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Rachel de Courcy

**Representations of Charles Stewart Parnell in English and
Irish Newspapers**



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Representations of Charles Stewart Parnell in English and Irish Newspapers

Introduction

Charles Stewart Parnell became leader of the Irish nationalist movement in May 1880 when he was elected head of the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP), having already been elected president of the Land League (LL) – a more extreme nationalist organisation - in October 1879. He remained head of Ireland's nationalist movement until December 1890, when his long-standing affair with Katherine O'Shea came to light. This caused Gladstone, under pressure from English Non-conformists, to force the IPP to choose between retaining Parnell as their leader or preserving the Liberal alliance and implicitly the attainment of Home Rule by constitutional means. During his time as Ireland's nationalist leader, Parnell achieved three great feats. The first was the overthrow of landlordism which resulted in a dramatic change to the Irish land tenure system. The second was the unification of the divergent strands of nationalism – from the Fenian extremists at home and in America to the moderates – into a highly disciplined, constitutional movement for Home Rule, and, finally, the conversion of the British Liberal Party to the Home Rule cause. Even more impressive was the fact that he led Ireland to the brink of success, with a number of historians, including Hurst and Cruise O'Brien, arguing that had the divorce scandal not erupted when it did, he would in all probability have achieved Home Rule after the next general election.¹ Through these achievements, Parnell secured for himself a place among Irish heroes of the calibre of O'Connell, Wolfe Tone and de Valera. It could, in fact, be argued that his achievements surpassed theirs as he alone was ever acknowledged as the leader of the Irish 'race'.²

¹ Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Parnell and his Party 1880-90* (Oxford, 1957), p.349-50 and Michael Hurst, 'Parnell in the Spectrum of Nationalisms' in D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day (eds.), *Parnell in Perspective* (London, 1991), p.103.

² D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day, 'Introduction', in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.1.

Parnell clearly had a complex career, and this dissertation investigates how representations of him varied among different sections of the newspaper press at two particular points in his career. As yet, no historical work addresses this issue, although there are a number of works that skirt around the edges, thereby highlighting the absence of an in-depth approach to this area. Firstly, Loughlin produced an article exploring Parnell ‘the political spectacle’. This, however, focused on how Parnell sought to create and maintain his public image rather than on how he was actually portrayed.³ It is unlikely that throughout his career he was represented everywhere in Britain in line with the image he tried to construct of himself. Secondly, Curtis, and especially De Nie, both produced books that touched on the topic, by investigating how the Irish were represented in the Victorian British press. Both these books focused on how such representations in the press were largely a consequence of anti-Irish prejudices in Victorian England, based on class, race and religion.⁴ Neither De Nie nor Curtis, however, focused on Parnell specifically, instead concentrating on the Irish in general. Having said this, De Nie did dedicate a few pages to the portrayal of Parnell during the Land War of 1879-82. De Nie asserted that:

British journalists spilt most of their ink on the national leaders of the Land League, and on none more than Charles Stewart Parnell. From about 1880 until his premature death in 1891, Parnell’s visage was ... a burning subject for some journalists.⁵

³ James Loughlin, ‘Constructing the Political Spectacle: Parnell, the Press and National Leadership, 1879-86’ in Boyce and O’Day (eds.), *Parnell*.

⁴ L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (New York, 1971) and Michael De Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (London, 2004).

⁵ De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, p.209.

This was then followed by a few sentences which claimed that Parnell was consistently rebuked and shown as simply another example of Irish demagogues in the British press during these years.⁶ If it is true that Parnell attracted significant journalistic attention, then a few pages on one phase of his early career does not seem sufficient to address the issue of how he was represented in the British press. Similarly, to brush Parnell aside as somebody who was consistently depicted in a negative light by all British newspapers would seem like a considerable oversimplification, especially when one bears in mind that he was involved in a number of major events such as the Land War, the fight for Home Rule, the divorce scandal and the party split. It is unlikely that all newspapers would have viewed these events in exactly the same light.

This dissertation, therefore, addresses this ‘hole’ in historical research, through a case study of the editorials and letters to the editor of four newspapers. Editorials and letters to the editor have been chosen as these are the sections in the newspaper in which the opinions of the newspaper are expressed most clearly. The first newspaper that has been made use of is *The Times*, a London-based newspaper that for the majority of the 19th century retained an independent stance although, under its owner John Walter III, it began to drift to the right of the political spectrum, an occurrence that coincided with Parnell’s career.⁷ The second newspaper, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, was also London-based, but in complete contrast to *The Times*, it was a radical,

⁶ Ibid, p.209-10.

⁷ H.C.G. Matthew, ‘Chenery, Thomas (1826-1884), newspaper editor’. <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5215>>. January 2009; Dilwyn, Porter, ‘Walter, John (1818-1894), newspaper proprietor and politician’. <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28638?docPos=5>>. January 2009 and ‘Time, The’. <<http://www.victorianperiodicals.com/Series2/showarticle.asp?id=93431&HighlightedField=town,county,title&HighlightedWords=London~The~Times>>. January 2009.

working-class paper, which usually took up a centre-left republican position.⁸ Thirdly, *Freeman's Journal* was utilised which was a Dublin-based newspaper with liberal-nationalist sympathies.⁹ Finally, the Belfast-based *Belfast News-Letter* was used, which adhered to a consistently conservative political position throughout the nineteenth century, while being located in the hub of unionist activity.¹⁰ It is likely that these four newspapers expressed views which were fairly typical of other English conservative, English radical, Irish liberal, and Irish conservative newspapers. This case study, therefore, also enables a comparison to be made between how Parnell was represented in the English and Irish press, as well as a comparison of how he was portrayed by liberal and conservative sections of the press.

The first chapter of this dissertation examines his representation by all four newspapers during the Land War. This was the time when Parnell rose to ascendancy, attaining the title of 'the uncrowned king of Ireland', as well as when he flirted most frequently with extremism on his tour of America. The time-frame for this period has been taken from October 1879 when he was elected president of the LL until the end of October 1882 when he formed the Irish National League (INL), effectively severing his link with agricultural agitation and committing himself to the attainment of Home Rule via constitutional means. The second chapter investigates representations of Parnell in the same four newspapers during the most controversial period of his life - the divorce scandal and consequent party split, from December 1889 when Captain O'Shea filed the divorce petition naming Parnell as co-

⁸ 'Reynold's News'.

<<http://www.victorianperiodicals.com/series2/showarticle.asp?id=103351&HighlightedField=title&HighlightedWords=reynolds%27s~weekly>>. January 2009.

⁹ G.B. Smith and Alan O. Day, 'Gray, Edmund Dwyer (2845-1888), newspaper proprietor and politician'. <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11332>>. January 2009.

¹⁰ 'Belfast News-Letter'. <<http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/publicationByLocation.do>>. January 2009.

respondent, until his death in October 1891. Here not only are differences between the newspapers highlighted in both chapters, any changes in their representations of him between the two periods are as well.

When analysing the editorials and letters, not only are the more obvious portrayals of Parnell be studied but special attention is paid to the numerous journalistic techniques that were used to convey certain opinions in a more subtle fashion. Examples of these include the selective use of facts in the editorials or letters, as well as the use of metonyms, metaphors, presumptions and inferences to name but a few.¹¹

Finally, this dissertation attempts to show not only how different sections of the English and Irish press represented Parnell, and therefore implicitly how certain sections of the population viewed him, but will also to analyse how the newspapers used representations of Parnell to pursue their wider political concerns. *Reynolds's Newspaper's* representation of Parnell, for example, if taken as representative of radical working-class opinion in England, will enable Biagini's thesis of radical support for Home Rule to be tested. He argued that 'Home Rule was to the Irish working class and lower middle classes what Reform and free trade had been to their counterparts in Britain' earlier in the century. The fight for Home Rule reminded them of their own past suffering, resulting in their support for it.¹² If Parnell was represented in an unfavourable light, this would bring into question Biagini's thesis,

¹¹ John E. Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis* (Hampshire, 2007), p.45-70.

¹² Eugenio F. Biagini, *British Democracy and Irish Nationalism 1876-1906* (Cambridge, 2007), p.17 and p.81.

as it would be difficult to argue for radical support for Home Rule if a leading radical newspaper did not see its leading advocate in a positive light.

Through this approach I am attempting to move away what could be considered a saturated area of research on Parnell which has tried to uncover who he really was, what his views really were and why he undertook certain courses of action throughout his career. This literature that exists on Parnell can be divided into a number of different categories. Firstly, there are a large number of biographies written by contemporaries, many of whom knew him personally, such as Barry O'Brien, O'Connor and Harrison, as well as many written by modern-day historians like Lyons, Hurst and Bew.¹³ These biographies provide a detailed examination of Parnell's life, while also attempting an analysis of certain aspects of it, such as whether he was a moderate or extreme nationalist, and where the blame lay for the party split of the 1890s. As well as biographies, there is a wide variety of more specialised material on Parnell. A number of historians, for example, have devoted articles or books to deciphering his political thoughts, explaining his actions during the divorce crisis and party split and exploring his relationship with the IPP or certain colleagues.¹⁴

Despite all these works, Parnell remains elusive, with different historians coming to different conclusions about aspects of his life and character. For instance, although most modern historians agree that Parnell was a moderate nationalist, forced

¹³ Paul Bew, *C.S. Parnell* (Dublin, 1980); Henry Harrison, *Parnell Vindicated: The Lifting of the Vail* (London, 1931); Michael Hurst, *Parnell and Irish Nationalism* (London, 1968); R. Barry O'Brien, *The life of Charles Stewart Parnell* (London, 1910); F.S.L. Lyons, *Charles Stewart Parnell* (London, 1977) and T. P. O'Connor, *Charles Stewart Parnell: A Memory* (London, 1891).

¹⁴ Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*; D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day (eds.), *Ireland in Transition* (London, 2004); Frank Callanan, *The Parnell Split 1880-91* (Cork, 1992); F.S.L. Lyons, *The Fall of Parnell 1890-91* (London, 1960); Lyons, 'Political Ideas' and Cruise O'Brien, *Parnell and his Party*.

into double-talk by political necessity, there are exceptions, such as Hurst, and a number of Parnell's contemporaries, like Pearse, who was one of the leaders of the Nationalist Easter Rising in 1916, who believed him to have been an extremist at heart.¹⁵ Similarly, a significant number of biographers and historians, such as Lyons and Cruise O'Brien, place the blame for the party split on Parnell and discern no rationale behind his actions, while there is a body of historians, which includes Bull and Callanan, who take an opposite line, claiming that there were clearly discernible, rational motives behind Parnell's actions in his final years.¹⁶ No consensus has been reached, thereby implying that there is still room for new interpretations of Parnell, and this dissertation will seek to highlight where representations of Parnell in the English and Irish press appear to agree with, or contradict, historians' conclusions about Parnell.

This dissertation does not raise any of the issues which historians usually encounter when utilising newspapers, such as their potential for factual inaccuracy and bias, because it *is* the opinions of the newspapers on Parnell which are of interest here. However, it does raise a methodological caveat that requires addressing. This is the question of whether newspapers are actually true reflections of public opinion, and therefore whether, for example, *Reynolds's Newspaper's* representation of Parnell can

¹⁵ Bew, *C.S. Parnell*, p.136; Paul Bew, 'Parnell and Davitt' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.55, p.62, p.65-8 and p. 70; Biagini, *British Democracy*, p.16 and p.31-3; D. George Boyce, 'The Portrait of the King is the King': the Biographers of Charles Stewart Parnell' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.300-01; Philip Bull, 'The Fall of Parnell: the Political Context of his Intransigence' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.139; Claydon, 'Political Thought' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.152-4 and p.158; Hurst, 'Parnell' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.101; James Loughlin, 'Nationality and Loyalty: Parnellism, Monarchy and the Construction of Irish Identity, 1880-5' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Ireland*, p.43; Lyons, *Charles Stewart Parnell*, p.614-6; Cruise O'Brien, *Parnell and his Party*, p.149-51 and Alan O'Day 'Parnell: Orator and Speaker' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.202 and p.214.

¹⁶ Bull, 'Fall of Parnell' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.131, 138-0 and p.143-5; Callanan, *Parnell Split*, p.2-5, p.61 and p.146-7; Lyon, *Charles Stewart Parnell*, p.575 and Cruise O'Brien, *Parnell and his Party*, p.348.

really be seen as representative of English radical working-class opinion in general, and can therefore be used to test Biagini's thesis. A number of historians such as Taft and Rhodes, as well as the majority of journalists, politicians and readers in Victorian England, subscribed to the idea that the press was indeed an expression of public opinion.¹⁷ Key to this is the fact that by the period under investigation, newspapers had become commercial ventures reliant on income from sales and advertising for their survival.¹⁸ This not only meant that they were largely free from the political interference that dominated the first half of the century, but they were necessarily compelled to pay more attention to the views of their readers, as people generally buy newspapers that are in line with their own way of thinking.¹⁹ This premise is underlined by examples in history where newspapers have been forced to alter their stance in order to prevent a loss of sales. One such example, highly relevant to this study, is when *The Craftsman* attempted to defend a former patron, William Pulteney, during summer 1742. It under-estimated the intensity of popular aversion to him and had to swiftly adjust its political line.²⁰ Two other key factors add weight to the use of newspapers to assess public opinion at that time. Firstly, all duties and taxes had been abolished by the period under investigation. Secondly, literacy rates had vastly increased in both Ireland and England - for example, by 1900 only 3% of the population were illiterate in England and by 1911 only 12% were illiterate in

¹⁷ Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society 1695-1855* (Essex, 2000), p.23; De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, p. 33 and Alison, Jones, 'The Many Uses of Newspapers'.
<<http://dlx.Richmond.edu/d/ddr/docs/papers/useofnewspapers.pdf>> 18 January 2009.

¹⁸ Barker, *Newspapers*, p.94, p.107-8 and p.120;

Margaret Beetham, 'Towards a Theory of Periodicals and Publishing Genre' in Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (eds.), *Investigating Victorian Journalism* (London, 1990), p.21 and De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, p. 32.

¹⁹ Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers*, p.80.

²⁰ Barker, *Newspapers*, p.110.

Ireland.²¹ Both these factors meant that larger numbers of the lower classes could afford to read newspapers, a critical point for any newspaper, such as *Reynolds's Newspaper*, that wished to reflect the opinions of the working-class.

There are, however, two main reasons why newspapers may not completely accurately reflect the opinion of their readers. Firstly, politicians often try to influence newspapers by subtle means such as the honours system.²² This would suggest that some newspapers might be more concerned with the opinion of the government or opposition rather than with a particular section of public opinion. Secondly, newspapers might be said to reflect the opinion of the owners, editors and journalists more clearly than the opinion of the public.²³ Ultimately, there is no consensus on whether newspapers are accurate reflections of certain sections of contemporary public opinion. A number of historians such as De Nie, Beetham and Pykett argue that the press does not merely reflect public opinion but it also produces it.²⁴ This seems a plausible conclusion, and does not totally discredit the use of newspapers to investigate the views of certain sections of public opinion. It would seem sensible to propose, however, that any conclusions reached which rely on assuming that newspapers' views represented those of a certain section of the population should only be taken as indicative rather than definitive. This methodological caveat does

²¹ Boyce and O'Day, 'A Time of Transition' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Ireland*, p.3 and Amy J. Lloyd, 'Education, Literacy and the Reading Public'.
<http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/BNCN_researchguide.htm>. January 2009.

²² De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, p.31 and Ed King, 'British Newspapers 1860-1900'.
<http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/BNCN_researchguide.htm>. January 2009.

²³ Marie Peters, 'Historians and the 18th century English Press: A review of possibilities and problems', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 34.1 (April, 1988), p.41.

²⁴ Beetham, 'Towards a Theory', in Brake, Jones and Madden (eds.), *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, p.29-30; De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, p.29; Political and Economic Planning, *Report on the British Press: a Survey of its current operations and problems with special reference to national newspapers and their part in public affairs* (London, 1938), p.30 and Lyn Pykett, 'Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context' in Brake, Jones and Madden (eds.), *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, p. 6-7.

Candidate Number: 29705

not, however, affect the primary aim of this dissertation, namely to investigate how Parnell was represented by various sections of the English and Irish press, and how this changed during his career.

Chapter 1: Representations of Parnell during the Land War

As stated in the introduction, Parnell first rose to prominence during the Land War. What makes this a period of prime interest for studying how he was represented in various newspapers is that it was a time when his actions were most inconsistent. He espoused moderate, constitutional speeches in the House of Commons but extreme, revolutionary ones in areas of Ireland and America, for example. There was plenty of scope therefore for different newspapers to represent him in different lights. Both *The Times* and *The Belfast News-Letter* were very similar in their representations of Parnell during this period, highlighting unfavourable characteristics - especially in a public figure - such as extremism, disingenuous patriotism and dictatorial tendencies, while also pointing to his criminal and violent connections and the fact that he was not the leader of the Irish people as a whole. *Freeman's Journal* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* were almost the polar opposite in their representations of him.

1.1 An extremist or a moderate?

The term 'extremist' refers to a person whose views are perceived to be outside the political centre of society. Like a minority of historians after them, such as Hurst, both *The Belfast News-Letter* and *The Times* represented Parnell as an extremist.²⁵ The first way they did this was through the direct use of such terms when talking about Parnell, his movement, methods and aims. On a number of occasions, for instance, *The Belfast News-Letter* actually referred directly to Parnell as the leader of the 'extreme Irish party.'²⁶ Similarly, in a number of editorials in both newspapers

²⁵ Hurst, 'Parnell' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p,101.

²⁶ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 8th 1882 and 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 26th 1882.

Parnell's movement was directly referred to as a 'revolutionary crusade.'²⁷ *The Belfast News-Letter* even went so far as to call Parnell a Nihilist.

The second way that both newspapers sought to represent Parnell as an extremist almost from the outset of the Land War was by asserting that Parnell's ultimate aim, for which the Land War was simply a cover, was independence for Ireland.²⁸ They maintained he was not simply seeking legislative changes to the land laws of Ireland but was trying to overturn the union with Great Britain.

Thirdly, these newspapers on a number of occasions linked Parnell and his movement with Fenianism.²⁹ The Fenian movement was founded in America in 1858 with the aim of winning independence for Ireland and setting up a republic via armed revolution if necessary.³⁰ On the 23rd October 1879, for example, a *Times* editorial mentioned the fact that Davitt was a secretary of the Land League, of which Parnell was president. Following this statement, the editorial mentioned that Davitt was imprisoned as a convicted Fenian.³¹ This is a clear example of the journalistic

²⁷ 'London Correspondence', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 18th 1880; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 11th 1880; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 18th 1880; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, February 2nd 1881; *The Times*, October 7th 1879, p.7 and 'London, Wednesday, October 22, 1879', *The Times*, 22nd October 1879, p. 9.

²⁸ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 27th 1880; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 20th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, April 7th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, April 13th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 6th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, September 17th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 26th 1882; 'London, Tuesday, December 7, 1880', *The Times*, December 7th 1880, p.9; *The Times*, September 27th 1881, p.7 and 'London, Monday, May 8, 1882', *The Times*, May 8th 1882, p.11.

²⁹ A. Judd Morris, 'Mr. Parnell's Crusade', *The Belfast News-Letter*, February 9th 1880; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 20th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 6th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 10th 1882; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 12th 1882 and 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 16th 1882.; *The Times*, October 23rd 1879, p.9 and An M.P., 'The Land League and the Land Act', *The Times*, September 30th 1881, p.7.

³⁰ Catherina Hall, 'The Nation within and without' in Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland and Jane Rendall (eds.), *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and The Reform Act of 1867*, (Cambridge, 2000), p. 215.

³¹ *The Times*, October 23rd 1879, p.9.

technique of selectively using facts to convey an implicit message. There was no need for the editorial to mention that Davitt was a Fenian, but by doing so it linked Parnell with Fenianism in the mind of the reader. The same editorial asserted that Parnell was more intense than ‘the ex-Fenian Mr. Davitt’ in his denunciations of landlords and rents.³² Again, through the selective use of facts, *The Times* connected Fenianism and Parnell in the mind of readers, implying this time that Parnell was *more* extreme than Fenianism. Similarly, *The Belfast News-Letter* chose to mention that there were Fenians among those who gave Parnell a warm reception in America.³³

Finally, the newspapers represented Parnell as extreme by referring to others as moderate and then making it clear that Parnell did not fall into this category.³⁴ A typical example was *The Times*’ assertion that Parnell was ‘viewed with distrust and dismay by the more moderate section of the home rulers.’³⁵ Similarly, *The Belfast News-Letter* stated in one editorial that ‘whatever may be Mr. Shaw’s personal virtues of moderation and ‘sweet reasonableness’, he is constrained in his political action to follow the lines marked out for the party by Mr. Parnell.’³⁶

It should be noted, however, that there were two brief periods during the Land War when Parnell was represented as moderate by these newspapers: when the Land Act was first introduced, and after the Kilmainham treaty. Reference is made, by *The Times* only, to Parnell’s ‘laudable moderation’ and the ‘return’ of his party to ‘sane

³² Ibid.

³³ A. Judd Morris, ‘Mr. Parnell’s Crusade’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, February 9th 1880.

³⁴ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 12th 1882; *The Times*, October 7th 1879, p.7; *The Times*, October 23rd 1879, p.9; *The Times*, March 23rd 1880, p.9 and *The Times*, May 19th 1880, p.9.

³⁵ *The Times*, October 7th 1879, p.7.

³⁶ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 12th 1882.

politics' when Parnell agreed to consider the Land Act.³⁷ However, such expressions of moderation did soon return to representations of Parnell's extremism when it became clear that he had no intention of accepting the Act. Similarly, reference was made by both newspapers to his 'newly assumed moderation' after his release from prison.³⁸ These exceptions could be seen to highlight how both newspapers used their representation of Parnell to illustrate their views on wider issues, such as reform and independence in Ireland. They seemed willing to represent him in a more favourable light when it seemed possible that he was only aiming at limited reforms via constitutional means to improve certain conditions in Ireland. However, as soon as it seemed he desired reforms that could damage the interests of their readers, the middle- classes and privileged orders, or lead to great constitutional changes, such as Home Rule, they painted Parnell in a bad light in an attempt to discredit such aims of his.

In line with the majority of modern-day historians such as Bew, Biagini, Boyce and O'Day, *Freeman's Journal* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* generally represented Parnell as a moderate politician.³⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, when referring to Parnell - but not directly by name - interchangeably used the terms 'the Irish', 'Cork' or 'Meath member', 'the representative', 'the statesman' and 'the M.P'.⁴⁰ Rather than

³⁷ *The Times*, April 14th 1881, p.9.

³⁸ The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 26th 1882 and *The Times*, May 26th, 1882, p.9

³⁹ Bew, *C.S. Parnell*, p.136; Bew, 'Parnell and Davitt' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.55, p.62, p.65-8 and p.70; Biagini, *British Democracy* p.16 and p.31-3; Boyce, 'The Portrait of the King' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.300-01 and O'Day 'Parnell' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.202 and p.214.

⁴⁰ O.S., 'The Navan Monster Land Meeting', *Freeman's Journal*, October 1st 1879; 'Dublin: Wednesday, Jan. 11', *Freeman's Journal*, January 11th 1880; 'Latest News', *Freeman's Journal*, February 18th 1880; 'Latest News', *Freeman's Journal*, January 6th 1881; 'Dublin: Thursday, Jan. 13', *Freeman's Journal*, January 13th 1881; 'Dublin: Friday, Jan. 21', *Freeman's Journal*, January 21st 1881; 'Dublin: Friday, Feb. 4', *Freeman's Journal*, February 4th 1881; 'Dublin: Tuesday, April 12',

portraying him as a revolutionary, these terms represented him as constitutional.

Reynolds's Newspaper simply referred to him directly as 'Mr. Parnell'.

Reynolds's Newspaper unequivocally separated Parnell and his movement from Fenianism as is evident from this comment: 'If we were to drive the Land League underground we should only render certain the reappearance of Fenianism.'⁴¹ When discussing the Phoenix Park Murders, in which the newly appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, Cavendish, and Burke, the most senior Irish civil servant, were murdered, the same newspaper gave three options for their occurrence. One was that the murders were undertaken by extremists, or in other words Fenians, who 'have never acknowledged [Parnell's] authority.'⁴² By separating Parnell from Fenianism, they helped to represent him as moderate. *Freeman's Journal* used a different technique to separate him from the Fenians; it did not mention them in any of their editorials that concerned Parnell, so preventing the reader from connecting the two in their mind.

Both these newspapers also emphasised the genuineness of his portrayal of the situation in Ireland.⁴³ They represented his demands for reduced rents and fixity of tenure, among others, as reasonable. By deeming his demands reasonable, they implied he was moderate. An excellent example of this was the comparison of Parnell

Freeman's Journal, April 12th 1881; 'Latest News', *Freeman's Journal*, May 8th 1882 and 'Dublin: Tuesday, May 16', *Freeman's Journal*, May 16th 1882.

⁴¹ 'The Protection of Mr. Gladstone', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, October 23rd 1881.

⁴² 'Dublin: Monday, May 3', *Freeman's Journal*, May 3rd 1880 and 'Conciliation in Spite of Murder', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, May 14th 1882.

⁴³ 'Dublin, Friday, Feb. 4', *Freeman's Journal*, February 4th 1881; 'Dublin: Thursday, April 28', *Freeman's Journal*, April 28th 1881; 'Dublin: Tuesday, May 16', *Freeman's Journal*, May 16th 1882; 'Dublin: Wednesday, May 17', *Freeman's Journal*, May 17th 1882; Gracchus, 'The State Trials', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 2nd 1881; Ireland: In the Camp', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 16th 1881; 'The Irish Side of Coercion', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 16th 1881; and 'The Very Irish State', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 30th 1881.

and his aims with those of Lord Clive. *Reynolds's Newspaper* recalled that Clive when 'accused of having despoiled some Indian rajahs exclaimed "by God, I am astonished at my moderation".' It added: 'Those who are fully acquainted with the facts relating to Irish land for the last forty years will not be astonished at the extent of the agitation it has caused, but the moderation of the men who have long endured being cast out upon the world anywhere out of the landlords' way.'⁴⁴ Both newspapers also portrayed Parnell's ultimate aim of independence from Britain in a sympathetic light by commenting in their editorials that Britain had governed Ireland badly. By comparing Ireland's cause with that of other countries who had struggled for independence like Italy, they represented it not as a revolutionary aim but as a moderate one – more as a natural right which should have been granted years ago.⁴⁵ A *Reynolds's Newspaper* editorial in October 1882 stated that 'all Parnell asks is based upon principles for which the Liberal Party fought in days past and upon which they live today...they have simply overlooked the fact they haven't carried them across the channel.'⁴⁶ Similarly, a *Freeman's* editorial in September 1881 stated that a similar agitation aimed to 'regain the right of every free and self-respecting race to govern themselves' would in any other country have gained 'nothing but sympathy from England.'⁴⁷

Occasionally, however, *Freeman's Journal* did display an ambivalence towards Parnell. In March 1880, for instance, it stated that 'we don't go with Mr.

⁴⁴ Gracchus, 'The State Trials', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 2nd 1881.

⁴⁵ 'Dublin, Monday, Sept. 26', *Freeman's Journal*, September 26th 1881; 'The Imprisonment of Mr. Parnell', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, October 16th 1881, 'The Manifesto of the Land League', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, October 23rd 1881 and *Reynolds's Newspaper* and 'The New National League', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, October 22nd 1881.

⁴⁶ 'The New National League', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, October 22nd 1882.

⁴⁷ 'Dublin, Monday, Sept. 26', *Freeman's Journal*, September 26th 1881.

Parnell to a great many extremes.’⁴⁸ In May of the same year another one stated that it hoped his chairmanship of the IPP ‘will carry with it a moderating influence.’⁴⁹ The same month it referred to Shaw’s followers as moderate and Parnell’s as advanced.⁵⁰ These few early representations of him as more extreme than moderate could be explained by a number of things. Firstly, Parnell and the proprietor of *Freeman’s Journal* – Edmund Dwyer Gray - had a famous dispute in 1879, which although settled, meant that they were never close. Until May 1881 therefore, when Parnell threatened to turn *United Ireland* into a daily newspaper which would have resulted in its becoming a direct competitor to *Freeman’s Journal*, unequivocal support of Parnell was not guaranteed.⁵¹ Secondly, Gray never disassociated himself from the leadership of Butt, a more moderate politician than Parnell.⁵² Therefore, at times, Parnell was likely to seem extreme to him, and as he played a major role in the management of the paper, it is not surprising that this came across in its pages sometimes until Parnell’s threat forced it to toe a sympathetic line.

1.2 A patriot?

A second key representation of Parnell by the two conservative-leaning newspapers was as unpatriotic. They did this in three different ways. Firstly, throughout their editorials, an effort was made to portray Parnell’s advice and actions as detrimental to both Ireland and its countrymen.⁵³ There were a number of generic

⁴⁸ ‘Dublin: Saturday, March 20’, *Freeman’s Journal*, March 20th 1880.

⁴⁹ ‘Dublin: Tuesday, May 18’, *Freeman’s Journal*, May 18th 1880.

⁵⁰ ‘Dublin: Tuesday, May 18’, *Freeman’s Journal*, May 18th 1880 and ‘Dublin: Wednesday, May 19’, *Freeman’s Journal*, May 19th 1880.

⁵¹ Smith and O. Day, ‘Gray, Edmund Dwyer’.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 4th 1879; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 7th 1879; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 10th 1879; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 5th 1880; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 7th 1880; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 15th 1880; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, February 23rd 1880;

comments such as the results ‘can’t be but disastrous’ and that his policy ‘would throw back the country for years to come.’⁵⁴ Beyond this, they also set out to show more specifically how he was causing the country to suffer. The editorials of both *The Times* and *The Belfast News-Letter* stated that his actions in America were preventing people from donating money to relieve the suffering that existed in Ireland.⁵⁵

Similarly, his policy of obstructionism was portrayed as highly detrimental to the Irish and their cause. Both newspapers, for instance, pointed out that obstructionism merely disrupted the ability of Parliament to pass beneficial legislation for Ireland, such as the restoration of law and order, while the condition of the country continued to deteriorate.⁵⁶ The clear implication was that Parnell was unpatriotic because his actions or advice were injurious to his country.

Secondly, both newspapers depicted Parnell’s reasons for embarking on the land agitation as driven by selfish rather than patriotic considerations.⁵⁷ Historians such as

‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 17th 1881; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 29th 1881; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, September 17th 1881; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 14th 1881; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 21st 1881; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 10th 1882; *The Times*, October 7th 1879, p.7; *The Times*, October 23rd 1879, p.9; *The Times*, January 13th 1880, p.9; *The Times*, September 19th 1881, p.9 and *The Times*, October 24th 1881, p.9; and *The Times*, December 7th 1880, p.9; *The Times*, January 15th 1881, p.9; *The Times* February 1st 1881, p.9; *The Times*, February 3rd 1881, p.9 and E.F. Reed, ‘The Week in History’, *The Times*, February 10th 1881.

⁵⁴ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 4th 1879 and *The Times*, October 23rd 1879, p.9.

⁵⁵ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 5th 1880; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 15th 1880 and *The Times*, January 13th 1880, p.9.

⁵⁶ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 17th 1881 and ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 29th 1881; *The Times*, January 15th 1881, p.9; *The Times* February 1st 1881, p.9; *The Times*, February 3rd 1881, p.9 and E.F. Reed, ‘The Week in History’, *The Times*, February 10th 1881.

⁵⁷ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 4th 1879, ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 30th 1879; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 5th 1880; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 10th 1880; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 27th 1880; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 29th 1880; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, February 10th 1880; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 1st 1881; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 20th 1881; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, April 7th 1881; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, September 19th 1881; ‘The

Boyce and O'Day have since similarly argued that at times 'his actions were less than self-sacrificing'.⁵⁸ This is also in line with De Nie's assertion that Irish nationalist leaders were typically represented in the British press as using distress for their own political careers.⁵⁹ *The Belfast News-Letter* argued that Parnell pursued the land agitation, not to benefit the tenants, but to sow discord between them and the landlords in order to make himself popular and powerful.⁶⁰ Both newspapers also suggested that the Land League was simply created to prolong the agitation for the political advantage of Parnell instead of to obtain changes to the land laws for the benefit of tenants. They pointed out that had he been serious in his declared objective of improving the lot of the tenants, he would have started by abolishing himself as a landlord.⁶¹ Likewise, his tour to America was depicted as undertaken not in order to help the suffering of his fellow countrymen but to help continue the agitation at home, and therefore advance his parliamentary interests.⁶²

A third key example of Parnell's portrayal as unpatriotic in these newspapers is in relation to the Land Act. Both newspapers presented the Act as beneficial to Irish tenants, and therefore represented Parnell's dismissal of it as driven by the selfish consideration that its acceptance would quell the discontent and therefore Parnell's

Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, September 27th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 21st 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 6th 1882; *The Times*, October 3rd 1879, p.9; *The Times*, October 23rd 1879, p.9; *The Times*, January 5th 1880, p.9; *The Times*, January 13th 1880, p.9; *The Times*, August 4th 1881, p.9; *The Times*, September 19th 1881, p.9 and *The Times*, September 27th 1881, p.7; .

⁵⁸ Boyce and O'Day, 'Introduction' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.2.

⁵⁹ De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, p.205

⁶⁰ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 4th 1879, 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 7th 1879; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 30th 1879; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 1st 1881 and 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 20th 1881.

⁶¹ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 29th 1880; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 18th 1880 and *The Times*, October 23rd 1879, p.9.

⁶² 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 5th 1880; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 10th 1880; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 27th 1880 and 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, February 10th 1880; *The Times*, January 5th 1880, p.9 and *The Times*, January 13th 1880, p.9.

power and his source of income. Ultimately it would result in his 'sink[ing] back into his original obscurity'.⁶³ It could be said that here they were not only representing him as unpatriotic but as a selfish, power-thirsty, conniving politician.

Both *Freeman's Journal* and *Reynolds's Newspaper*, on the other hand, represented Parnell as a patriot. *Freeman's Journal* at times directly referred to his 'patriotic attitude' and 'patriotic effort'.⁶⁴ More often both newspapers portrayed him as patriot in more subtle ways by showing his actions, policies, aims and motivations as being for the good of the country.⁶⁵ Historians like Warwick-Haller and Claydon have since shared such a view, with Claydon for example arguing that obstructionism was designed by Parnell to show that the Irish refused to be second-class legislators.⁶⁶ Both newspapers described Parnell's tour of America as primarily being for the relief of his starving country. It was portrayed as a selfless mission, where he endured hardship in order to be the medium through which the Irish asked for relief from their

⁶³ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, April 7th 1881, 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, September 19th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, September 27th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 21st 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 6th 1882; *The Times*, August 4th 1881, p9; *The Times*, September 19th 1881, p9 and *The Times*, September 27th 1881, p.7.

⁶⁴ 'Dublin: Tuesday, April 12', *Freeman's Journal*, April 12th 1881 and 'Dublin: Tuesday, May 16', *Freeman's Journal*, May 16th 1882.

⁶⁵ Thomas Robertson, 'Mr. Parnell. M.P.', *Freeman's Journal*, February 11th 1880; 'Dublin: Saturday, March 20', *Freeman's Journal*, March 20th 1880; Thomas Nulty, 'The Representation of Meath', *Freeman's Journal*, May 6th 1880; 'Dublin: Wednesday, May 19', *Freeman's Journal*, May 19th 1880; W.M.J. Madden, 'Mr. Parnell and the Cloyne Resolutions', *Freeman's Journal*, January 10th 1881; 'Dublin: Thursday, Jan. 13', *Freeman's Journal*, January 13th 1881; 'Dublin: Tuesday, April 12', *Freeman's Journal*, April 12th 1881; 'Dublin: Saturday, Sept. 10', *Freeman's Journal*, September 10th 1881; Peter O'Leary, 'The Convention and its work', *Freeman's Journal*, September 23rd 1881; 'Dublin: Wednesday, Oct. 12', *Freeman's Journal*, October 12th 1881; 'Dublin: Saturday, Oct. 22', *Freeman's Journal*, October 22nd 1881; 'Dublin: Wednesday, May 3', *Freeman's Journal*, May 3rd 1882; 'Dublin: Tuesday, May 16', *Freeman's Journal*, May 16th 1882; 'Mr. Parnell, Ireland and the United States', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 11th 1880; 'India and Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 25th 1880; 'The Distress of Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 15th 1880 'Mr. Parnell in America', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 22nd 1880; 'Return of Mr. Parnell', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, March 28th 1880; Gracchus, 'The State Trials', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 2nd 1881; 'The Imprisonment of Mr. Parnell', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, October 16th 1881 and 'The Manifesto of the Land League', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, October 23rd 1881.

⁶⁶ Claydon, 'Political Thought' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.154-8 and Sally Warwick-Haller, Parnell and William O'Brien: Partners and Friends – From Consensus to Conflict in the Land War', in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), 'Parnell', p.55-8,

distress.⁶⁷ The use of selective reporting enhanced his portrayal as a patriot. An editorial in *Reynolds's Newspaper* describing his homecoming in March, for example, only included the snippet of Archbishop O'Riordan's speech which depicted Parnell as a saviour: 'but for his conduct half of their country would be dying of starvation.'⁶⁸ Parnell's policy of obstructionism was portrayed by these newspapers as patriotic, aimed at ensuring that his fellow countrymen obtained a full hearing of their complaints and forcing the government into introducing a sufficient remedy for their grievances.⁶⁹ His actions with regards to the Land Act were also described in patriotic terms as 'for the purpose of enabling the tenant farmers to make the best of its provisions.'⁷⁰

During the period of his arrest, *Reynolds's Newspaper* attached the term 'martyr' to Parnell. While *Freeman's Journal* never directly used the term martyr to describe Parnell, it did place him in the company of great patriotic men like O'Connell by saying 'the fate of every Irishman who sacrificed himself for his country' is jail.⁷¹

⁶⁷ 'Dublin: Monday, Jan. 19', *Freeman's Journal*, January 19th 1880; James Daly, 'Relief Committees in the West', *Freeman's Journal*, February 27th 1880; 'Dublin: Saturday, March 20', *Freeman's Journal*, March 20th 1880; 'Dublin: Wednesday, Jan. 26', *Freeman's Journal*, January 26th 1881; 'Dublin: Saturday, Oct 22', *Freeman's Journal*, October 22nd 1881; 'Mr. Parnell, Ireland and the United States', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 11th 1880; 'India and Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 25th 1880; 'The Distress of Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 15th 1880; 'Mr. Parnell in America', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 22nd 1880 and 'Return of Mr. Parnell', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, March 28th 1880.

⁶⁸ 'Return of Mr. Parnell', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, March 28th 1880.

⁶⁹ 'Dublin: Wednesday, Jan. 19', *Freeman's Journal*, January 19th 1881; Gracchus, 'The State Trials', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 2nd 1881; 'Ireland: In the Camp', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 16th 1881

⁷⁰ 'Dublin: Tuesday, April 12', *Freeman's Journal*, April 12th 1881; John Ryan, 'Mr. Gladstone's Speech at Leeds', *Freeman's Journal*, October 13th 1881 and 'Dublin: Monday, Oct. 24', *Freeman's Journal*, October 24th 1881.

⁷¹ 'Dublin: Saturday, Oct. 22', *Freeman's Journal*, October 22nd 1881.

Interestingly, *Freeman's Journal* did represent Parnell as unpatriotic and selfish towards the end of February 1880, while he was still in America. At this time he denounced all the other organisations collecting money for the suffering of the poor. A *Freeman's Journal* editorial stated that 'no man *pretending* to do practical service to his country' could do such a thing.⁷² However, part, if not all, of the explanation for this criticism is likely to be the fact that the owner of the *Freeman's Journal* at the time - Dwyer Grey - was also chairman of the Mansion House Committee, one of the organisations Parnell denounced on his American tour.⁷³

1.3 A demagogue?

At times both *The Belfast-Newsletter* and *The Times* referred directly and indirectly to Parnell as a demagogue.⁷⁴ *The Times*, for example, referred to Parnell in October 1879 as 'a modern demagogue.'⁷⁵ This term has two conflicting meanings. In ancient times it referred to a popular leader who espoused the cause of the people against any other party in the state. Conversely, it can also refer to a political agitator who appeals to people's passions and prejudices to obtain power or further his own interests.⁷⁶ Given the general hostility of both *The Times* and *The Belfast News-Letter* towards Parnell and his movement, it seems highly probable that they had the second definition in mind when they referred to him as a demagogue. This would seem to be

⁷² 'Our Second Edition', *Freeman's Journal*, January 25th 1881.

⁷³ Smith and O. Day, 'Gray, Edmund Dwyer'.

⁷⁴ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 16th 1880; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 3rd 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 27th 1880; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, April 13th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, September 27th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 18th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 21st 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 8th 1882; C. Pudon Coote, 'The Anti-Rent Agitation in Ireland', *The Times*, October 3rd 1879, p.6; *The Times*, October 7th 1879, p.7; *The Times*, October 23rd 1879, p.9 and *The Times*, 5th August 1880, p.9.

⁷⁵ *The Times*, October 23rd 1879, p.9.

⁷⁶ 'Demagogue, n'.

<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50060328?query_type=word&queryword=demagogue&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=5qOq-tUK0I4-11297&hilite=50060328> May 2009.

confirmed by comments in their editorials which referred to Parnell's speeches as appealing to the passions of the ignorant and easily moved people of Ireland, in order to achieve his own ends.

Some caution is, however, needed here. It will be remembered from the introduction that De Nie summed up representations of Parnell in the British press by arguing that they simply portrayed him as another Irish demagogue, in the unpatriotic sense of the word. The above does clearly illustrate that the English conservative press did represent him as such at times; but there were only a few such references throughout the Land War period, and it could be argued that these are too few to warrant De Nie asserting that British newspapers represented Parnell as just a demagogue.

Reynolds's Newspaper, in contrast defended him against the claims of demagoguery from newspapers like *The Times*. This would seem to support the idea that De Nie's summing up of British press representations of Parnell during this period was too general. *Reynolds's Newspaper* showed how characters from history such as Washington, Gambetta and Garibaldi, who used to espouse similarly popular causes, were portrayed as demagogues until they were successful.⁷⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, on the other hand, never directly defended Parnell against such claims, preferring, as in the case of the allegations of Fenianism, to remain silent rather than to mount an active defence.

⁷⁷ Gracchus, 'The State Trials', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 2nd 1881.

1.4 A dictator?

At times during this period, both *The Belfast News-Letter* and *The Times* represented Parnell as a dictator. *The Times* explicitly used the word in association with Parnell on his return from America, stating that ‘Mr. Parnell has suddenly leaped into importance as a dictator in Irish politics.’⁷⁸ The majority of his representation as dictatorial in the two newspapers was, however, implicit. *The Belfast News-Letter*, for instance, highlighted Parnell’s response to people who did not toe his policy line. One editorial mentioned that Parnell attacked them, and ensured that they would never be re-elected.⁷⁹ They represented him as only wanting “yes men” around him, allowing people no leeway for independent thought and action - classic characteristics of a dictator. *The Times* wrote about how he created a ‘ready cut and dry’ list of candidates that he imposed on the constituencies, which again implied that he wished to control the men around him.⁸⁰ The newspapers also referred to the Land League as ‘a tyranny’, and so by implication Parnell was a dictator.⁸¹ Historians such as Connor Cruise O’Brien have since similarly represented him as at the least, ‘a dictator in the making.’⁸²

Both *Freeman’s Journal* and *Reynolds’s Newspaper* disassociated Parnell from representations of him as a dictator, just as historians such as Biagini have done, viewing him as exercising power on the basis of a popular mandate.⁸³ A number of editorials in *Freeman’s Journal* used terms that conjure up a dictatorial image to refer

⁷⁸ *The Times*, March 23rd 1880, p.9.

⁷⁹ ‘Canada’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, March 8th 1880 and ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 6th 1881.

⁸⁰ *The Times*, March 23rd 1880, p.9.

⁸¹ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, September 19th 1881; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 17th 1881; *The Times*, September 27th 1881, p.7; An M.P. ‘The Land League and the Land Act’, *The Times*, September 30th 1881, p.7.

⁸² Cited in Biagini, *British Democracy*, p.299.

⁸³ Biagini, *British Democracy*, p.23.

to the objects Parnell was fighting *against* like the landlords and the British government.⁸⁴ His arrest, for example, was referred to as ‘dictatorial’ and ‘despotic’, while the government’s attempt to quash the movement in January 1881 was represented as ‘a tyrannical law of conspiracy’.⁸⁵ Both newspapers referred to his followers as ‘companions’, ‘colleagues’, ‘allies’ and ‘co-workers’ which are not words one would associate with the subjects of a dictator.⁸⁶ An editorial in *Reynolds’s Newspaper* combined the illustration of him as popular with denunciations of the accusation that he was tyrannical: ‘the heads of this tyrannical thralldom the Irish are so anxious to shake off would be worshipped from one end of the country to the other.’⁸⁷ *Freeman’s Journal* used a similar approach when it included a quote from *The Times* which called the Land League a tyranny and Parnell by implication a dictator, and then went on to state ‘if so, no man ever saw the multitude so enamoured of their tyrant and so kiss their chains.’⁸⁸

1.6 Linked to crime and violence?

Parnell was represented by *The Belfast News-Letter* and *The Times* as linked with criminality and violence. At times such a representation was explicit, referring to him as a ‘criminal’ and an ‘apostle of disorder’.⁸⁹ On a far greater number of

⁸⁴ ‘Dublin: Wednesday, Jan . 26’, *Freeman’s Journal*, January 26th 1881; ‘Mr. Parnell’s Arrest’, *Freeman’s Journal*, October 19th 1881 and Hugh O’Donnell, ‘No Rent or Fair Rent’, *Freeman’s Journal*, October 22nd 1881.

⁸⁵ ‘Dublin: Wednesday, Jan . 26’, *Freeman’s Journal*, January 26th 1881; ‘Mr. Parnell’s Arrest’, *Freeman’s Journal*, October 19th 1881; Hugh O’Donnell, ‘No Rent or Fair Rent’, *Freeman’s Journal*, October 22nd 1881.

⁸⁶ O.S., ‘The Navan Monster Land Meeting’, *Freeman’s Journal*, October 1st 1879; ‘Dublin: Thursday, Jan. 13’, *Freeman’s Journal*, January 13th 1881 and ‘Dublin: Saturday, April 23’, *Freeman’s Journal*, April 23rd 1881; ‘The Tribulations of Landlordism’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, October 19th 1879; ‘The Irish and the Land Bill’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, April 17th 1881; ‘The Resignation of Mr. Forster’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, May 7th 1882 and ‘The New Land League’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, October 22nd 1882;.

⁸⁷ ‘The Premier on Ireland’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 30th October 1881.

⁸⁸ ‘Dublin: Monday, Sept. 26’, *Freeman’s Journal*, September 26th 1881.

⁸⁹ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 6th 1881 and ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 6th 1882.

occasions, though, the newspapers represented him in this light implicitly. Firstly, their editorials often linked the movement of which Parnell was leader with criminal and lawless acts.⁹⁰ For instance, one *Times* editorial stated that only when the Land League was dissolved would there be a chance of law, order and peace being *restored*.⁹¹ The word restored is very important here. It directly links crime with the Land League in readers' minds by implying that up until its inception there was law and order in Ireland. There was much reference in both newspapers to the unwritten law of the Land League being in force in Ireland, while simultaneously there was much discussion of the anarchy and turmoil in Ireland and the numerous barbarous crimes.⁹² The effect of this was to equate the law of the Land League with crime and violence. Likewise, in many editorials the Land League was referred to as a 'conspiracy', while its existence in Ireland was also referred to as 'a reign of terror'. By linking the Land League to criminal and violent acts, both newspapers were representing Parnell, its president, as at the very least tacitly agreeing with crime and violence.

At times the editorials went further, suggesting that Parnell in fact encouraged, caused and endorsed acts of criminality and violence, a suggestion the historian Hurst

⁹⁰ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 1st 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 13th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 17th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, February 2nd 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, April 7th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, September 17th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, September 27th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 18th 1881; *The Times*, October 7th 1879, p.7; *The Times*, September 19th 1881, p.9; *The Times*, October 24th 1881, p.9; 'London, Monday, May 1, 1882', *The Times*, May 1st 1882, p.9; *The Times*, May 3rd 1882, p.9 and *The Times*, May 26th 1882, p.9.

⁹¹ *The Times*, 30th September 1881, p.7.

⁹² 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 1st 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 6th 1881; 'London Correspondence', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 10th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 17th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, February 2nd 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, September 17th 1881; 'London Correspondence', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 18th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 8th 1882; *The Times*, February 3rd 1881, p.9; *The Times*, September 19th 1881, p.9 and *The Times*, May 3rd 1882, p.9.

expands on in his work on Parnell.⁹³ One *Belfast News-Letter* editorial, for example, stated that it had become a common formula for prisoners to allege in court that they were only following Mr. Parnell's advice.⁹⁴ It also stated on a number of occasions that up until the Phoenix Park Murders, neither Parnell, nor any of his colleagues, ever explicitly condemned any of the crimes and violence that were occurring, therefore implying that Parnell endorsed such acts.⁹⁵ The editorials on numerous occasions also argued that Parnell's speeches had 'their logical result' in crime and violence and they were the 'straws of the current agitation.'⁹⁶ They even went further than this, stating that Parnell knew that this was exactly the effect such speeches would have.⁹⁷ An editorial in *The Belfast News-Letter* in May 1882, for example, stated that Parnell boasted that he knew the Irish nature – that when excited by speeches like his they would assert themselves through criminal and violent means. This boast, according to the editorial, was the equivalent of accepting responsibility for the shedding of innocent blood that had occurred since the first utterances of the Land League chiefs.⁹⁸ This representation of Parnell was in line with one of the ways De Nie asserted that the Irish were generally represented by the British press.⁹⁹

⁹³ Hurst, 'Parnell' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.80; 'Mr. Parnell's Speeches and their Logical Results', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 30th 1879; 'An American Journal on Mr. Parnell's Mission', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 13th 1880; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 15th 1880; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 29th 1880; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, February 10th 1880; 'Mr. Parnell', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 20th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 17th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 27th 1881; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 15th 1882; *The Times*, October 7th 1879, p.7; 'London, Tuesday, October 14, 1879', *The Times*, October 14th 1879, p.7; *The Times*, October 23rd 1879, p.9; *The Times*, October 4th 1880, p.9; *The Times*, January 13th 1880, p.9; *The Times*, September 19th 1881, p.9.

⁹⁴ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 15th 1880.

⁹⁵ *The Times*, October 4th 1880, p.9 and *The Times*, September 19th 1881, p.9.

⁹⁶ 'Mr. Parnell's Speeches and their Logical Results', *The Belfast News-Letter*, October 30th 1879 and *The Times*, October 4th 1880, p.9.

⁹⁷ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 15th 1882; *The Times*, October 7th 1879, p.7; *The Times*, October 14th 1879, p.7 and *The Times*, October 4th 1880, p.9.

⁹⁸ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, May 15th 1882.

⁹⁹ De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, p.6 and p.21.

Reynolds's Newspaper and *Freeman's Journal*, on the other hand, represented Parnell as free from criminal and violent association, which is how some of Parnell's contemporaries, such as T.P. O'Connor, viewed him.¹⁰⁰ The first and most obvious way these newspapers did this was by portraying him as innocent of the charges of unlawful acts brought against him.¹⁰¹ *Freeman's Journal*, for example, argued that the case brought against Parnell in January 1881 rested simply on speeches delivered by Parnell and that 'anything might be proven by isolated extracts', such as that the Holy Bible is an improper publication or Hamlet a dull mass of nonsense.¹⁰² Similarly, in October 1881 *Reynolds's Newspaper* asserted that the government had to alter the law in order to arrest him, and that they did so simply due to his popularity and refusal to see things, namely the Land Act, in the same light as them.¹⁰³ A more subtle way the newspapers supported his innocence was by always referring to him in these situations as 'suspect' or 'traverse'.¹⁰⁴ *Reynolds's Newspaper* referred to his arrest as a 'kidnapping' which implied Parnell's innocence.¹⁰⁵

Reynolds's Newspaper utilised the language of crime and violence not in connection with Parnell and his movement, but in connection with the British government, the agency against which Parnell was acting. One editorial argued, for

¹⁰⁰ Boyce, 'Portrait of the King', in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.287.

¹⁰¹ 'Dublin: Tuesday, Jan. 4', *Freeman's Journal*, January 4th 1881; 'Dublin: Saturday, Jan. 15', *Freeman's Journal*, January 15th 1881; 'Dublin: Wednesday, Jan. 26', *Freeman's Journal*, January 26th 1881; 'Dublin: Friday, Oct. 14', *Freeman's Journal*, October 14th 1881; 'Dublin: Saturday, Oct. 15', *Freeman's Journal*, October 15th 1881; 'Dublin: Monday, May 8', *Freeman's Journal*, May 8th 1882; 'Latest News', *Freeman's Journal*, May 9th 1882 and 'Dublin: Friday, May 26', *Freeman's Journal*, May 26th 1882.

¹⁰² 'Dublin: Tuesday, January 4', *Freeman's Journal*, January 4th 1881.

¹⁰³ 'The Imprisonment of Mr. Parnell', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, October 16th 1881 and Gracchus, 'Moral Complicity, or "Reasonable Suspicion"', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, October 30th 1881.

¹⁰⁴ 'Dublin: Tuesday, Jan. 4', *Freeman's Journal*, January 4th 1881; 'Dublin: Wednesday, May 3', *Freeman's Journal*, May 3rd 1882; 'Ireland: In the Camp', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 16th 1881; 'The Very Irish State Trial', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 30th 1881; 'The Manifesto of the Land League', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, October 23rd 1881 and 'Special Notes', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 30th October 1881.

¹⁰⁵ 'The Imprisonment of Mr. Parnell', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, October 16th 1881.

example that ‘crime and blunder heretofore seem to have been the only means resorted to for governing the sister Ireland’, while another stated that ‘brute force...violence...[and] intimidation’ have been the weapons utilised by the British government.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, in contrast to *The Times* and *The Belfast News-Letter* which time and again mentioned the decay of law and order and the huge numbers of crimes occurring, both newspapers argued against the high prevalence of crime.¹⁰⁷ One editorial, for example, wondered ‘that there is such an absence of crimes of an agrarian character in Ireland,’ while a number of others in *Reynolds’s Newspaper* stated that accounts of violence in newspapers like *The Times* were exaggerations.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, an editorial in *Freeman’s Journal* referred to the ‘alleged’ agrarian crimes¹⁰⁹ It then stated how such alleged crimes disappeared on even a basic examination.¹¹⁰

Not only did these newspapers play down the crimes but they blamed those that did occur on another source, separate from Parnell. The Phoenix Park Murders, for example, were blamed by *Freeman’s Journal* on ‘some foreign spirit...but it is confined only to a few desperate men, the heart of the nation is untouched’.¹¹¹ Similarly, *Reynolds’s Newspaper* blamed the Phoenix Park Murders on a ‘party of

¹⁰⁶ ‘Ireland: In the Camp’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, January 16th 1881 and Gracchus, ‘Moral Complicity, or “Reasonable Suspicion”’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, October 30th 1881.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Dublin: Saturday, Jan, 15’, *Freeman’s Journal*, January 15th 1881; ‘Dublin: Tuesday, Jan. 25’, *Freeman’s Journal*, January 25th 1881; ‘Dublin: Saturday, Oct 15’, *Freeman’s Journal*, October 15th 1881; ‘The Irish Side of Coercion’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, January 16th 1881; ‘The Coercion Protection Bill’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, January 30th 1881; ‘The Fenian Scare’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, February 6th 1881

¹⁰⁸ ‘The Irish Side of Coercion’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, January 16th 1881 and ‘The Coercion Protection Bill’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, January 30th 1881.

¹⁰⁹ ‘Second Edition’, *Freeman’s Journal*, January 25th 1881 and ‘Dublin: Saturday, Oct. 15’, *Freeman’s Journal*, October 15th 1881.

¹¹⁰ ‘Second Edition’, *Freeman’s Journal*, January 25th 1881.

¹¹¹ ‘Dublin: Monday, May 8’, *Freeman’s Journal*, May 8th 1882 and ‘Dublin: Friday, May 26’, *Freeman’s Journal*, May 26th 1882.

assassination', totally independent of Parnell. It also pointed to the continuance of crime while Parnell was in prison which implied he was not the cause of it.¹¹²

1.7 Leader of the Irish Race?

As stated in the introduction, Parnell has been represented by historians such as O'Day and Boyce as the only Irish nationalist hero to be commonly recognised as the leader of not only the Irish nation, but the Irish race.¹¹³ In contrast, both *The Belfast News-Letter* and *The Times* during this period did not even represent him as the leader of the Irish nation, let alone the race. This is most clear in the way he was referred to variously as being 'the leader of the active party', 'the leader of agitation', 'the leader of pernicious faction', 'the leader of Irish disaffection' and 'the leader of the Land League'.¹¹⁴ None of these equate to being the leader of the Irish people, but simply the leader of a fraction of the population. The only time he was referred to as the leader of the 'popular party', quotation marks were used, implying disagreement with any suggestion of him representing the Irish people as a whole.¹¹⁵

In contrast, both *Reynolds's Newspaper* and *Freeman's Journal* often represented Parnell as, at the very least the leader of the nation. Especially towards the end of the Land War, he was represented by them as the leader of the Irish people as a whole, and not just a fraction of them. For example, he was referred to as the 'master of Ireland', 'a great national leader', 'the foremost man of a great nation' 'leading

¹¹² 'The Irish Side of Coercion', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 16th 1881; 'The Collapse of the Government in Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, May 7th 1882 and 'Conciliation in Spite of Murder', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, May 14th 1882.

¹¹³ Boyce and O'Day, 'Introduction', in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.1. and O'Day, 'Parnell', in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.201.

¹¹⁴ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, March 20th 1880; *The Times*, October 7th 1879, p.7; *The Times*, January 13th 1880, p.9; *The Times*, March 23rd 1880, p.9; *The Times*, August 4th 1881, p.9 and *The Times*, October 20th 1881, p.9.

¹¹⁵ *The Times*, October 7th 1879, p.7.

man of Ireland' and 'chief of the Irish people'.¹¹⁶ On one occasion he was also referred to as the 'idolised chieftain' of the Irish race.¹¹⁷ The fact that there was only one reference to him as the leader of the Irish race among his supporters, seems to imply that by this stage in his career, although he was generally recognised as the leader of the Irish at home (only by his supporters though), his reach had not been extended to those abroad.

For the most part, the representation of Parnell in all four newspapers during this period of his career is as one would expect from those particular sources, reflecting the views and prejudices of their readers and backers. Both *The Belfast News-Letter* and *The Times*, for instance, had a privileged, propertied readership.¹¹⁸ It is therefore unsurprising that they viewed and represented Parnell negatively during this period as his policies of land reform and peasant proprietorship were directly aimed at attacking landlords and private property. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, in contrast, had a working-class readership, who would have supported any attack on the privileged and any man who championed such policies.¹¹⁹ *Freeman's Journal* was the oldest nationalist newspaper in Ireland; it was frequently read to the illiterate population of Ireland by priests and teachers who were the sections of the population Parnell was trying to help.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ 'Dublin: Wednesday, Oct. 12', *Freeman's Journal*, October 12th 1881; 'Dublin: Friday, Oct. 14', *Freeman's Journal*, October 14th 1881; 'Dublin, Monday, Oct. 24', *Freeman's Journal*, October 24th 1881; 'Dublin: Wednesday, May 3', *Freeman's Journal*, May 3rd 1882; 'Dublin: Tuesday, May 16', *Freeman's Journal*, May 16th 1882; 'The Collapse of Government in Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, May 7th 1882; 'The Resignation of Mr. Forster', May 7th 1882 and 'The Path of Conciliation', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, May 21st 1882.

¹¹⁷ 'Dublin: Friday, Oct. 14', *Freeman's Journal*, October 14th 1881.

¹¹⁸ 'Belfast News-Letter' and 'Time, The'.

¹¹⁹ 'Reynold's News'.

¹²⁰ Smith and O'Day, 'Gray, Edmund Dwyer' and 'Freeman's Journal'.

The newspapers' representations of Parnell can therefore be seen to reflect the political views of those who read them. Firstly, all were aware that Parnell's ultimate aim was Home Rule, even if during this period he was not directly striving for it. The newspapers' representations of Parnell therefore provide insights into their views on the issue of Home Rule, not simply on how they saw Parnell or the land issue. It could be argued that by representing him in a negative light, both *The Belfast News-Letter* and *The Times* were effectively trying to discredit Home Rule by showing he, one of the most talented Irish politicians, did not have the characteristics to govern the country. In contrast, both *Freeman's Journal* and *Reynolds's Newspaper*, by representing Parnell in a generally positive light, were, trying to show both his, and the Irish nations' good qualities, and so prove their ability to govern themselves. This is, therefore, in line with Biagini's assessment of radical support for Home Rule.

Finally, it could be argued that *Reynolds's Newspaper*, in particular, utilised its representations of Parnell and the Irish question to further its own English radical agenda of anti-establishmentarianism and republicanism. By representing Parnell as free form crime and violence and turning the language of crime and violence on the government, it attacked the established order to try to further its own views about the need for radical reform. *The Times*, in contrast, could be said to be following its own agenda, in line with its conservative leanings and support for tradition and slow organic change, through its representations of Parnell as extreme, unpatriotic, dictatorial and linked to crime and violence.

Chapter 2: Representations of Parnell during the Divorce Crisis and Party Split

This next chapter examines representations of Parnell seven years later. In those seven years, Parnell had been involved in an alliance with the Liberal Party, in a struggle for Home Rule and had won a legal battle against *The Times* over a forged letter linking him unequivocally with the Phoenix Park Murders. During 1890-1891, Parnell was involved in a divorce scandal; he was named as the co-respondent in the divorce between Captain O'Shea and his wife, Katherine. After he was found guilty, the Non-conformist reaction in England resulted in Gladstone warning Parnell that if he remained as leader of the IPP, the alliance would be over and Home Rule jeopardised. Parnell did not convey this warning to his followers at the annual party leadership election on the 25th November 1890. Once Gladstone had made his warning public, the IPP members demanded another meeting. This meeting in Committee room 15 at the beginning of December resulted in a party split when Parnell refused to compromise and at least temporarily retire. The majority of 44 walked out on the 6th December to form a new organisation, which many of his close associates such as Dillon, O'Brien and Davitt supported. The rest of Parnell's life was spent fighting a fierce battle for re-instatement as leader. As with the Land War period, there was plenty of scope for different representations of his actions in newspapers during this period too. A number of the ways Parnell was represented were the same as during the Land War, but perhaps not surprisingly, the newspapers were more concerned with his morality or dishonesty during this period than they were during the Land War. There was also more variation between the different newspapers, including those on the same side of the political spectrum. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, for example, almost without exception represented Parnell in a positive

light during the Land War period but after the revelation of his guilt in the divorce court proceedings it did a 180° turn.

2.1 A Patriot?

Both *The Times* and *The Belfast News-Letter*, in line with their representation of Parnell during the Land War, represented him as unpatriotic during this period of his life. However, in direct contrast to its portrayal of Parnell during the Land War, *Reynolds's Newspaper* represented him as unpatriotic as well during this period of his life. The most obvious way each newspaper did this was in the choice of terms they used to refer to him and his opponents. *Reynolds's Newspaper* directly referred to him as a 'traitor' on a number of occasions.¹²¹ An editorial in December 1890, for example, stated that a number of the Irish people were 'fighting his battle as fiercely as if he were a patriot of the first water, instead of the foul-mouthed traitor he is.'¹²² Similarly, *The Belfast News-Letter* used quotation marks around the word 'patriot' when referring to him, so implying the exact opposite.¹²³ *The Belfast News-Letter* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* referred to his opponents on a number of occasions as patriotic.¹²⁴ When discussing the Kilkenny election in December 1890, for instance, a *Reynolds's Newspaper* editorial talked about 'the Parnell candidate' and then 'the patriotic candidate.' It also referred to the men of 'the patriotic party' and then 'the

¹²¹ 'Parnell, Balfour and Co', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 21st 1890; 'The Truth of Irish Patriotism', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 28th 1890; 'Our Duty to the Irish Crisis', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 18th 1891; Gracchus, 'Parnell, the Curse of Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 1st 1891 and 'How Mr. Parnell is Hurting Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 8th 1891 and 'Traitor, n.'

<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50255904?query_type=word&queryword=traitor&first=1&max_t_o_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=XHMP-yTSUfb-7945&hilite=50255904>. May 2009.

¹²² 'Parnell, Balfour and Co', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 21st 1890.

¹²³ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 9th 1890 and 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 7th 1891.

¹²⁴ 'The Truth of Irish Patriotism', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 28th 1890 and 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 6th 1891.

adherents of Parnell'.¹²⁵ By describing his opponents as patriots, it implied that Parnell was not.

As with *The Times* and *The Belfast News-Letter* during the Land War, all three newspapers portrayed his actions during this period as driven by selfish rather than patriotic motivations.¹²⁶ A number of historians, such as Lyons, Cruise O'Brien and Harrison, later agreed with such representations of his motives, arguing that his actions in this period of his life had more to do with passions, personal pride and desperation than patriotism.¹²⁷ *The Belfast News-Letter* stated that his willingness to consider the Bologna conference, for example, was because 'he had purposes of his own to serve', not because of a desire to heal the rift in the IPP and so further the cause of his country.¹²⁸ Similarly, a *Times* article suggested that his decision not to retire was based on his assessment of what could personally be gained by either course of action.¹²⁹ An editorial in *Reynolds's Newspaper* in December 1890 stated that 'Parnell not Ireland is the real objective' when referring to his actions during this period.¹³⁰

Reynold's Newspaper went so far as to portray his actions as detrimental to the cause of Ireland and its people. Much focus was placed in its editorials on how his

¹²⁵ 'The Truth of Irish Patriotism', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 28th 1890.

¹²⁶ 'Ireland or Parnell', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 14th 1890; 'Parnell, Balfour and Co', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 21st 1890; 'The Truth of Irish Patriotism', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 28th 1890; Gracchus, 'Parnell, the Curse of Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 1st 1891; 'How Mr. Parnell is Hurting Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 8th 1891; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 19th 1890; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 9th 1890; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 24th 1890; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 29th 1890; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 7th 1891; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, February 14th 1891; *The Times*, November 26th 1890, p.9; *The Times*, November 27th 1890, p.9; *The Times*, November 28th 1890, p.7 and *The Times*, December 3rd 1890, p.9.

¹²⁷ Bull, 'Fall of Parnell' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.129.

¹²⁸ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 29th 1890.

¹²⁹ *The Times*, November 28th 1890, p.7.

¹³⁰ 'Parnell or Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 14th 1890.

refusal to resign from the leadership of the IPP was detrimental, if not fatal to the attainment of Home Rule.¹³¹ One editorial, for example, stated that his retention of the leadership ‘will result in incalculable damage to the cause so dear to the Irish’, while another stated that ‘his obstinacy under these circumstances in retaining the post he holds must and will procrastinate the advent of Home Rule for many years.’¹³²

Interestingly, neither *The Belfast News-Letter* nor *The Times* tried to portray him as unpatriotic by focusing on his retention of leadership as being detrimental to Ireland. This is likely to be because neither newspaper viewed Home Rule as beneficial to Ireland in the first place, so did not view his damaging the Home Rule cause as detrimental to Ireland. On a few occasions, however, some editorials did mention that through his recent actions he was destroying the cause of Home Rule.¹³³ In December 1890, for example, *The Times* made reference to the fact that no British government could ever propound an Irish policy on the guarantee of Parnell’s good faith again.¹³⁴ In other words, Home Rule or a similar policy could not be considered while Parnell remained the leader of IPP.

In contrast, *The Belfast News-Letter* - but not *The Times* - focused not on how his present actions were detrimental to the cause of Ireland, but on how his leadership

¹³¹ ‘Mr. Parnell’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 23rd 1890; ‘Mr. Parnell and his Parasites’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 30th 1890; ‘Special Notes’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 30th 1890; ‘Ireland or Parnell’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, December 14th 1890; ‘Parnell, Balfour and Co’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, December 21st 1890; ‘The Truth about Irish Patriotism’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, December 28th 1890; ‘Parnell Must Go’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, January 4th 1891; ‘The Parnell Mess’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, January 25th 1891; Gracchus, ‘Parnell, the Curse of Ireland’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, February 1st 1891 and ‘How Mr. Parnell is Hurting Ireland’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper* February 8th 1891.

¹³² ‘Mr. Parnell’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 23rd 1890 and ‘Mr. Parnell and his Parasites’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 30th 1890.

¹³³ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 27th 1890; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 16th 1891; *The Times*, November 28th 1890, p.7 and *The Times*, December 3rd 1890, p.9.

¹³⁴ *The Times*, December 3rd 1890, p.9.

over the past decade had not benefited Ireland.¹³⁵ One editorial, for example, argued that during the past ten years (effectively the entire time Parnell was the leader of the IPP) ‘the interest of Ireland has been sacrificed, the energy of Ireland has been paralysed and the moral and material condition of the people in the three provinces has been injured.’¹³⁶ Similarly, it stated that it could not see any benefit that the country had gained from his services, illustrating the point further by comparing the poverty of the home rule districts with the prosperity of the unionist districts.¹³⁷ *Reynolds’s Newspaper* did not go down this route. It opposed his retention of the leadership but in a number of editorials reference was made to his ‘past services....to the Irish cause’ and the fact that ‘he has done more for Ireland than any other Irishman of the century.’¹³⁸

Freeman’s Journal, in line with its representation of Parnell during the Land War, represented Parnell as patriotic during this final period of his career. It did this firstly through selective use of terms when referring to Parnell and those in opposition to him.¹³⁹ A number of editorials, for example, referred to those who desired his resignation as ‘traitors’, and their action as ‘treachery’.¹⁴⁰ In contrast, Parnell was called an ‘Irish patriot’, while it was stated that standing by him was ‘the patriotic

¹³⁵ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 22nd 1890; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 27th 1890; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 11th 1890 and ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 6th 1891.

¹³⁶ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 6th 1891.

¹³⁷ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 22nd 1890.

¹³⁸ ‘Mr. Parnell and the Leadership’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 23rd 1890 and ‘Mr. Parnell and his Parasites’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 30th 1890.

¹³⁹ ‘Dublin: Saturday Jan. 6’, *Freeman’s Journal*, January 6th 1890; ‘Dublin: Wednesday, Nov. 26’, *Freeman’s Journal*, November 26th 1890; S. Cove, ‘A Parnell’, *Freeman’s Journal*, January 2nd 1891; ‘Dublin: Tuesday, June 30’, *Freeman’s Journal*, June 30th 1891; ‘Dublin: Wednesday, July 8’, *Freeman’s Journal*, July 8th 1891.

¹⁴⁰ ‘Dublin: Saturday, Jan. 6’, *Freeman’s Journal*, January 6th 1890; ‘Dublin: Tuesday, June 30’, *Freeman’s Journal*, June 30th 1891.

course'.¹⁴¹ Secondly, it drew attention to how Parnell's past actions had not only benefitted Ireland, but how they had been driven by purely selfless motives.¹⁴² An editorial in November 1890, for example, stated that he had 'ably, faithfully, successfully served his country..... [and] saved his country once and again.'¹⁴³ There was also reference to his services to Ireland having been greater than any other Irishman's that century.¹⁴⁴ His selflessness was summed up in a number of editorials throughout this period which referred to his labours, struggles, defamation, imprisonment and the trials which he endured simply for Ireland's sake.¹⁴⁵ Finally, his decision not to resign was portrayed as driven by rational, selfless considerations of his duty to the Irish people.¹⁴⁶ This is the line also taken by historians such as Callanan and Bull who have both argued that his actions during this period of his life

¹⁴¹ 'Dublin: Wednesday, Nov. 26', *Freeman's Journal*, November 26th 1890; 'Dublin: Tuesday, Dec. 23', *Freeman's Journal*, December 23rd 1890.

¹⁴² 'Dublin: Tuesday, Nov. 18', *Freeman's Journal*, November 18th 1890; 'London Correspondence', *Freeman's Journal*, November 19th 1890; 'Dublin: Wednesday, Nov. 26', *Freeman's Journal*, November 26th 1890; 'Dublin: Friday, Nov. 28', *Freeman's Journal*, November 28th 1890; 'Dublin: Monday, Dec. 1', *Freeman's Journal*, December 1st 1890; 'Dublin: Thursday, Dec. 11', *Freeman's Journal*, December 11th 1890; 'Dublin: Thursday, Dec. 18', *Freeman's Journal*, December 18th 1890; 'Dublin: Saturday, Dec. 20', *Freeman's Journal*, December 20th 1890; 'Dublin, Thursday, Jan. 8', *Freeman's Journal*, January 8th 1891; 'Dublin: Monday, Jan. 26', *Freeman's Journal*, January 26th 1891; 'Dublin: Thursday, July 2', *Freeman's Journal*, July 2nd 1891 and 'Dublin: Wednesday, July 8', *Freeman's Journal*, July 8th 1891.

¹⁴³ 'Dublin: Tuesday, Nov. 18', *Freeman's Journal*, November 18th 1890.

¹⁴⁴ 'Dublin: Wednesday, Nov 26', *Freeman's Journal*, November 26th 1890 and 'Dublin: Monday, Dec. 1', *Freeman's Journal*, December 1st 1890.

¹⁴⁵ 'Dublin: Tuesday, Nov. 18', *Freeman's Journal*, November 18th 1890; 'Dublin: Wednesday, Nov. 26', *Freeman's Journal*, November 26th 1890; 'Dublin: Friday, Nov. 28', *Freeman's Journal*, November 28th 1890; 'Dublin: Thursday, Dec. 18', *Freeman's Journal*, December 18th 1890; 'Dublin: Thursday, Jan. 8', *Freeman's Journal*, January 8th 1891 and 'Dublin: Thursday, July 2', *Freeman's Journal*, July 2nd 1891.

¹⁴⁶ 'London Correspondence', *Freeman's Journal*, November 18th 1890; 'Dublin: Wednesday, Nov. 19', *Freeman's Journal*, November 19th 1890; 'Dublin: Wednesday, Nov 26', *Freeman's Journal*, November 26th 1890; 'Dublin: Friday, Dec. 5', *Freeman's Journal*, December 5th 1890; 'Dublin: Monday, Dec. 8', *Freeman's Journal*, December 8th 1890; 'Dublin: Tuesday, Dec. 9', *Freeman's Journal*, December 9th 1890; 'Dublin: Friday, Dec. 12', *Freeman's Journal*, December 12th 1890; 'Dublin: Saturday, Dec. 13', *Freeman's Journal*, December 13th 1890; 'Dublin: Saturday, Dec. 20', *Freeman's Journal*, December 20th 1890; 'Dublin: Tuesday, Dec 23', *Freeman's Journal*, December 23rd 1890; S. Cove, 'A Parnell', *Freeman's Journal*, January 2nd 1891; 'Dublin: Thursday, Jan 3', *Freeman's Journal*, January 3rd 1891; 'Dublin: Thursday, Jan. 8', *Freeman's Journal*, January 8th 1891; 'Dublin: Monday, Jan. 19', *Freeman's Journal*, January 19th 1891; 'Dublin: Tuesday, Jan. 20', *Freeman's Journal*, January 20th 1891; 'Dublin: Monday, Jan. 26', *Freeman's Journal*, January 26th 1891; 'Dublin: Monday, Feb. 2', *Freeman's Journal*, February 2nd 1891; 'Dublin: Tuesday, June 30', *Freeman's Journal*, June 30th 1891; 'Dublin: Wednesday, July 1', *Freeman's Journal*, July 1st 1891.

were based on judgements not about his personal future, but about what was most likely to allow for the advancement of the nationalist movement.¹⁴⁷ *Freeman's Journal's* representation of Parnell's actions as selfless and rational can be seen in an editorial in November 1890 which explicitly stated that he 'came to the decision not to retire as leader exclusively by a sense of responsibility to the Irish people' and one in December stated that the cause was 'the only consideration that weighs with him.'¹⁴⁸ Other editorials implicitly referred to his patriotism, maintaining that his leadership was vital to the furtherance of the cause, and that his determination to hold onto it was driven by this selfless awareness.¹⁴⁹ Editorials in November and December 1890 referred to the fact that 'his services are indispensable' and that the 'national cause needs him', while another argued that 'to lose his splendid prestige and substantial services now would be fatal.'¹⁵⁰ A number of other editorials stated that he was the only living Irishman who could deal with the British on an equal and independent footing and could therefore obtain an outcome genuinely beneficial to Ireland.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Bull, 'Fall of Parnell' in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.141 and Callanan, *The Parnell Split*, p.100.

¹⁴⁸ 'London Correspondence', *Freeman's Journal*, November 18th 1890 and 'Dublin: Friday, Dec. 5', *Freeman's Journal*, December 5th 1890.

¹⁴⁹ 'Dublin: Tuesday, Nov. 18', *Freeman's Journal*, November 18th 1890; 'Dublin: Wednesday, Nov 19', *Freeman's Journal*, November 19th 1890; 'Dublin: Monday, Dec. 8', *Freeman's Journal*, December 8th 1890; 'Dublin: Tuesday, Dec. 9', *Freeman's Journal*, December 9th 1890; 'Dublin: Friday, Dec 12', *Freeman's Journal*, December 12th 1890; 'Dublin: Saturday, Dec. 13', *Freeman's Journal*, December 13th 1890; 'Dublin: Saturday, Dec. 20', *Freeman's Journal*, December 20th 1890; 'Dublin: Tuesday, Jan. 20', *Freeman's Journal*, January 20th 1891; 'Dublin: Monday, Jan. 26', *Freeman's Journal*, January 26th 1891 and 'Dublin: Tuesday, June 30', *Freeman's Journal*, June 30th 1891.

¹⁵⁰ 'Dublin: Wednesday, Nov. 19', *Freeman's Journal*, November 19th 1890; 'Dublin: Monday, Dec. 8', *Freeman's Journal*, December 8th 1890 and 'Dublin: Saturday, Dec. 13', *Freeman's Journal*, December 13th 1890.

¹⁵¹ ; 'Dublin: Thursday, Dec. 11', *Freeman's Journal*, December 11th 1890; 'Dublin: Friday, Dec. 12', *Freeman's Journal*, December 12th 1890; 'Dublin: Saturday, Dec. 13', *Freeman's Journal*, December 13th 1890; 'Dublin: Monday, Jan. 19', *Freeman's Journal*, January 19th 1891; 'Dublin: Tuesday, Jan. 20', *Freeman's Journal*, January 20th 1891; 'Dublin: Tuesday, June 30', *Freeman's Journal*, June 30th 1891 and 'Dublin: Wednesday, July 1', *Freeman's Journal*, July 1st 1891;.

By the end of July 1891, however, the stance of the *Freeman's Journal* began to change, as illustrated by a letter from Dwyer Gray, the son of the previous two proprietors of *Freeman's Journal* and owner of nearly half its shares. He argued that he no longer saw Parnell as the only person who could lead Ireland and that Parnell's desire to cling to power, was 'miserable, squalid and most ruinous.' It stated that he was causing dissension, to the detriment of his country.¹⁵² Similar representations of Parnell occurred increasingly frequently up until his death in October 1891. An editorial in September, for example, stated that the 'leadership of Mr. Parnell means destruction to the Irish cause.'¹⁵³

It should be noted that *The Times* did not consistently represent Parnell as unpatriotic during this period. Firstly, unlike in *The Belfast News-Letter* and *Reynolds's Newspaper*, Parnell's ex-followers were not referred to as patriots. Instead, quotation marks were used to imply the opposite, while they were also often represented as selfish, along with Gladstone. An editorial in November 1890, for example, referred to Parnell's followers' actions as being based on the 'real or fancied self-interest of the moment.'¹⁵⁴ In two editorials it implied that Parnell's actions were not detrimental to Ireland by stating that Parnell did not believe Gladstone was essential to the country's cause.¹⁵⁵ In other words, Parnell did not believe that it mattered for Ireland if the alliance fell through. Similarly, it argued that Parnell did not believe that Gladstone would carry out the threat of ending the alliance and thereby jeopardise the chance for Home Rule, especially in light of Gladstone's support for Parnell despite far worse crimes, such as the sanctioning of murder during

¹⁵² E. Dwyer Gray, 'Mr. E. Dwyer Gray and Mr. Parnell, *Freeman's Journal*, July 31st 1891.

¹⁵³ 'Dublin: Monday, Sept. 28', *Freeman's Journal*, September 28th 1891.

¹⁵⁴ *The Times*, November 28th 1890, p.7.

¹⁵⁵ *The Times*, November 26th 1890, p.9.

the Land War.¹⁵⁶ An article in February 1891 explicitly stated that his retirement would be detrimental to the Irish cause as it would result in the drying up of money from the only place it came from plentifully - the Irish Americans - resulting in starving the tenants, and no funding for the National League and the parliamentary party.¹⁵⁷

2.2 A dictator?

On a number of occasions, both *The Belfast News-Letter* and *The Times*, in line with their earlier representations of Parnell, portrayed him as a dictator. One *Belfast News-Letter* editorial, for instance, referred to his actions in Committee Room 15 as those of a despot.¹⁵⁸ Another editorial referred to him as having lost his colleagues' favour due to being too dictatorial.¹⁵⁹ He was also implicitly represented as a dictator because he refused to accept anyone else's advice or opinions.¹⁶⁰ *The Belfast News-Letter*, for example, stated that he 'pursued his own way without paying much attention to his followers' while *The Times* stated that he never took any notice of his colleagues' ideas and views.¹⁶¹ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, along with *The Belfast News-Letter* and *The Times*, maintained that the majority of Parnell's colleagues and countrymen were against him retaining the leadership of the IPP. His fight to stay as leader was therefore portrayed in an undemocratic and dictatorial light.

¹⁵⁶ *The Times*, November 26th 1890, p.9 and *The Times*, November 27th 1890, p.9.

¹⁵⁷ *The Times*, February 2nd 1891, p.9.

¹⁵⁸ 'Despot, n.',

<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50062065?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=despot&first=1&max_to_show=10>. May 2009 and 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 22nd 1891.

¹⁵⁹ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 20th 1890.

¹⁶⁰ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 29th 1890; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 6th 1891; *The Times*, November 26th 1890, p.9 and *The Times*, December 10th 1890, p.9.

¹⁶¹ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 29th 1890 and *The Times*, November 26th 1890, p.9.

In contrast, *Freeman's Journal*, just as during the Land War period, used terms such as 'colleagues' and 'allies' to refer to Parnell's followers.¹⁶² One editorial also directly countered the claim made by those such as McCarthy who split from Parnell that he was a dictator. It referred to the ex-followers of Parnell as 'Proteus', an early sea god in Greek mythology who would change his shape in order to avoid telling the future. The editorial thus implied that McCarthy was simply using this accusation to change his shape in order to suit his own ends, and that the claim had no foundation.¹⁶³

2.3 Linked to crime and violence?

Both *The Belfast News-Letter* and *The Times* used the divorce court revelations to continue to represent Parnell to their readers as someone linked to crime and violence. A key way they did this was to express surprise that his followers, colleagues and allies were calling for his retirement for a social crime like adultery when they had accepted him for so many years, despite his being head of a movement intimately linked with crime and violence.¹⁶⁴ *The Belfast News-Letter* illustrated this point via an excellent metaphor, stating that it believed all would stick with Parnell because 'Irish nationalism has been saturated with crime as a sponge with water when plunged into that element; that another drop is hardly worth making any fuss about.'¹⁶⁵

Similarly, both newspapers asked in various ways how the Liberals had been able to

¹⁶² 'Dublin: Wednesday, Nov. 26', *Freeman's Journal*, November 26th 1890 and 'Dublin: Saturday, Nov. 29', *Freeman's Journal*, November 29th 1890.

¹⁶³ 'Dublin: Tuesday, Dec. 23', *Freeman's Journal*, December 23rd 1890.

¹⁶⁴ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 18th 1890; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 19th 1890; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 24th 1890; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 4th 1890; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 12th 1890; *The Times*, November 26th 1890, p.9; *The Times*, November 27th 1890, p.9; *The Times*, December 10th 1890, p.9; *The Times*, December 23rd 1890, p.9 and *The Times*, January 1st 1891, p.9.

¹⁶⁵ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 18th 1890.

overlook the violation of nearly all other commandments, including murder, but could not overlook a breach of the seventh.¹⁶⁶

The Times represented him as linked to crime and violence by documenting his courting of the extreme elements both in Ireland and America.¹⁶⁷ Editorials referred to his appeal to ‘the hillside men’, which meant men with Fenian sympathies in Ireland.¹⁶⁸ There was also reference to his visiting ‘all the chief shrines of Irish sedition of the advanced and active type in order to fan the flames of greed, hatred and sedition’.¹⁶⁹ In December 1890 it stated that his renunciation of the Liberal alliance *restored* him to his old popularity among the extremists.¹⁷⁰ Both *The Times* and *The Belfast News-Letter* referred to ‘his removal of the mask of moderation and constitutionalism’ during this period, so implying that extremism, violence and crime were Parnell’s true colours.¹⁷¹

Freeman’s Journal, in contrast to both *The Times* and *The Belfast News-Letter*, portrayed him during this period of his life as a moderating influence in Ireland, bringing the people back from violent and illegal methods, to constitutional ones.¹⁷² An editorial in December 1890, for example, reproduced a quote from the Archbishop of Dublin which stated that ‘he has brought the people of Ireland back to

¹⁶⁶ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 19th 1890; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 24th 1890; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 4th 1890; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 12th 1890; *The Times*, November 27th 1890 and *The Times*, December 23rd 1890.

¹⁶⁷ *The Times*, November 28th 1890, p.7; *The Times*, December 3rd 1890, p.9; *The Times*, December 23rd 1890, p.9; *The Times*, January 13th 1890, p.9 and *The Times*, February 2nd 1891, p.9.

¹⁶⁸ *The Times*, December 23rd 1890, p.9 and *The Times*, January 13th 1890, p.9.

¹⁶⁹ *The Times*, February 2nd 1890, p.9.

¹⁷⁰ *The Times*, December 3rd 1890, p.9.

¹⁷¹ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 22nd 1891 and *The Times*, December 23rd 1890, p.9 and *The Times*, January 13th 1890, p.9.

¹⁷² ‘Dublin: Monday, Dec. 1st’, *Freeman’s Journal*, December 1st 1890; ‘Dublin: Thursday, Dec. 18’, *Freeman’s Journal*, December 18th 1890 and ‘Dublin: Saturday, Dec. 20’, *Freeman’s Journal*, December 20th 1890.

their lost trust in peaceful, lawful, constitutional methods of action.’¹⁷³ Similarly, reference was made to the fact that the civilised world of liberty would approve and applaud his methods, implying they must be the opposite of criminal and violent.¹⁷⁴ Finally, it was stated that were he removed, the danger of violence would rise.¹⁷⁵ Also, just as *Freeman’s Journal* did in its editorials during the Land War, it used the language of violence when referring *not* to Parnell but to his enemies, such as referring to the violence of the language and conduct of those in opposition to him in Committee room 15.¹⁷⁶

Interestingly *Reynolds’s Newspaper* did not either explicitly or implicitly address the issue of Parnell, crime and violence during this period. Given the newspaper’s change of heart in relation to Parnell’s patriotism and his role as leader of the Irish nation during this period (as shown earlier), it would have been unlikely to defend him against negative representations in *The Times* and *The Belfast News-Letter* in connection with crime and violence. It probably decided, therefore, that silence was the best course of action on this issue.

2.4 Leader of the Irish Race?

Neither *Reynolds’s Newspaper* nor *The Belfast News-Letter* represented Parnell as leader of the Irish nation or race at this stage in his career. This was consistent with his representation by *The Belfast News-Letter* during the Land War but it was a complete reversal of *Reynolds’s Newspaper’s* representation of him during that period. Both newspapers stated that he only led a minority or faction, so

¹⁷³ ‘Dublin: Monday, Dec. 1’, *Freeman’s Journal*, December 1st 1890.

¹⁷⁴ ‘Dublin: Tuesday, Nov. 18’, *Freeman’s Journal*, November 18th 1890.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Dublin: Saturday, Dec. 20’, *Freeman’s Journal*, December 20th 1890.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Dublin: Monday, Dec. 8’, *Freeman’s Journal*, December 8th 1890. ‘Dublin: Saturday, Dec. 20’, *Freeman’s Journal*, December 20th 1890.

by implication not the whole nation.¹⁷⁷ There was also reference to his ‘affecting’ to be leader of the Irish race, and him ‘pretending’ to be the leader of the Irish people.¹⁷⁸

. One editorial was also explicit about the fact that his name was not synonymous with the Irish race when it stated that he ‘does not represent the mind of Ireland.’¹⁷⁹

There was, however, a difference between these two newspapers. *Reynolds’s Newspaper* made it clear on a number of occasions that it once did view him as the leader of the Irish race, through the use of the term ‘the ex-Irish leader’ in many of the editorials around this period.¹⁸⁰ In contrast, *The Belfast News-Letter* never viewed him as such; an editorial in January 1891 stated that he had the title of uncrowned king, but only ever in *some* parts of Ireland.¹⁸¹

The Times representation of him in this respect was inconsistent. An editorial in December 1890, for example, made clear that the newspaper never did and still did not view Parnell as the leader of the Irish nation. It stated that a long ignored fact was that the representation of the elements in Ireland which alone could make a nation did not lie with any section of the Parnellite party.¹⁸² However, on a number of other occasions, unlike during the Land War, references were made to him as ‘the uncrowned king’ and ‘the Irish leader’ or ‘chief’.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷ ‘Ireland or Parnell’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, December 14th 1890; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 18th 1890; ‘*The Belfast News-Letter*’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 19th 1890; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 6th 1891 and ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 7th 1891.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Special Notes’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, December 14th 1890 and ‘The Irish Crisis and the English Democracy’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, February 15th 1891.

¹⁷⁹ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 22nd 1890.

¹⁸⁰ ‘The Truth of Irish Patriotism’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, December 28th 1890; ‘Our Duty to the Irish Crisis’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, January 18th 1891; ‘Special Notes’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, February 1st 1891 and ‘How Mr. Parnell is Hurting Ireland’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, February 8th 1891;.

¹⁸¹ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 22nd 1891.

¹⁸² *The Times*, December 10th 1890, p.9.

¹⁸³ *The Times*, November 27th 1890, p.9; *The Times*, December 3rd 1890, p.9; *The Times*, December 13th 1890, p.9 and *The Times*, February 2nd 1890, p.9.

Freeman's Journal, as during the Land War, continued to represent him as the leader of the Irish people, referring to him as 'the leader or chief of the Irish' on many occasions.¹⁸⁴ In an editorial in December 1890, Parnell was referred to as 'the leader and beloved captain of the Irish nation', while in July 1891 he was called 'leader par excellence of the Irish nation and the Irish race.'¹⁸⁵ Reference was made to the fact that he had brought many of his countrymen 'of all states of political feeling to camp, and kept them under his banner homogenously,' which contrasted to the representations of him in other newspapers as simply the leader of a minority faction.¹⁸⁶ As with its representation of Parnell's patriotism, though, *Freeman's Journal* began to change its tune around the end of July 1891, marked by the publication of the letter in July 1891 from Dwyer Gray. The letter made reference to the fact that the Catholic Church opposed Parnell, as did Dillon and O'Brien and three counties, implying he had the support of very little of Ireland, and therefore could no longer be seen as leader of the Irish people.¹⁸⁷ Similarly, an editorial in September discussed what would be necessary in order for Parnell to *once again* become the leader of the nation.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ 'Dublin: Tuesday, Nov. 18', *Freeman's Journal*, November 18th 1890; 'Dublin: Saturday, Nov. 29', *Freeman's Journal*, November 29th 1890; 'Dublin: Thursday, Dec. 11', *Freeman's Journal*, December 11th 1890; 'Dublin: Friday, Dec. 12', *Freeman's Journal*, December 12th 1890; 'Dublin: Saturday, Dec. 13', *Freeman's Journal*, December 13th 1890; 'Dublin: Wednesday, Dec. 17', *Freeman's Journal*, December 17th 1890; 'Dublin: Thursday, Dec. 18', *Freeman's Journal*, December 18th 1890; 'Dublin: Tuesday, Dec. 23', *Freeman's Journal*, December 23rd 1890; 'Dublin: Tuesday, Jan. 20', *Freeman's Journal*, January 20th 1891 and 'Dublin: Thursday, July 2', *Freeman's Journal*, July 2nd 1891.

¹⁸⁵ 'Dublin: Thursday, Dec. 11', *Freeman's Journal*, December 11th 1890; 'Dublin: Friday, Dec. 12', *Freeman's Journal*, December 12th 1890 and 'Dublin: Wednesday, July 8', *Freeman's Journal*, July 8th 1891.

¹⁸⁶ Dublin: Thursday, Dec. 11', *Freeman's Journal*, December 11th 1890.

¹⁸⁷ E. Dwyer Gray, 'Mr. E. Dwyer Gray and Mr. Parnell', *Freeman's Journal*, July 31st 1891.

¹⁸⁸ 'Dublin: Monday, Sept. 28', *Freeman's Journal*, September 28 1891.

2.5 Moral, dishonest and disloyal?

In only one editorial during this period was there any implication that Parnell was a demagogue, unlike during the earlier period of the Land Act. *The Belfast News-Letter* referred to ‘the propagandists of Home Rule’ in an editorial in December 1890, so implying that Parnell was a demagogue.¹⁸⁹ The absence of representations of Parnell as a demagogue later in his life supports the point made earlier in the dissertation that De Nie inadequately deals with Parnell’s representation in the British Press.

There was, however, a new aspect to Parnell’s character that the newspapers dwelt on, namely whether he was an immoral person. Given that during this period it came to light that Parnell had been having an affair, during which he had fathered three illegitimate children, and divorce proceedings were taking place, this probably acted as the catalyst for the newspapers to conduct an investigation into this aspect of his character. Interestingly, this was not an area that subsequently attracted significant attention from historians, who preferred to focus on dissecting and explaining the political aspects of his character and career. A number of his biographers did, however, dwell on his morality. Here there tended to be split, with those who wrote before the divorce, such as Johnston and O’Connor, painting him as ‘the centre of moral earnestness’, while those, like William O’Brien, who wrote after 1890, did not paint him so unequivocally as morally upstanding.¹⁹⁰ *The Times*, *The Belfast News-Letter* and *Reynolds’s Newspaper* all represented Parnell during this period as immoral, in line with De Nie’s argument that the Irish were generally represented as

¹⁸⁹ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 6th 1890.

¹⁹⁰ ‘Portrait of the King’, in Boyce and O’Day (eds.), *Parnell*, p.286-97

immoral by the British press.¹⁹¹ They made many explicit references to his immortality, baseness and turpitude.¹⁹² Editorials in November 1890, for instance, referred to his ‘moral delinquencies’, ‘career of moral turpitude’ and ‘moral defects.’¹⁹³ There were also a number of more implicit references to his immorality.¹⁹⁴ *The Times*, for example, compared him to Lord Connermara and the King of Milan, both of whom it stated had very poor morality.¹⁹⁵

All three newspapers represented him as dishonest, again in line with De Nie’s assertion that the Irish were often represented in the British press as such.¹⁹⁶ In November 1890, for example, *Reynolds’s Newspaper* referred to his ‘continuous lying’ and the fact that he had passed an apprenticeship in ‘the art of lying and other deception’¹⁹⁷ All three newspapers also implicitly represented him as dishonest by referring to his followers as dupes.¹⁹⁸ There were also a number of explicit references throughout the editorials to his efforts to try and misinform his

¹⁹¹ De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, p.17; ‘Mr. Parnell’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 23rd 1890; W.M.T., ‘Public and Social Letters’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 23rd 1890; ‘Mr. Parnell and his Parasites’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 30th 1890; ‘Special Notes’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 30th 1890; ‘Special Notes’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, December 14th 1890; ‘The Truth about Irish Patriotism’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, December 28th 1890; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 18th 1890; ‘Our London Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 19th 1890; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 19th 1890; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 9th 1890; *The Times*, November 28th 1890, p.7 and *The Times*, December 13th 1890, p.9.

¹⁹² ‘Mr. Parnell’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 23rd 1890; ‘Mr. Parnell and his Parasites’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 30th 1890; ‘Special Notes’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 30th 1890; ‘Special Notes’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, December 14th 1890.

¹⁹³ ‘Mr. Parnell’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 23rd 1890 and ‘Our London Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 19th 1890.

¹⁹⁴ ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 1st 1890; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 11th 1890; *The Times*, November 26th 1890, p.9; *The Times*, November 28th 1890, p.7 and *The Times*, December 13th 1890, p.9.

¹⁹⁵ *The Times*, November 28th 1890, p.7 and *The Times*, December 13th 1890, p.9.

¹⁹⁶ De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, p.23, p.13 and p.16-17.

¹⁹⁷ ‘Mr. Parnell and his Parasites’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 30th 1890 and ‘Special Notes’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, November 30th 1890.

¹⁹⁸ ‘The Parnell Mess’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, January 25th 1891; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 1st 1890; ‘The Belfast News-Letter’, *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 6th 1890 and *The Times*, November 26th 1890, p.9.

supporters.¹⁹⁹ In December 1890 an editorial in *Reynolds's Newspaper* portrayed his forced take-over of *Untied Ireland*, the party newspaper, as being an attempt to 'keep the peasantry in ignorance of the scorn and indignation his perfidy has aroused' while in February 1891 an editorial referred to Parnell's attempt 'to gull the Irish electors into thinking Ireland can only be saved by him.'²⁰⁰ The newspapers also used incidents from this time in his career to show his dishonesty. Firstly, for example, his assurances to his party that he would come out of the divorce proceedings with no stain on his name, were used to illustrate his dishonesty, as he was proved guilty.²⁰¹ Secondly, his manifesto, which he issued on the 21st November 1890, revealing private discussions between himself and Gladstone, was argued to be a 'tissue of falsehood.'²⁰²

Not only was Parnell represented as dishonest, but also as disloyal. Words such as 'perfidy' and 'treachery' were used in association with him.²⁰³ References were made to his lack of concern for his former colleagues, followers and allies

¹⁹⁹ 'Parnell, Balfour and Co', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 21st 1890; 'Special Notes', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 28th 1890; 'The Truth of Irish Patriotism', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 28th 1890; 'Our duty to the Irish Crisis', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 18th 1891 and 'The Parnell Mess', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 25th 1891 and 'How Mr. Parnell is Hurting Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 8th 1891.

²⁰⁰ 'Parnell, Balfour and Co', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 21st 1890 and 'How Mr. Parnell is Hurting Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 8th 1891.

²⁰¹ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 24th 1890; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 1st 1890; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 8th 1891 and *The Times*, November 28th 1890, p.7.

²⁰² 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 1st 1890.

²⁰³ 'perfidy'.

<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50175336?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=perfidy&first=1&max_to_show=10> May 23rd 2009>. May 23rd 2009; 'Parnell, Balfour and Co', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 21st 1890; 'Parnell Must Go', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 4th 1891; 'The Parnell Mess', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 25th 1891 and 'How Mr. Parnell is Hurting Ireland', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 8th 1891; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 19th 1890 and 'treachery'.

<http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50256904?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=TREACHERY&first=1&max_to_show=10>. May 23rd 2009.

during this period of his life.²⁰⁴ The manifesto was represented not as a necessary airing of important information for the good of all, but as a breach of confidence.²⁰⁵ Similarly, it was stated that his involvement in an affair which he knew could severely damage Ireland's cause made him 'guilty of extraordinary unfaithfulness to his followers' who placed their trust and future well-being in him.²⁰⁶ It was argued that he could have made things a lot easier for his followers after the divorce court ruling but he simply displayed 'characteristic indifference to the trouble of his allies and servants.'²⁰⁷ The newspapers made reference to how he 'laughed scornfully in the very face' of his former allies and now wished to 'annihilate both his former colleagues and their political allies'.²⁰⁸

Interestingly, *The Times* only represented him as disloyal until the end of November 1890. While there was no explicit repudiation thereafter, there were implicit hints at it. In December 1890, for example, it was Parnell's former colleagues who were shown to be disloyal; it stated that not long ago they were slandering him with 'nauseous eulogy' whereas now they were 'loudest in their invectives against him.'²⁰⁹ Similarly, Gladstone was represented as disloyal by reference to the fact he threw his friend over but not his policy.²¹⁰

²⁰⁴ 'Mr. Parnell and his Parasites', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, November 30th 1890; 'Special Notes', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, November 30th 1890; 'Ireland or Parnell', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 14th 1890; 'Special Notes', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 14th 1890; 'Parnell Must Go', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, January 4th 1891; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 1st 1890; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 8th 1891; *The Times*, November 26th 1890, p.9; *The Times*, November 27th 1890, p.9 and *The Times*, November 28th 1890, p.7.

²⁰⁵ 'Special Notes', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, November 30th 1890 and 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 1st 1890.

²⁰⁶ 'Mr. Parnell and his Parasites', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, November 30th 1890.

²⁰⁷ *The Times*, November 26th 1890, p.9.

²⁰⁸ 'Special Notes', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, November 30th 1890; 'Ireland or Parnell', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 14th 1890 and 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 8th 1891.

²⁰⁹ *The Times*, December 3rd 1890, p.9.

²¹⁰ *The Times*, December 23rd 1890, p.9.

Both *The Times* and *The Belfast News-Letter* made it clear that they viewed Parnell's immorality as a long-standing characteristic, not simply because of his adultery. *The Belfast News-Letter*, for example, stated that the findings of the divorce court should not surprise anyone while an editorial in January 1891 stated that when the Liberals entered into an alliance with the Parnellites they accepted a divorce of morality from politics.²¹¹ The alliance was entered into in 1885. Similarly, *The Times* stated that adultery was the *latest* discovered sin in Parnell's character.²¹² When *The Belfast News-Letter* stated that his manifesto was a falsehood, it also stated that 'it is greatly regretted that [everyone] did not discover Mr. Parnell's capacity in this direction some years ago.'²¹³ It maintained that 'his career has been one of unscrupulous falsehood from the first'. *The Times* and *The Belfast News-Letter* stated that the happenings of this period had forced Parnell to throw off his mask, and finally stand before everyone in his true colours.²¹⁴ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, on the other hand, did not view his immorality as a long-term characteristic; it only represented him in this light after the revelations of the divorce court.

Freemans Journal, just like most historians subsequently, did not dwell on Parnell's morality to any great extent. There was little explicit reference to it, just some implicit references. This is not surprising as, on a number of occasions, the newspaper made clear that it believed in the separation of morality from politics, resulting in their business with Parnell simply being political.²¹⁵ An editorial in

²¹¹ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, November 18th 1890 and 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 6th 1891.

²¹² *The Times* November 28th 1890, p.7.

²¹³ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, December 1st 1890.

²¹⁴ 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 8th 1891; 'The Belfast News-Letter', *The Belfast News-Letter*, January 22nd 1891 and *The Times*, December 23rd 1890, p.9.

²¹⁵ 'Dublin: Tuesday, Nov. 18', *Freeman's Journal*, November 18th 1890; 'Dublin: Friday, Nov. 21', *Freeman's Journal*, November 21st 1890; 'Dublin: Tuesday, Nov. 26', *Freeman's Journal*, 26th 1890; 'Dublin: Wednesday, July 1', July 1st 1891.

November 1890 stated that he had never misled the Irish people, while in December the newspaper stated that it believed Parnell's assertion that he was repudiating the Gladstonian alliance due to the IPP's independence having been sapped.²¹⁶ Similarly, the *Journal* represented Parnell's publication of the manifesto, not as a breach of faith, but as a service to the Irish nation.²¹⁷

As can be seen, this period of Parnell's career brought about changes, either big or small, in the way all but *The Belfast News-Letter* represented him. Unsurprisingly, because of its Unionist support base, *The Belfast News-Letter* continued to represent Parnell in a negative light throughout this period which furthered its anti-Home Rule agenda. *The Times*, on the other hand, continued to represent Parnell in a negative light most of the time, but occasionally represented him more positively. There would seem to be two possible explanations for this. Firstly, it is possible that *The Times* was trying to regain the credibility it lost via the Piggott Forgeries by attempting to represent Parnell in a more neutral light. Secondly, *Reynolds's Newspaper* put forward an interesting explanation which would also fit with *The Times* continuing to further its anti-Home Rule agenda, and its defence of the Empire and established order. This was that conservative newspapers were acutely aware that Parnell's struggle for retention of the leadership would significantly damage, if not destroy the Home Rule cause.²¹⁸ With this in mind, they began to represent him in a better light, lulling him into believing he had more support than he actually did so that he would continue the leadership struggle.

²¹⁶ 'Dublin: Friday, Nov. 28', *Freeman's Journal*, November 28th 1890 and 'Dublin: Tuesday, Dec. 9', *Freeman's Journal*, December 9th 1890.

²¹⁷ 'Dublin: Monday, Dec. 1', *Freeman's Journal*, December 1st 1890.

²¹⁸ 'The Truth of Irish Patriotism', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, December 28th 1890.

While *Freeman's Journal* generally stayed true to its positive representations of Parnell, in line with its support for Home Rule, this began to change after Parnell's marriage to Katherine O'Shea at the end of July 1891. As has been shown, this change was marked by a letter from Edmund Dwyer Gray, son of the previous two proprietors of *Freeman's Journal* and owner of nearly half its shares. It is unsurprising therefore that *Freeman's Journal* fell into line with Gray's views on Parnell, while the gradualness of its falling into line could be explained by the fact that it was a Limited Liability Company, so while Gray may have been the biggest shareholder, there were others involved in dictating the line the *Journal* took. Its change of attitude towards Parnell went against its avowed policy of separating politics from morality and therefore private lives from political lives. It also went against its policy of not raising questions about Parnell's Protestantism as although the Catholic Church does not recognise the marriage of divorced people, the Church of England does.²¹⁹

Finally, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, as has been shown, completely reversed its positive representations of Parnell during the Land War, seeing him during this later period of his life in a wholly negative light. It seems highly plausible that this was due to the upsurge of women's participation in Liberal politics after the Bulgarian agitation in 1876. Women were seen as morally superior, and they felt that they had a special responsibility to purify the party and uphold moral standards.²²⁰ Clearly Parnell's involvement in a long-standing affair would not have been viewed as acceptable to such women, which would have been reflected in the liberal-based

²¹⁹ *The Times*, August 1st 1891, p.9.

²²⁰ Biagini, *British Democracy* p.88-94 and Jane Rendall, 'The Citizenship of Women and the Reform Act of 1867' in Hall, McClelland and Rendall (eds.), *Defining the Victorian Nation* p.161-4.

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Reynolds's Newspaper. It should be noted, though, that such negative representations of Parnell do not necessarily call into question Biagini's thesis of working-class support for Home Rule. The newspaper and its readers could genuinely have believed that Parnell was harming the Home Rule cause and so turned against him for this reason, not just because he was morally repugnant to its increasingly moral readership.

Conclusion

What is most clearly illustrated by this research is that the most important division was between the liberal and conservative press rather than between the English and Irish press. The Irish *Belfast News-Letter* was as anti-Parnell as the *The Times*; *Reynolds's Newspaper* was as sympathetic to Parnell as the *Freeman's Journal* during the Land War period. However, the English newspapers did show more inclination to change their views on Parnell as circumstances changed, either for the better or worse. For instance, *The Times* praised Parnell for "laudable moderation" when he indicated a willingness to consider the Land Act. *Reynolds's Newspaper*, on the other hand, moved strongly against Parnell for moral reasons during the divorce crisis.

At times, representations of Parnell fit in with Curtis' and De Nie's findings on how the Irish were represented in the British press during the nineteenth century. The representation of Parnell as immoral and dishonest by both *The Times* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* is an example. However, Parnell was not represented by these English newspapers in many other ways in which De Nie and Curtis found the Irish were portrayed in the British press, such as dehumanized, degraded, less civilized, savage, superstitious, mystical, intellectually stagnant and lunatic.²²¹ This is likely to be because he was not typically Irish; the 'eternal paddy' - central to Irish representation in the British press - was Celtic, catholic and a peasant, none of which applied to Parnell.²²² This could explain why De Nie spent so little time addressing Parnell, as De Nie's book was aimed at looking at how the Irish, as a general category, were represented. As Parnell was an obvious anomaly, he was relegated to a

²²¹ De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, p.11-13, p.16-17 and p.206.

²²² De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, p.5.

few pages with the sweeping generalisation that he was represented as a demagogue, which this dissertation has shown to be a huge oversimplification.

It is clear from the analysis of the four newspapers' representations of Parnell at two important periods in his life that their coverage was heavily influenced by the prejudices and views of each newspaper's backers and readers and their wider political agenda. This is in line with Cruise O'Brien's argument that the British Tory and Irish Nationalist press created Parnell in their own image: as hero and demon, which he enabled them to do by playing to both.²²³ Both conservative-leaning newspapers utilized their representations of Parnell in order to further their anti-Home Rule agenda. By representing him in a negative light during the Land War, both *The Times* and *The Belfast News-Letter* were attempting to discredit the person to whom the leadership of such government would be granted. This approach was similarly utilized by *The Belfast News-Letter* during the divorce crisis, and by *The Times* during this period though to a slightly lesser extent. Conversely, the liberal-leaning *Reynolds's Newspaper* and the nationalist *Freeman's Journal* represented Parnell in a positive light during the Land War in line with their desire to see Home Rule granted. *Freeman's Journal* continued with this stance until about three months before Parnell's death, when it followed the views of its majority shareholder and did a 180° turn. When *Reynolds's Newspaper*, by contrast, joined the conservative-leaning newspapers in representing Parnell in a negative light during the divorce crisis and leadership battles, this was reflecting the views of its readers who supported the increasing feminisation and moralisation of politics. It could be argued that such negative representations were still in line with its previous support for Home Rule as

²²³ Boyce, "Portrait of the King" in Boyce and O'Day (eds.), Parnell, p.301-2.

the moralization of Liberal politics had made it impossible for the alliance to continue if Parnell remained leader, thus ending all prospects for Home Rule. *Reynolds's Newspaper* abandoned Parnell, it could be argued, in favour of the more important goal of Home Rule.

At times, particularly during the Land War, the newspapers utilised their representations of Parnell and therefore the Irish question to further a broader political agenda. *Reynolds's Newspaper's* representation of Parnell during the Land War, for example, often served to further its anti-establishment and extensive reform agenda. Conversely, *The Times's* fight against Home Rule, as seen in its representations of Parnell, was part of its wider defence of the established order and the Empire.

The few occasions when *Freeman's Journal* was critical of Parnell appear to have been inspired by the narrow considerations of the proprietor, Dwyer Gray, who had a famous dispute with Parnell in 1879 and thereafter inclined towards Butt, a more moderate politician than Parnell. During Parnell's American tour, *Freeman's Journal* became critical of Parnell after he criticized the Mansion House Committee, of which Dwyer Gray was chairman. It was the publication of Dwyer Gray's anti-Parnell letter in *Freeman's Journal* in July 1891 that marked the end of the newspaper's avowed policy of keeping morality and politics separate.

The fact that newspaper representations of Parnell were generally based on the prejudices and views of the newspapers' backers and readers is theoretically a fundamental difference between newspaper coverage of Parnell and the methodology of objective historians. Nevertheless, the end result seems to be similar - one of

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sharply diverging views on Parnell. The newspaper representations do, therefore, offer an insight into why there is so little consensus among historians on who the “real Parnell” was. If it was possible for the newspapers of the time to portray him in such divergent ways, it is perhaps unsurprising that historians have also come to such differing conclusions.

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