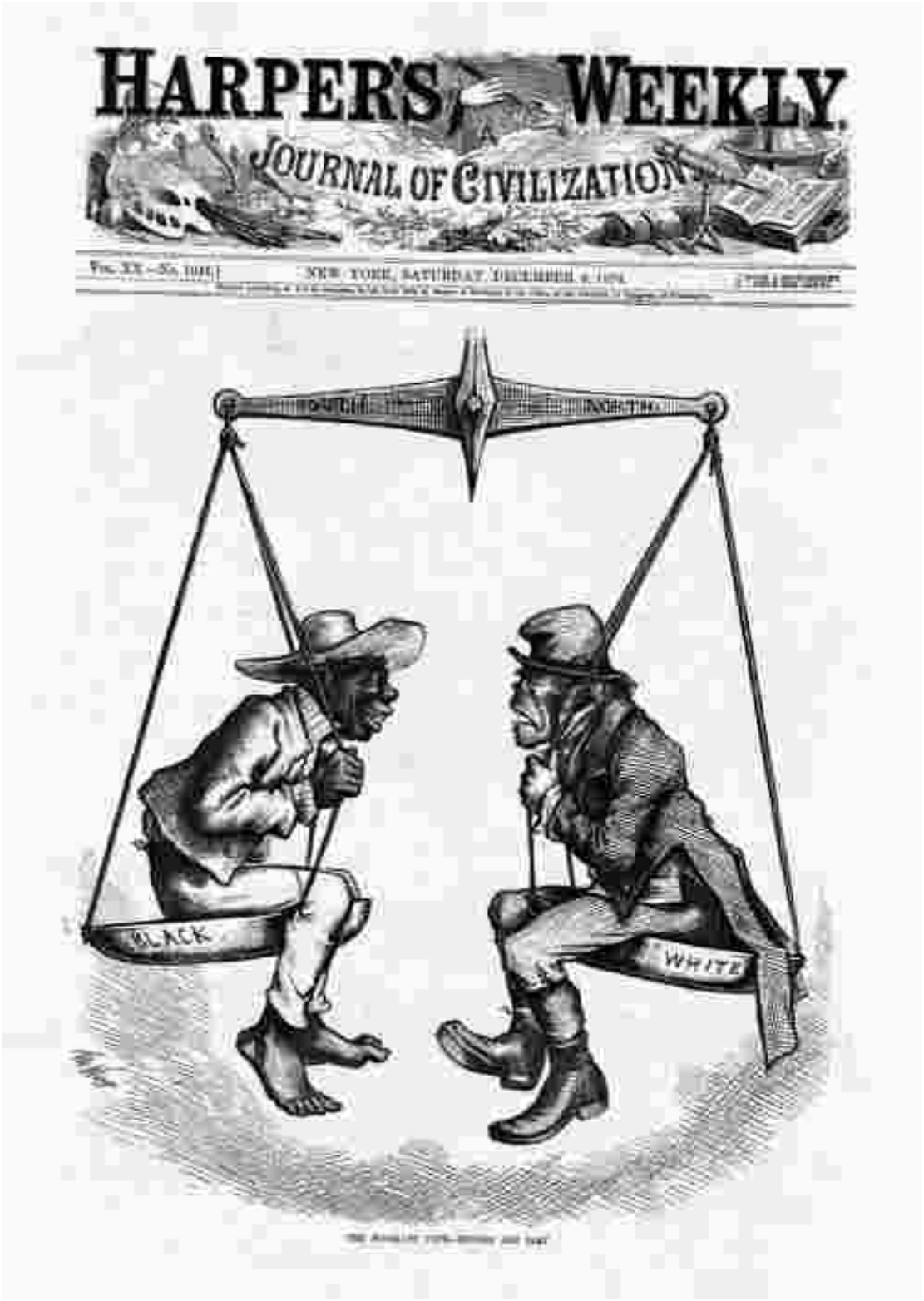


Fig 9: 'This is a White Man's Government' by Thomas Nast.
Harper's Weekly December 9th 1876.

3.2 – Religion

"They are a dreadfully aggressive people", wrote Queen Victoria about Catholics, "who must be put down."[96] Catholics, not just in Britain and Ireland but elsewhere, were commonly seen by Protestants as being in possession of "dark minds" and enslaved by "chains of medieval superstition."[97] In the 19th century, Irish – in particular native *Gaelic* Irish – ethnic identity came to be ever more intertwined with Catholicism. The majority of the population had continued to be Roman Catholic after the Protestant Reformation of the 16th century. In 19th century Ireland, writes George Boyce in *Nineteenth-Century Ireland: The Search for Stability,* the question of "which tradition [Catholic or Protestant] would prevail" was central.[98] Emigration from Ireland became, as F.S.L. Lyons observes in *Ireland Since the Famine*, part of the "very fabric of Irish life" in the hundred years after the famine (1845-49).[99] Two million people alone left the country in the six years after the famine, emigrating mainly to Britain and the United States: the majority of them were Catholics.[100] Under Cardinal Wiseman the English Catholic church itself grew enormously in the mid-19th century, especially after the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England in 1850 and the conversion of influential Anglicans. All of these factors lead to an increase in anti-Catholic hysteria in Britain.[101]This "anti-Catholic mania" was pronounced on many levels of British society.[102] Wilson identifies an "atavistic aversion to the Roman Catholic religion itself" that was often "rank and sour".[103]As with other forms of anti-Irish racial prejudice, it must also be stressed, such opinions were not held by everyone.

Arnstein, for example, has argued that most Britons were in fact "embarrassed and outraged" by the more excessive and violent anti-Catholic protesters.[104]

Fig 10: 'Carving up the Democratic Party' by Thomas Nast.
Harper's Weekly. Circa 1870

These prejudices found graphic expression in many of the Irish ape-man cartoons of the time. Thomas Nast was unequivocally anti-Catholic, as Halloran demonstrates,[105]and not merely anti-clerical – as some scholars have argued.[106] His cartoon, 'Carving up the Democratic Party', shows an extremely simianised Irishman facing a fanatical-looking Catholic clergyman, who appears to be directing the ape-man to carve up the Democratic Party in favour of the Catholic church (see fig: 10). Such cartoons, in which Irish

Catholics were portrayed as being primitive, superstitious, deeply alien beings, not fully human and were under the control of sinister, Dr Frankenstein-like Catholic clergy, became very common. Another example of anti-Catholic sentiment were John Tenniel's "Mrs Pope"[107] caricatures in *Punch* and his 1870 cartoon 'The Irish Tempest', which has already been mentioned, (see fig 4). In 'The Irish Tempest' the slavering Irish Caliban can be seen wearing a sash with "Untramontanism' written on it: referring to the now "infallible" Papacy's attempt to extend its influence more energetically throughout Europe in the late 19th century.[108]

Anti-Catholicism in Britain and America was certainly, therefore, a factor in the Irish ape-man cartoons; It is does not, however, fully explain their extremism and persistence.

3.3 - Social Class

Victorian society lived in "fear of lower-class insurrection and revolution from abroad", writes Morris.[109] After the Great Famine in Ireland (1845-9), a disproportionate number of the impoverished masses inhabiting the new industrial slums of Britain were Irish, bringing with them social unrest, cholera and cultural strangeness,[110] Built on the fact that, as A.N. Wilson writes, "Industrial manufacturing capital, enriching the shareholder of the rentier class, needed an army of near-slaves to keep the ever-expanding industry going."[111] Likewise, in the United States, the Irish comprised a larger proportion of the urban poor than any other ethnic group in the mid 19th century.[112]

The "Victorian upper ten thousand" was an educated, wealthy elite who "regardless of social, ethnic or religious background were all part of the same club."[113]This upper caste, the British establishment, was – according to A.N. Wilson in *The Victorians* – united in one thing: "the desire to keep the masses in check, regardless of nationality or race".[114] Although there were some who went so far as to argue that the lower classes *did* in fact constitute a separate race.[115]A very large number of the poor in industrial Britain were Irish immigrants, but the majority were native English. The horrors of the Poor Law workhouses were, for instance, not confined to Ireland.[116] Malthusian fears of population explosion, social unrest were widespread, but such fears did not know ethnicity or creed.[117]

Despite Harriet Beecher's suggestion that *Punch* laughed at everyone except the working man,[118] it was not uncommon in cartoons of the time to portray *all* lower-class people in a somewhat simianized manner, as could already be seen in some of the early political caricatures of Gillray, reproduced in Vic Gatrell's *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London,[119]* and as can also be seen in the 1845 John Leech cartoon in fig: 11.[120]Jokes about the lower classes were, as Morris points out, extremely popular in *Punch* and amongst the middle and upper classes in general. [121]Lower-class people were routinely portrayed as dishonest, lazy and inept in the pages of *Punch*.[122]

While *Punch* itself was at times assuredly progressive in its values it could also be extremely conservative, such as in its opposition to extension of the franchise in 1884.[123] The magazine in general tried to "avoid obvious partisanship,"[124] although its political views were often inconsistent over time,

even within single issues.[125] Even journals such as *Fun,* which was ostensibly more liberal than *Punch*, often portrayed lower-class characters as stereotypical bufoons.[126]The fact that the Irish were part of the menacing swell of industrial poor in Britain in the 19th century goes some way towards explaining why there were prejudices against them and why they were portrayed in such an insulting manner in political cartoons of the time. There was, however, still quite some distance between a somewhat prognathous cockney or a toothless, grinning bumpkin and an ape-like homicidal monster; the fact that *all* 'inferior' peoples were laughed at does not, however, come near to adequately explaining the existence and popularity of the Irish ape-man cartoons.

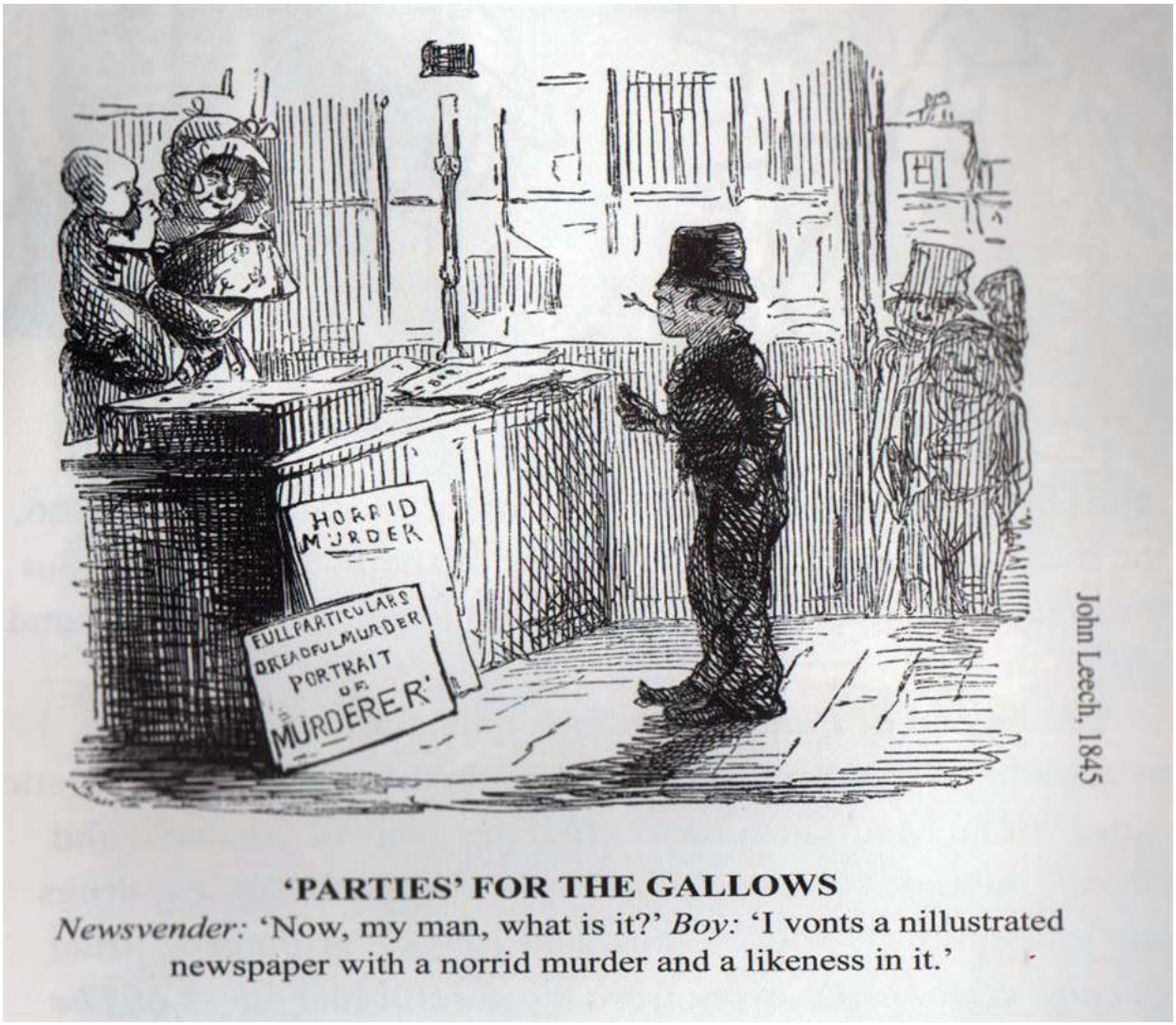


Fig: 11 – "'Parties' for the Gallows' by John Leech. *Punch*. 1845

3.4 - Radical Politics

As George D. Boyce points out in *Nineteenth Century Ireland: The Search for Stability,* "Ireland was deeply influenced by British government, society and culture. Her politics, literature all were dominated by her powerful neighbor."[127] The official hope was that Ireland would eventually somehow

shed its stubborn peculiarities and merge seamlessly with the United Kingdom.[128] Ireland, rural Ireland in particular, was – however – proving to be immune to the charms of English laws, rituals and codes of conduct.[129] Moreover, from the middle of the 19th century Irish nationalism had – from the Young Irelanders of the 1840s and 50s to the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), or 'Fenians', of the 1860s, 70s and 80s – become increasingly radicalized and violent.[130] The 'Fenians' were a clandestine, Irish nationalist revolutionary organization that emerged in 1858. Their aim was to gain complete independence for Ireland through the use of physical force, especially bomb attacks and assassinations.[131] They were active in Ireland, in Britain and, to a limited extent, in the United States.

This menace of armed secret societies in Ireland provoked a sort of "primitive terror" in Britain and amongst the Anglo-Irish and Protestant establishment in Ireland itself.[132] And yet at worst Ireland was – according to George Boyce in *19th Century Ireland: The Search for Stability* – "a problem and an irritant" for Britain and not the subject of intense atavistic hatred.[133] For instance, In the midst of the Fenian Panic in the late 1860s the *Illustrated London News* noted with an air of cool detachment, "We begin the year (1868) with a novel experience – a vague sense of social insecurity."[134] Moreover, despite moments of instability, 19th century Ireland and Britain were not societies in violent turmoil compared to other parts of Europe. They were in fact more characterized by "long periods of ordinariness and quiescence".[135]Although this 'conventional wisdom' may well be something of an exaggeration and has even been criticized by some as being a self-congratulatory Victorian "false impression."[136]

'We cannot feel safe anywhere in the Kingdom' declaimed the Morning Herald until violent Fenians "have been subjected to the dreadful penalties of the law".[137] The 1867 Tenniel cartoon 'Fenian Guy Fawkes' (see fig 2)[138] expresses the 'Fenian panic' that swept Britain in from the 1860s to the end of the 19th century.[139] It was also at this time that the previously merely prognathous Paddies began to become more beastly than human – on occasion being portrayed outright as animals. Yet the IRB was riddled with spies and was not particularly lethal, even by contemporary standards.[140] The threat of extreme violence was not an everyday reality for most people – in particular the generally middle-class readers of comic weeklies and periodicals in Britain. Nonetheless, they enjoyed looking at images of fierce, Fenian bogey-men being portrayed as apes, monsters and other terrifying creatures. Why was this?

Despite the 'Fenian Panic' being more a form of hysteria than a realistic reaction to tangible danger "hostile and sympathetic conceptions of the Irish were" writes de Nie, "in constant interplay."[141] And just because the dangers were not as real as people thought, did not make the fears any less intense. Certainly, by the early 1880s, which saw a renewal of Fenian bomb attacks in Britain[142] and the peak of the Land War in Ireland, hostile anti-Irish stereotypes did begin to dominate again[143]and the 'Irish Question' became increasingly central to British politics.[144] This was certainly a factor in the persistence of the ape-men cartoons in British magazines, but it does not fully explain them.

A further complicating factor was the fact that much of the anti-Fenian satire of the time was not explicitly anti-Irish and rather, as de Nie has pointed

out at considerable length in *The Eternal Paddy,* much satire of the time claimed that the most violent Fenians were Irish-American – therefore foreign - and not Irish (therefore, officially, 'British'). The native Irish were essentially – according to this line of thought - good and loyal, albeit prone to being easily manipulated by their evil cousins from abroad. The *Illustrated London News* in 1865 even insisted that the Fenians were "out of harmony with real Irish sentiment".[145] Similarly, the *Morning Post* in 1867 called Fenianism a "noxious weed of foreign growth".[146] The fear and anger was, argues de Nie, "anti-Fenian" and not "anti-Irish" in nature.[147] Nonetheless the subtle distinction between conniving revolutionaries abroad and ordinary Irish people was not always clear in many cartoons of the time and the native Irish were still often portrayed as degenerate, cowardly, murderers – even if they were ultimately dupes of their American controllers.[148]The nature of anti-Irish bigotry in the United States itself was somewhat different to Britain. In the United States the Irish were just one of a number of ethnic groups and Fenianism was not seen as a major threat. The Irish, nonetheless, were widely seen as being at odds with 'Nativist' notions of "American" culture as Anglo-Saxon and Protestant, as well as being unpopular with other minority ethnic groups. [149]

What about the cartoonists themselves? Were they driven by any political agendas? Tenniel claimed, somewhat disingenuously perhaps, to have *no* political views.[150] Nast, in contrast, was an active supporter of the Republican Party and claimed absolute independence from editorial direction.[151] His politics were often, however, criticized for being unsophisticated and simplistic.[152] Halloran argues that Nast was not anti-Irish as such rather that he had an "aversion to the bigotry that surrounded the Irish

as a group."[153]The Irish in urban America had a reputation for racism, as has already been mentioned, but they were also commonly associated with endemic political corruption.[154]

So, the fears caused by the 'Fenian Panic' in Britain were complex and real. And events of the 1860s to 1880s certainly, as Morris argues, accelerated "Paddy's simainization".[155] And there was considerable hostility to the masses of Irish immigrants in the United States from the middle of the 19th century. But this does not fully explain why the Fenian Irish, among all of the potential enemies of Britain, and the British establishment, at this time were portrayed so consistently and ferociously as apes and monsters. To do this we must examine the artistic and cultural context of the time, in particular the popularity of the grotesque style.

Fig 12: 'The Modern Oedipus and the Irish Sphinx'. *Funny Folks*. January 13th. 1881

Part Two

3. The Grotesque

"I have one aim, the grotesque. If I am not grotesque, I am nothing."

Aubrey Beardsley (1896)[156]

19th century political cartoons which have, in the 20th and 21st centuries, become the subject of earnest and painstaking academic analysis were, nonetheless, in their original context, designed to entertain as well as inform: principally to entertain, sometimes quite darkly and grotesquely. It is no coincidence that popular taste for the grotesque in the form of horror stories, gothic tales and lurid crime reporting emerged, as Connelly points out in *The Grotesque in Western Art and Literature,* simultaneously with the 18th - century Age of Reason.[157] "The Enlightenment", writes Connelly, sought to "chase away the goblins lurking in the shadows of the human imagination. Yet the more rational inquiry progressed, the more pronounced the fascination with the irrational became."[158] There was also at this time a new taste for the – purportedly real as well as imaginary – outlandish and 'primitive' inhabitants of "exoticised distant lands",[159] just at a time when the Enlightenment was scientifically brushing aside notions of "monstrous races."[160]More introvertedly, 18th century German Romanticism also saw the grotesque as a "primitive" means of expression that would allow them to explore the

intriguingly darker realities that lurked underneath the operations of the rational mind.[161]

The 'grotesque', like the 19th century "Irish Question" itself,[162] both requires and defeats definition.[163] And like the Victorian Irish themselves - from an Anglo-Saxonist perspective – the grotesque is frequently an affront to "order" and "neat classification".[164] Moreover, the grotesque is – in Harpham's words – in a state of constant, "civil war of attraction and repulsion." This tension also epitomized the multilayered and often contradictory nature of English attitudes to Ireland in the 19th century. "A grotesque history", writes Connelly, "focuses on the 'impure' boundaries: where intermixing and negotiating contest the normative centre and pull it into flux".[165]Replace the words "normative centre" with "Britain", and the words "impure boundaries" with "Celtic fringe" and much of the tortured history of the relationship between Ireland and Britain is in fact a case study in grotesque: on the one hand the Irish were there to be assimilated, Anglicized, tamed, cured; on the other hand, they persisted in their strange mannerism, customs, religious practices. They were, in a sense, "internal aliens" in Victorian Britain.[166]Was the grotesque therefore the aesthetic vehicle *par excellence* for English artists and cartoonists in their attempt to portray the 'other'?

Towards a definition of the Grotesque

The grotesque has, as Geoffrey Galt Harpham points out in his introduction to *On the Grotesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature*, always existed but "it has been up to the culture to provide the

conventions and assumptions that determine its particular form."[167] The word grotesque – as Frances Connelly argues in *The Grotesque in Western Art and Culture: The Image at Play* – has narrowed, in common parlance, to mean merely "horrible and disgusting."[168] It can also be understood, more expansively – as has been suggested by Edwards, as regards the grotesque in contemporary culture, as "peculiar, odd, perverse, disgusting, macabre, degenerate." [169] The word itself is usefully defined in the Oxford English dictionary as "comically or repulsively distorted, monstrous or unnatural."[170] (It has even become a veritable cliché of Irish political discourse since the acronym GUBU was coined in the late 20th century to describe a public scandal.[171]) Ultimately, the grotesque, which is a "mental event as well as a formal property,"[172] is as knotty and difficult to define as the subjects it is so often used to represent.

"The more grotesque a drollery", wrote Joachim Nemeitz in 1727, "the more diverting it is."[173]The grotesque very often exists to amuse, albeit darkly. It can also be extremely funny. Grotesque aesthetic principles were enormously popular in 19th century Britain and America: Hentley's hugely successful derring-do tales of imperialist adventurers amongst savage, conniving and 'inferior' peoples,[174] the gods, giants, water-maidens and valkyeries of Wagner's *The Ring*,[175] W.S Gilbert's goblin-like characters, their "heads sunk into immense collars",[176]the novels of Dickens were replete with grotesque villains[177] and the "insidious grotesqueries" of Tenniel's illustrations for the Alice books were even more popular with adults than they were with children.[178]

This love of the grotesque may well have found somewhat arbitrary expression in the Irish ape-man cartoons. While the cartoons were intended as political satire – and the previous perspectives discussed in the first part of this dissertation are valid, to a point - they also functioned as a form of entertainment, particularly given that in an age without television, radio or the internet, the comic weeklies were the cheapest form of popular entertainment that existed.[179] This was the era of scandalously popular 'Penny Dreadfuls' and Gothic fiction.[180] There was a widespread public taste for – as J Malcom Rymes lamented in *Queen's Magazine* in 1842 – the proliferation of "works of terror and blood … 'The Blood-Spangled Monk' or 'The Inhuman Shriek'.[181] Illustrated penny miscellanies and railway novel 'yellow backs' were also a source of high-minded anxiety for, among other things, their use of explicit illustrations.[182] "The tempting allure of illustration to a semi-literate audience", was a source of concern for many in Victorian England, such as John Ruskin and Matthew Arnold.[183] Print Media proliferated in Victorian Britain: there were 1,764 periodicals in 1864 – by 1887 there were 3,597.[184] In the United States there was also a boom in magazines and funny papers, with popular periodicals such as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated News* catering to a similar public appetite for "sensations, fires, floods [and] murders,"[185] and comic journals such as *Puck* and *Judge* providing social and political satire.[186]

The 19th century was also a time of considerable cross-fertilization between popular forms of fiction and current affairs. Matthew Rubery, in *The Novelty of Newspapers: Victorian Fiction and the Invention of News* (2009),

observes that popular newspapers often adhered to “strictures of novelistic realism” in reporting on murders and other human tragedies.[187]

Lucy Brown suggests that “news” was effectively an invention of the 19th century, due to increased literacy and the proliferation of newspapers and periodicals.[188] Britain and the United States became “reading nations.”[189] But this was also a time when editors began to appeal to the taste of the general reader for subjects other than politics.[190] For instance, Rubery quotes one elderly newspaper reader who complained that, because of problems with the newspaper delivery system, for “several morning posts, she had not been able to relish her murders.”[191]

Ironically, *Punch* itself had been established in 1841 as a more refined antidote to the lurid sensationalism of the comic press of the time.[192] In 1863 *Punch* parodied the popularity of such dark sensationalism when it promised its readers, “carefully selected horrors of every kind, from the English and foreign newspapers”.[193] The cartoon reproduced in the ‘Existing Perspectives’ chapter of this dissertation, (see fig: 9), also pokes fun at such “lower-class” tastes. Nonetheless, the magazine pandered to such ‘low’ tastes in many of its willfully grotesque ape-man cartoons – albeit in a manner that was not so explicitly sensationalist.

There was a considerable amount of cross-fertilization between Tenniel’s political satire for *Punch* and his children’s book illustrations, both in style and in content[194] (in a similar way to the American cartoonist and illustrator Dr. Seuss a century later[195]). For instance in one of his, very grotesque, illustrations for Lewis Carroll’s Alice books, Tenniel featured a likeness of the Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli.[196]

A History of the Grotesque

"After having remained at the entry [of a grotto] for some time, two contrary emotions arose in me, fear and desire – fear of the threatening dark grotto, desire to see whether there were any marvelous things within it."

Leonardo Da Vinci [197]

The word 'grotesque' in English, and most other European languages, comes from 'grotto' - which means 'cave' in Italian.[198] The naming of the grotesque occurred during a key event in the emergence of the European Renaissance, which was the re-discovery in the late 15th century of a long-buried, bizarre structure that was the Roman Emperor Nero's *Domus Aurea,* or Golden House.[199] The initial excavators climbing down ladders – in an appropriately Dantean descent – into what they believed were caves, or grottos, found extraordinary wall paintings and frescos in the remains of the decadent Emperor's pleasure palace. These *grotto-esque*[200] 'cave paintings' were of human beings merging with animals and plants – this unselfconscious, fantastical merging of different species constituted an

extraordinary and exciting “conceptual leap” for late 15th century people who viewed them for the first time.[201]

Harpham and Connely both identify similar, distinct stages in our appreciation for and understanding of the grotesque. In the 15th and 16th centuries ‘grotesque’ was mainly pure artistic fantasy – the graceful and symmetrical designs and, to modern eyes, rather dainty frescoes of Nero’s *Golden House*. This type of grotesque, helpfully, now tends to be referred to as ‘grottesche’;[202] although there were also some examples of Renaissance grotesquerie that were rather more willfully and recognizably macabre, such as the 16th century *Hellmouth* in the *Park of Monsters* in Italy[203] – and the Renaissance grotesque did also include the occasional exotic ‘wild man,’[204] not unlike the 19th-century Irish ape-man characters.

In the 17th century then the word grotesque was first used in relation to *caricatura,* or caricature*,* meaning bizarre and willful distortion – a style which had also originated in Italy.[205] In the 18th and 19th centuries, these distinct forms of grotesque merged with darker, edgier styles of caricature in the satirical – and sometimes explicitly moralizing – works of Hogarth, Rowlandson, Goya, Daumier, Cruikshank and, of course, Tenniel.[206] This section of the dissertation will now examine the 19th -century ape-men cartoons from the perspective of key forms of grotesque.

3.1 – Liminal Grotesque

Frances Connelly stresses the role of the liminal (in the sense of occupying both sides of a boundary simultaneously) in the grotesque, pointing out the "role of the liminal in defining and reaffirming cultural norms."[207] In relation to Britain, Ireland was - or was perceived as - a complex double-place: occupying a position on both sides of normative Englishness, in a long drawn-out state of transition towards Englishness and normality. Where this liminal nature and ambiguity was clear was in the monster/maiden dichotomies of many of Tenniel's cartoons; but there was a subtler dynamic of attraction/repulsion at work with the ape-men creatures themselves.

A key characteristic of grotesque is, as Connelly explains, the creation of a "powerful contradictory response" through the collision of conventional beauty and grotesqueness.[208] On a similar note, observers noticed a fascinating tension in Tenniel's work "between high art and burlesque", which was very grotesque.[209] This can be seen very powerfully in the 1866 John Tenniel cartoon 'The Fenian Pest' (see fig 13), in which the prognathous Fenian ape-man is seen in dramatic contrast to the handsome femininity of Britannia and the tender, demure girlishness of Hibernia. "The more menacing the Fenian became", writes Morris, "the more meek and dependent on Brittania and John Bull Hibernia became."[210] The grotesque, writes Connelly, "makes visual what is most threatening, inspiring fear and repulsion as it tears at the ultimate boundary between self and oblivion."[211] British self-identity was to a large degree built on opposition to the other. So, the Fenian threat was

the violent manifestation of a subtler, existential menace. True, however, to the nature of the grotesque, our repulsion at the grotesque and abject is "matched by an equally intense fascination, each undercutting the other".[212] Such a complex dynamic was most certainly at work with the ape-man cartoons. "Monstrosity and abjection elicit an overwhelming desire to draw a boundary between ourselves and their fearful otherness",[213] but such forceful boundaries are difficult when, in theory, you wish to somehow assimilate the 'monstrous' people who frighten you.

It is important at this point to stress that grotesque aesthetic principles were not confined to representations of Irish people (as can be seen in the selection of images in Appendix: Punch, 1867) – although Irish people, Fenians in particular, were the most consistently *grotesque* of all the social types satirized in Victorian magazines and periodicals. It is also interesting to note that one of the most striking and consistent examples of grotesque other than the ape-man cartoons was the character of Mr. Punch himself. Mr. Punch was portrayed as a down to earth everyman. He was a court jester of sorts who could speak the truth without being punished. He was also squat and grotesquely misshapen – readers were perhaps inured to his odd, malformed appearance through familiarity with him, and his origins in the Punch & Judy puppet show itself. In true grotesque, monster/maiden style, Mr. Punch was often portrayed in contrast with pretty young women and other conventionally proportioned characters, (see fig 14).

Fig 13: "The Fenian Pest' by John Tenniel. *Punch*. March 3rd 1866.

Fig 14*:* 'Mr Punch in Yorkshire'. *Punch.* December 5th, 1891.

3.2 - Animal Grotesque

A common form of grotesque has been to portray humans as animals, or merging with animals. In 19th–century comic journals Irish people were variously portrayed as apes, gorillas, monkeys, pigs, dogs, snakes, bulls, dragons and other animals.[214] The ape-like, or hybrid ape-man Paddy, was the most consistently popular animal grotesque used to represent Irish people. Animals have always evoked powerful and contradictory feelings in people, especially as regards to what is considered to be high and low.[215] The representation of people as animals, or as merging with animals, has a history as ancient as the visual arts themselves; and it has not always necessarily been derogatory.[216] Paleolithic wall paintings, for instance, commonly portrayed human-animal hybrids.[217] The ancient cave paintings have been subjected to a predictably wide range of interpretations, including outright dismissal.[218] Paleolithic man may have even regarded animals as divine.[219] It is also possible that the animal-headed man of cave paintings may also have been totemic, as part of a Paleolithic cannon of masculinity. They were, however, unlikely to have been simply derogatory or satirical in intent. The fantastical 'Wonders of the East' tales of Ancient Rome commonly contained tales of macabre animals and monsters. There was always a significant demand for such stories and accompanying illustrations. This fascination with exotic animals found its most tangible expression, centuries later, in the

creation of scientific zoos in Britain in the early 19th century. The zoo, writes A.N. Wilson, was "characteristic of the Victorian age".[220] People enjoyed viewing ferocious, writhing, slimy creatures from a safe distance. The basic thrill was also dressed up in more high-minded claims that there was considerable solace and spiritual comfort to being in the presence of "lower species".[221]

Grotesque human-animal hybrids in comic journals of the 19th century were by no means confined to portrayals of Irish people. Humorously malformed, anthropomorphic creatures were common in the pages of *Punch, Funny Folks, Judy* and other such periodicals.[222] Tenniel's pantomime-influenced little frog footmen and other animal creations were extremely popular.[223] Editions of *Punch* contained numerous anthropomorphic creatures: enjoying picnics by a river or, in a droll inversion, visiting a zoo of caged humans. [224] The style and ornamentation of fashionable ladies' gowns was exaggerated, turning them into crustaceans and insects.[225] These humanized animals could also be used to very positive effect, as was the case with the British lion, beloved of Tenniel and others.[226]

These humanized animals were rarely, however, portrayed with the levels of viciousness and hatred that were to be found in the Irish ape-man cartoons. Although animals were also used more negatively; the 'menace' of socialism, for example, was often conveyed as a drooling wolf;[227] it was the Irish who were most consistently portrayed as animals in the comic journals of the era. John Leech, from the earliest editions of *Punch* in the 1840s, drew farm labourers and other workers, of all nationalities, as somewhat less than human,[228] but his Irish labourers tended to be considerably more prognathous

and monkey-like in appearance than their English counterparts.[229]Morris argues that Gillray's late 18th-century "English roughs and French Communards are indistinguishable from his prognathous Paddies".[230] There are a small number of examples where the lower-class and/or revolutionary characters in Gillray look more simian than human, such as the urinating monkey-boy, which has already been mentioned;[231]or in his portrayal of cannibalistic French revolutionaries; [232] but the Irish were almost always considerably more simianised than any other group of people. Interestingly, although Morris insists that animal-human blends were "without the aberrant quality" of similar composites drawn by J.J. Grandville, "with which Tenniel's animals have been wrongly compared,"[233] it is difficult to see the ape-men cartoons as *not* being in some way aberrant, and intentionally so. American cartoonists such as Thomas Nast, James A. Wales and Frederick Opper often went even further in severely and consistently bestializing the Irish, (see figs 22, 23 & 24).

Why were the Irish so frequently portrayed as apes? The racialist aspects have already been discussed. Real-life gorillas and apes were a relatively new discovery to most Victorians: the first live gorilla to appear in London Zoo was not until 1860, and attracted thousands of visitors. [234] Apes and monkeys had, however, been used to create humorous analogies to human beings since ancient times.[235] Simian forms were often used in Renaissance and Reformation art to represent lust, mimicry and devilishness.[236] Apes – as Connelly points out – are uniquely similar to humans and have "long been associated with imitation and illusion" as well as being frequently used in grotesque expression.[237] From its earliest days

Punch, portrayed Irish people, nationalists in particular, as sub-human, and occasionally simian. The cartoon Irish eventually *evolved* into apes. Was this an entirely new way of viewing the Irish? There is evidence that Irish people had already been compared to apes before the emergence of the ape-man cartoons, and this must have had some influence on cartoonists of the time. In 1839, for instance, Thomas Caryle wrote, empathically, that the Irish peasant was so wretchedly poor that he had "sunk from decent manhood to squalid apehood".[238] Another sympathetic traveller in Ireland, J.A. Froude, also described impoverished Irish peasants as resembling "squalid tribes of apes".[239] It was also quite common to *accuse* whole groups of people of being more animal than human. The Victorian prostitute, for instance, was commonly maligned for her "animality and degeneracy".[240] A prejudice that can perhaps be traced back to Aristotle's vision of a woman's body as a sort of inferior male: hairy, bleeding and uncontrolled.[241] Not unlike the Anglo-Saxonist view as the Irishman as an equally uncontrolled, inferior sort of Englishman.

One of the first cartoons to explicitly portray an Irish person as more simian than human was John Leech's 'Young Ireland in business for himself' (see fig 15) in *Punch* in 1846. 'Young Ireland' was a radical nationalist movement, which encouraged the use of physical force against Britain.[242] In the cartoon a sinister little monkey-man is selling arms to a prognathous, simple-minded rustic. In an another John Leech cartoon, in 1848, the prominent Young Ireland nationalist leader and ideologue John Mitchel (his name is misspelled in the cartoon itself) is portrayed as a rabid little monkey but he is contrasted with another, more positive animal personification, the

noble lion of Britain, (see fig 16). Later that same year Leech again portrayed Mitchel as an enraged little monkey riding on the back of another leading nationalist, William Smith O'Brien, who is represented here as a pig with a bruised human head, (see fig 17). In 1861, the year he became the senior political cartoonist at *Punch*,[243] John Tenniel drew a Young Ireland cartoon, 'A Great Time for Ireland! Mr G'Orilla', in which the chief character is an actual gorilla sitting at a desk, barely able to use a quill to scribble down his presumably mindless "treason" and "vitriol", (see fig 18). Tenniel's use of animals to, unflatteringly, represent Irish people would continue for many more years, particularly during the period of the 'Land War' in Ireland, 1879-82 and the period of renewed Fenian violence in the 1880s. During this period the Land League and aggrieved Irish tenants were often portrayed as pigs in a number of Tenniel's cartoons. In 'The Pig that won't pay the Rint', from March 1881, the Land League activist and tenant is shown as a heavily armed, hybrid man-pig (more pig than man, in fact), who has been subdued by a police officer, armed only with a truncheon, (see fig 19). Later that year, in the cartoon 'Soothing the Savage Beast', the Land League is represented as a wild pig being soothed by the then Prime Minister, Gladstone, playing music on his bagpipes. (See fig 20). In other comic weeklies, such as *Judy* and *Fun,* the Irish were still on occasion portrayed as animals right up to the 1880s and 90s. Just one example of this is the *Fun* cartoon of 1880, 'The Irish Grievance Grinder', in which the Irish Home-Rule nationalist leader Charles Stewart Parnell is seen to control an armed Fenian monkey, (see fig 21).[244]

YOUNG IRELAND IN BUSINESS FOR HIMSELF.

Fig: 15 - "Young Ireland in business for himself'. John Leech. *Punch*. August 22nd. 1846

THE BRITISH LION AND THE IRISH MONKEY.

Monkey (Mr. Mitchell). "One of us MUST be 'Put Down.'"

Fig 16: "One of us must be put down!' John Leech.
Punch. April 8th. 1848

Fig 17: The Battle of Limerick'. John Leech
Punch. May 13th. 1848

Fig 18: 'A Great Time for Ireland!'. John Tenniel.
Punch. December 14th. 1861

Fig 19: *'The Pig that Won't "Pay the Rint"'. John Tenniel Punch*. March 12th 1881

Fig 20: "Soothing the Savage Beast' by John Tenniel.
Punch. April 20th 1881.

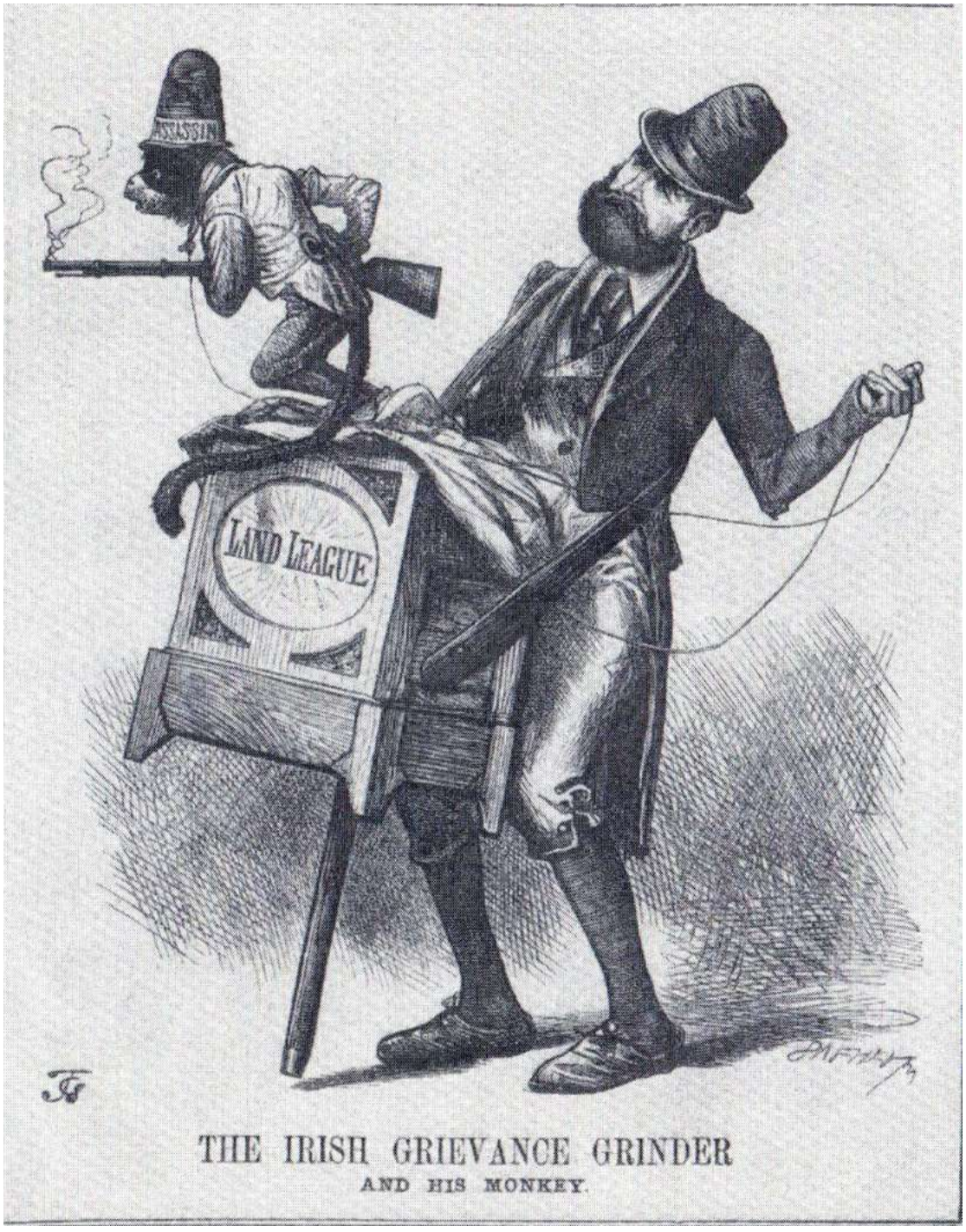


Fig 21: 'The Irish Grievance Grinder'. *Fun.* 6th October 1880.

In the United States the Irish people in political cartoons were frequently even more explicitly and consistently ape-like. In Thomas Nast's 1867 *Harper's Weekly* cartoon, "St Patrick's Day: The Way We Celebrate", the Irish appear to be actual apes, merely dressed up in human clothing. (See fig 22). Nast was, as Halloran mentions – somewhat defensively, very influenced by Tenniel.[245] In a similar manner to Morris's defence of Tenniel, she suggests that Nast merely reflected "existing cartoon conventions".[246] Other American cartoonists such as Frederick Burr Opper also frequently drew ape-like Irishmen, his 1882 *Puck* cartoon "The King of A-Shantee" shows a hybrid creature, but it/he still clearly simian, (see fig 23). James A. Wales 1880 cartoon, 'An Irish Jig', is of a drunk Irishman who is dramatically more gorilla than human, (see fig 24).

By the late 1860s, however, combinatory monsters had become increasingly common – especially in the pages of *Punch* and in its*,* appropriately named and ostensibly more liberal rival*, Judy.* Tenniel himself would soon also create ever more fantastical monsters as a way of representing Irish people, some of which will be discussed in the next section.

Fig 22: 'St. Patrick's Day 1867: The Day We Celebrate'. Thomas Nast. *Harper's Weekly.* 18th March. 1867

Fig 23: 'King of A-Shantee' by Frederick Opper.
Puck. February 15th, 1882..

Fig 24: 'An Irish Jig' by James A. Wales. *Puck*. 3rd November 1880.

3.2 Monstrous Grotesque

The grotesque art of imaginative, suggestive monster-making can be traced back to the Renaissance – and coincides with the (re)discovery of the grotesque. By the early 16th century European artists had the techniques to create "convincing illusions of reality."[247] This allowed for, among many other advances, the creation of grotesque, combinatory fantasy creatures that could appear completely real. Vasari relates an anecdote of Leonardo Da Vinci creating a combinatory fantasy creature that was so realistic he tricked his father into screaming with fear. Da Vinci's father's fear quickly dissipates into "delight and wonder" once he realizes the monster is safely unreal.[248]This is still intrinsic to an experience of the aesthetic of the grotesque: fear and delight mingle – but delight ultimately dominates. Also in the 16th century, Vertumnus praised the sparkling delight provoked by Giuseppe Arcimboldo's "novel monsters": the "hideousness" that made them beautiful.[249] Many of the Irish ape-men cartoons that would be produced centuries later, especially those of Tenniel and Morgan, had a refined hideousness that made them if not beautiful, certainly visually arresting and sometimes even delightful in their grotesquely creative inventiveness.

Later, in the 18th century, the "startling inventions and unheard of combinations" in Goya's *Monstruos* and his *Caprichos* saw extraordinary and unexpected combinations in visual art.[250] Baudelaire wrote of the "experience of exhilarating shock at the core of the brain as a result of the artist's original manner."[251] Goya mocked the pre-Enlightenment backwardness and

superstitions of his native Spain and found the grotesque to be the ideal aesthetic for doing this.[252] British and American cartoonists, who shared the common Anglo-Saxonist view of Ireland as being, like Spain, backward and superstitious; found the grotesque to be similarly useful in expressing their disapproval or mockery. Baudelaire's complex praise aside, it is unlikely that Goya himself sought use the grotesque for the thrill of dark pleasure;[253] yet his pictures continue to fascinate today not because of their perspectives on late 18th century Spain, rather because they are so visually compelling, even thrilling.[254]

Christoph Martin Wieland, in 1775, established three categories of caricature: true caricature, exaggerated caricature and "purely fantastic caricature, or grotesque in the proper sense: where the artist disregarding verisimilitude, gives reign to unchecked fancy." Wieland also drew attention to the fact that grotesque tended to provoke "the contradictory responses of laughter and disgust". [255]Combinatory creatures and monsters have always been greeted with ambiguity, an essential attraction/repulsion tension. The ape-man cartoons occupy an uneasy ground between caricature and fantasy in this regard. Monsters are profoundly ambiguous. In Dante's Hell we find the Minotaur and the Centaur but the Griffin stands at the highest point of Purgatory and is a symbol of Christ, in this case because "unpurged eyes are incapable of perceiving divinity directly."[256] This is in line with John Ruskin's theory of 'noble grotesque', as outlined in *The Stones of Venice* (1851).[257] It would, of course, require an unreasonable amount of playful twisting to even attempt to view the Irish ape-man cartoons from the perspective of 'noble grotesque' but the ostensibly moralizing intention of many of the cartoons

would at least spare them Ruskin's condemnation for being merely 'low' grotesque by way of gratuitously pandering to the lower instincts.[258]

Fig: 25 'The Irish Devil Fish' by John Tenniel.
Punch June 18th 1881

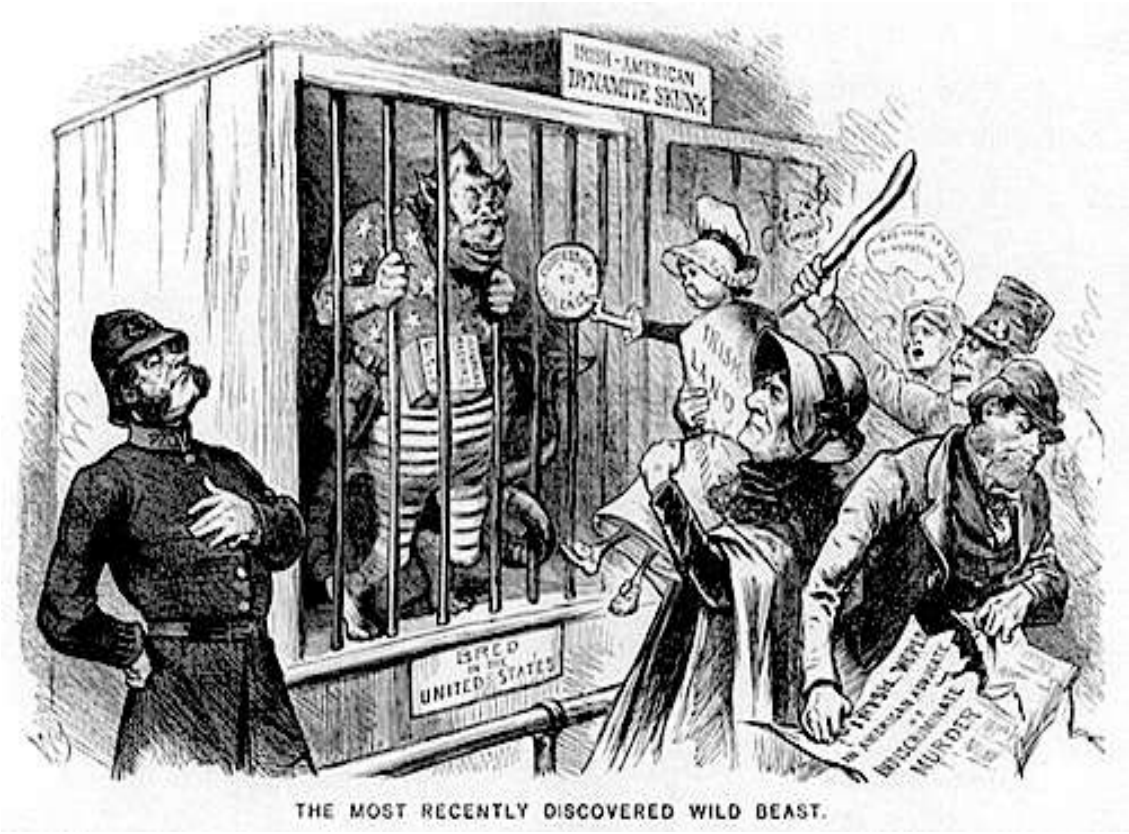
In John Tenniel's 1881 cartoon 'The Irish Devil Fish' a suitably heroic-looking Prime Minister, Gladstone, is fighting a horrific combinatory monster, armed only with his woodcutter's muscles and a dagger. The 'devil fish' is a flattened octopus-like creature, whose tentacles proclaim 'sedition', 'lawlessness', 'terrorism' and so on. The monster has an absurdly simianized, quasi-human head and wears a crushed, Fenian-style hat. The Prime Minister appears to be winning and about to deal a death stab to the horrible creature. This cartoon was published in 1881, at the height of the Land War in Ireland. While it would be difficult to argue that there is beauty in Tenniel's Irish devil fish, it is visually compelling and, despite its obvious horrors, the picture is aesthetically pleasing to look at. This is partly due to the masterly draughtsmanship of Tenniel; but it is also because key elements of the grotesque are at work. The creature is simultaneously marvelous and disgusting. It is frightening but it is ultimately, comfortably under control: both because of the imminent defeat that is portrayed in the image itself but also because of the knowing, creative authority of the artist himself. The viewer is horrified and amused, at a safe distance: all of which is satisfyingly grotesque.

"The monstrous body is pure culture," writes Jeffrey Jerome Cohen in *Monster Theory: Reading Culture,* "a construct and a projection that exists only to be read: the monster is etymologically, 'that which reveals,' 'that which warns." [259] The simianized sub-humans or combinatory monsters are more strikingly grotesque and richly imagined than the animalized people discussed in 3.1; they are, therefore, potentially more aesthetically suggestive and pleasing. As already indicated, with the grotesque there is often a subtle attraction/repulsion dynamic at work. We see a horse merged with a man and

the sight is not shocking or repulsive to us, we call it a *Centaur* and find it attractive or even beautiful.[260] The 19th century reader of a comic weekly likewise sees a quasi-human ape-like figure, in a crumpled suit and hat, holding a dripping dagger - this should be shocking, and it is – its message depends on that – but is also reassuringly familiar: under control, at least for the moment. It is possible that Tenniel in particular began to create ever more outrageous monstrous versions of Irishmen to move beyond the ape-man, which eventually must have become somewhat comfortably familiar and therefore less effective. It is also possible that he wished to constantly stretch his creative skills and that the Irish were, again, to a large degree arbitrary vehicles for his artistic ambition.

Wolfgang Keyser, in his influential work on the aesthetic of the grotesque, stressed the centrality of monsters.[261] Monsters are fantasy creatures, they do not exist in the real world – but in order to be considered grotesque, states Philip Thomson, his monograph on the subject – a fantasy creation must have some connection with our own reality.[262] Baudelaire wrote that "from the artistic point of view the comic is an imitation: the grotesque a creation."[263] The Irish ape-men cartoons were convincing combinatory fantasies, but not literal representations of reality – despite Curtis's earnest examination of 19th century photographs of Irish people in order to determine whether some of them did in fact look like apes, or were at least in possession of above-averagely prognathous features.[264] But they presumed to have some basis in reality. A small number of Victorian cartoonists – Tenniel, Morgan and Nast – did achieve very high levels of combinatory, grotesque creativity.

A cartoon entitled “The Dragon and St George” appeared on the cover of *Funny Folks* in June 1881 de Nie describes it as a “remarkable example of monstrification”,[265](see fig 29): an anthropoid dragon with shamrock-shaped scales and a pig’s head attacking a suitably noble St George with the butt of its rifle. The cartoon recalls a similar Matt Morgan creation from 1867, (see fig 28). The symbolism is somewhat graceless – Tenniel would have injected his own dark genius into such a creation and would have removed much of the excess imaginative baggage from it – but the effect is still striking and oddly attractive. One of the most extraordinary Irish monster grotesques is the “Irish-American Dynamite Skunk: the most recently discovered wild beast”, (see fig 26). This cartoon appeared in *Judy* and it criticized Gladstone’s 1881 Land Bill as being too much of a concession to radicalism. The idea of caging an enemy for public viewing was not a new one. After the massacre of British colonists in Kanpur, India in 1857 – the Spectator newspaper suggested that the rebel leader Nana Sahib be caged like a zoo animal and put on display in England as a sort of oriental monster.[266] Another striking, and more obviously comical, combinatory creature can be seen in the 1881 *Judy* cartoon ‘St George Defending Erin’, (see fig 27). The creature is a writhing, scaly snake with a chubby ape-man head, a trademark Fenian hat and useless-looking, little dragon’s wings; he/it is being speared to death by St. George. These Irish monsters all, to varying degrees, adhered to a paradoxically attractive aesthetic of the grotesque and this was an important reason for their persistence in 19th-century comic journals.



THE MOST RECENTLY DISCOVERED WILD BEAST.

Fig 26 : 'The Most Recently Discovered Wild Beast'. *Judy.* 3rd August. 1881

Fig 27: 'At Last!'. *Judy*. 26th October. 1881.

Fig 28: ‘St Dragon and the George’ by Matt Morgan. *Tomahawk.* 12th October 1867.

Fig 29: 'The Dragon and St. George'. *Funny Folks.* 11th June 1881

3.3 - Carnivalesque Grotesque

> "The more grotesque a drollery the more diverting it is."
>
> *Joachim Nemeitz (1727)*[267]

The carnivalesque developed from medieval European folk traditions, fairs and street theatre. Carnivalesque imagery mocks and subverts social convention, it is the quintessential voice of the outsider – Bakhtin's carnivalesque laughter in particular pokes a gleefully satirical pin into the "puffed-up hubris" of the powerful.[268] But while carnivalesque grotesque was a means of puncturing the pride of the powerful, the puncture was nearly always temporary, therefore ultimately impotent. It did, however, serve a therapeutic function. As the European carnival itself began to decline, grotesque elements of this folk culture began to be absorbed into art and literature by writers and artists like Francois Rabelais, Hieronymous Bosch and Peter Brueghel the Elder.[269] Simultaneously comical, transgressive *and* subversive: these 16th century artists and writers incorporated ribald carnivalesque elements into the fine arts tradition.[270] It was the very decline of carnival street theatre that, argues Connelly, allowed caricature to become popular with "ritualized subversions" of its own, becoming the "primary vehicle for social satire" by the beginning of the 19th century.[271]

What was happening exactly when such carnivalesque grotesque imagery was used to represent the Irish? Was it a paradox that the powerful

British would seek to puncture the pride of the powerless Irish? On occasion it was indeed simply the sadistic laughter of the strong at the weak. But the power relations between the Irish and the British were more complex than a simple strong versus weak dynamic. The Fenian bomber, for instance, had considerable psychological power over his potential victims and this power was – from a British perspective – something that needed to be inverted. Even before the era of the Fenian Panic, we can see elements of carnivalesque crudity in portrayals of Irish nationalists in the early 19th century. For instance the cartoon of Daniel O'Connell in fig 31 has surprising similarities – in its grotesquely human-vegetable body which leaks incessantly – with a 16th-century illustration of Rabelais' carnivalesque grotesque character Pantagruel, (see fig 30).[272] O'Connell was seen as powerful, excessively, demagogically so in his native land: his pride needed to be punctured.

Medieval carnivals, as analyzed at length by Bakhtian in particular, were "periods of disorder, with symbolic inversion and outlawed behavior" but which, while letting off steam, ultimately served to "reaffirm the norm." [273] The improvisations and subversions of the carnivals, their collective, time and space specific nature had become, potentially at least, portable by the late 18th century.[274] The Irish ape-man cartoons were, in this sense, a two-dimensional carnival, which allowed readers to experience Fenian Panic at a safe and therapeutic distance. It allowed them to puncture Fenian pride through mockery and find some relief in this act. Popular print satire in particular was to become an ideal vehicle for these ersatz mini-carnivals.

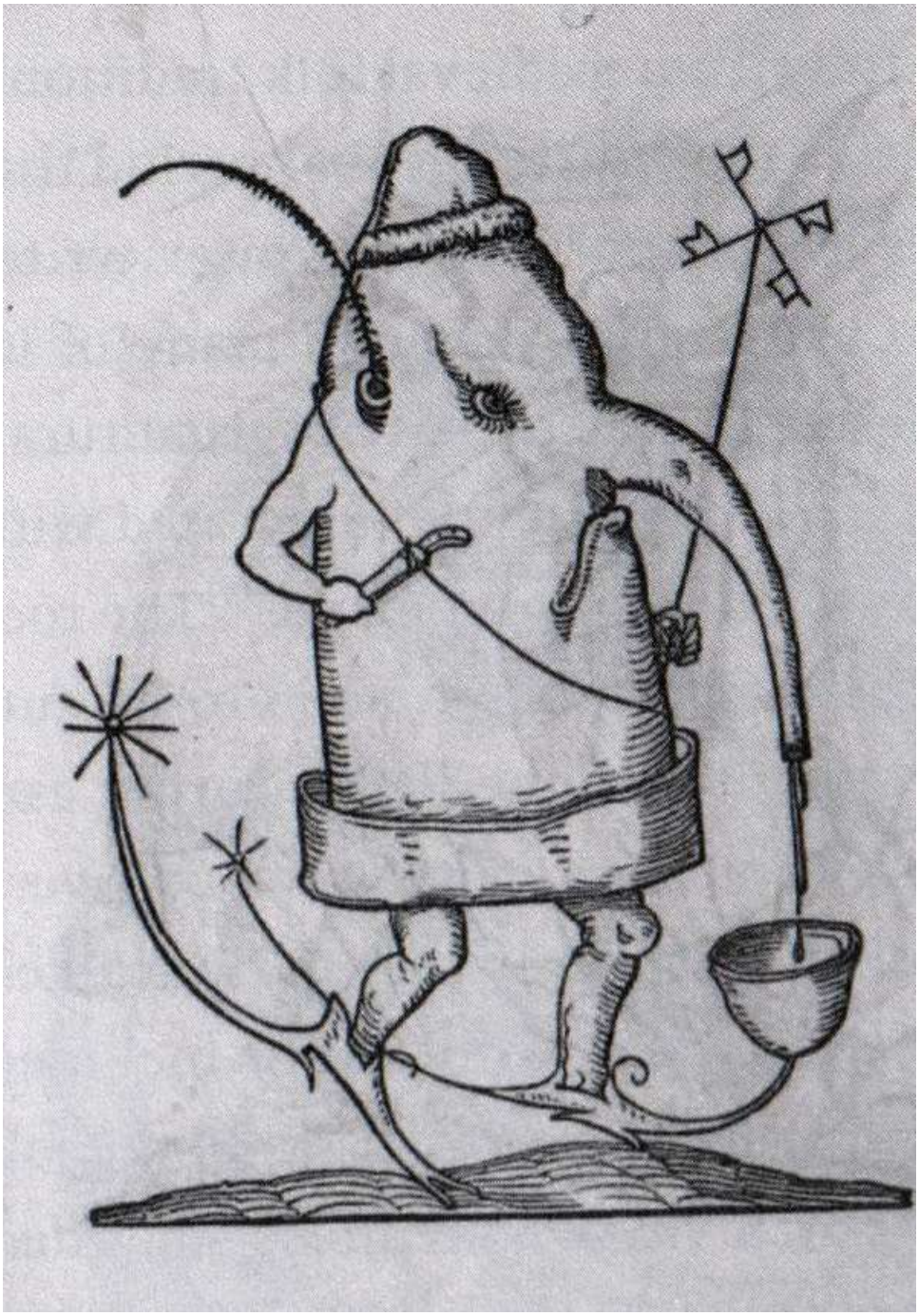


Fig 30: ‘Les Songes drolatiques de Pantagruel’ by François Desprez. Richard Breton. 1565

Fig 31: 'Barrister O'Connell: A sketch of the Great Agitator' Circa 1846[275]

3.5 - Gothic Grotesque

In the late 18th century the emerging genre of what would be called Gothic fiction embraced, writes Connelly, "the kinds of experiences that were being tamed and explained by the rational, secular and industrial Enlightenment."[276] The Gothic was more in touch with primitive feeling in a way that its mainly middle-class audience could enjoy, at a secure distance.[277] The Gothic, which emerged from a culturally and historically specific tangle of circumstances between 1760 and 1820, nevertheless exerted considerable influence throughout the 19th century.[278] Fuseli painted his famous *The Nightmare* around 1781, a painting that came "closest to the violence and sexually-charged dread that made Gothic novels so widely popular and controversial.[279] Indeed, as Stevens points out, some of the earliest expressions of what would be called Gothic were in the visual arts.[280]
The Gothic, writes Bloom in *Gothic Horror* (1998), was "violent, perverse, bizarre and occasionally connected with contemporary fears."[281]
"Uncertainties about the nature of power, law, society, family and sexuality dominate Gothic fiction … linked to wider threats of disintegration manifested most forcefully in political revolution", writes Fred Bottling in Gothic: The New Critical Idiom (1996).[282]

"The British Empire" writes Hogle, brought "Anglos face to face with the very racial others they are supposed to keep distant from but upon which their expanding Empire depended."[283] The Irish were the geographically and

culturally closest “racial” other to Britain. The Irish, in the form of ape-men and other grotesques, were ideal vehicles for the Gothic in this regard. While the Fenian Panic and the Land War were not revolutions, they did inspire real psychological tension, even fear. Through Gothic grotesque representation, these fears could be grappled with, even comfortably enjoyed.

A key element in the Irish ape-man cartoons was, as has been observed earlier in this dissertation, religion: Catholicism in particular. Catholicism was a common theme in Gothic fiction, such as Matthew Lewis’s widely read *The Monk* (1796), often conflating Catholicism with the horrors of blind superstition and idolatry.[284] The Gothic, as Stevens explains, specialized in “melodramatically evil characters who seem to play to audiences almost in terms of farce or even a pantomime”.[285] Tenniel’s Irish Caliban is an excellent example of this principle. (See fig 4) Other stock characters of Gothic fiction were, for instance, the “hapless, innocent” female: a role ‘played’ by demure Hibernia in many of the monster/maiden ape-man cartoons – the contrastingly stern patriarchal figure often taking the form of Prime Minister Gladstone or, indeed, a ‘handsome’ Britannia. The attraction/repulsion tension of these cartoons was also a very common feature of Gothic fiction, and may have had some influence on the Irish ape-man cartoons of the time.

Vampires, which were a common feature of Gothic art and literature, also featured in cartoon representations of the Irish. In the cartoon ‘Led Astray’, published at the height of the Land War in 1880, a naïve-looking but well-armed Irish peasant is being led by a bearded, evil vampiric creature, representing the Land League, (see fig 32). It is important to note that vampire

imagery was not at all unique to representations of Irish people; Matt Morgan, for example, also occasionally drew Abraham Lincoln as a vampire.[286]

Hogle in his 'Introduction: The Gothic in Western Culture' specifies 'horror Gothic' as "shattering the norms of everyday life" and presenting the viewer with "gross violence".[287] Intriguingly, the violence is never consummated in the ape-man cartoons – simply threatened (or more tantalizingly, in true Gothic grotesque spirit, promised). This is somewhat similar to the tension that is found in Edgar Allen Poe's Gothic classic, *The Pit and the Pendulum,* where the "terror of anticipation" is central to the narrative, artistic strategy that may well have had some influence on cartoonists of the time.

Mary Shelly's *Frankenstein*, "the most famous Gothic novel of them all"[288], was published in 1818. The Frankenstein monster was also a fascinating early example of a fictional character which, at a time of undeveloped copyright legislation, spawned numerous dramatic versions of itself – from theatre to political cartoons.[289] The Frankenstein monster was, as Foster observes, used in numerous cartoons about Ireland.[290] From the 1848 Young Ireland Rebellion to the 1867 Fenian attempt at revolution and the Land War of 1879-82, Irish nationalist leaders were repeatedly portrayed as the sinister agitator, duping their pliable, easily-led, weak-willed countrymen, in the manner of a demented Dr. Frankenstein, to commit violence.[291] Already in the 1840s Daniel O'Connell had been portrayed as a well-dressed Irish villain manipulating the dim-witted Frankenstein's monster, in this case the Repeal Association, (see fig 33).[292] Matt Morgan's *Tomahawk* cartoon 'The Irish Frankenstein' has already been mentioned, (see fig 2). In it the

sophisticated “doctor” attempts to rouse the physically powerful yet docile monster, in what is perhaps the most beautiful of all the ape-man cartoons discussed in this dissertation. In the 1880s Charles Stewart Parnell was the leader of moderate Home Rule Nationalism in Ireland. He was frequently accused of secretly controlling more violent nationalists. In the 1882 John Tenniel cartoon, ‘The Irish Frankenstein’, Parnell is seen to control a murderous Frankenstein monster, (see fig 34). This extremely angry cartoon was published in the aftermath of the infamous Phoenix Park Murders in 1882. Parnell also features in the 1881 *Funny Folks* cartoon, ‘In Bad Company’, (see fig 35). This time he is a manipulative Dr. Frankenstein to his sister Fanny, who was a leader of the nationalist Ladies’ Land League. She is portrayed as a cross between a Frankenstein monster and a demented, dangerous French revolutionary. Why was the Frankenstein monster so commonly used in political satire? The monster was also used in political contexts other than the Irish Question. The lower class itself was sometimes portrayed in cartoons as a dormant Frankenstein’s monster.[293] Likewise, sinister trade union officials were occasionally represented as attempting to control, in the manner of Dr. Frankenstein, and incite otherwise good-natured workers to rebellion.[294] Revolutionaries of every tint whether leftist or nationalist, were seen as, as Stevens writes, “unleashing uncontrollable, monstrous forces – horrifically gothic in nature.”[295] The Frankenstein monster was the ideal grotesque vehicle to express, control and enjoy these fears.

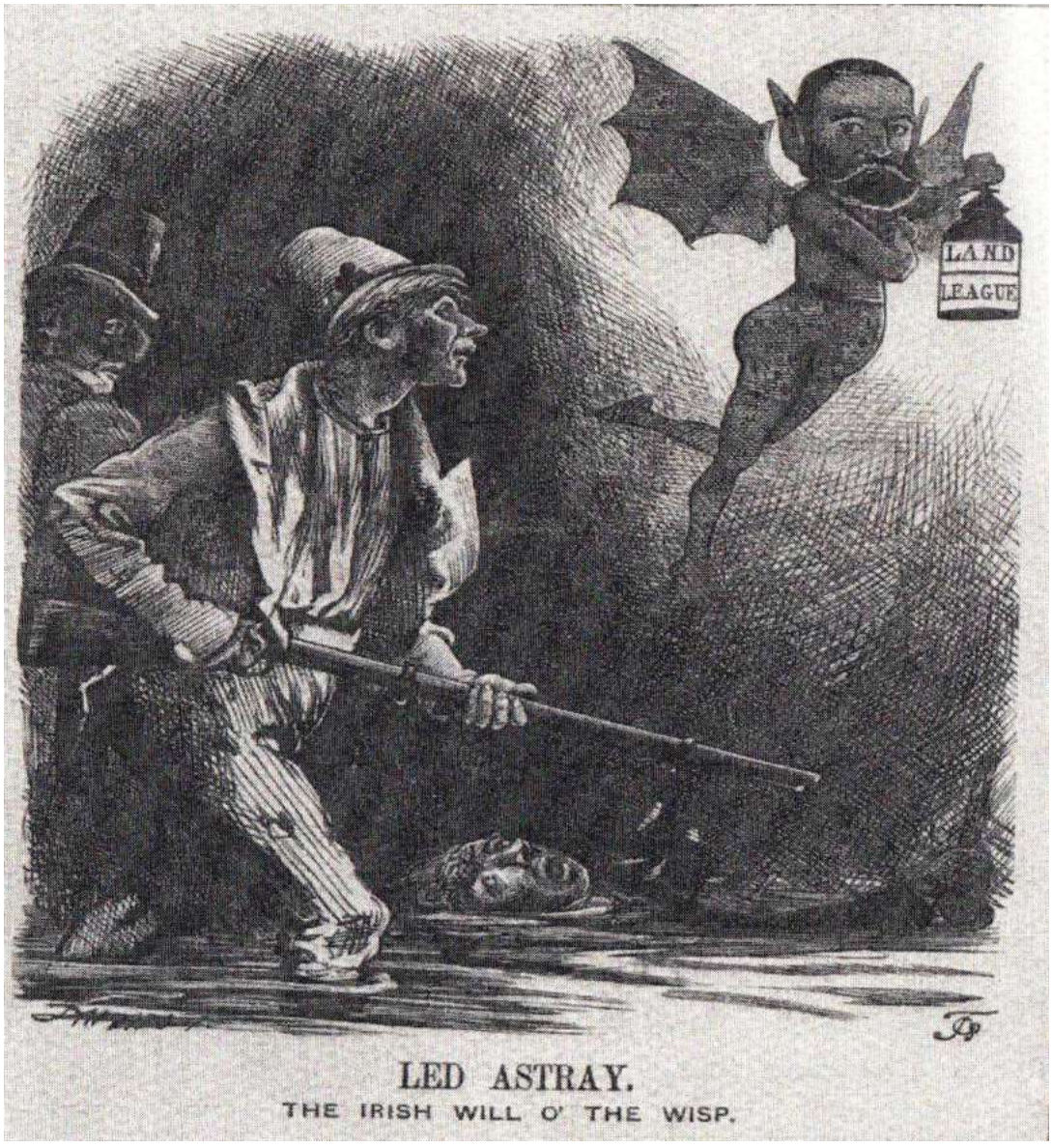


Fig 32: 'Led Astray'. *Fun*. 27th October 1880.

Fig 33: 'The Irish Frankenstein' by J. Kenny Meadows.
Punch. 4th November 1843

Fig 34: "The Irish Frankenstein" by John Tenniel. *Punch*. 20 May 1882[296]

Fig 35: 'In Bad Company.' *Funny Folks*. 18th June 1881.

3.4 - Grotesque Children

The Victorian era saw the "invention" of children and childhood.[297] From the ribald grotesqueries of children's pantomime and the stylized savagery of the harlequinade to 'rough nursing' jokes and the organized havoc of seaside Punch & Judy shows; animals slow roasting cooks over an open fire, fish painfully hooking fishermen, abandoned children starving in woods, the severed heads of Bluebeard's wives;[298]children's art and literature of the Victorian era "abounded in grotesquerie".[299] Between 1860 and 1870, the pantomime was at the peak of its popularity.[300] Was the Irish ape-man a sort of pantomime villain for adults, a darker sort of stage Irishman for a new generation?

In the 19th century notions of hierarchies of development from childhood to adulthood also took hold.[301] This was accompanied by a, sometimes morbid, sentimentalisation of childhood. These notions of childhood and maturity also began to be applied to entire cultures: especially colonial peoples. Ireland was commonly perceived in this light as being childlike, undeveloped but capable of growth with the strict guidance of her neighbour Britannia. Notions of existing 'primitive' peoples being stuck in a sort of civilizational infancy were widespread. The grotesque came to be seen as a characteristic of "primitive" art. G.W.F. Hegel identified the grotesque as being indicative of an early stage of development.[302] "While Paddy might have the mind and moral compass of a child", pronounced the *York Post and Leeds Intelligencer* in December 1881, "like other troublesome subjects of the

empire he also has the strength of a man and the cunning of an animal."[303] Paddy required instruction, guidance and firm discipline: and not a small amount of rough nursing. The Irish ape-man cartoons of the 19th century were grotesque in their use of children and metaphors of childhood.

Already in the 1840s, John Leech portrayed a Young Ireland nationalist as being simultaneously monkey-like *and* childish, sitting in a child's high chair from which he/it wishes to escape.[304]The comically cruel concept of 'rough nursing' was common in cartoon satire of the era. For instance, on the cover of *Funny Folks* Christmas edition in 1880 – the Irish nationalist leader Charles Stewart Parnell is seen rough nursing the infantile Ireland inappropriately, with "sulphur and treason" .. "sedition powder" and "anti-rent porridge", (see fig 36). Prime Minister Gladstone, dressed as a police officer, is on hand to bring order with his "habeas corpus suspension" baton: the impending coercion bill that would allow suspected agitators to be imprisoned on mere suspicion of violence. The child (Ireland) will be simultaneously disciplined and rescued. There were several other examples of Ireland being portrayed in the role of grotesque, difficult child. Another example, from 1870, is 'The Difficult Patient', (see fig 36). In this cartoon, Ireland is a grotesque man-child, his gun has dropped to the floor and he is seen refusing to take his British medicine.

Fig 36: 'Not a Moment Too Soon'. *Funny Folks.* 25th December 1880.

Fig 37: 'The Impatient Patient'. *Judy*. 16th March 1870

5. Conclusion

This dissertation has argued that in order to fully explain the emergence and sheer persistence of the 19th-century Irish ape-man cartoons, the already existing perspectives of race, social class, religion and radical politics are, while extremely useful, not enough to fully explain the phenomenon. This dissertation has attempted to emphasise and explain the aesthetic dimension of these cartoons and their context: the aesthetic of the grotesque.

The grotesque is never merely a question of appearance, as has been explained in Part Two of this dissertation. The cartoons of long-serving *Punch* cartoonist John Tenniel were, like his other illustrations, truly grotesque; but they were never just a question of style. Tenniel "provided reassurance" to Victorian readers, writes Morris.[305] Anglo-Saxon order has been imposed on Fenian chaos. The hybrid-creature, the monster, the menace, is momentarily under the control of both the artist and the viewer. The powerful have been rendered powerless by the threat of terrorist violence; they can now regain a sense of power. For this and the other reasons discussed, the aesthetic of the grotesque was an ideal means for the English to portray not just the sinister Fenian bogeyman, but to a certain extent, Irish people in general. Irish people were the racial other next door, and yet they were not. The divisions were never entirely clear-cut.

There was also a widespread fashion for grotesque and Gothic styles, to varying degrees, throughout the 19th century. The popularity and persistence of the ape-man cartoons can also be understood in that context: they were a form of political commentary but they were also a means of entertainment.

Finally, it must be stressed that the intention of this dissertation has not been to diminish the very real element of anti-Irish prejudice or, even on occasion, racism that has existed in Britain. The intention has been to merely understand more deeply why these cartoons proved to be so persistent and so popular.

Short Personal Reflection

This dissertation has been an intensely personal project for me, as an Irishman and as a working cartoonist.[306] I was, initially, attracted to the work of John Tenniel and Thomas Nast for their artistic qualities: their imaginative qualities, their use of line and so on. I worried that I was being blinded by style: that a beautiful drawing even if it racially maligns my own 'people' is still first and foremost a beautiful drawing. I felt a risk of a sort of amoral, extreme aestheticism. I have also been concerned that I was perhaps indulging in a type of post-colonial 'cringe', whereby an Irish person attempts to deconstruct nationalist orthodoxies not only out of a quest for truth rather, as the expression of a lingering, ethnically specific inferiority complex.

The question of aesthetics and technique in cartoons, particularly political cartoons over the centuries is one that fascinates me. This was of particular interest to me particularly as in the political cartoon field issues of content, political influence and even activism have tended to dominate over questions of aesthetics and style – especially in recent decades.

Finally, it has been interesting to notice that even in my own work as I cartoonist I had, over the years, somehow absorbed some of the visual conventions of what Curtis calls “the ape-man genre” and I had drawn certain Irish characters in this manner: particularly Republicans/radical nationalists. For instance, in 2011 I drew a cartoon about anti-Peace Process ‘dissident’ Republicans who were determined to continue their armed campaign against the British in Ireland. I had not yet begun to study the 19th-century ape-man cartoons, although I was aware of them. I unselfconsciously drew the dissidents as semi-inarticulate, irrationally violent, *ape-like* creatures trampling the Irish flag, yearning for a return to the ‘Stone Age’. I would be reluctant to draw such a cartoon now. Likewise in a comic series I did for Magill Magazine some years ago, *Fiachra McGlynner D4 Shinner,* in which a ‘posh’ chap from South Dublin joins the more working-class, republican ranks of Sinn Féin: I drew the main character as tall and slender and some of his hardened Sinn Féin comrades as squat, faintly ape-like in appearance.[307] I am simultaneously intrigued by and ashamed of this (an exquisitely grotesque feeling) and I will be extremely careful with such stereotypes in the future.

Appendix: Punch, 1867

What did the 19th-century Irish ape-men cartoons look like in their natural habitat? This appendix will attempt to further engage with the aesthetic dimension of the ape-man cartoons by reproducing and analyzing a selection of illustrations and cartoons from *Punch* throughout the year 1867.

1867 was an especially challenging year in Anglo-Irish relations. It saw the height of the 'Fenian Panic'.[308] The 'Fenian Rising' occurred in March.[309] In September of that year a police officer was killed by a group of Fenians in Manchester during a prisoner rescue mission. In November three Fenians were executed for the murder, their execution inspired the song 'God Save Ireland!, which was for many years an unofficial Irish national anthem.[310] In December of that year, in another attempted Fenian prison escape, 12 local people were killed and 120 were injured.[311] 1867 was also the year of Disraeli's Second Reform Bill, which enfranchised a large number of working-class men.[312]

It is fascinating to see the ape-man cartoons in their original context. There were proportionally very few of them, strikingly so given that the mere mention of the name *Punch* to an educated Irish person conjures up images of a 19th journal dedicated almost entirely to maligning Irish people, not just politically

but personally. It is also notable that even at the height of the “Fenian Panic”, Irish caricatures did not dominate the news.

It is interesting to observe to aesthetic tone of *Punch* in 1867. There is a range of styles from realist to grotesque. The majority of illustrations are realist in style (see fig 1). The art direction (as it would now be called) is excellent: the cartoons and illustrations flow and dance across the pages in an aesthetically, extremely satisfying manner. The more soberly realist style is a reflection of the fact the naturalism in illustration was in the ascendant in the 1860s. [313] Regardless of fashions in the visual arts the ordinary *Punch* readers, weaned on the grotesqeuries that were fashionable earlier in the century,[314] must have still had a yearning for grotesque visual stimulation. It is also worth pointing out, however, that the popularity of grotesque had abated considerably in book and magazine illustration in general by the 1860s and that the increasingly malformed ape-men cartoons of that period were at odds with the fashion in illustration for pensive naturalism. By the 1880s, grotesqueries had, writes Morris, “more or less vanished” in book and magazine illustration.[315] It is interesting that the grotesque Irish ape-man cartoons nonetheless survived into this period. Regardless of trends in popular illustration, many readers would still have enjoyed grotesque styles; and the grotesque would continue to inspire many fine art practitioners into the late 19th century.[316]

The most consistent character to appear is neither the Irish ape-man nor Mr. Punch, rather the then Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli (see figs 2 & 3). There are numerous humanized animals, mostly small ‘cuts’, or thumbnail sketches in the margins of articles (see figs 4, 5, 7, 9 ,10, 13, 16 & 17). Fig 13

is of particular interest to this study, it portrays a ‘canine vagabond’, in order to criticize leniency in the vagrancy laws: the Irish were not the only people to be animalized negatively. A distinctly animalizing grotesquerie is also evident in figs 15 & 20, in which ladies’ fashions are mocked. The most delightful grotesque is to be seen in fig 12, ‘Punch’s Dream of the Dead Season’ – surely an echo of Goya’s ‘Dream of Reason’, even a pastiche of it.

Prognathism is evident in a number of characters, not all of them Irish. For instance in fig 8 a distinctly prognathous “street robber” is about to be chastised by Mr. Punch, his ethnicity is not mentioned. In fig 14, British working-class trade union members are portrayed as being almost as prognathous as the Fenians shown in the same frame. It is interesting that radical trade unionism and Fenianism are seen as being similarly threatening. Likewise, “King Mob” in fig 18 is not especially prognathous and appears to represent all kinds of social disorder, not just armed Irish radicalism. In fig 19 a delegation of working-class men are seen expressing deferential gratitude to a government minister, the workers are faintly ape-like compared to the minister, who is tall, slender and refined.

‘The Irish Question’ is only prominently featured in four cartoons, all of them drawn by Tenniel. In February, the Irish Land Question is represented as a realistically drawn bull (see fig 6). In October of that year a gang of prognathous Fenians are seen preparing their weapons for a violent rebellion. Toward the end of the year, December 28th, Mr. Punch is seen as a medieval knight chasing away a rabble of more ape-like Fenians (see fig 21). Finally, the well-known ‘Fenian Guy Fawkes’ cartoon appears, which has already been reproduced and mentioned at the start of this dissertation and frequently

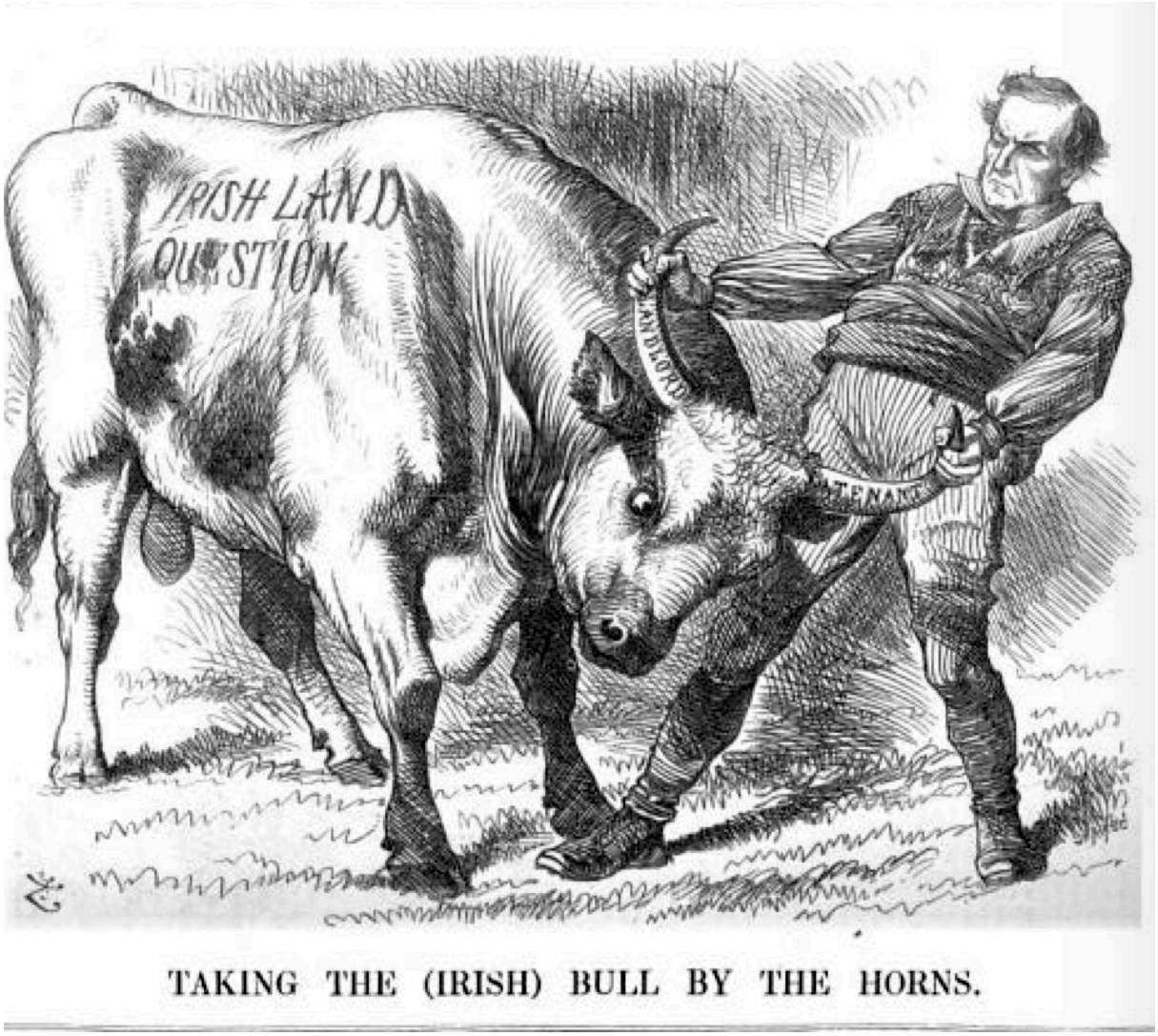
appears in articles about anti-Irish cartoons in the 19th century. The Fenian is finally more grossly bestialized than before and can be seen to progress stylistically towards the equally well-known, even more sub-human, 'Irish Caliban', which would appear in *Punch* the following year.

Fig 1: 5th August

Fig 2: June 29th

Fig 3: December 14th

Fig 4: June 15th November 30th
Fig 5: January, 26th.



TAKING THE (IRISH) BULL BY THE HORNS.

Fig 6: Feb 28th

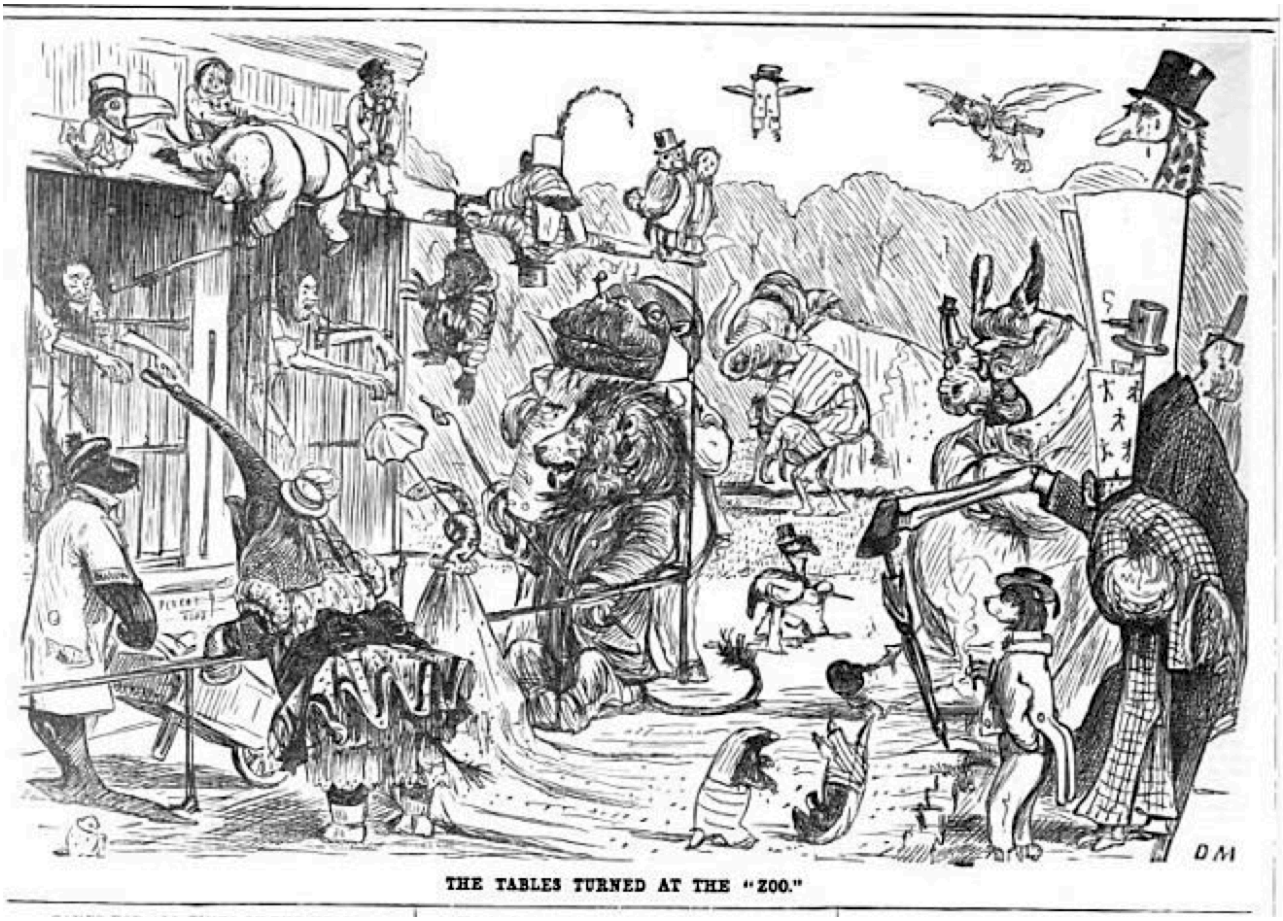


Fig 7: 'The Tables Turned at the "Zoo"' – March

Fig 8: June 22nd

Fig 9: November 9th
Fig 10: July 6th

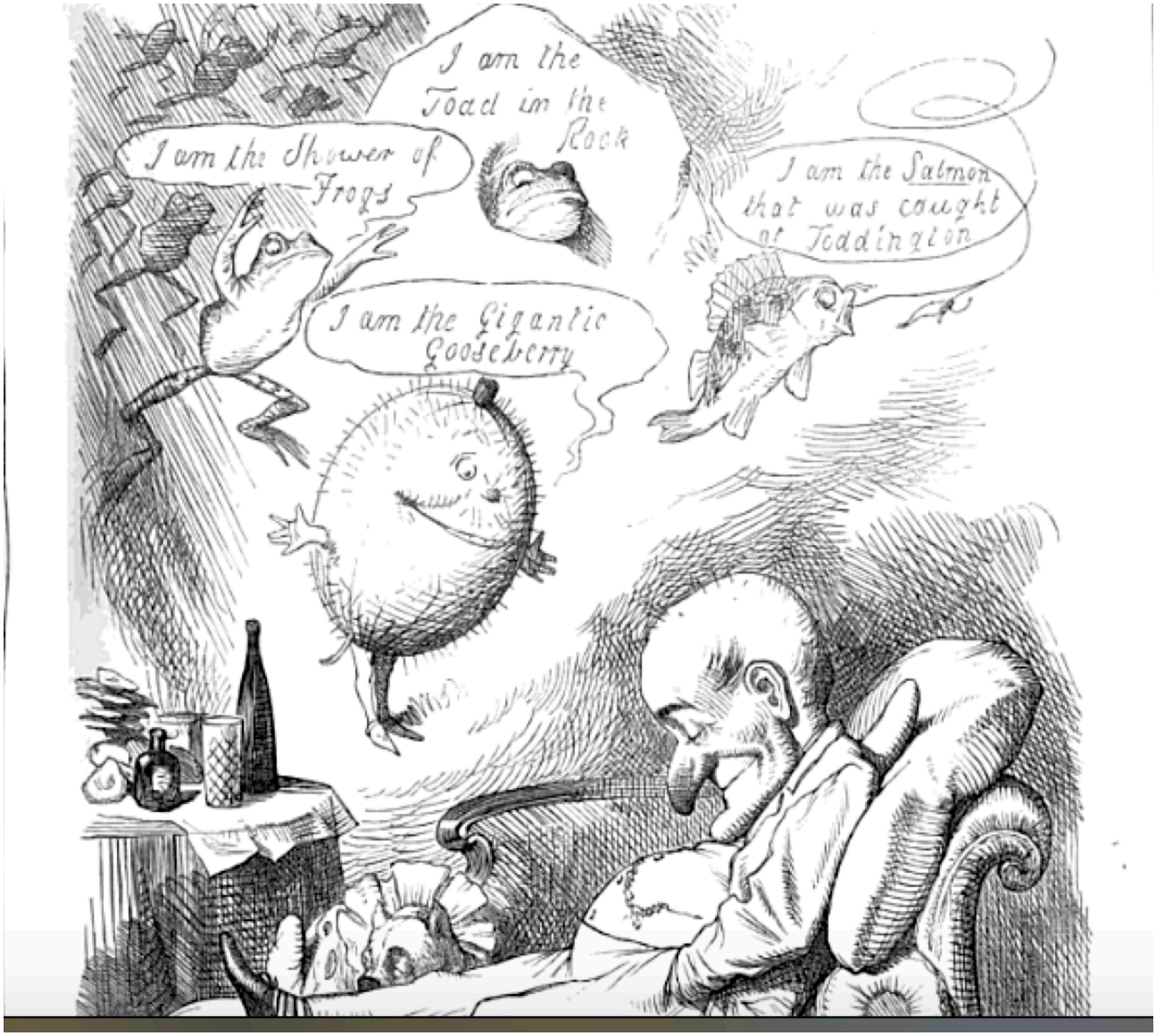


Fig 12: 'Punch's Dream of the Dead Season' – August 31st

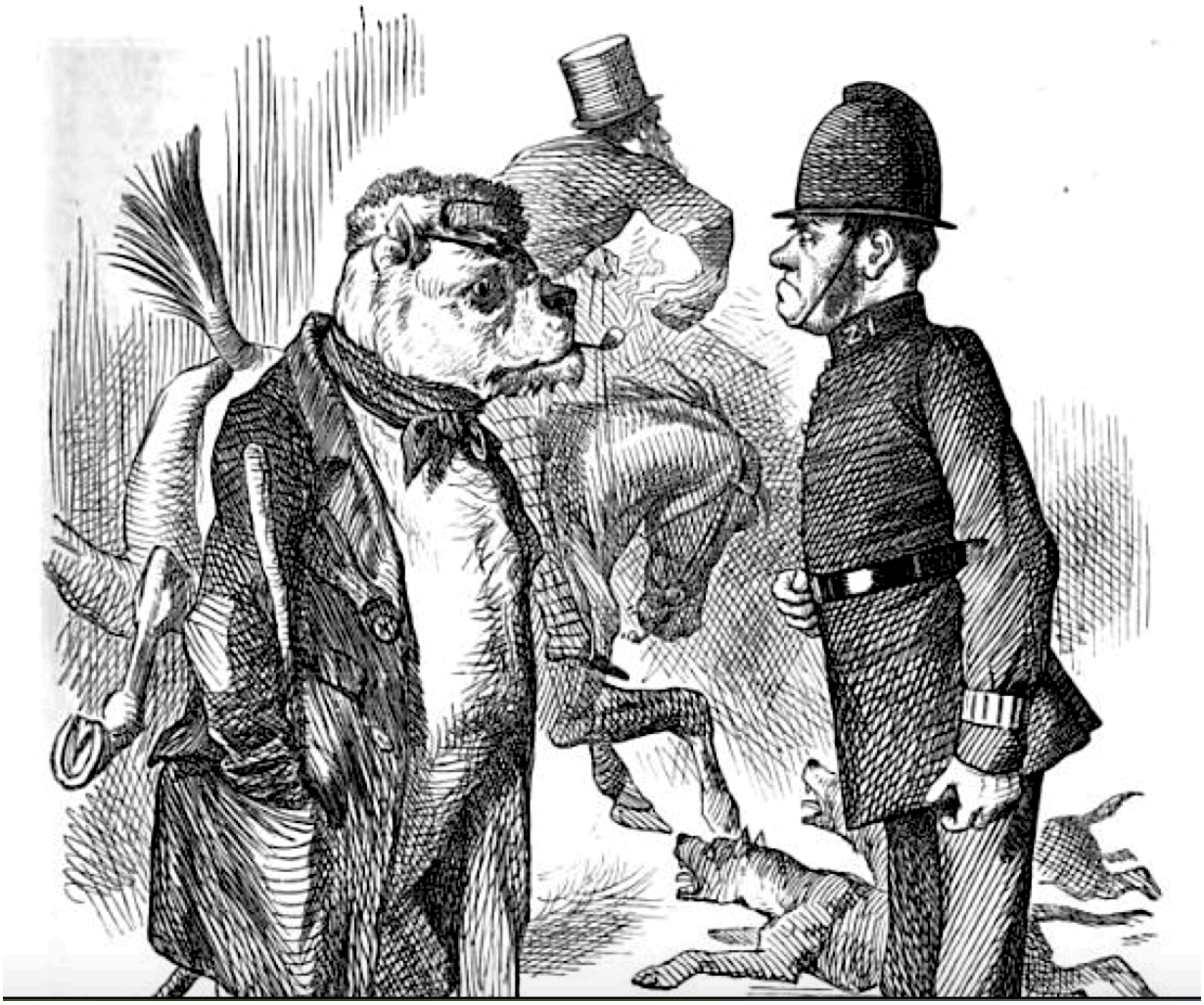


Fig 13: September 14th

THE ORDER OF THE DAY; OR, UNIONS AND FENIANS.

Fig 14: October 12th. 1867 (detail)

Fig 15: November 30th

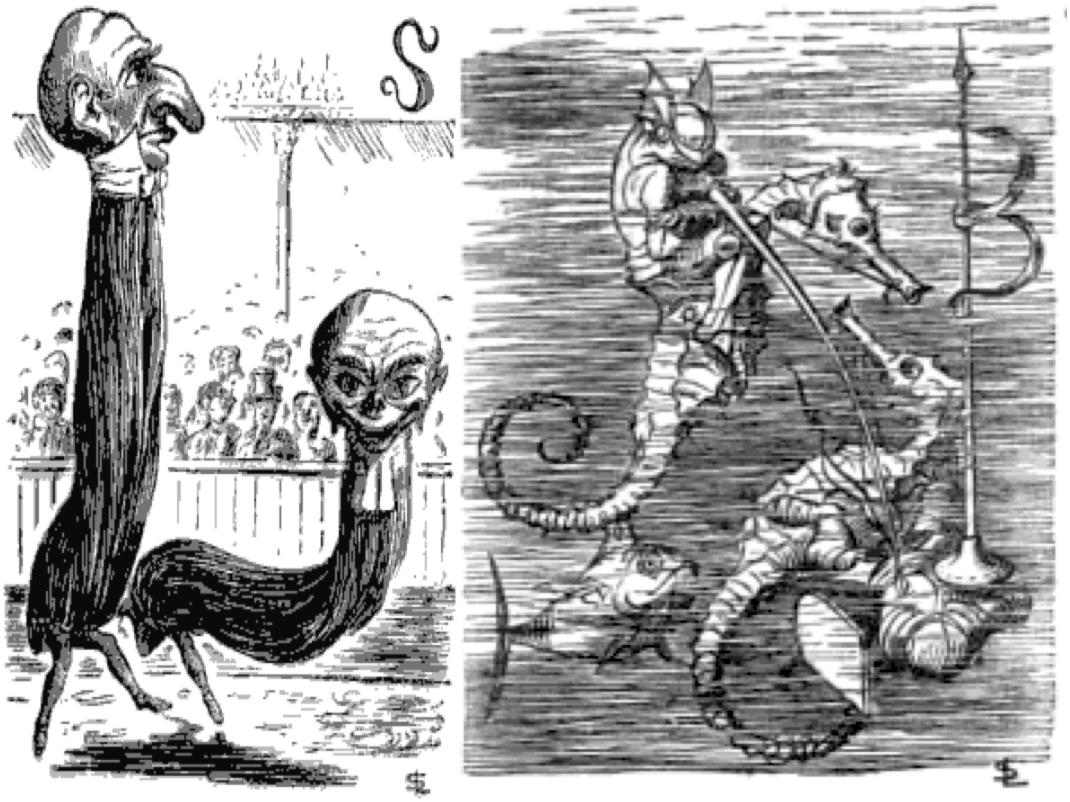


Fig 16: November 23rd & **Fig 17:** November 30th

Fig 18: November 30th 'King Mob'

Fig 19: December 7th

As Birds' Feathers and Train Dresses are all the go, Miss Swellington adopts one of Nature's own Designs.

Fig 20: Dec 14th

Fig 21: December 28th

Fig 22: December 28th

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[1] 'Charlie Hebdo cartoons similar to when the Irish were seen as apes'. *Irish Central* (*www.irishcentral.com)* January 10, 2015.
[2] *Irish Central* (www.irishcentral.com) is the online version of *The Irish Voice*, an Irish-American newspaper that has been published in the United States since 1987. O'Dowd, Niall. (2010) *An Irish Voice*. O'Brien Press.
[3] 'Un-nuanced and populist' in so far as it focused almost entirely on the notion of anti-Irish racial prejudice despite there being, as this thesis will argue, several other equally useful perspectives.
[4] The article was shared online over 4,700 times and the discussion thread contains over 120 comments (as of August 10th, 2015). One of the contributors suggested that the 19th century ape-man cartoonists should have been shot dead in a similar manner to the *Charlie Hebdo* cartoonists and journalists. See a screen grab of some the comments below from the Irish Central Facebook page on January 11th, 2015.

Further evidence of an enduring awareness of the anti-Irish *Punch* cartoons was the use of such a cartoon at the 'Occupy Dame Street' protest camp in Dublin in 2012. (Photograph: Donal Casey, 4th March. 2012)

[5] Thomas Nast was one of the key political cartoonists of the 19th century – creating, among other iconic figures, the basic appearance of Santa Claus, Uncle Sam and the Donkey and Elephant symbols of the US bipartisan political system. His work – along with that of John Tenniel - will feature strongly in this thesis: drawing on the comprehensive biography, *Thomas Nast: The Father of Modern Political Cartoons* (2012) by Fiona Deans Halloran.

[6] Morris, Frankie (2005). *The Artist of Wonderland: The Life, Political Cartoons and Illustrations of John Tenniel.* Lutterworth Press. p. 293

[7] Morris (2005) & Halloran (2012).

John Tenniel (1820-1914) and Thomas Nast (1840-1902) are the best known of the 19th century political cartoonists and their cartoons constitute the majority of samples in this dissertation. Other political cartoonists of note who will be mentioned are: John Leech (1817-1864), Matt Morgan (1837-1890), John Proctor (1836-1914), James Albert Wales (1852-1886) and Frederick Burr Opper (1857-1937).

[8] Curtis Lewis also credits William Irvine's *Apes, Angels and Victorians* (1955) with inspiring him.

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

[10] *Tomahawk* (1867-1870) was a short-lived but influential comic weekly; it was especially notable for including the work of Matt Morgan. Curtis (1971). pp. 26-27. Other key journals mentioned in this thesis, which were established to be in competition with *Punch* – which nonetheless outlived them all, were: *Fun* (1861-1891), *Judy* (1867-1907) & *Funny Folks* (1874-1894) and – in the United States – *Harper's Weekly* (1857-1916),*The Judge* (1881-1947) & *Puck* (1871-1918)

[11] Curtis (1971). p. 49.
The term 'ape-man' is used here to refer to the Fenian Frankenstein monster. Irish ape-man, or simply ape-man, is the term used throughout this thesis, following on Curtis's precedent. It is the most consistently used term in Curtis's work; even where the creature portrayed is more clearly resembles a beast or imaginary monster than an actual ape.
[12] Curtis (1971). pp. 47, 62 & 64
[13] Matt Morgan's 1869 Fenian monster was well known enough to be itself parodied (or perhaps plagiarized) by the Irish cartoonist Thomas Fitzpatrick (1860-1912), in a clever reversal of roles. In 'The Frankenstein of Hatfield and His Handiwork', published in the *Weekly Freeman* on 6th May, 1893, the monster here represents sectarian bigotry rather than Irish nationalism.

[14] Douglas, Roy. Harte, Liam. O'Hara, Jim. (1998). *Drawing Conclusions: A Cartoon History of Anglo-Irish Relations 1798- 1998*. The Blackstaff Press. p. 3
[15] de Nie, Michael (2004). *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882.* Wisconsin University Press. pp. 177 & 199-200
[16] Curtis's need to counterbalance his account of the ape-men cartoons with a description of the more angelic Hibernia is relevant here.
[17] Curtis (1971). pp. 23 & 44-5
[18] Curtis (1971). p. 29
[19] Curtis (1971). P. 30-31
[20] Curtis (1971). p. 21-2

[21] There are numerous examples of this tendency in Curtis. For instance with the 1869 'Irish Frankenstein' cartoon, which clearly portrays an imaginary monster, Curtis refers to it as an 'Irish ape-man'. Curtis P. 49
[22] Curtis (1971). p. 29
[23] Cited in Curtis (1971). p. 29
[24] Ignatief , Noel (1995). *How the Irish Became White.* Routledge Classics.
[25] The term 'cartoon' in the context of political satire, did not begin to be used until 1843 when the "humorous pencilings" of Punch cartoonist John Leech – beginning with his '*Shadows and Substance'* picture, began to be referred to as "Mr. Punch's Cartoons." The terms cartoon and cartoonist did not become widespread until the 1860s. Morris (2005). pp. 48-9
[26] Curtis (1971). p. 34
[27] Halloran (2015). p. 24-5
[28] Halloran (2012). pp. 83-4
[29] Curtis (1971). p.34
[30] One of Cruikshank's images for Maxwell's *History of the Rebellion in Ireland in 1798.* 1894 edition. p. 115.

[31] Walasek, Helen. (2008) *The Best of Punch Cartoons.* Prion. p. 13. For instance, one of the magazine's co-founders and original co-editors, Henry Mayhew, was a noted social reformer of the era. Humphreys, Ann (1984). *Henry Mayhew.* Oxford University Press.
[32] Curtis (1971). p. 31
[33] Quoted in Curtis (1971). p. 31
[34] Foster, Roy (1995). *Paddy and Mr Punch.* pp. 172-175
[35] Curtis, Lewis P. (1971). pp. x-xi
[36] Curtis (1971). p. 57

[37] The 'Ultimate in Psychopathic Horror: The Irish', a 1982 cartoon by the *London Evening Standard* cartoonist JAK (Raymond Jackson, 1927-1997) published at the height of the 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland, is frequently cited as an example of lingering notions of Irish people as deeply irrational savages.

[38] de Nie, Michael. (2004). p.5

[39] Wilson, A.N. (2003) *The Victorians.* Arrow Books. p. 258

[40] The editorial stated: "While the old stage Irishman with his 'Be me sowl', and Wont ye be afther treading on the tail of me coat', has disappeared .. we have yet Thackery's disgusting compound of vulgar ignorance, and Punch's typical Irishman seen so frequently in his cartoons."
The Newcastle Chronicle. 23 August. 1882. Quoted in de Nie (2004). p. 256-7

[41] Morris (2005). pp. 290, 300-302 & 309

[42] de Nie (2004). p. 267

[43] de Nie (2004). p. 257

[44] Curtis (1971). p.174

[45] Curtis (1971) pp. 39-40

[46] Morris (2005). p. 305

[47] Morris (2005). p. 302

[48] Curtis (1971). p. 65

[49] In Curtis (1971) and more specifically in de Nie (2004).

[50] A wall of Irish nationalist and international political murals in nationalist/republican West Belfast; most of the murals change frequently – although a small number, mostly to do with republican "martyrs" have remained intact for a number of years.

[51] 'Charlie Hebdo cartoons similar to when the Irish were seen as apes'. *Irish Central* (*www.irishcentral.com)* January 10, 2015.
[52] Foster (1995). p. 177
[53] de Nie (2005) draws heavily on what he calls Curtis's "masterful" analysis. He makes no reference to the criticisms of Foster (1995) or Gilley (1978).
[54] Foster (1995). pp. 171-193
[55] Gilley, Sheridan. 'English Attitudes to the Irish in England, 1780-1900.' Holmes, Collin (ed.). (1978). *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society.* Allen and Unwin. pp. 81-110
[56] Photograph: Donal Casey, 21st September, 2012.
[57] Harper's Weekly, "mid 19th century". Reproduced in Dwyer, Richard. (2013). *White: Essays on Race and Culture.* Routledge. p. 53
[58] Curtis (1971) p. 21
[59] Foster (1995) as well as Curtis (1971) and de Nie (2004).
[60] Curtis (1971). p. 110
[61] Ignatief (1995).
[62] Ignatief. (1995). p.1 & "White was not a physical description, rather a term of a social relation." Ignatief (1995). p. 130
[63] De Nie (2004). p.3
The notion of intrinsic qualities of a nation have proven to be enduring as could be seen in the popular 2009 RTÉ television series *The Blood of the Irish* which sought to disabuse viewers of the notion that there is such as thing as Celtic 'blood' or DNA. The very title of the series was predicated on the assumption that a significant number of people continue to hold such a belief.
See '*Blood of the Irish* Production Notes':
http://www.rte.ie/tv/bloodoftheirish/productionnotes.pdf
[64] Wilson (2003). p. 259
[65] de Nie (2004). p. 179 & Ignatief (1995)
[66] Wilson (2003). p. 202
[67] Wilson (2003). p. 22
More persistent products of the same idealistic impulses are such Bethamite organs of social control as police forces and prisons.
[68] Wilson (2003). p. 261
[69] Wilson (2003). pp. 121-3
[70] Cited in de Nie, Michael. (2004). *p.* 8
[71] Editorial in *The Times*, April 1799 which voiced support for the Act of Union between Britain and Ireland, which ultimately occurred in 1801. Cited in de Nie. (2004). p. 3
[72] Curtis (1971) p. 5
[73] de Nie (2004). pp. 8-11
[74] de Nie (2004). p. 9
[75] Wilson (2003). p. 93
Such authors as *Benoît de Maillet (1656-1738), Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802) and Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744-1829).*
[76] Wilson (2003). pp. 98 & 225-226
[77] Morris, Frankie. (2005). *Artist of Wonderland: The Life, Political Cartoons and Illustrations of John Tenniel*. The Lutterworth Press.McGee, Owen. (2005). p. 292
[78] Wilson (2003). p. 226

[79] Wilson (2003). p. 230
Darwin himself was often portrayed by cartoonists as an ape or monkey, as in this cartoon, which was published in *Fun* 16th November. 1872

[80] Wilson (2003). pp. 230 & 378
[81] Tenniel's "sweet and simple nature" is cited in Morris (2005). p. 4-5
[82] Morris (2005). p .60
[83] Halloran, Fiona Deans. (2012). *Thomas Nast: The Father of Modern Political Cartoons*. University of North Carolina Press p. 33
[84] Halloran (2012). p. 76
[85] Halloran (2012). pp. 34-5 Interestingly, while Nast frequently portrayed blacks as victims his counterpart in the South, the Confederate cartoonist Volck, routinely portrayed blacks in a very similar way to Nast's Irishmen: dangerous, ignorant, corrupt and so on. Halloran (2012) pp. 66-7
[86] Halloran discusses Nast's social ambitions, and insecurities, for instance his determination to marry into "old-time Yankee culture". Halloran (2012). p. 83
[87] Halloran (2012). p.112
[88] Morris (2005). p. 243
[89] Morris (2005). p. 238
[90] Curtis cites the example of Dr Richard Tuthill massy of the Royal College of Surgeons in Dublin whose Analytical Ethnology (1855) defends a sort of Celtic suepriority. Curtis (1971). pp. 17-18
Boyce also draws attention to the Romantic Nationalist ideals of some Young Irelanders of the 1840s and 50s such as Thomas Davis who portrayed Ireland as a spiritual, artistic place that needed to be "unsaxonised". Boyce, George D.

(2005). *Nineteenth Century Ireland: The Search for Stability – New Gill History of Ireland 5*. Gill & Macmillan.. pp. 87-8
It should be noted they rarely if ever attained the racialist virulence of their English counterparts.
[91] Cited in Morris (2005). p. 310
[92] Irish cartoonist Thomas Fitzpatrick (1860-1912). The recently-published *Thomas Fitzpatrick and The Leprechaun Cartoon Monthly 1905-1915* by James Curry and Ciarán Wallace, published by Dublin City council in 2015, focuses on the later part of his career but does contain information on his 19th–century cartoons.
[93] Foster (1995). p. 174
[94] State paper released in 2003 suggested that a member of the Irish Times Trust, Major McDowell, had – in conversation with a British diplomat in the early 1970s – referred to the newspaper's then editor Douglas Gageby as a "white nigger due to his perceived sympathies for Catholic Irish nationalists in Northern Ireland.
[95] Wilson (2003). pp. 41-44
Foster refers to ambitious Irishmen in 19th-century England as 'Micks on the make'. Foster (1995).
[96] Wilson (2003). p. 368
[97] Boyce (2005). p. 16
"Organisations such as the British and Foreign Bible Society worked in the 'darkest regions' of Ireland to bring the light of the Gospel to her unfortunate people." It should also be noted as well that in the context of the "formality" and "indifferentism" of Irish Catholicism, pagan folk traditions of magic and wildly unrestrained wakes continued to thrive, which must have – to a certain extent – contributed to negative stereotypes. Boyce (2005). pp .51-52 & 140-143
[98] Boyce (2005). p. 8
[99] Lyons, F.S.L. (1985). *Ireland Since the Famine.* Fontana Press. pp. 44-45
[100] Tierney, Mark. (1978). *Modern Ireland (Revised Edition*). Gill and Macmillan. pp. 7-8
[101] Wilson (2003). pp. 141-3
[102] Boyce (2005). p. 67
[103] In the context of the Maynooth Grant Crisis of 1845. Wilson (2003). p. 69
[104] The Tablet in 1867. Quoted in de Nie (2004). p.161
[105] Intriguingly Halloran suggests that Nast may have been brought up Catholic in his early childhood. Halloran (2012). p. 203
[106] Halloran (2012). pp. 204-205
[107] Morris (2005). pp. 217-218
[108] O'Carroll, Ciarán. (2003). 'Ultramontanism'. *The Encyclopedia of Ireland*. Gill and Macmillan. p. 1094
[109] Morris (2005). p. 4
[110] Wilson (2003). pp. 82-83
[111] Wilson (2003) pp. 148
[112] Halloran (2012) p.74
[113] Wilson (2003). p. 274
[114] Wilson (2003). p. 13
[115] Morris (2005) p. 221
[116] Wilson (2003). p. 29

Wilson uses, among other sources, the example of Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist* (1837-38) to illustrate this social reality – and the dark fascination it inspired in its better-off readers.

[117] Wilson (2003). p. 12

[118] Morris (2005). p. 274

[119] A detail from Gillray's *Titianus Redivivus* (1797); reproduced in Gatrell, Vic (2006). *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London.* Atlantic Books London. p. 266

[120] See also **Appendix:** *Punch*, 1867, figs 8 & 14 for examples of prognathous working-class Englishmen, or at least people whose nationality is not specified.

[121] Morris (2005) p. 241

[122] Morris (2005) p. 207

[123] Morris (2005) p. 206

[124] Morris (2005) p. 248

[125] Morris (2005) p. 262. For instance, during the American Civil War "Punch wavered between its anti-slavery principles and its sympathy with the South's push for independence." Morris (2005) p. 324

[126] Morris (2005). p. 288

[127] Boyce (2005). p. 10

[128] Boyce (2005). p. 24

[129] Boyce (2005). p. 107

[130] Boyce (2005). p. 27

[131] 'Fenian' was the name given to radical nationalists of two overlapping organizations: the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Fenian Brotherhood. De Nie (2004). p. 144

[132] Boyce (2005). p. 16

[133] Boyce (2005). p. 161

[134] *Illustrated London News,* 4th January, 1868. Quoted in de Nie, Michael. (2004).*The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press*, 1798-*1882*. University of Wisconsin Press. p. 166
[135] Boyce (2005) p.338
[136] Wilson (2003). pp. 123-124
[137] Morning Herald, 20th September, 1867. Quoted in de Nie (2004). p. 163
[138] This widely reproduced cartoon is also discussed in its original print context in **Appendix**: *Punch*, 1867.
[139] Particularly in the middle to late 1860s. McGee, Owen. (2005). *The IRB: The Irish Republican Brotherhood from the Land League to Sinn Féin.* Four Courts Press. . Chapter 1: 'The Genesis of a Republican Brotherhood' & Chapter 2: 'A Fenian Opportunity'. pp. 38-65 & de Nie (2004). Chapter 3: 'The Fenian Era, 1867-70.'
[140] de Nie (2004). p. 145
[141] de Nie (2004). p. 209
[142] Wilson (2003). p. 453
[143] de Nie (2004). p. 209
[144] Wilson (2003). p. 449
[145] Quoted in de Nie (2004). p. 147
[146] Quoted in de Nie (2004). p. 154
[147] de Nie (2004). p. 163
[148] de Nie (2004). pp. 160-161 & 167
[149] Halloran (2012). p. 35
[150] "As for political opinions, I have none; at least, if I have my own little politics, I keep them to myself and profess only those of my paper." Tenniel in an interview with M.H. Spielmann in 1889. Quoted in Morris (2005). pp. 248-249
[151] Halloran (2012). p. 102
[152] Halloran (2012). p. 51
[153] Halloran (2012). p. 33
[154] Especially as the thuggish foot-soldiers of Boss Tweeds famously corrupt Tamany Hall political machine. Halloran (2012). pp. 131-134
[155] Morris (2005). p. 293
[156] Harpham, Geoffrey Galt. (2006). On the Grotesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature. The Davies Group Publishers. p.5
[157] Connelly, Frances S. (2014). The Grotesque in Western Art and Culture: The Image at Play. Cambridge University Press. p. 17
[158] Connelly (2014). p. 128
[159] For instance, Piranesi's 18th century *Caprices*. Connelly (2014). p. 59
[160] Connelly (2014). p. 61
[161] Connelly (2014). p. 67
[162] "Gladstone spent his declining years trying to guess the answer to the Irish Question; unfortunately, whenever he was getting warm, the Irish secretly *changed the Question ...". Sellar, W.C. (1930). 1066 And All That: A Memorable History of England, comprising all the parts you can remember, including 103 Good Things, 5 Bad Kings and 2 Genuine Dates. Methuen & Co.*
[163] Harpham (2006). p. 2
[164] Harpham (2006) p. 3
[165] Connelly (2014). p. 13

[166] de Nie (2004). p. 166
[167] Harpham (2006). p. xxvi
[168] Connelly (2014). p. 2
[169] Edwards, Justin & Graulund, Rune. (2013). *Grotesque.* Routledge: the New Critical Idiom. p. 1
[170] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English.* (1995). Clarendon Press: Oxford. P. 600. The entry for the word 'grotesque' also a useful secondary definition: "a decorative form interweaving human and animal elements."
[171] GUBU: "grotesque, unbelievable, bizarre, unprecedented" the catchy acronym was created by Conner Cruise O'Brien from the words of the then Taoiseach, Charles Haughey, reacting to an unusually strange series of events in 1982. It is still commonly used in Ireland to refer ironically to any "bizarre or embarrassing political scandal".
http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/worldupdate/2006/06/gubu.html
[172] Harpham (2006). p. 27
[173] Neimeitz, Joachim. (1727). *Séjour de paris sous la Régence.* Quoted in Connelly (2014). p. 95
[174] Wilson (2003). p. 259
[175] First performed as a complete cycle in the Bayreuth Festival in 1876, Wagner's *The Ring* was subsequently brought to London in 1882. CFifield, Christopher (2005). The Rise and Fall of a Musical Empire. London: Ashgate Publishing. pp. 25–6
[176] Morris (2005). p. 184
[177] Milbank, Alison (2010). 'The Victorian Gothic in English Novels and Stories: 1830-1890.' Hogle, Jerrold. E. (ed.)*The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction.* Cambridge University Press. p. 132
[178] Morris (2005). p. 183 & Engen, Rodney (1991). *Sir John Tenniel: Alice's White Knight*. Scholar Press. p. 69
[179] Curtis (1971). p. 27
[180] Victorian Print Media: A Reader. (2005) pp. 167-71
[181] Victorian Print Media: A Reader. (2005) pp.172-3
[182] Victorian Print Media: A Reader. (2005) pp. 376
[183] There had been a significant revival in wood printing in the 1820s and 30s. Photography was not widely incorporated into the print media until the 1880s and 1890s. Victorian Print Media: A Reader. (2005) pp. 376-8
[184] Victorian Print Media: A Reader.(2005) p. 2
[185] Halloran (2012) pp. 23 & 91-93
[186] Curtis (1971). p. 63
[187] Commentators such as Matthew Arnold lamented the accompanying decline in "high seriousness". Victorian Print Media: A Reader. p. 11-12 & Rubery, Matthew pp. 10-1 & 17
[188] Rubery, Matthew. (2009). *The Novelty of Newspapers: Fiction after the Invention of the News*. Oxford University Press.. p. 5
[189] Rubery (2009). p. 9
[190] Rubery (2009). p. 6
[191]Rubery (2009). p. 14
[192] Walasek. (2008). p. 10

[193] 'Prospectus of a New Journal'. (1863). Punch 44. P. 193. Quoted in Rubery (2009). p. 18

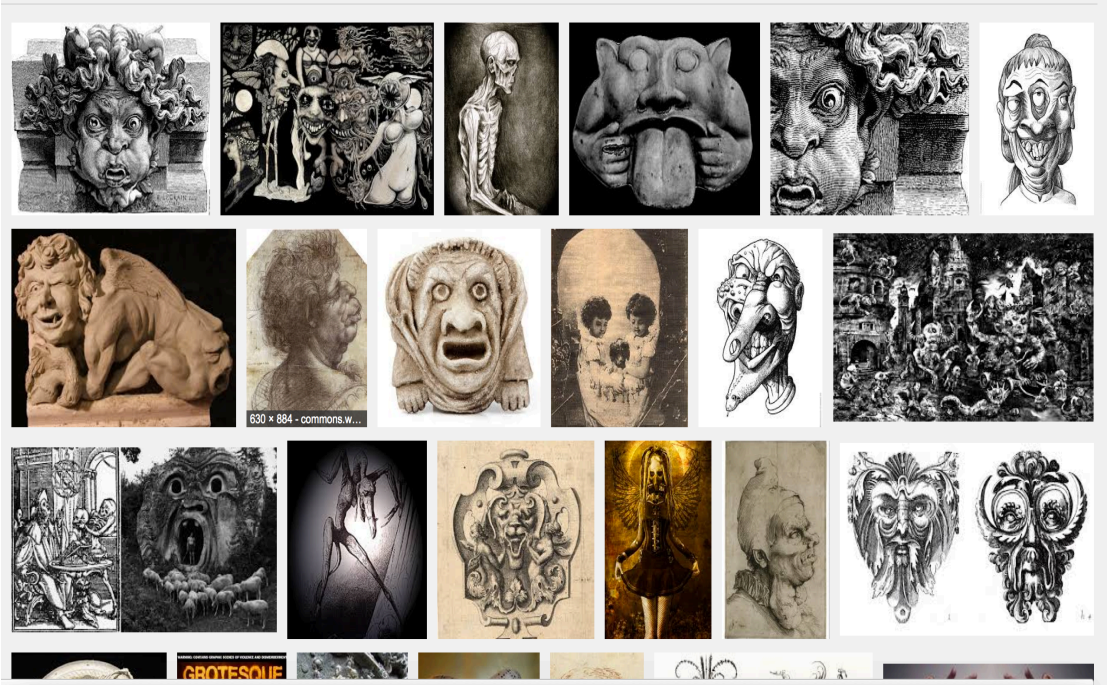
[194] Current social stereotyping was common in children's book illustration as well as in political cartoons. For instance Tenniel's Mad Hatter would have been recognized as a stereotypical Victorian Jewish old-clothes peddler to a contemporary reader. Similarly, when The Alice books were illustrated for the American market in the early 20th century the Duchess was drawn as an Aunt Jemina, Black Mammy style figure. Morris (2005). p. 222

[195] Minear, Richard H. (2001). Dr Seuss Goes to War : The World War II Editorial Cartoons of Theodor Seuss Geisel. The New Press.
A similar dynamic can be seen in the work of the contemporary children's book illustrator and political cartoonist for the Observer newspaper, Chris Riddell. http://www.chrisriddell.co.uk/ For instance, just as Benjamin Disraeli appears as the 'Man in White' in Tenniel's *Alice* illustrations, Tony Blair appears as a character in Chris Riddell's illustrations for Gulliver's Travels. Swift, Jonathan. (1726/2010). Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels: Candlewick Illustrated Classic. Candlewick. Illustrator: Chris Riddell.

[196] Morris (2005). pp. 188-95
Tenniel illustration from *Through the Looking Glass* (1865), featuring Disraeli.

[197] Quoted in Connelly (2014). p. 1

[198] German: 'groteske'; Spanish: 'grotesco'; Czech: 'groteskní'. Hungarian: 'groteszk' and so on. Interestingly the translation for 'grotesque' into Irish is 'arrachtach' meaning monstrous and 'éalaín anchúinseach' literally: extremely tricky/wily art. De Bhaldraithe. (2004). *English-Irish Dictionary*. An Gúm. P. 314.
A further definition of the term in a more purely visual sense may be found by a search for the word 'grotesque' on Google Image, which yields the following evocative array of grotesqueries:



[199] Harpham (2006) p. xiv
[200] A term used in Chapter Three: 'Grotesque and Grotto-esque' of Harpham.
[201] Harpham (2006). p.. xv
[202] Harpham (2006). pp. 69-72
[203] Hellmouth in the Park of Monsters, 1552-84. Villa Orsini, Bomarzo, Italy. Reproduced in Connelly (2014). p. 3

[204] Connelly (2014). p. 57

[205] Connelly (2014). pp. 92-93
[206] Harpham (2006). p. xxiv
[207] Connelly (2014). pp. 16-18
[208] Connelly discusses this 'collision' in relation to Magritte's Painting of a pretty young girl eating the raw heart of a bird: René Magritte. Pleasure (*Le Plaiser*), 1926. Connelly (2014). pp. 9-11

[209] Morris (2005). pp. 228-229
[210] Morris (2005). p. 300
[211] Connelly (2014). p. 115
[212] Connelly (2014). P. 115
[213] Connelly (2014). p. 116
[214] Curtis (1971). p 44
[215] Harpham (2006). p. 81
[216] Harpham (2006).p. 88 .. Echoing the *"Animalgate"* scandal in Irish sport in 2003 when Gaelic football veteran and trainer, Páidí Ó Sé referred to football supporters in his home county as "f***ing animals". A professor of Celtic Studies, Pádraig Ó Fiannachta, spoke out in his defense, suggesting that to the native Gaelic mindset (Ó Sé was a native Irish speaker from a Gaeltacht area of Kerry) to be described as an animal was in fact complimentary. 'Tourists on the Ball for Páidí's Big Day'. *The Irish Times* February 24. 2003
[217] Harpham (2006). p. 87
[218] Leroi-Gourhan, quoted in Harpham (2006). p. 87
[219] Harpham (2006) .p. 88
[220] Wilson (2003). p. 93
The hugely popular London Zoo was opened in Regent's Park in 1828, it is the world's oldest scientific zoo.
[221] Wilson (2003). p. 94
[222] See **Appendix:** *Punch*, 1867, figs 4,5,7,9,10, 12, 13,15,16 & 17.
[223] Morris (2005). p. 241
[224] Morris (2005). p. 157-159
[225] Morris (2005). p. 186
[226] Morris (2005). p. 4

[227] Morris (2005). p. 260
[228] Morris (2005). p. 288
[229] Morris (2005). pp. 292-3
[230] Morris (2005). p. 310
[231] A detail from Gillray's *Titianus Redivivus* (1797); reproduced in Gatrell, Vic (2006). *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London.* Atlantic Books London. p. 266
[232] Gillray's French revolutionaries are here portrayed as cannibalistic savages, but they are still recognizably human. *Un Petit Souper* (1794). British Museum.

[233] Morris (2005). p. 243
[234] Curtis (1971). p. 99
[235] Curtis (1971). p. 99
[236] Janson, Horst W. *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.* Cited in Curtis (1971). p. 100
[237] Connelly (2014) p. 7
[238] Curtis (1971). P. 32
[239] Morris (2005) p. 291-2
[240] Connelly (2014). p. 136
[241] Connelly (2014). p. 126
[242] Whyte, J.H. (2001). 'The Age of Daniel O'Connell'. Moody, T.W. & Martin F.X. (ed.) *The Course of Irish History.* Mercier. pp. 214-217
[243] Morris (2005). p. 64

244

Portrayals of the Irish as animals have continued to occur, but certainly with less controversial intent.

Steve Bell. 'Brian Cowen has rubbished accusations that the government had surrendered Ireland's sovereignty'. *The Guardian.* 19th November, 2010.

245 Halloran (2012).p. 80

246 Halloran (2012). p. 204

247 Connelly (2014). p. 44

248 Vasari, Lives of the Painters II. PP. 781-2. Quoted in Connelly (2014). p. 45

249 Quoted in Connelly (2014) p. 46

250 Connelly (2014). p. 105

251 Baudelaire. 'Quelques caricaturistes étrangers'. p. 258. Quoted in Connolly (2014). p. 106

252 Connelly (2014). p. 106

253 Connelly (2014). p. 130

254 Connelly (2014). p 129

255 Connelly (2014). p. 108

256Harpham (2006). P. 22

257 Ruskin, John. *The Stones of Venice.* III. Iii. p. 39. Quoted in Harpham (2006). p. 23

258 Ruskin (1853). p. 50. Quoted in Harpham (2006). pp. 33-4

259 Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome. (1996). *Monster Theory: Reading Culture.* University of Minnesota Press. p. 4

260 Harpham (2006). p.19-20

261 Morris (2005). p. 190

[262] Cited in Morris (2005). p.196
[263] Baudelaire. 'L"Essence du rire'. pp. 222-3. Quoted in Connelly (2014). p.108
[264] He does find some evidence of "alveolar prognathism" – or chin prominence – amongst a small number of mass attendees in Donegal in 1867; but, unsurprisingly, no actual ape-men. Curtis (1971) pp. 89-93
[265] de Nie (2004) p. 217
[266] Wilson (2003). p. 213
[267] Neimeitz, Joachim. (1727). *Séjour de paris sous la Régence.* Quoted in Connelly (2014). p. 95
[268] Connelly (2014). p. 85
[269] Connelly (2014). p. 17
[270] Connelly (2014). p. 85
[271] Connelly (2014). p. 98
[272] Connelly (2014). p. 85
[273] Connelly (2014). p. 16
[274] Connelly. (2014). p. 17
[275] Image from the University College Cork: Multitext Project in Irish History – The Famine. http://multitext.ucc.ie/viewgallery/335 [retrieved: 24th August 2015].
[276] Connelly (2014). p. 129
[277] Stevens, David. (2014). *Cambridge Contexts in Literature: The Gothic in Literature*. Cambridge University Press. p. 10
[278] Stevens (2014) pp. 5 & 8-10
[279] Connelly (2014). p. 130
[280] He cites Blake, Goya and others. Stevens (2014) pp. 10-11
[281] Quoted in Stevens (2014) p. 6
[282] Quoted in Stevens (2014) p. 16
[283] Hogle, Jerrold E. (2010). *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction. Cambridge* University Press. p.5
[284] Stevens (2014). pp. 21 & 64-65
[285] Stevens (2014). p. 25
[286] 'The Vampire' by Matt Morgan. *Comic News*. 26th November. 1864

[287] Hogle (2010). p. 3
[288] Stevens (2014). p. 18
[289] The first of numerous stage versions of Frankenstein was in 1823. Stevens P. 25. In this regard, Kilgour suggests that Gothic characters such as the Frankenstein monster, often inaccurately called simply 'Frankenstein', were early examples of a historic shift in the control of fictional material from author to reader. Kilgour, Maggie. (1995). *The Rise of the Gothic Novel.* Routledge.
[290] Foster (1995). p. 187
[291] de Nie (2004). pp. 204-205
[292] Morris (2005). p. 292
[293] Morris (2005). p. 282
[294] Morris (2005). pp. 266-270
[295] Stevens (2014). pp. 18-19
[296] Morris calls this "Tenniel's angriest Irish cartoon." Morris (2005). p. 11
[297] Wilson (2003). p. 337
[298] Morris (2005). p. 184
[299] Morris (2005). p. 186
[300] Morris (2005). p. 169
[301] Connelly (2014). p. 61
[302] Connelly (2014). p. 66
[303] *York Post and Leeds Intelligencer.* December. 1881. quoted in de Nie. (2004). pp. 222-223
[304] Morris (2005). p. 292
[305] Morris (2005). p. 4

[306] Donal Casey – Illustration www.donalcasey.com
[307] The name means, "Volunteers of Murder'", a play on the Irish-Language name often used by paramilitary groups claiming the mantle of the "IRA", Óglaigh na hÉireann', literally 'Volunteers of Ireland.' It is also the official Irish-language name of the Irish Defence Forces. http://www.donalcasey.com/2011/oglaigh-an-dunmharu-2

'Fiachra McGlynner D4 Shinner.' Magill Magazine. March 2008

[308] Or 'Fenian Fever'. McGee (2005). p. 37
[309] Martin, F. X., ed. (1967). *The Course of Irish History*. Mercier Press. p. 370.
[310] Morris, Ewan (2005). *Our own devices: national symbols and political conflict in twentieth-century Ireland*. Irish Academic Press. p. 28.
[311] Lydon, James. (1998). *The Making of Ireland: A History*. p. 308

[312] Palmer, Alan; Veronica (1992). *The Chronology of British History*. Century Ltd. pp. 287–288.
[313] Morris (2005). p. 195
[314] Morris (2005). pp 198-199
[315] The more subdued, realist styles of illustrators such as Walter Crane, Randolph Caldecott and Kate Greenaway prevailed. Morris (2005). p. 195
[316] Aubrey Beardsley, who is quoted at the start of this section of the dissertation, and other such *fin de siècle* "decadents'.