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Irish Identity in the Early Twentieth-century Posters  
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## ZADÁNÍ DIPLOMOVÉ PRÁCE (projektu, uměleckého díla, uměleckého výkonu)

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### Zásady pro vypracování

Autor se ve své diplomové práci zaměří na plakáty z období druhého desetiletí dvacátého století, ve kterém se v Irsku směřujícímu k válce o nezávislost vzedmulo úsilí o budování národní identity. Cílem práce je prozkoumat dobové plakáty a zjistit, jak se tento druh diskursu zapojil do tehdejší společenské diskuse týkající se irské národní identity. Práce nejprve poskytne teoretický rámec pro definování irské národní identity, a dále se zaměří na vlivy, které se podílely na jejím formování od konce 18. do začátku 20. století. Těžiště práce bude tvořit detailní analýza plakátů z období 1910–1920. Autor se zaměří na jejich textové i grafické atributy s cílem zmapovat, jakým způsobem přispívají k tehdejšímu apelu na posílení národní identity (krajina, stereotypy, rétorika, apod.). Svá zjištění propojí s teoretickými východisky z úvodní části. V práci budou jako primární zdroj využity dobové plakáty. Sekundární zdroje budou tvořit texty zabývající se problematikou národní identity.

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## **ANNOTATION**

The aim of this master's thesis is to analyze Irish national identity using posters from the second decade of the twentieth century. The first chapter provides a theoretical framework of national identity and clarification of related terms such as nationalism, nation, nationality, and national consciousness. This chapter also explains the development of Irish national identity. The second chapter focuses on Irish national identity in images in posters depicting geographic features and traditional Irish symbols. The third chapter deals with Irish national identity in text-only posters.

## **KEYWORDS**

Ireland, national identity, posters, World War I

## **NÁZEV**

Irská identita v plakátech z druhého desetiletí dvacátého století

## **ANOTACE**

Cílem této diplomové práce je analyzovat irskou národní identitu v plakátech z druhého desetiletí dvacátého století. První kapitola poskytuje teoretický rámec národní identity a objasňuje související pojmy jako jsou nacionalismus, národ, národnost a národní vědomí. Tato část práce se dále zaměřuje na vývoj irské národní identity. Druhá kapitola zkoumá irskou národní identitu v obrázcích plakátů zachycující geografické prvky a tradiční irské symboly. Třetí kapitola se zabývá irskou národní identitou v plakátech obsahující pouze text.

## **KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA**

Irsko, národní identita, plakáty, první světová válka

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## Introduction

Ireland is a magnificent country located on an island in Western Europe. It has also been called the Emerald Isle because of its unique natural beauty. In the second decade of the twentieth century, Ireland experienced a period of social and political crisis. In 1910, the victory of the Liberals in the second general election was followed by the introduction of the Third Home Rule Bill, which proposed limited self-government within the British Empire. While the bill was supported by Irish nationalists, mostly Catholics, it was opposed by the Ulster unionists, mostly Protestants. In 1912, around 500,000 unionists expressed their disagreement with home rule by signing the Solemn League and Covenant. In 1914, however, the implementation of the Third Home Rule Bill was postponed because of the outbreak of World War I. It was a global military conflict fought between 1914 and –1918 that had a great impact on many countries around the world. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland entered the war on August 4, 1914, in response to the German Empire’s invasion of neutral Belgium. Since Ireland did not have official military conscription, civilians volunteered for various Irish regiments of the British Army. It is estimated that around 200,000 Irish soldiers served during World War I.<sup>1</sup> Although Irish people were encouraged to participate in the war effort, there were also military organizations that attempted to fight for Irish independence. In April 1916, one of the key rebellions against British rule took place in Dublin. In spite of the fact that the so-called Easter Rising lasted only six days, it was a crucial milestone in Irish history that influenced the future endeavor for independence.

In the 1910s, when radio was primarily used in the military, posters became widely used as a medium of mass communication. Their bulk distribution was especially important for propaganda purposes during World War I. “The visual syntax”<sup>2</sup> of posters involving extraordinary images and striking messages was displayed in the streets of Ireland and in public buildings. Posters were used as a tool to enhance national values and influence public opinion in favor of the nation. Additionally, they were intended to inspire and persuade Irish civilian men to enlist in Irish regiments and fight for their country. To achieve this, posters were

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<sup>1</sup> David Fitzpatrick, “Militarism in Ireland 1900–1922,” in *A Military History of Ireland*, ed. Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 383.

<sup>2</sup> Nuala C. Johnson, *Ireland, the Great War and the Geography of Remembrance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 25.



designed to express “a pictorial rhetoric of [...] national identities.”<sup>3</sup> National identity is a multidimensional construct that represents a sense of unity and belonging to a particular nation. Moreover, it is closely linked to a specific territory, common history, and public culture. The Irish are well-known for their strong national identity, which they have been constantly reminded of in a variety of events throughout the history of Ireland.

This master’s thesis focuses on elements of Irish national identity in posters from the second decade of the twentieth century. The first chapter, divided into two parts, deals with the theoretical framework of national identity and relevant terms such as nationalism, nation, nationality, and national consciousness. Furthermore, it traces the development of Irish national identity from the nineteenth century until the early-twentieth century. The second chapter, also divided into two parts, analyzes Irish national identity in images in the posters depicting geographic features and traditional Irish symbols. The third chapter analyzes various elements of Irish national identity in text-only posters.

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<sup>3</sup> Steve Baker, “Describing Images of the National Self: Popular Accounts of the Construction of Pictorial Identity in the First World War Poster,” *Oxford Art Journal* 13, no. 2 (1990): 25.

# 1. Theorizing National Identity

What does it really mean to be Irish? Do the island in north-western Europe in the North Atlantic Ocean and the Irish language define national identity? Do shared culture, customs, religion, and politics give people the privilege to call themselves Irish? To answer these questions, this theoretical chapter investigates the term “national identity” in more detail. Furthermore, for the clarification of the nature of Irish national identity, the critical events of Irish history are discussed. In order to approach its complex nature, theory is further divided into following two parts. The first subchapter focuses on issues connected with the theoretical framework of national identity and interrelated terms, such as nationalism, nation, and national consciousness. The second one provides investigation of aspects influencing formation of Irish national identity from the nineteenth century to the second decade of the twentieth century.

## 1.1 The Concept of National identity

National identity is a dynamic phenomenon that varies in distinctive contexts, and therefore it is constantly changing in different periods of time. In general, national identity fulfils important functions that contribute to a sense of unity and belonging. As Smith remarks, it “provides a powerful means of defining and locating individual selves in the world, through the prism of the collective personality and its distinctive culture.”<sup>4</sup> Hence, national identity is based on identification of groups and individuals with common features of the nation. It is vital to highlight the fact that identity implies both sameness and otherness. This means that national identity is not only about being identified with the nation but also about the differentiation from the “others.” For the purpose of focusing on national identity in detail, overlapping terms such as nationalism, nation, nationality, and national consciousness need to be introduced.

The term nationalism appears in many forms and gradually transforms. For the theoretical framework of this thesis, it is necessary to choose those working definitions that best fit into the context of Irish national identity at the beginning of the twentieth century. Thus, the modernist approaches of recognized authors of books on nationalism, nation and national identity are prevailing. In Europe, nationalism is quite a modern ideology and movement that

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<sup>4</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Group, 1991), 17.

started raising and flowering from the end of the eighteenth century. In general, according to Elie Kedourie, “it pretends to supply a criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state, and for the right organization of a society of states.”<sup>5</sup> Moreover, as stated in *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* by Anthony D. Smith, the most important meanings of nationalism are:

1. a process of formation, or growth, of nations
2. a sentiment or consciousness of belonging to the nation
3. a language and symbolism of the nation
4. a social and political movement on behalf of the nation
5. a doctrine and/or ideology of the nation, both general and particular<sup>6</sup>

To understand these variations, it is critical to clarify the word “nation.” As Natia Tevzadze remarks, the first doctrine of the nation was specified as “a natural society which comprises the unity of territory, origin, traditions, language and self-consciousness.”<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, the parts of the doctrine were changed when the social sciences started to gradually develop.<sup>8</sup> A newer concept is well-described by prominent politician Don L. Sturzo who defines the nation as the “individuality of a people” and continues that “this cannot come about without a stable geographical contiguity, a historical and cultural tradition, an economic interest.”<sup>9</sup> He adds, if there is a connection between these “preliminary conditions” and the national consciousness of people, it might deliver the concepts, for example, religion, liberty and independence that help to flourish “the collective personality”, the so-called nation.<sup>10</sup>

National consciousness is another aspect that cannot be overlooked and it has already been mentioned in the Smith’s meanings of nationalism and even in the initial doctrine of the nation. It is “a shared sense of national identity”<sup>11</sup> and the cornerstone of the nation. Additionally, national consciousness is a sense of belonging to a particular nation and an ability to share cultural, ethnic, and linguistic background.

Returning to Sturzo’s perspective on the term nation, it is partly in correspondence with the definition presented by Smith. It should be added that Smith puts emphasis on

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<sup>5</sup> Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson & Co. LTD, 1961), 9.

<sup>6</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 5–6.

<sup>7</sup> Natia Tevzadze, “National identity and national consciousness,” *History of European Ideas* 19, (July 1994): 437.

<sup>8</sup> Tevzadze, “National identity,” 437.

<sup>9</sup> Don Luigi Sturzo, *Nationalism and Internationalism* (New York: Roy, 1946), 13.

<sup>10</sup> Sturzo, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, 13.

<sup>11</sup> Naveeda Khanum and Jagannath K. Dange, “Development of Scale to Assess Perception about Symbols of National Identity,” *International Inventive Multidisciplinary Journal* 5, no. 11 (November 2017), 35.

the western model of the nation, which is more accurate for the Irish context of this thesis. In Smith's view, a territorial conception is the first important part of the nation. It means that there must be a geographically bounded historic land that is connected with people. This land and people should share spiritual, social, and cultural aspects. As Smith points out, this is "the place where 'our' sages, saints and heroes lived, worked, prayed and fought. All this makes the homeland unique. Its rivers, coasts, lakes, mountains and cities."<sup>12</sup> To the concept of the nation, he adds the idea of a patria that represents a "community of laws and institutions with a single political will."<sup>13</sup> It should be emphasized that this term is applicable either for a unitary or federal system of government. The last constituents of the Smith's concept of the nation is the legal equality of each person in a political community and a "common culture and a civic ideology."<sup>14</sup> It is of great importance to consider the fact that the nation might be socially constructed. This claim is supported by a concept developed by Benedict Anderson who assumes that the nation is an imagined community. To be exact, "It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the images of their communion."<sup>15</sup> It means that people form the nation because of "a deep, horizontal comradeship,"<sup>16</sup> which is based on the idea of a cohesive whole. The nation is sovereign because its concept arose in the times of "Enlightenment and the rationalist secularism of the Scientific Revolution – when established concepts of divine providence and hierarchical religious authorities were being questioned."<sup>17</sup> This allowed nations to be free from the power of the Church and to become a new form of authority. Furthermore, Anderson notes that the nation is limited because it does not have infinite boundaries.<sup>18</sup> Hence, the nation may be interpreted as "imagined" because it is based on the consciousness of belonging to a particular community.

To a certain degree, it might seem that the previously mentioned characteristics of the nation overlap with nationality. For this reason, it is necessary to clarify its pitfalls. The first possible criterion that is connected with nationality, similarly to the nation, is the geographical location. However, the difficulty connected with the territory is the way it was acquired.

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<sup>12</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 9.

<sup>13</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 10.

<sup>14</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 10–11.

<sup>15</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

<sup>16</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

<sup>17</sup> "Imagined Communities," MaggieAppleton, last modified June 19, 2020, <https://maggieappleton.com/imagined-communities>.

<sup>18</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

For example, if the aboriginal people are forced to leave their place of native residence and placed in a completely new territory, they might change their original nationality. Furthermore, as Xueliang and Qingxia imply, the historical and contemporary aspects of nationality are reflected by language.<sup>19</sup> Although, it is an important attribute of nationality, it might also be problematic. As Karl W. Deutsch notes:

Some of the most frequently cited objective characteristics of a people do not seem to be essential to its unity. As for language, members of the British people may speak English or Welsh; [...] Irishmen, English or Gaelic; [thus, the] same language may include several peoples.<sup>20</sup>

For a better understanding of nationality, it is essential to point out the concept introduced by Walker Connor who emphasizes the belief in common descent. This accentuates the shared common ancestors, and thus the psychological connection between members of a community who believe that they are ethnically related.<sup>21</sup> However, what does Connor mean by the psychological connection? As Maurice Jackson observes, “the same nation may not be completely related by common descent, and differences of nationality may exist among groups related by common descent.”<sup>22</sup> Therefore, it is necessary to bear in mind that it is not the “chronological or factual history that is the key [...], but sentient or felt history.”<sup>23</sup> Hence, nationality is not preferable to define in terms of separated individual elements (e.g., location, language) but as a natural phenomenon comprised of several interrelated elements.

After the clarification of the terms nation, nationality and national consciousness, it is crucial to return to nationalism. Nationalism, as Ernest Gellner comments, “is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness.” He further notes that “it invents nations where they do not exist - but it does need some pre-existing differentiating marks to work on.”<sup>24</sup> It has already been mentioned that nationalism is quite a modern ideology and movement. According to Gellner, in the past, there have been three major phases: the pre-agrarian, the agrarian civilizations and the industrial societies. In simple terms, it was the last-named phase that achieved to engender nationalism.<sup>25</sup> This was mainly caused by the growth of economic

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<sup>19</sup> Ma Xueliang and Dai Qingxia, “Language and Nationality,” in *Anthropology in China: Defining the Discipline*, ed. Gregory Eliyu Guldin (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 82.

<sup>20</sup> Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1966), 18.

<sup>21</sup> Walker Connor, “A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group is a ....,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1, no. 4 (July 2012): 386.

<sup>22</sup> Maurice Jackson, “An analysis of Max Weber’s theory of ethnicity,” *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 10, no. 1 (fall/winter 1982/83): 7.

<sup>23</sup> Walker Connor, “Beyond reason: The nature of the ethnonational bond,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1, no. 4 (September 2010): 382.

<sup>24</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), 168.

<sup>25</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Culture, Identity, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 6–29.

thinking and planning, cognitive development, or social and family factors of modern/industrial societies. Furthermore, Gellner points out that the transformation from an agrarian civilization to an industrial society is represented by the transition from low to high cultures, which possessed a new sense.<sup>26</sup> It is vital to add that “modern formation of national identity focuses upon the establishment of what [Gellner] terms ‘high cultures.’”<sup>27</sup> According to Smith:

What happens, typically, is that the successful new high culture of the state is imposed on the population of that state, and uses whatever of the old ‘wild’ cultures that it requires. This is the main role of nationalism. Nations have not existed from eternity, only to be awakened by the call of the nationalists. But cultures have always existed, and nationalism uses their raw materials.<sup>28</sup>

These raw materials might be divided into two categories: material and non-material. While the former consists of objects, properties and resources, the latter comprise of religion, institutions, ideas, beliefs, languages, and rules. As it has already been stated at the beginning of this subchapter, nationalism is a complex term that varies in different contexts and is constantly transforming. Thus, the typology of nationalisms by Anthony D. Smith that also serve for a better understanding of national identity needs to be introduced:

### **1. Territorial nationalisms**

- a) Pre-independence movements whose concept of the nation is mainly civic and territorial will seek first to eject foreign rulers and substitute a new state-nation for the old colonial territory; these are anti-colonial nationalisms.
- b) Post-independence movements whose concept of the nation remains basically civic and territorial will seek to bring together and integrate into a new political community often disparate ethnic populations and to create a new ‘territorial nation’ out of the old colonial state; these are integration nationalisms.

### **2. Ethnic nationalisms**

- a) Pre-independence movements whose concept of the nation is basically ethnic and genealogical will seek to secede from a larger political unit (or secede and gather together in a designated ethnic homeland) and set up a new political ‘ethno-nation’ in its place; these are secession and diaspora nationalisms.
- b) Post-independence movements whose concept of the nation is basically ethnic and genealogical will seek to expand by including ethnic ‘kinsmen’ outside the present boundaries of the ‘ethno-nation’ and the lands they inhabit or by forming a much larger ‘ethno-national’ state through the union of culturally and ethnically similar ethno-national states; these are irredentist and ‘pan’ nationalisms.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2009), 77.

<sup>27</sup> Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 2.

<sup>28</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 33.

<sup>29</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 82–83.

It is necessary to clarify that these types are produced by the civic and territorial, ethnic and genealogical models of the nation (dimensions) that help to bring the specific nationalist movements into existence.

This subchapter is moving back to the central, and most important, subject: national identity. National identity is a phenomenon that shares a set of analogous elements (cultural, economic, territorial, etc.) with the nation. In addition, national identity is linked to the above-named dimensions of the nation, which produce various nationalisms. To be exact, according to Smith “Conceptually, the nation has come to blend”<sup>30</sup> these dimensions that “has made national identity such a flexible and persistent force in modern life and politics, and allowed it to combine effectively with other powerful ideologies and movements, without losing its character.”<sup>31</sup> Hence, national identity is multidimensional because it cannot be attributed to only one specific element. Furthermore, it is vital to recall that Gellner links the concept of national identity to the term “high culture.” More precisely, for Ernest Gellner, national identity is “the identification of citizens with a public, urban high culture, and the nation is the expression of that high culture in the social and political spheres.”<sup>32</sup> Due to the fact that Gellner mainly draws attention to the concept of “high culture,” an opposing view is held by Smith. As he remarks, one of the problems of this definition is the relation of politics to high cultures, mainly the implications that “‘high’ cultures are embodiments of power, whether of powerful elites, powerful states or powerful peoples.”<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, this does not mean that he would neglect the role of culture in national identity. Given that, Smith’s definition of national identity can be summarized into the following points representing its major features:

1. an historic territory, or homeland
2. common myths and historical memories
3. a common, mass public culture
4. common legal rights and duties for all members
5. a common economy with territorial mobility for members<sup>34</sup>

On the above-mentioned aspects, it can be noticed, how complex national identity is, and how it interferes a variety of spheres of everyday life. However, it is necessary to exemplify what each feature represents. In line with the multidimensional nature of national identity, Smith further divides his definition into “‘external’ and ‘internal’ objective consequences.”<sup>35</sup>

Addressing the first element, it contains three functions.

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<sup>30</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 15

<sup>31</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 15.

<sup>32</sup> Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, 38.

<sup>33</sup> Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, 38.

<sup>34</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 14.

<sup>35</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 16.

Territorial function consists of “an historic territory” locating communities in time and space, unique objects of nation’s moral geography, and a definite social space of the nation.<sup>36</sup> Geography is an essential part of national identity, especially, a geographical area such as landscape, triggers “national pride, melancholy or aesthetic appreciation.”<sup>37</sup> Landscape might be defined as a structure of a particular space with visible features, distribution of objects that people interact with and are surrounded by. A sense of cohesion is based on common places and junctions of roads, mouths of rivers within landscape where people accumulate, interact and where their paths cross. The crucial point about landscape, according to Edensor, is that it “stitch[es] the local and the national together through their serial reproduction across nations.” Moreover, the features of landscape are taken for granted as long as they are not under threat; otherwise, they “become expressly symbolic.”<sup>38</sup> Taking into consideration Ireland, as Kennedy states, the iconic Irish cottage, notably at the end of the nineteenth century, obtained a symbolic value represented by a natural and spiritual way of life that became an essential part of how Irish people viewed themselves and which made a contrast to urban living.<sup>39</sup> The symbolic value is also closely bound to the image of stereotypical and picturesque landscape that evolved into a characteristic feature and uniqueness of traditional Irish rural culture, which often represents Ireland’s golden age. As Kaplan and Herb note, this “‘cult of the rural’ was promoted by a particular kind of Irish nationalism, similar to the dominant national ideology in pre-1960 Quebec. It fostered not only a cohesive national identity, but a particular kind of Irish identity”<sup>40</sup> Considering the information mentioned above, national identity is not always limited purely by bordered space of a country. For example, there might be national groups of people (diasporic communities) located in a new territory that “are apt to constitute dense networks of association.”<sup>41</sup> As an example, since the eighteenth century, there has been a great dispersal of Irish population when no less than 10,000,000 inhabitants have left the country and have settled in North America and Great Britain.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 16.

<sup>37</sup> Maunu Häyrynen, “A Kaleidoscopic Nation: The Finnish National Landscape Imagery,” in *Nordic Landscapes: Region and Belonging on the Northern Edge of Europe*, ed. Michael Jones and Kenneth Olwig (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 504.

<sup>38</sup> Edensor, *National Identity*, 53.

<sup>39</sup> Brian P. Kennedy, “The Traditional Irish Thatched House: Image and Reality, 1793–1993,” in *Visualizing Ireland: National Identity and the Pictorial Tradition*, ed. Adele M. Dalsimer (London: Faber and Faber, 1993), p. 173.

<sup>40</sup> David H. Kaplan and Guntram H. Herb, “How geography shapes National Identities,” *National Identities* 13, no. 4 (November 2011): 351.

<sup>41</sup> Edensor, *National Identity*, 65.

<sup>42</sup> David Fitzpatrick, “Emigration, 1801–70,” in *A New History of Ireland, Volume V: Ireland Under the Union, 1801–1870*, ed. W. E. Vaughan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 569; David Fitzpatrick, “Emigration,



Moving to the second, economic, function, In Smith's view, labor force and territorial resources are significant elements that nations have authority over. Nations prepare and organize division of labor, rationing, mobility of labor and products.<sup>43</sup> Thus, as Smith continues, "by defining the membership, the boundaries and the resources, national identity provides the rationale for ideals of national autarchy."<sup>44</sup> It should be added that national identity might be a fundamental part for economic development. For instance, the national image and national pride, which are based on historically rooted conventions, were used at the time of World War I, when economy was in recession, to encourage people to work in a variety of industries for the good of the country. According to Campbell and Hall, small countries [such as Ireland] with strong cultural homogeneity and national identity have an advantage in boosting long-term socioeconomic performance.<sup>45</sup> More precisely, as Campbell and Hall add, these countries might "coordinate policy in ways that help them respond successfully to external vulnerabilities by building institutional capacities for cooperation, sacrifice, flexible maneuvering, and concerted state action in the national interest."<sup>46</sup> Thus, when national identity is used for the promotion of national unity, motivation, and ideology of social partnership, it might, in certain ways, contribute to the facilitation of economic development and growth.

Finally, proceeding to the third and last part of external objective consequences: the political function. According to Smith, "legitimation of common legal rights and duties of legal institutions" is the most essential political function of national identity. This is due to the fact that it gives evidence of traditional customs and norms of morality and it also defines the national character.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, national identities might benefit from distinctive political parties. Francis Fukuyama emphasizes that "national identities can be built around liberal and democratic political values, and around the shared experiences that provide the connective tissue allowing diverse communities to thrive."<sup>48</sup> As Fukuyama adds, the cultivation of national identities along with these aspects is an "inclusive sense of national identity" that is crucial for a political order. The order might be negatively affected when the national identity is weak

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1871–1921," in *A New History of Ireland, Volume VI: Ireland under the Union, II: 1870-1921*, ed. W. E. Vaughan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 607.

<sup>43</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 16.

<sup>44</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 16.

<sup>45</sup> John L. Campbell and John A. Hall., "National identity and the political economy of small states," *Review of International Political Economy* 16, no. 4 (November 2009): 548.

<sup>46</sup> Campbell and Hall, "National identity," 547.

<sup>47</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 16.

<sup>48</sup> Francis Fukuyama, "Why National Identity Matters," *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 4 (October 2018): 9.

or missing. Hence, these extremes would result in the threat of physical security in a form of civil war or disintegration of countries.<sup>49</sup>

After discussing the three functions of external objective consequences of national identity, it is essential to address the internal functions. Firstly, according to Smith, the internal functions provide socialization of the members as citizens. Secondly, the functions contribute to the formation of new social bonds among citizens through shared values, traditions, and symbols.<sup>50</sup> National parades are among the most visible traditions; they are meaningful social occasions, including both formal and informal acts. These events help to enhance common national identity and thus a sense of unity and belongingness. In addition, national parades might be defined as “invented traditions” that are, according to Eric Hobsbawm, “governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.”<sup>51</sup> This connection between past and present is crucial for the collective identity and for the maintenance of cultural memory. Moreover, symbols are also important for the internal functions of national identity. As Smith observes, “By use of symbols [...] members are reminded of their common heritage and cultural kinship and feel strengthened and exalted by their sense of common identity and belonging.”<sup>52</sup> Hence, symbols and traditions such as national parades are essential for intergroup relations because they form an emotional link between citizens and strengthen social cohesion.

As it has already been noted, national pride, which is closely associated with patriotism, might be triggered by a symbolic geographical area such as landscape or used for the purposes of economic growth and encouragement of people to participate in the war effort. Patriotism is defined as devotion to or pride for country, as an attachment to the motherland. It could seem that patriotism is closely linked to nationalism, this belief is based on the former interpretations of these terms when they were interchangeably used. However, nationalism promotes “interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups”<sup>53</sup> and differs in the way that it distrusts or disapproves other countries. Additionally, both nationalism and patriotism are related to national identity. As Blank and Schmidt observe, they involve diverse social aims

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<sup>49</sup> Fukuyama, “Why National Identity,” 9.

<sup>50</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 16.

<sup>51</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1.

<sup>52</sup> Smith, *National Identity*, 16–17.

<sup>53</sup> “Nationalism,” Merriam-Webster, accessed March 14, 2021, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nationalism>.

but view one's self group in a positive light.<sup>54</sup> Smith and Jarkko make also an implicit linkage between patriotism and national identity when they comment that "it is both the pride or sense of esteem that a person has for one's nation and the pride or self-esteem that a person derives from one's national identity."<sup>55</sup> Thus, patriotism exists side by side with national identity.

In view of the previously mentioned, this theoretical subchapter has outlined the framework of nationalism, which is a modern ideology and movement, and its overlapping elements such as nation, nationality, and national consciousness. A typology of nationalisms based on two sets of models of the nation (dimensions) has been introduced for clarifying the multidimensional nature of national identity. Moreover, definitions of national identity are presented with an emphasis on Smith's "external" (territorial, economic, and political function) and "internal" objective consequences. National identity is a complex construct that interferes a variety of spheres of everyday life. A construct which is interlinked with the nation and which promotes a sense of cohesion among people. This unity through clear national identity is of great importance for people's wellbeing and development of the nation-states.

## **1.2 The Development of Irish National Identity**

This subchapter builds on the previous theoretical concepts and traces the development of Irish national identity, which was greatly influenced and shaped by a variety of factors, from the nineteenth century until the early twentieth century.

At the beginning, it is very important to provide two approaches to Irish national identity. The first one defines it in terms of an archaeological past. According to Andreu and Champion, the 1850s were a crucial time for archaeological research that revealed a variety of information about the cultural achievements throughout Irish history.<sup>56</sup> In addition, archaeological work focusing on Irish heritage has been financed by the Irish government, which has spent substantial resources.<sup>57</sup> As Andreu and Champion add, the archeological past is crucial for the formation of Irish national identity, and it is "linked in a complex and changing pattern

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<sup>54</sup> Thomas Blank and Peter Schmidt, "National Identity in a United Germany: Nationalism or Patriotism? An Empirical Test With Representative Data," *Political Psychology* 24, no. 2 (2003): 289.

<sup>55</sup> Tom W. Smith and Lars Jarkko, *National Pride: A Cross-national Analysis* (Chicago: NORC, 1998), 1.

<sup>56</sup> Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion, "Nationalism and archaeology in Europe: an introduction," in *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*, ed. Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Timothy Champion (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 15.

<sup>57</sup> Timothy J. White, "Redefining ethnically derived conceptions of nationalism: Ireland's Celtic identity and the future," *Studia Celtica Fennica*, no. 5 (2008): 85.

of relationships with political nationalist programmes.”<sup>58</sup> However, due to the fact that archeology is a relatively new discipline, it has also its pitfalls. Following research on the subject of the Celtic past, which is highly emphasized as the golden age of Irish history, might serve as an example. Recent years were prosperous in terms of archaeogenetics, a sub-discipline of archeology, which has provided new evidence of Celtic history. In the present day, thanks to the advances in genetics, scholars take the view that the Irish ancestry is not primarily from the Celts of Central Europe. Bryan Sykes, in his work *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts: The Genetic Roots of Britain and Ireland*, closely investigates the Irish mitochondrial DNA that “traces our maternal ancestry” and Y-chromosome that “follows paternal genealogies.”<sup>59</sup> He links this set of genetic information with clans such as Wodan, Sigurd, Eshu, Re, and Oisín which has the vast majority of Irish Y-chromosomes in all historic provinces (Leinster 73%, Ulster 81%, Munster 95%, Connacht 98%).<sup>60</sup> Sykes remarks that after the inspection of paternal and maternal genetic sides, there are no data indicating arrival of Celts from Central Europe. Instead, he relates the dominating Oisín clan to Iberia.<sup>61</sup> This information leads to the fact that the genetic origins of Celtic civilization in Ireland is not linked to Central but to Western Europe. Furthermore, the genetic origins and cultural connection with Iberia, and with French Atlantic coast, is also investigated by Stephen Oppenheimer. This geneticist attributes the incorrect origins to the geographical misconception of Herodotus who had a lack of knowledge about Western Europe.<sup>62</sup> As Oppenheimer observes, “[Herodotus] mixed [Pyrenees] up with the actual source of the Danube in Central Europe.” Most importantly, “This mistake unwittingly spawned the nineteenth-century myth of Celtic origins in Iron Age Central Europe”<sup>63</sup> Thus, the interpretation of archaeological past contributing to Irish national identity is limited by the technology of the time. What is more, it is limited by archaeologists whose motives are influenced by the interests of the era.<sup>64</sup> For this reason, it is vital to discuss the second approach to Irish national identity. According White:

People learn who they are. Identity is not instinctive. While individuals born into families and groups may have little to say about how previous generations defined their identity, they have at least some latitude to modify existing conceptions of collective self especially in times of dramatic social change. Given the tremendous

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<sup>58</sup> Díaz-Andreu and Champion, “Nationalism and archaeology,” 15.

<sup>59</sup> Bryan Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts: The Genetic Roots of Britain and Ireland* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), 291, Adobe Digital Editions EPUB.

<sup>60</sup> Sykes, *Saxons*, 278–283.

<sup>61</sup> Sykes, *Saxons*, 459–463.

<sup>62</sup> Stephen Oppenheimer, *The Origins of the British* (London: Constable & Robinson Ltd., 2006), 73–75, Adobe Digital Editions EPUB.

<sup>63</sup> Oppenheimer, *The Origins*, 75.

<sup>64</sup> White, “Redefining,” 85.

demographic and social change that has occurred in Ireland since the earliest ancestors of the Irish arrived and the numerous waves of migration that have come since, the far more important reality is that Irish identity as it exists today is not based on a single common ancestral father or some small number of women who were the ancestral mothers of the Irish today.<sup>65</sup>

Taking the above-mentioned into consideration, Irish national identity is also formed by social constructions. To start with, nations did not exist from time immemorial, they were constructed at some point in time and then developed. Anderson identifies the nation as a social construct when he proposes that “it is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”<sup>66</sup> Yu and Kwan agree that the nation is socially constructed when they argue that it “emerges out of intersubjectively human actions during social interactions.”<sup>67</sup> What is more, the nation, the “imagined community,” provides the citizens with a sense of identity. Thus, if the nation is socially constructed, then the same applies to national identity. To be exact, national identity is socially constructed because it is based on “the common stock of knowledge which is biographically determined.”<sup>68</sup> However, this subjective knowledge might lead to misconceptions. For instance, even at the beginning of the twentieth century, Irish national identity was built on the notion of homogeneity, even though it was not true. As O’Toole argues, this was for the reason that Ireland, in comparison with other western countries, had the most visible degree of homogeneity.<sup>69</sup> This notion prevailed among the people in spite of the fact that New Stone Age migration, and later “Anglo-Normans and English and Scottish plantation settlers,” had changed and had broadened the composition of Irish society.<sup>70</sup> This homogeneous picture of the Irish identity was also supported by Catholicism and nationalism.

Catholicism, which was a predominant religion in Ireland, was closely associated with Irish national identity in the twentieth century. The Irish Catholic history dates to the fifth century to the arrival of Saint Palladius, the first bishop of Ireland, and mainly to Saint Patrick, a Christian missionary, who started converting people to Christianity. In White’s view, Early Christian Church as well as Patrick played an important part in the progress of Irish spirituality that was made by assimilation of Celtic traditions. Irish Monks who “inspired the asceticism

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<sup>65</sup> White, “Redefining,” 84.

<sup>66</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

<sup>67</sup> Fu-Lai Tony Yu and Diana Sze Man Kwan, “Social construction of national identity: Taiwanese versus Chinese consciousness,” *Social Identities* 14, no. 1 (January 2008): 36.

<sup>68</sup> Yu and Kwan, “social construction,” 36.

<sup>69</sup> Fintan O’Toole, “Green, white and black: Race and Irish identity,” in *Emerging Irish Identities*, ed. Ronit Lentin (Dublin: MPhil in Ethnic and Racial Studies, 2000), 17.

<sup>70</sup> White, “Redefining,” 83.

associated with early Celtic Christianity” established several monasteries which formed the Church, and which were spread all over the country. At the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries, Viking raids directed attacks on the monasteries but without harming the Irish Catholic Identity.<sup>71</sup> One of the greatest challenges for this identity was the English Reformation, which began with Henry VIII, in the sixteenth century. Consequently, the Church of England split from the authority of the Roman Catholic Church led by the Pope. Some of the consequences were dissolution of monasteries, and mainly establishment of the Protestant Church of England. Moreover, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, James VI, who united the crowns of England and Scotland, set himself the aim to extend his control over Catholic Ireland. To achieve this, Scottish and English people were encouraged to settle in the northern part of Ireland (counties: Armagh, Cavan, Donegal, Fermanagh, Londonderry, and Tyrone). The main reasons for this movement of populations, known as “the Plantation of Ulster,” were to spread the Protestant faith across the chosen part of the Irish territory, to rebuild the Irish economy for the good of Britain, and to stop Irish rebellions against the English rule. This situation contributed to the separation of the Irish homeland between Protestants and Catholics who were in conflict for the following decades. Furthermore, according to Thomas Bartlett, these different religious beliefs were also in accordance with contrasting political affiliations.<sup>72</sup> White claims that “the indigenous Irish sought to retain their Catholic faith despite the proselytizing efforts of many Protestants.”<sup>73</sup> Hence, “This reality allowed the connection of Catholicism and Irishness in the nineteenth century when Irish nationalism begins to mobilize in its modern form.”<sup>74</sup> More precisely, as White continues, the national identity was challenged because of the expanding authority of the British Empire that forced Gaelic Ireland to move to the western parts of the territory. Thus, the identity of the majority of Irish people was enhanced by the “devotion to the same faith.”<sup>75</sup> As David Martin remarks, “in Ireland, though the Church was not necessarily in the forefront of nationalist agitation against English dominance it provided the focus and the symbols around which the sense of Irish unity was maintained.”<sup>76</sup> It needs to be noted that especially in the later stages of the nineteenth century, Catholicism became an important symbol of Irish nationalists who

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<sup>71</sup> Timothy J. White, “The Impact of British Colonialism on Catholicism and Nationalism: Repression, Reemergence, Divergence,” *Etudes Irlandaises* 35, no. 1 (June 2010): 24–25.

<sup>72</sup> Thomas Bartlett, “Ireland, Empire, and Union, 1690–1801,” in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kevin Kenny (England: Oxford University Press, 2004), 62.

<sup>73</sup> White, “The impact,” 25.

<sup>74</sup> White, “The impact,” 26.

<sup>75</sup> White, “The impact,” 28.

<sup>76</sup> David Martin, *A General Theory of Secularization* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 102.

were trying to achieve independence from the British Empire. As White comments, “Irish Catholicism emerged stronger and more connected to national identity because of British imperialism and the Irish effort to resist it.”<sup>77</sup> The democratic resistance was represented by the First Home Rule Bill, which was introduced in 1886. It meant that Ireland would still have remained in the British Empire but would have its own national parliament. This situation placed Irish nationalists, mostly Catholics, who wanted independence and supported the home rule against Irish unionists, mostly Ulster Protestants, who wanted to stay within the United Kingdom. However, when the First Home Rule Bill caused a split in the Liberal Party, it was defeated in the House of Commons.

As the efforts of Irish nationalists to gain independence continued, it became essential to promote national identity based on Celtic culture that was in contrast with British. As O’Toole argues:

The whole thrust of Irish culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was towards a renewed emphasis on Celtic racial distinctiveness, on the alleged differences between Irish and British civilizations. The rise of Irish nationalism, and the fact that nationalist discourse was often rooted in racial thinking, formed a massive barrier to the simple incorporation of the Irish into a unified ‘white race’ whose dominant component was Anglo-Saxon.<sup>78</sup>

The increasing emphasis on renewed elements of Celtic culture led to the Celtic Revival taking place in the modern Celtic nations (e.g., Brittany, Scotland, Wales, etc.) in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; however, the most crucial one was in Ireland. Various movements and organizations of this revival tried to increase the spirit of the unity and attempted to enhance the “modern” national identity by maintaining the celebration of Irish art, language, and literature. Notably, the Celtic past of Irish history is often considered to be the golden age of Irish history that was abundantly used for the time of the revival. Celts cannot be understood as a single group but rather as a set of tribes with high personal values and with interrelated elements such as languages or religion. They were considered to be fearless people with a strong sense of pride and freedom. According to Sabine Hezel, Celticness is a type of social community, in which members share personal values and have a strong feeling of solidarity. These attributes were the source of resistance against external influences of other tribes that would possess a threat to the cohesive power of the community.<sup>79</sup> As Hezel adds, “The ability and power of imagination, idealism and emotionalism, the belief in the supernatural and

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<sup>77</sup> White, “The impact,” 23.

<sup>78</sup> O’Toole, “Green,” 23.

<sup>79</sup> Sabine Hezel, “Cultural identity represented: Celticness in Ireland” (Phd. diss., Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, 2006), 36.

the tendency towards superstition are features of Celticness.”<sup>80</sup> The Irish nationalists especially benefited from the “mythical” image of Celts when their efforts were aimed at enhancing Irish national identity by increasing the feeling of unity, which was typical for the Celtic tribes. Myths are essential for national identity; they promote the narrative of Irish past and their symbolic nature lasts for centuries. Anthony Smith notes that the connection of myths of ethnic election from a communal past to the present helps to develop a sense of uniqueness within the members of the community.<sup>81</sup> This quality of being unique is also closely linked to the territory. This emotional bond between place and people promotes the feeling of togetherness. It is vital to add that the Celtic mythology of Ireland was valued by Protestants as well as Catholics. Celtic symbols became an integral part of Irish national identity and thus found their way into applied arts and crafts. As John MacLaughlin remarks in the book titled *Reimagining the Nation-State: The Contested Terrains of Nation-Building*:

those engaged in these [fields] literally created and built the macro and micro environments that were the embodiment of an increasingly nationalist Ireland. Their work created such an upsurge of national sentiment that it lasted into the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>82</sup>

This sentiment towards the nation goes hand in hand with national pride that was, in this period of time, visible on almost every corner. According to Jacqueline R. Hill, there was no chance of avoiding different forms of symbols such as shamrocks, harps, and round towers that could be seen in different places all around the country, even in church.<sup>83</sup> In addition, with the outbreak of the Great War, an appeal to national pride was omnipresent.

Furthermore, it is crucial to discuss the Gaelic League (Conradh na Gaeilge), which was part of the Celtic revival and made a significant contribution to Irish national identity. Douglas Hyde and Eoin MacNeill founded it in 1893 in order to revive and preserve Irish as the national language. Indeed, language is one of the cornerstones of national identity. In Denvir’s view, “[it] is the collective memory, the carrier of the native worldview or symbolic universe.”<sup>84</sup> The members of the Gaelic League, who were mostly nationalists, worked hard at promoting the Irish language through literature and by encouraging people to speak in their mother tongue. The league’s main aim was to de-anglicize Ireland by all possible means. Despite the league’s

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<sup>80</sup> Hezel, “Cultural identity,” 36.

<sup>81</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (England: Oxford University Press, 1999), 135.

<sup>82</sup> Jim MacLaughlin, *Reimagining the Nation-State: The Contested Terrains of Nation-Building* (London: Pluto Press, 2001), 151.

<sup>83</sup> Jacqueline R. Hill, “The Rediscovery of Ireland’s Past: The Celtic Revival, 1830-1930 by Jeanne Sheehy; George Mott,” *Irish Historical Studies* 22, no. 88 (September 1981): 380–381.

<sup>84</sup> Gearóid Denvir, “Decolonizing the Mind: Language and Literature in Ireland,” *New Hibernia Review* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 47.



efforts, English has gradually become the major language of the population. As Anna Triandafyllidou remarks, even though the Irish language “replaced English in every-day communication in Ireland, [it] has been made a symbol of the uniqueness and authenticity of the Irish nation and has emphasized its distinctiveness from the British.”<sup>85</sup>

Apart from the Gaelic League, a movement called the Irish Literary Renaissance strived for the promotion of the national identity by reviving literary heritage. Reviving Irish past was necessary for reawakening of national consciousness among people. This movement helped flourish a sense of Irish national identity and was closely linked to nationalism. There were many figures connected with this powerful Irish Literary Revival such as George Bernard Shaw, James Joyce, Lady Gregory, Sean O’Casey. However, the main attention was paid to William Butler Yeats who was one of the greatest poets of the twentieth century and who made a noticeable contribution to this movement. Prior to describing the influence of this author on the Irish national identity, it is of great importance to provide further context in order to understand his involvement Irish nationalism. Yeats’s inspiration came from John O’Leary, the Irish nationalist, who was a Fenian writer and also took part in the early stages of the Irish Literary Renaissance. Fenians were members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood whose aim was to resist, by all possible means, the British rule and achieve the independence of Ireland. Fenians adopted their nicknames from Fianna which was a group of warriors in the Fenian cycle (a collection of stories) in Irish mythology. In 1865, O’Leary was imprisoned for five years with an additional punishment of exile. It was in 1885 when he met Yeats in Dublin. As Elizabeth Cullingford comments, Yeats was only twenty years old when he encountered O’Leary and since then, Yeats was involved in nationalism. This initial choice had an impact on his future political values and opinions towards the system.<sup>86</sup> At the beginning, O’Leary provided Yeats with both political and literary knowledge by giving him works of the authors of the Young Ireland (the 1840s movement formed by a group of intellectuals who wanted to promote and develop the Irish cultural nationalism). The influence of O’Leary was tremendous. He was like a father to Yeats who referred to him in poems such as *September 1913* or *Beautiful Lofty Things* and even “at the end of his life he still called himself a nationalist of the school of John O’Leary.”<sup>87</sup> Now, when understanding Yeats’s involvement in Irish nationalism, it is essential to clarify his importance on the topic of Irish national identity

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<sup>85</sup> Anna Triandafyllidou, “National identity and the ‘other’,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 4 (December 2010): 598.

<sup>86</sup> Elizabeth Cullingford, *Yeats, Ireland and Fascism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1981), 1.

<sup>87</sup> Cullingford, *Yeats, Ireland and Fascism*, 1.

at the beginning of the twentieth century. He was the main literary force of the movement and “his best-known poetry defines for many people the Irish identity which was forged in revolution.”<sup>88</sup> He believed that poems could establish a new sense of national unity that would have transformed Ireland. In general, “a variety of symbolic resources, particularly language, land, origin, goals, beliefs, desires, attitudes, values, culture, nature, and heritage among others”<sup>89</sup> can be used in poetry for the purpose of reflecting national identity. Yeats was aware of these aspects and, for instance, he appeals to the national values in the third stanza of *September 1913*:

Was it for this the wild geese spread  
The grey wing upon every tide;  
For this that all that blood was shed,  
For this Edward Fitzgerald died,  
And Robert Emmet and Wolfe Tone,  
All that delirium of the brave?  
Romantic Ireland’s dead and gone,  
It’s with O’Leary in the grave.<sup>90</sup>

The interpretation of this extract might be that Yeats mentions the individuals of Irish history (Fitzgerald, Emmet, Tone), who devoted their lives fighting for Ireland, to emphasize his admiration for their nationalistic efforts. By pointing out that both romantic Ireland and his role model O’Leary are gone, Yeats can implicitly refer to the upcoming era of new Irish ideals, and thus the rebirth of Irish national identity. Furthermore, according to Rafik Massoudi, “Yeats anchors the Irish identity in its local sphere where various agents are complicit such as history, folklore, politics, spirituality and communal traditions.”<sup>91</sup> This local sphere was also an important part of the modern form of Irish national identity.

“Modern” Irish national identity is closely associated with what seems to be called a “new” national self-image. More precisely, the creation of “modern” Irish identity means “projecting to the Irish nation a new, serviceable image of itself.”<sup>92</sup> As Fennell describes, it is necessary that this image is apparent, exact, durable, and widely accepted by the nation. The sense of newness represents the shift from the previously agreed self-image, which evolved

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<sup>88</sup> R. F. Foster, *W. B. Yeats, A Life, I: The Apprentice Mage 1865-1914* (England: Oxford University Press, 1997), xxviii.

<sup>89</sup> Khalil Hasan Nofal, “National Identity in Yeats’ Poetry,” *Studies in Literature and Language* 12, no. 6 (2016): 75.

<sup>90</sup> Richard J. Finneran, ed., *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989), 108.

<sup>91</sup> Rafik Massoudi, “Narrating Irish Identity: Retrieving ‘Irishness’ in the Works of William Butler Yeats and Seamus Heaney,” *Engineering and Technology International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 10, no. 5 (April 2016): 1495.

<sup>92</sup> Desmond Fennell, “Creating a New Irish Identity,” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 75, no. 300 (Winter 1986): 394.

continuously from the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century when, a final form was achieved.<sup>93</sup> As White continues:

That national image, in its full development, showed Ireland as: an ancient, virtuously rural, self-sufficient nation, democratic and republican in its politics, comprising (in all but political fact) all the inhabitants of the island, and scattered widely beyond seas and oceans; an anti-imperialist and neutral nation, with a long history of freedom struggle; Gaelic essentially, and engaged in reviving its Gaelic language [...]; Catholic, in a fundamentalist and missionary manner that stressed the dangers of modern immorality and atheism, but proudly including Protestants.<sup>94</sup>

Thus, this national self-image basically reflects “modern” Irish national identity. What is more, it represents the uniqueness of the Irish identity that was clearly distinguishable from the identities of other nations at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In the light of the previously mentioned information in this subchapter, one of the approaches defines Irish national identity in terms of an archaeological past, which might to a certain degree be limited. However, what must be taken into account is that the identity is not inborn. It is something what was gradually constructed through experience and interactions; hence, it is also socially constructed. The “modern” national identity was greatly influenced by the role of religion in Ireland and by the Irish nationalism, which was increasing from the nineteenth century. Additionally, in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries, Irish nationalism participated in the revival of Celtic culture consisting of a variety of organizations and movements. The most visible ones were the Gaelic League and the Irish Literary Renaissance with William Butler Yeats. As the years progressed, Irish national identity was shaped by a variety of factors that contributed to its modern twentieth-century form.

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<sup>93</sup> Fennell, “Creating,” 394–395.

<sup>94</sup> Fennell, “Creating,” 396.

## 2. Images in the Posters

In the 1910s, posters became a crucial visual medium widely distributed all over Ireland. They were “accepted and understood by the public at large; [...] tried and tested—and [...] cheap.”<sup>95</sup> With the outbreak of World War I, posters started depicting striking images and powerful texts that tried to influence civilians on the home front. As Baker notes, many poster designers were artists who, before the war, had worked in fine arts, advertising, or political cartooning. Their new task involved transferring ideas of nationhood into images in posters.<sup>96</sup> Compelling and provoking images were an essential part of many propaganda posters because they grabbed the viewers’ attention in a short amount of time. For the Irish, images portraying elements that they could identify themselves with might have been especially catchy. This was for the reason that such visual representation could evoke national identity.

The primary focus of this analytical chapter is on the analysis of images in the posters and their possible interpretations of Irish national identity. The textual content is of secondary importance. Furthermore, this chapter is divided into two parts for greater clarity. The first subchapter predominantly deals with the analysis of Irish national identity in the posters that depict geographic features. However, for the complexity of the posters, other symbolic objects are considered to a certain degree. The second sub-chapter analyzes the relationship between Irish national identity and traditional Irish symbols in the posters.

### 2.1 Geographic Features and National Identity

As already stated in the theoretical chapter of this thesis, a territorial function is one of the essential parts of national identity. Posters produced in Ireland in the second decade of the twentieth century effectively depict attributes representing the uniqueness of Ireland. It is a historic territory, and thus the homeland of Irish people represented by physical qualities that have spiritual and symbolic meanings. Some of the characteristics are visible in a poster called “Farmers of Ireland - Join Up and Defend Your Possessions”<sup>97</sup> (1916, Appendix 1) published by Her Majesty’s Stationery Office. In its middle, there is a wide country road with a marching

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<sup>95</sup> Maurice Rickards, *Posters of the First World War*. (London: Adams & Mackay, 1968), 8.

<sup>96</sup> Steve Baker, “Describing Images of the National Self: Popular Accounts of the Construction of Pictorial Identity in the First World War Poster,” *Oxford Art Journal* 13, no. 2 (1990): 24.

<sup>97</sup> *Farmers of Ireland - Join Up and Defend Your Possessions*, 1916, lithograph, 50,6 x 75,6 cm, Imperial War Museums, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31605>.

battalion of Irish soldiers who are surrounded by a magnificent landscape. Taking into consideration the times of World War I, it is conceivable to imagine that such an area with typical landscape features should have promoted a sense of Irish national identity that would have been beneficial for the recruitment process. This assertion is supported by the inscription that explicitly emphasizes the fact that the farmers should join the army in order to defend their farmland. Moreover, the individual attributes of this poster represent the so-called “landscape ideals.” According to Agnew, these ideals are basically images of the surrounding landscape that people have in their minds of places.<sup>98</sup> When people live in connection with a specific area for a period of time, they accept it as an ideal. Agnew adds that one of the influences that helped the landscape ideals to “emerge into popular consciousness” is also propaganda.<sup>99</sup> In the upper left corner of the poster, there are extensive pastures with a variety of grazing animals. On the right side, there is a field and piles of hay. In the upper right corner, there is a farmhouse with other buildings on the property. This poster depicts Irish life as traditionally rural and inextricably linked to the national territory. This sense of rural might accentuate the simplicity of life in the countryside that “became increasingly popular in Western countries as industrialization advanced; it was a model of order in an alienating world.”<sup>100</sup> A portrayal of the rural landscape and the hardships of the farming life is depicted in a poster “Can You any longer resist the Call?”<sup>101</sup> (1915, Appendix 2). On the right side, there is a farmer taking a rest from plowing. He is holding a hat and looking at a vision of Saint Patrick who is pointing his finger at the ruins of Reims Cathedral. The hard-working Irish farmer who uses the traditional method of field plowing represents living in a country based on farming. This traditional way of living has its roots in the Celtic past that was culturally significant and was used by Irish nationalists to enhance national identity. It is vital to emphasize that the loneliness of the farmer and the isolated landscape may symbolize the independence to Irish people. Additionally, according to Wen and White:

Such depictions [of the physical and cultural landscapes of a state’s territory] can be used as part of a political project, for example in the establishment of feelings of

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<sup>98</sup> John A. Agnew, *Place and Politics in Modern Italy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 37.

<sup>99</sup> Agnew, *Place and Politics*, 37.

<sup>100</sup> Leonore Davidoff, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 44, quoted in “A ‘Countryside Bright with Cosy Homesteads’: Irish Nationalism and the Cottage Landscape,” *National Identities* 3, no. 3 (August 2010): 223.

<sup>101</sup> John Christopher, *British Posters of the First World War* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2014), 106.

national identity where they can unite disparate elements in societies which cannot be brought together by other means.<sup>102</sup>

Notably, nationalist movements foster a positive emotional connection between the natural landscape and people in order to trigger a sense of unity and belonging. O'Brien observes that the "important aspect of nationalist ideology [is] the desire to create an organic sense of community in a particular territory, to create [...] a force, which binds people to each other, to their past, and to a place."<sup>103</sup> In the context of the poster, the depiction of the hardships of rural life might be significant to Irish national identity. In former times, Ireland as a whole was economically dependent on agriculture. This fact was conducive to Irish nationalism, and to war propaganda, that frequently insisted on the Irish citizens to remember "who they are" and "where they have come from." This could refer to the past when farming and rural communities had a strong social bond; thus, such a reminder was essential for the promotion of national identity.

Agricultural landscapes have a long history in Ireland. A unique monument from the Stone Age called The Céide Fields, located in County Mayo, serves as evidence. It is an extensive agricultural area that provides an insight into the era of old agrarian societies known for the production of artefacts and myths. Furthermore, this place, connected with Irish prehistoric farming, consists of field systems, dwelling houses, megalithic tombs, and stone walls. For centuries, these objects were preserved under a blanket of accumulated peat that is also named "the bog." This wetland ecosystem can be seen in the lower right corner of a poster "Will You Answer the Call?"<sup>104</sup> (1915, Appendix 3). As McCabe states, "within Ireland the bog is a distinct topographical marker and a highly potent cultural symbol [that] is even perceived to play a fundamental role in the Irish psyche."<sup>105</sup> The word bog representing one of the most characteristic features of the Irish landscape was used in a derogatory way in the past. People considered "of common or low-class Irish ancestry" were called "the bog Irish."<sup>106</sup> Besides, as McCabe continues, there were other insult remarks such as "straight from the bog" or an adapted Irish proverb: "You can take the Irishman out of the bog, but you can't take the

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<sup>102</sup> Xiaojing Wen and Paul White, "The Role of Landscape Art in Cultural and National Identity: Chinese and European Comparisons," *Sustainability* 12, no. 13 (July 2020): 1.

<sup>103</sup> Eugene O'Brien, *Examining Irish Nationalism in the context of Literature, Culture and Religion, A Study of the Epistemological Structure of Nationalism* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), 28.

<sup>104</sup> *Will You Answer the Call?*, 1915, lithograph, 75,9 x 50,2 cm, Imperial War Museums, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31607>.

<sup>105</sup> James McCabe, "Language and Landscapes of Ireland," in *Irish Contemporary Landscapes in Literature and the Arts*, ed. Marie Mianowski (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 56.

<sup>106</sup> McCabe, "Language and Landscapes," 56.

bog out of the Irishman.”<sup>107</sup> In addition, boglands were an important source of inspiration for Seamus Heaney who, similarly to William Butler Yeats, tried to enhance Irish national identity. More precisely, Heaney in his works promotes the connection between the Irish past and the uniqueness of the Irish landscape. The unique features are well represented in his collection of bog poems. For instance, the poem titled *Belderg* (named after a small village lying within the Céide Fields) celebrates the Irish landscape by emphasizing the beauties of the Mayo coast such as the stone-age fields, peat, tombs, and plow marks. Returning to the poster, the depiction of the countryside scenery and bogs that evoke the memories of the past are significant features essential for Irish national identity.

As pointed out in the theoretical chapter, the history of the nation is inseparably connected with Celts. They consisted of a variety of tribes that not only provided cultural heritage but also played an important role in the transformation of the Irish landscape. According to Clancy, although Irish Celts valued forests and put effort into preserving them, they were willing to clear large areas of trees for agricultural and traveling purposes.<sup>108</sup> Throughout the Irish history, roads have dramatically changed. From the ancient network of wooden trackways, stone roads, to the development of advanced transportation systems in the early modern periods. Like “Farmers of Ireland - Join Up and Defend Your Possessions”<sup>109</sup> (1916, Appendix 1), a poster called “The Call to Arms. Irishmen Don’t You Hear It?”<sup>110</sup> (1916, Appendix 4) depicts a long unpaved road. Moreover, it is full of marching infantry and cavalry regiments that are passing a large green harp flag. In addition, the background of the poster depicts a colored country landscape with sunrise behind green mountains dappled with trees. The Irish propaganda may have used this image of the endless road within the scenery to indicate the historical uniqueness of the country and thus to sustain national identity. Unlike politics and religion, the national landscape is what both Irish Protestants and Catholics have in common. It is the love for the land and shared history that help them to “fight the same battle with hard weather—of which perhaps even the summer traveller may form some judgment; they are rewarded by the same loveliness [...] and they fend against the stress of storm by the same warm shelter, the same glow of the turf-piled hearth.”<sup>111</sup> Hence, the Irish landscape might indicate a strong symbol of unity that

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<sup>107</sup> McCabe, “Language and Landscapes,” 56.

<sup>108</sup> Shae Clancy, *Ancient Celts and Their Environment*, accessed April 14, 2021, [http://www.augty.org/pdf/ancient\\_celts.pdf](http://www.augty.org/pdf/ancient_celts.pdf).

<sup>109</sup> *Farmers of Ireland*, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31605>.

<sup>110</sup> Christopher, *British Posters*, 107.

<sup>111</sup> Stephen Gwynn, *Ulster, Described by Stephen Gwynn, Pictured by Alexander Williams* (London: Blackie & Son Limited, 1911), 6.

even connects Irish Protestants and Catholics who have been in conflict for decades. Furthermore, in the poster, there is a dog standing next to a soldier wearing a traditional Irish kilt and playing the bagpipes. This type of clothing can be seen as an Irish traditional costume typically worn for special occasions. Kilts are a strong reminder of the national history and play a crucial role in the preservation of national identity. It contains a variety of symbols and motives that differentiate one country from another. When one hears the word “kilt,” it usually conjures an image of Scotland. Nevertheless, this dress also represents the Irish identity. It was highly popularized during the Celtic revival by Irish nationalists (Shane Leslie and William Gibson) who tried to distinguish the Irish nation from the British. The traditional Irish kilt is basically a piece of cloth with a tartan pattern that differs from county to county. As is evident from the poster, the kilt is worn with the jacket and knee-high socks with ribbons. The depiction of the soldier and bagpipes has its explanation. In World War I, there were many Irish regiments that had pipers in their ranks. However, Murphy claims that during this military conflict “these pipers often wore either standard service dress or [...] they occasionally wore combinations of service dress with ceremonial items.”<sup>112</sup> Thus, the portrayal of the figure might rather be symbolic than real. In terms of national identity, this dress can be a figurative reminder of the authenticity of the Irish nation. Additionally, such a depiction implies the connection between the Irish tradition and the countryside. This leads to William Butler Yeats, the leading character of the Irish Literary Renaissance, who considered the landscape to be “more than a collection of inanimate nature objects.”<sup>113</sup> To be more specific, he indicated that “local customs, local characters, local songs and stories and local expressions”<sup>114</sup> play an important role in the perception of the landscape.

Roads are very frequent motifs with a variety of interpretations. For this reason, they arouse the interest of the general public. Another example of this is a poster called “Join the Irish Canadian Rangers”<sup>115</sup> (1914–1918, Appendix 5), which was printed by Montreal Lithographing Co Ltd. As could be seen, there is a clay road that stretches from the foreground to the background of the landscape. One of the main functions of the paths is to connect remote areas and important places. Moreover, roads might have a symbolic meaning, suggesting not only a historical connection but also a link between communities. As indicated in the theoretical

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<sup>112</sup> David Murphy, *Irish Regiments in the World Wars* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2007), 56.

<sup>113</sup> Richard Ellmann, *The Identity of Yeats* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 14.

<sup>114</sup> Ellmann, *The identity*, 14.

<sup>115</sup> *Join the Irish Canadian Rangers*, 1914–1918, lithograph, 104,8 cm x 70,3 cm, Imperial War Museums, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31008>.



chapter, there might be groups of people located in a completely different territory outside of Ireland that are still maintaining strong Irish national identity. According to Cohen, the so-called diasporic communities preserve their collective memory consisted of shared memories and myths about their motherland. Additionally, they still retain a sense of belonging and take part in solidarity initiatives towards their original country.<sup>116</sup> As Georgiou adds, “Diasporic identities are shaped in different spaces, which are interconnected and sometimes distinct and competing.”<sup>117</sup> For instance, since the times of Irish migration, Canada has represented a completely distinctive space where a number of communities have found their new homes. In the poster, there is a smiling soldier holding shamrocks in his right hand and a rifle in his left hand. Besides that, he is standing on the road and is accompanied by the text: “Come on boys! JOIN THE IRISH CANADIAN RANGERS.” During the Great War, this overseas battalion insisted on Irish immigrants to join the Canadian armed forces. This battalion, also named Duchess of Connaught’s Own Irish Rangers and based in Montreal, was only intended for the Irish men who could have volunteered between the years 1915 and 1916. It was of great importance that the unit remained completely Irish. This proves the September 1916 issue of *The Gazette* (nowadays known as *The Montreal Gazette*). It argues that Irish descent was an essential part of the recruitment: “It is planned that the latter shall be absolutely a sine qua non. There will be no religious or other lines drawn, but the Regiment will be purely Irish Canadian in the best sense of the word.”<sup>118</sup> In addition to this, “Irish Canadian” is an interesting label that is worth to be discussed. It may seem that a human being would only be associated with one national identity; however, there is a collective phenomenon called “dual-national identities.” According to Park, this term involves “the knowledge and understanding of the two national cultures [...], clear and sufficient communication, the preservation of the diaspora’s own history.”<sup>119</sup> Hence, the existence of dual-national identities might be the reason why the posters with the theme of Irish Canadian Rangers involve both Irish and Canadian elements. Nevertheless, the poster which is being analyzed contains mainly aspects that might be considered typically Irish. One of the reasons is that wartime propaganda used the concept of Irish national identity in order to recruit civilians into the Irish Canadian Rangers. In the poster, there is, apart from the road, another crucial element: the picturesque countryside. This

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<sup>116</sup> Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 23.

<sup>117</sup> Myria Georgiou, “Identity, Space and the Media: Thinking through Diaspora,” *Les médias des minorités ethniques* 26, no. 1 (February 2010): 22.

<sup>118</sup> *Gazette*, September 2, 1914.

<sup>119</sup> Jeong-Won Park, “The national identity of a diaspora: A Comparative Study of the Korean Identity in China, Japan and Uzbekistan” (PhD diss., London School of Economics and Political Science, 2005), 2.

depiction is not only important in material terms (green meadows and high mountains with clouds in the sky) but it also has symbolic values. As Mischi remarks, the major parts of national symbolism are the countryside and the sense of rural living that usually represent the nation. In the times when European nation-states were born, these signs of the nation started to expand.<sup>120</sup> Hence, the simple pattern of life depicted in the poster might evoke images of rural Ireland that is often considered to be the most representative one. The portrayal of the building, which is next to the road, might serve as evidence of this pattern. In comparison with the houses in the poster “Farmers of Ireland - Join Up and Defend Your Possessions”<sup>121</sup> (1916, Appendix 1), this construction appears to be more traditional. To be exact, it looks like an authentic Irish thatched cottage located within a remote area. Even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these houses were extremely popular and the knowledge of building methods had been passed down from generation to generation. What is more, they represent the typical vernacular architecture. It means that their construction is based on local natural resources varying in different areas. Thus, the depiction of the cottage within the romantic landscape may indicate a natural way of life which is in direct opposition to the urban living areas. Furthermore, the thatched cottages have a crucial meaning because they represent national heritage that links the past with the present. Especially in the second decade of the twentieth century, this link became vital for overseas propaganda that used persuasive national images of rural Ireland to make a direct appeal to the men of Irish diasporic communities to enlist in the army.

Rivers are another essential physical aspect of the Irish scenery celebrated by a variety of national songs, stories and myths. The majority of the oldest settlements were built around the rivers that had a crucial value for the people. It was, and still is, a necessary part of human life which has been significant for the development of civilizations. This natural flow of water has not only spiritual but also economic and social importance. It provides a dense network of routes suitable for transport and trade all over the country. Rivers may have meaning that implies the unity. It is for the reason that communities living downstream might feel a connection to each other. Moreover, rivers “signify the nation” because of the identification with a variety of “national and regional capitals” that are constructed around them.<sup>122</sup> Among other attributes, national identity is based on shared history and thus on common myths which are closely associated with the rivers. For example, the longest river in Ireland called “the River

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<sup>120</sup> Julian Mischi, *Englishness and the Countryside: How British Rural Studies Address the Issue of National Identity* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 1.

<sup>121</sup> *Farmers of Ireland*, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31605>.

<sup>122</sup> Tricia Cusack, “Introduction: Riverscapes and the Formation of National Identity,” *National Identities* 9, no. 2 (June 2007): 101.

Shannon,” around 360 kilometers long, “spawned many legends, both pagan and Christian, which were subsequently incorporated into the nation’s myths of origin.”<sup>123</sup> Hence, the relation between people and specific rivers strengthens the sense of belonging. The above-mentioned information might be applied to a poster “I’ll Go Too!”<sup>124</sup> (1915, Appendix 6). There is an Irish soldier who is being approached by a civilized man wearing formal clothes with a shamrock in his hat. It is critical to point out the position of these figures. They are standing on a piece of land next to what appears to be a river. Furthermore, at the bottom of the poster, there is the green text saying, “THE REAL IRISH SPIRIT.” One of the possible interpretations might be that the connection between the river and the green phrase represents “the passage of time, and provide an excellent metaphor for the uninterrupted ‘flow’ or ‘course’ of national history.”<sup>125</sup> This interpretation could have contributed to the sense of Irish national identity. In addition, according to Cusack, in the nineteenth century when the nationalism started expanding, there was an appeal to create relevant representation of national landscapes and rivers that were inextricably linked to each other.<sup>126</sup> In fact, this linkage is evident in the poster that is being analyzed. In the background, behind the river, there is a depiction of a tree, a bridge, and particular types of buildings. As with the rivers, national architecture may evoke stories, myths, and help the people to identify themselves with the nation. Since the ancient times, the humankind in Ireland has been using traditional building materials located all over the country. In the past, one of the most important construction components was a stone. As Rowan observes in his article called “The Irishness of Irish Architecture”:

Apart from the cities of Dublin and Belfast there is little building in brick. Almost 80% of the Irish land mass is a saucer-like plain of grey carboniferous limestone ringed by granite mountains round the coast, and it is this beautiful stone, which generally is finely textured, easily worked and holds an edge for centuries, that is the Irish building material par excellence.<sup>127</sup>

This type of stone was highly valued by the old Irish civilizations. It was mainly for its prominent factors such as durability, hardness and appearance that provided not only great weather resistance but also the traditional look. One of the buildings depicted in the picture seems to be an early Christian/medieval round tower made of stones, which represents iconic Irish architecture. According to Rowan, the Irish towers began to appear in the times of the Norse raiders as a reaction to their aggression and since the tenth century, they have gradually

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<sup>123</sup> Cusack, “Introduction,” 102.

<sup>124</sup> Christopher, *British Posters*, 104.

<sup>125</sup> Cusack, “Introduction,” 101.

<sup>126</sup> Cusack, “Introduction,” 101.

<sup>127</sup> Alistair Rowan, “The Irishness of Irish Architecture,” *Architectural History*, no. 40 (1997): 1.

evolved. For their great visibility, they functioned as “belfries, look-out towers, sign posts” and hence as location markers.<sup>128</sup> Additionally, the Irish towers, usually around fifteen to forty meters tall, were, in many cases, in close proximity to churches. This fact seems to be in correspondence with the layout of the buildings in the poster. On the right side, nearby the tower, there is an object whose structure resembles a church. As Rowan points out, “the round tower, set apart from and rising clearly above a cluster of small churches, becomes the architectural symbol for the presence of any Irish Christian community.”<sup>129</sup> This link between buildings and religion has great significance especially in Ireland which is one of the most Christian countries in Europe. To conclude the discussion on this poster, the two Irish male figures set in the aesthetic landscape that includes traditional architecture typical for Ireland are elements that might be hidden behind the title “THE REAL IRISH SPIRIT.” During the First World War, the presence of such attributes could have helped the Irish to distinguish themselves from the others, and thus, it may have strengthened their identification with the nation.

As is evident from the previous posters, they are mainly oriented toward the masculine figures within the countryside. However, it is of great importance to highlight the fact that also femininity contributed to Irish national identity at the beginning of the twentieth century. The depiction of the buildings might not only be the reminder of the cultural and historical contexts, but it can indicate a female presence. Cottages and houses of farmers located in a landscape of unique beauty were closely related to family life in rural areas that was known for strict gender roles. Irish rural women were often characterized as rulers of their homes whose daily activities were in accordance with the female gender stereotypes. Except for the household chores, they had to assist and work on the farm. Nevertheless, As Bourke notes, at the end of the nineteenth century, there was a decreasing tendency of females working in agriculture. To be more precise, in only twenty years, the number of female agricultural workers went down from 27 000 in 1891 to 5000 in 1911.<sup>130</sup> Consequently, as Bourke further remarks, in the first years of the twentieth century, rural females who had worked as farmworkers increasingly moved to their homes and started doing housework as their full-time occupation.<sup>131</sup> Thus, the connection of women and homesteads in rural landscapes

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<sup>128</sup> Rowan, “The Irishness of Irish Architecture,” 3.

<sup>129</sup> Rowan, “The Irishness of Irish Architecture,” 5.

<sup>130</sup> Joanna Bourke, “‘The Best of All Home Rulers’: The Economic Power of Women in Ireland, 1880–1914,” *Irish Economic and Social History*, no. 18 (1997): 36.

<sup>131</sup> Joanna Bourke, *Husbandry to Housewifery: Women, Economic Change, and Housework in Ireland 1890–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1.

promoted the idea of motherhood that formed the basis of Irish identity. This is simply because the reproductive function is a key factor in national development. In view of the previously mentioned, it is vital to analyze a poster entitled “For the Glory of Ireland”<sup>132</sup> (1915, Appendix 7). In the center, there is a woman holding a rifle in her right hand and pointing her left hand at burning buildings over the sea that represent Belgium. This devastated area might indicate the shocking aftermath of German acts of barbarism on this country. In addition, the woman in the poster is wearing a green blouse and, most importantly, a red skirt. According to Nash:

an emphasis on the red skirts of women was tied to the symbolism of the colour as an indication of vitality, to the belief in the national love of colour evident from ancient costume, and to the rejection of modern fashion, which was considered to restrict the female biological functions.<sup>133</sup>

The representation of vitality was particularly essential for the perception of women as “mothers of the race.”<sup>134</sup> Hence, the female figure standing on an extensive green meadow may imply an interpretation of “the national landscape as feminine.”<sup>135</sup> This connection between gender and geographical space might have been a strong reminder of national identity in the years of the First World War.

Heretofore, the analyzed posters depict a variety of physical elements of Ireland representing the nation’s unique territory. However, not only this promotes national identity but also maps that help to visualize the nation. For instance, a poster “All in One - With the Irish Canadian Rangers”<sup>136</sup> (1914–1918, Appendix 8) portrays four provinces of Ireland: Connaught, Leinster, Munster, and Ulster. Although the country was split between four territorial divisions which, in total, included thirty-two counties, they all shared the same land history. It is conceivable to imagine that the aim of this visual image helps point out the distinctiveness of each province. For instance, Connaught is well known for its beautiful West Coast that is linked to extraordinary scenery and Gaelic traditions.<sup>137</sup> On the other hand, Leinster is affected by heavy colonization and thus provides the architecture of ancient civilizations.<sup>138</sup> Munster, for example, is well-known for ancient monasteries, traditional folk music, and the charming green

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<sup>132</sup> Christopher, *British Posters*, 106.

<sup>133</sup> Catherine Nash, “Remapping and Renaming: New Cartographies of Identity, Gender and Landscape in Ireland,” *Feminist Review*, no. 44 (1993): 45–46.

<sup>134</sup> Anna Davin. “Imperialism and Motherhood,” *History Workshop*, no. 5 (Spring 1978): 13.

<sup>135</sup> Nash, “Remapping and Renaming,” 41.

<sup>136</sup> *All in One - With the Irish Canadian Rangers*, 1914–1918, lithograph, 92,9 cm x 62,2 cm, Imperial War Museums, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31032>.

<sup>137</sup> “Ireland’s counties and provinces,” Ireland, accessed April 14, 2021, <https://www.ireland.com/en-gb/help-and-advice/practical-information/irelands-counties-and-provinces/>.

<sup>138</sup> “The story behind Ireland’s four provinces,” IrishCentral, last modified January 1, 2020, <https://www.irishcentral.com/roots/four-irish-provinces>.

countryside.<sup>139</sup> Finally, Ulster is famous for the Giant’s Causeway and was influenced by a variety of cultures such as the Gaels, Normans, and Ulster-Scots.<sup>140</sup> Nevertheless, this collection of distinctive features of these historical provinces is what contributes to the uniqueness of Ireland. In the poster, even the bold red text saying, “ALL IN ONE” might indicate the cohesion of the Irish nation. As shown, maps can be used as a means to promote national identity. Kaplan and Herb emphasize that “mapping has been linked to national identity from the beginnings of modern nationalism because maps are crucial to visualize the nation, to make its territory tangible.”<sup>141</sup> The map of Ireland is also depicted in a poster called “Ireland’s War Map”<sup>142</sup> (1916, Appendix 9). Additionally, there are other two circular objects illustrating the places: France, Belgium, Greece etc. Their meanings are explained by the accompanied message saying, “The Battles in which Irish Regiments have received prominent notice.” The depicted map of Ireland, similarly to the previous one, is separated from other geographical areas. This isolated picture of the land might implicate a sense of unity and togetherness. Additionally, it can signify “a clear-cut distinction between the interior (the nation) and the exterior (the others).”<sup>143</sup> Such visual representation of the territory is what Anderson calls “the map-as-logo.”<sup>144</sup> This term suggests that maps function as a symbol of the country. However, it is crucial to consider the fact that maps can be modified in favor of propaganda. The information gap between objective maps and propaganda maps is observed by Harley. He accentuates that these maps should be interpreted as rhetorical texts because they are influenced by their authors, and hence convey different messages for the target audience.<sup>145</sup>

To summarize this subchapter, posters published during the First World War depict a range of landscape elements associated with Ireland. Initially, the depiction of the countryside linked to the farming life is discussed. Such a combination might be considered a reminder of the Celtic past, which is well-known for its traditional way of living based on agriculture. The posters with these motifs include many attributes that might have accentuated a sense of belonging and could have promoted the nation’s social cohesion. Another depicted unique

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<sup>139</sup> IrishCentral, “The story behind.”

<sup>140</sup> IrishCentral, “The story behind.”

<sup>141</sup> David H. Kaplan and Guntram H. Herb, “How geography shapes National Identities,” *National Identities* 13, no. 4 (November 2011): 355–356.

<sup>142</sup> Christopher, *British Posters*, 105.

<sup>143</sup> Bülent Batuman, “The shape of the nation: Visual production of nationalism through maps in Turkey,” *Political Geography* 29, no. 4 (May 2010): 226.

<sup>144</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

<sup>145</sup> John B. Harley, “Deconstructing the map,” in *Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape*, ed. Trevor J. Barnes and James S. Duncan (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 242.

element of the Irish landscape is the bog, which evokes memories of the past. Moreover, the propagandistic portrayal of endless roads located within beautiful scenery may have highlighted the historical uniqueness of Ireland. Additionally, around the roads, there are depicted important elements reflecting the cultural significance of the country. These are authentic thatched cottages representing typical vernacular architecture, and a figure wearing a traditional Irish kilt. Not only may roads have a symbolic meaning, but also rivers may be linked to common myths. In one of the posters, close to the river, there are other typical Irish buildings. These are notably the Irish tower and the church, which might indicate the link with Irish Christian communities. Although most of the posters depict only men, there is one poster with a female figure standing on a charming piece of land, which may be interpreted as a portrayal of the feminization of the Irish landscape. Besides, the female character wearing an iconic piece of clothing and the depiction of the land might have fostered national identification. At the end of this subchapter, there is the analysis of the posters depicting maps, which might symbolize the country. As is evident, the second decade of the twentieth century was fruitful for several propaganda posters involving a variety of elements associated with Ireland. It is possible to imagine that these striking visual images should have contributed to a sense of Irish national identity during World War I.

## **2.2 Traditional Irish Symbols and National Identity**

The previous analysis of the posters has demonstrated that individual landscape elements might evoke a symbolic meaning or even be considered symbols. Symbols are an important part of intergroup relations that help maintain and bolster the social cohesion of the nation. Therefore, the focus of this subchapter is mainly on the analysis of posters that visually depict traditional Irish symbols.

One of the key figures of Ireland is Saint Patrick, who has been connected with various traditions and symbols for ages. Prior to discussing these components of Irish culture, it is of great importance to provide information about this well-known Irish patron. To begin with, St. Patrick was in fact born in Roman Britain, not Ireland. At around the age of sixteen, he was captured by Irish pirates and brought to Ireland as a slave. It is assumed that he was held either in Slemish Mountain (County Antrim) or on the west side of Kilala (County Mayo). In this period of time, Patrick became a shepherd in remote areas. As he continually prayed, his faith in God grew stronger. In Skinner's view, it was this sequence of events that had an impact on Patrick's life and, more precisely, on his spiritual praxis. Although his captors had control

and power over him, they were never able to stop his spiritual awakening. God represented Patrick's "Anam Cara" which is an Irish phrase that means "friend of the soul."<sup>146</sup> One night, when Patrick was dreaming, he was told, "Come and see where your ship is waiting for you."<sup>147</sup> After six years of captivity, it was this inner voice that forced him to escape. He had to overcome 200 miles of difficult terrain until he reached the coast. After two years, when Patrick arrived back in Britain and met his family, he studied and became ordained as a bishop. However, during his studies, Patrick repeatedly had dreams and visions about Ireland. In his *Confessio*, he describes being approached in a dream by an Irish man who gives him a letter with the heading "The Voice of the Irish."<sup>148</sup> When it is opened, Patrick can immediately hear voices saying, "come back and walk once more among us."<sup>149</sup> It was in 432/433 AD when he returned to Ireland as a missionary and replaced Saint Palladius in his position. Armagh became the central place he facilitated his operations. His major tasks were to spread Christianity and convert the pagans. As Cahill comments, "He had transmuted their pagan virtues of loyalty, courage, and generosity into the Christian equivalents of faith, hope, and charity."<sup>150</sup> In addition, when traveling across the country, he integrated Irish culture into his Christian practices. This approach helped him get in touch with the locals and form new relationships. According to Cahill:

In becoming an Irishman, Patrick wedded his world to theirs, his faith to their life [...] Patrick found a way of swimming down to the depths of the Irish psyche and warming and transforming Irish imagination—making it more humane and more noble while keeping it Irish. No longer would baptismal water be the only effective sign of a new life in God. New life was everywhere in rank abundance, and all of God's creation was good.<sup>151</sup>

Furthermore, Patrick ordained new priests, established Christian communities, and founded more than 300 churches. O'Donoghue, in his work *The Spirituality of St Patrick*, deals with the idea of whether St. Patrick was an ascetic or a mystic. While an ascetic is someone who "goes to God by his own efforts, in correspondence with ordinary graces," a mystic "receives extraordinary infusions of the Divine life into his soul."<sup>152</sup> If the traditional view of the Saint Patrick is taken into consideration, he was definitely an ascetic. He prayed 100 times each night,

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<sup>146</sup> John Skinner, *The Confession of Saint Patrick and Letter to Coroticus* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 12, Adobe Digital Editions EPUB.

<sup>147</sup> Skinner, *The Confession*, 34.

<sup>148</sup> Skinner, *The Confession*, 36.

<sup>149</sup> Skinner, *The Confession*, 14.

<sup>150</sup> Thomas Cahill, *How the Irish Saved Civilization: The Untold Story of Ireland's Heroic Role From the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Medieval Europe* (Anchor Books, 1996), 225, Adobe Digital Editions EPUB.

<sup>151</sup> Cahill, *How the Irish*, 225.

<sup>152</sup> Noel Dermot O'Donoghue, "The Spirituality of St Patrick," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 50, no. 198 (Summer 1961): 153.



had a strong sense of determination, and endured long periods of fasting. This ascetic depiction is also one approved by “intelligent and scholarly biographers.”<sup>153</sup> It is vital to point out that St. Patrick was never formally canonized by the Catholic Church. Because, in those days, there were no official canonization procedures. Although St. Patrick died in Saul in 461, he left a legacy that touched many lives. As Mark remarks, “none advanced the causes of literacy, spirituality, and the dignity of the individual as Patrick did.”<sup>154</sup> The monasteries that were either established or supported by St. Patrick continued with the training of priests, who were essential for the future of Christianity in Ireland.

The information about St. Patrick may be applied to the poster “Can You any Longer Resist the Call?”<sup>155</sup> (1915, Appendix 2). Even though this poster has already been analyzed, one crucial feature has been ignored. It is St. Patrick who is pointing his finger at the devastated image of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Reims. More precisely, it is a vision of this historical figure that is depicted above a farmer who is resting. As previously noted, many of Patrick’s decisions were based on his visions, and these had an impact on his life. One of the interpretations of this situation in the poster could be that this depiction of Patrick represents “the Voice of the Irish,”<sup>156</sup> which insists on rural men participating in the war effort. This might be indicated by the text of the poster which asks, “Can You any Longer Resist the Call?” Famous figures are crucial for building national identity because they reflect the history of a nation. St. Patrick is not only undoubtedly considered Ireland’s national treasure he is also known internationally. Through a variety of narratives, this Irish hero who devoted his life to Christianity became a genuine symbol of the nation. Thus, when discussing national identity, Saint Patrick can be identified as representing an epoch of history that was significant for the future formation of the nation. Although the poster depicts a French monument, it may be connected with Irish national identity. It is already known that buildings are a part of national history because they are closely linked to a variety of historical occasions. During the First World War, derogatory images of Reims Cathedral were frequently used as propaganda to emphasize the severity of the conflict. The cathedral was first hit by the German aircrafts, which conducted strategic bombing campaigns in major cities all over Europe, on September 19, 1914. It was the aftermath of this attack that initiated the worldwide production of propaganda images depicting Reims Cathedral. For instance, an Irish poster called

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<sup>153</sup> O’Donoghue, “The Spirituality,” 153.

<sup>154</sup> “Saint Patrick,” World History, last modified September 6, 2015, [https://www.worldhistory.org/Saint\\_Patrick/](https://www.worldhistory.org/Saint_Patrick/).

<sup>155</sup> Christopher, *British Posters*, 106.

<sup>156</sup> Skinner, *The Confession*, 36.

“The Huns Have Desecrated and Destroyed the Cathedrals of France and Belgium”<sup>157</sup> (1915, Appendix 10) depicts the prominent French building in flames. However, it is of great importance to analyze why Saint Patrick is depicted in the same poster with the Notre-Dame Cathedral. While the destroyed building might imply violent German attacks on Ireland, Patrick himself may be used to represent famous Irish monuments. When taking into consideration the depicted type of building in connection with the famous Irish missionary, it is conceivable to imagine that it refers to St. Patrick’s Cathedral in Dublin. To be exact, as a whole, these two objects in the poster may be read to signal what could happen to the iconic Irish cathedral in the case of a German attack on the country. Such a scenario, highlighting the threat to a sacred national monument might, to a certain degree, imply a loss of national memory. According to Coleman and Chattoo, “Cathedrals have tended to represent ‘high culture’, embodying national identity, craftsmanship, education, and patronage.”<sup>158</sup> Hence, if the honored Irish cathedral were to be damaged or even destroyed, Irish national identity could be negatively affected. This might be one of the many reasons why war propaganda promoted unpleasant images of monuments in posters. These works aimed to prevent situations in which the national identity could have been challenged.

As noted in the theoretical chapter, national identity fulfills internal functions. In Smith’s view, this means that symbols, repertoires, and traditions are used as a means of socializing the members of the community. In addition, symbols, flags, uniforms, ceremonies strengthen peoples’ identity and a sense of belonging to the nation.<sup>159</sup> Such a function is well represented by symbols connected with St. Patrick’s Day, which is celebrated in many locations around the world and often accompanied by parades. However, prior to discussing the relationship between this famous day, posters, and Irish national identity in the second decade of the twentieth century, it is essential to provide some background information. To begin, St. Patrick’s Day is a celebration of Irish culture that falls on March 17 (the assumed day of Patrick’s death). In 1903, the day was named an official Irish public holiday. The celebration was originally no more than a Christian feast day associated with religious traditions. It honored Patrick, who is recognized as a religious symbol of Irish identity. In the modern history of mankind, the traditional celebration of St. Patrick’s Day is not only based on his legacy, but also on the general public’s changing mythic interpretation of his life. Many stories and legends have

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<sup>157</sup> *The Huns Have Desecrated and Destroyed the Cathedrals of France and Belgium*, 1915, lithograph, 75,7 cm x 49,6 cm, Imperial War Museums, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31606>.

<sup>158</sup> Simon Coleman and Saliha Chattoo, “Megachurches and Popular Culture: On Enclaving and Encroaching,” in *Handbook of Megachurches*, ed. Stephen J. Hunt (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1.

<sup>159</sup> Anthony A. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Group, 1991), 16–17.

contributed to the public perception of St. Patrick. The most famous claims that he banished all snakes from Ireland. To be exact, during a forty-day fast when reptiles attacked St. Patrick, the highest part of the hill was used as a refuge from which he drove the cold-blooded animals into the sea. Nevertheless, no evidence supports this story. Other folktales have also given St. Patrick a mythical image. According to Butler, natural landscape elements, such as stones, trees, and springs, are closely linked to different saints who, according to legends, possess magical powers. Notably, in early Christianity, wells and trees gained religious importance. Such features of the Irish land were later connected with Saint Patrick. For instance, legend tells that St. Patrick's Well (County Roscommon) "sprang up when the staff of [the] saint touched, or stuck into, the ground."<sup>160</sup> Furthermore, as MacCoitir explains, areas across Ireland, such as Kilmogg (County Kilkenny) and Milltown (County Carlow), have common bushes associated with Patrick called "whitethorns."<sup>161</sup> In Irish folklore, these are known as sacred trees in which fairies are supposed to live. These aforementioned places and stories in combination with the honored religious figure of Saint Patrick represent a rich segment of Irish history that becomes expressly symbolic on Saint Patrick's Day. In Ireland, the first religious celebration of this day dates to the tenth century. However, it is necessary to point out that the first secular celebration of it was held in the United States in the form of a parade. It was originally thought that the first Saint Patrick's Day parade was held in Boston in 1737. In 2018, however, Michael Francis of the University of South Florida refuted this assertion, arguing that it was in St. Augustine, Florida, in 1601. His discovery comes from gunpowder expenditure lists in which an entry states that residents of St. Augustine congregated and walked through the streets as a tribute to Saint Patrick, who was the patron of the city's maize fields.<sup>162</sup> This discovery raises a question about the relationship between the United States and the celebration of St. Patrick. The answer is straightforward: Irish diasporic communities. As noted throughout this thesis, a great number of people have emigrated from Ireland and settled in many places around the world since the eighteenth century. Over the past decades, a large number of Americans have claimed Irish ancestry; in fact, according to statistics from

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<sup>160</sup> Jenny Butler, "Saint Patrick, folklore and Irish identity," in *Pyhä Urho: Fakeloresta Folkloreksi/St Urho: From Fakelore to Folklore*, ed. Anne Heimo, Tuomas Hovi, and Maria Vasenkari (Turku: University of Turku, 2012), 91.

<sup>161</sup> Niall MacCoitir, *Irish Trees: Myths, Legends & Folklore* (Cork: Collins Press, 2003), 4.

<sup>162</sup> "The Truth Behind St. Patrick's Day: Celebrations Did NOT Originate in Boston," The University of South Florida, last modified March 15, 2018, <https://www.usf.edu/news/2018/truth-behind-st-patricks-day-celebrations-did-not-originate-boston.aspx>.

the U.S. Census Bureau (2019), almost 30,4 million Americans claim Irish family roots.<sup>163</sup> This large Irish American diaspora contributed to the secularization of Saint Patrick's Day. Taking into account the aforementioned information, analyzing a poster "St. Patrick's Flag Day"<sup>164</sup> (1917, Appendix 11) is vital. In the middle, there is a soldier with a rifle on his left shoulder. Moreover, behind this figure, there is a large shamrock surrounded by the names of four Irish provinces: Ulster, Leinster, Munster, Connaught. The text "St. Patrick's Flag Day," an alternative name for St. Patrick's Day, appears in the upper section of the poster. In the lower right corner, there is a reminder, a date, "March 17<sup>th</sup>, 1917" of when the famous day was celebrated. There are many things in this poster evoking national identity. First, the name St. Patrick itself represents, as discussed, a symbol of Irish identity. Second, one might immediately associate the title "St. Patrick's Day," with the glorious parades that are basically visual displays of national identity. Especially the mainstream parades connected with Saint Patrick are secular rituals that strengthen social relationships by uniting "the many diverse elements of the nation."<sup>165</sup> Connerton defines them as expressive acts that are often "stylised, stereotyped and repetitive."<sup>166</sup> Such rituals usually occur at particular places and times and create opportunities that help members of the community feel social cohesion. Besides, they express community values and strengthen pride in national traditions that have roots in the past. According to Patrick Ford:

Is St. Patrick's Day only a day-dream, and nothing more? No! Our great Saint's festival does not flit away as a shadow; it is not consumed in smoke and vanity. It is a day of mighty significance. The day, indeed, is full of proud memories of the past, on which Irishmen love to dwell. But what then? This does not blind us to the duties of the present and future. On the contrary, those recollections, from which our race draws inspiration, are suggestive of noble thoughts and high resolves. On this one day in the year an Irishman is A MAN.<sup>167</sup>

As is evident from this rhetoric, Ford emphasizes that memories of Ireland have great importance for the Irish during St. Patrick's Day. This collective memory might be reactivated by annual parades that are part of the Saint's Patrick Day. To clarify, one may define this phenomenon as a community's shared memories that influence their collective identity.

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<sup>163</sup> "Selected Social Characteristics in the United States," U.S. Census Bureau, accessed May 3, 2021, <https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=DP02&tid=ACSDP1Y2019.DP02&hidePreview=false>.

<sup>164</sup> *St. Patrick's Flag Day*, 1917, lithograph, 75,8 cm x 50,7 cm, Imperial War Museums, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30108>.

<sup>165</sup> Aisling T. O'Donnell, Orla T. Muldoon, Danielle L. Blaylock, Clifford Stevenson, Dominic Bryan, Stephen D. Reicher, and Samuel Pehrson, "'Something That Unites Us All': Understandings of St. Patrick's Day Parades as Representing the Irish National Group," *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 26, no. 1 (January/February 2016): 62.

<sup>166</sup> Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 44.

<sup>167</sup> Patrick Ford, *Irish World*. March 22, 1873.

Therefore, it is a construct based on collective feelings toward history rather than objective historical facts. The previously analyzed poster depicting St. Patrick's Flag Day provides the viewer with ideas that can be linked to Irish identity. For instance, St. Patrick's Day might have been especially important during World War I, when there was a need for maintaining a strong national identity.

The spectacular displays of Irish symbols in St. Patrick's Day parades do not just evoke a sense of pride. Symbols play an important role in the Irish psyche because they help the Irish differentiate themselves from other nations. Symbols can be defined as visual images. As Stuart Hall comments, although the images resemble the objects they represent, they still have meanings that need to be interpreted.<sup>168</sup> Additionally, he specifies the concept of meanings as something that provides people with a sense of identity and belonging.<sup>169</sup> Similarly, Geertz remarks that symbols are "extrinsic sources of information" from which people construct meaning.<sup>170</sup> The constructed nature of meaning is also indicated by Hall when he notes that it "is the result of a signifying practice—a practice that produces meaning, that makes things mean."<sup>171</sup> In fact, even though objects hold symbolic meanings, they "do not become symbols until they are spontaneously accepted by those for whom they are created."<sup>172</sup>

In Ireland, one of the most iconic symbols is undoubtedly the shamrock. This word "shamrock" originated from the Irish words "seamróg," which means little clover or young clover. The symbolism behind the well-known plant is based on a legend connected to Saint Patrick. The legend claims that he chose a shamrock to explain the doctrine of the Trinity to Irish pagans. The three leaves of the shamrock represented the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit that exist within one god. Nevertheless, it was not until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the shamrock began gaining recognition as a symbol. This recognition was mainly due to Irish nationalism. To nationalists, the green three-leafed plant stood "in a symbolic opposition to the 'orange' protestant ascendancy and their British unionist identity."<sup>173</sup> Another reason the shamrock may have become popular with the public is that it grows in large quantities throughout the Emerald Isle. Thus, for the Irish, the symbol could represent

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<sup>168</sup> Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 19.

<sup>169</sup> Hall, *Representation*, 3.

<sup>170</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 216.

<sup>171</sup> Hall, *Representation*, 24.

<sup>172</sup> Jan Kubik, *The Power of Symbols Against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 50.

<sup>173</sup> "The History of the Shamrock – From Saint Patrick to Champion's 'Wild Irish' to Rebellion and Nationhood," Green News Ireland, last modified March 16, 2017, <https://greennews.ie/the-history-of-the-shamrock-from-saint-patrick-to-champions-wild-irish-to-rebellion-and-nationhood/>.

the unique flora of Ireland. The previous analysis of posters does not consider the shamrock (Appendix 5, 6, 11). Accordingly, it is time to discuss the relationship between this symbol and Irish national identity. A poster titled “1918 Ireland what is your grade?”<sup>174</sup> (1918, Appendix 12) serves as another example of the visualization of the plant. In fact, Patrick’s explanation of the Holy Trinity might have inspired the creators of this poster because each leaf is used to represent the three branches of the British armed forces (the army, air force, and navy). A poster titled “Come On! Don’t Spoil a Good Fight for Want of Men to Win it”<sup>175</sup> (1915, Appendix 13) also depicts the shamrock. Moreover, in this poster, there is an Irish soldier who is holding a peaked cap in his right hand and a rifle in his left hand. On the ground around the soldier, there are other three-leafed clovers. Positioned in the upper-left corner is the slogan “Erin Go Bragh” (the anglicized version of “Éire go Brách”), which is vital to explain. The English meaning of this slogan is “Ireland to the end of time,” and its history dates to the Irish Rebellion of 1798. Another poster called “Irish Canadians”<sup>176</sup> (1915, Appendix 14) portrays the combined symbols of two countries: Ireland and Canada. The combination consists of the shamrock, representing Ireland, and the maple leaf, representing Canada. The included term “Irish Canadians” implies an explanation for this depiction: propaganda during the Great War appealed to citizens who had dual-national identities. To sum up these posters, during the war, preserving and promoting national identity was important. The portrayal of the shamrock in the propaganda posters could have served this purpose. It is a symbol of Ireland that suggests a number of meanings. While one meaning can signify the history of the nation, another may be related to the unique flora of Ireland. The variety of interpretations of the shamrock is likely why it became a widely accepted symbol of the nation.

Apart from the three-leafed plant, there is the leprechaun that is another greatly popular symbol in Ireland. This supernatural character is part of Irish folklore and its tales are known around the world. Leprechauns are usually described as tiny ginger-beard men wearing green coats and hats. Although leprechauns are symbols of luck, they are often characterized as mischievous beings. They appear in many myths and legends, the most common one alleging that they possess pots of gold and hide them at the end of a rainbow. Thus, leprechauns must

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<sup>174</sup> *1918 Ireland what is your grade?*, 1918, lithograph, the Library of Trinity College Dublin, <https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/f1881p984?locale=en>.

<sup>175</sup> *Come On! Don’t Spoil a Good Fight for Want of Men to Win it*, 1915, lithograph, 37,4 cm x 49,8 cm, Imperial War Museums, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/19468>.

<sup>176</sup> *Irish Canadians*, 1915, lithograph, 99 cm x 61 cm, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2005691255/>.

be caught and forced to disclose where the treasure is. A leprechaun is depicted in a poster titled “I’ll give him Home Rule!”<sup>177</sup> (1910, Appendix 15). The leprechaun, who has the face of John Redmond, is standing on money bags. Furthermore, he is reaching for an object on a shelf above him that represents home rule. In the background, there is depicted John Bull, a personification of Great Britain, who is emerging from a door with a walking stick in his left hand. This poster might be a visual reflection of the political situation before the introduction of the Third Home Rule Bill. John Redmond was an Irish nationalist and the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party who made a significant contribution to Irish self-government. In the 1910 election, “the Liberal Party emerged with 272 seats, matching the combined total secured by the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists.”<sup>178</sup> These results created an ideal situation for Redmond, who agreed to support the Liberals in return for the Third Home Rule Bill (introduced in 1912), which meant limited self-government for Ireland within the British Empire. Therefore, the leprechaun could represent Redmond’s desire to achieve the home rule while John Bull may indicate the opposing British power. Additionally, such a combination of a national symbol and a political character forms an explicit reminder of national identity. After mentioning political leader John Redmond, it is vital to recapitulate the political function of national identity and provide an example. As noted in the theoretical chapter, “National identities can be built around liberal and democratic political values, and around the shared experiences that provide the connective tissue.”<sup>179</sup> In relation to the previously mentioned information, in the second decade of the twentieth century, John Redmond attempted to build the modern Irish identity around the values of his Irish Parliamentary Party. Besides, the party’s efforts to gain independence could have represented “shared experiences [and] the connective tissue”<sup>180</sup> for the majority of Irish citizens.

Not only Saint Patrick, the shamrock, and the leprechaun, but also the Irish harp are well-recognized symbols. The Irish Harp, whose physical form is currently at Trinity College Dublin, is, according to Bunting, recognized as the oldest musical instrument of its kind in Ireland and all of Europe and as having belonged to the Irish king Brian Boru.<sup>181</sup> However, the origin of the harp has been a subject of great debates for decades. One of the most frequently fabricated stories dates to Boru, who lived in the tenth century. He was a beloved ruler and a supporter of the Church and a passionate musician who presumably played the harp that he inherited from

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<sup>177</sup> *I’ll give him Home Rule!* 1910, lithograph, Digital Library, <https://digital.library.lse.ac.uk/objects/lse:giz449yor>.

<sup>178</sup> Chris Dooley, *Redmond: A Life Undone* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2015), 22.

<sup>179</sup> Francis Fukuyama, “Why National Identity Matters,” *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 4 (October 2018): 9.

<sup>180</sup> Fukuyama, “Why National Identity,” 9.

<sup>181</sup> Edward Bunting, *The ancient music of Ireland: arranged for the piano forte* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1840), 40.

his father. However, as Bunting notes, the history of the harp is not that distant and the story of Brian Boru “has been fabricated to raise its antiquity and increase its historical interest.”<sup>182</sup> Bunting continues that it is “a clumsy forgery, which will not bear for a moment the test of critical antiquarian examination.”<sup>183</sup> More information comes from the era of Henry VIII, who became the king of the Kingdom of Ireland in the sixteenth century. The Irish harp became a symbol of the kingdom and it was depicted on coins to help distinguish the English from the Irish currency. Around this century, a golden harp with white strings on a blue field became part of the coat of arms. Throughout the upcoming years, the harp gradually lost its prominence. Although there had been attempts to revive the Irish harp in the seventeenth century, it was notably popularized by the Society of United Irishmen during the 1798 Irish Rebellion, which placed this symbol on a green background. In the nineteenth century, Celtic revival movements put a great effort into reviving the Irish heritage through literature, art, music, etc. Hence, the use of this symbolic musical instrument was inevitable. In the same century, Irish nationalism adopted green as its official color and therefore used the symbol of a golden harp on a green background as well. However, a blue background was also used with depictions of the harp. In the past, blue was the original national color of Ireland. Interestingly, Saint Patrick was often depicted by artists as wearing blue. At the end of the eighteenth century, what was referred to as St. Patrick’s blue was adopted by the Order of Saint Patrick. The original blue background with the harp is depicted in a poster titled “Ulster Demonstration Against Home Rule”<sup>184</sup> (1912, Appendix 16), which comprises many portraits of leading unionists. The main reason the harp is depicted on the blue field may be that green is connected with Irish nationalism; consequently, Irish unionists used traditional blue to distinguish themselves from nationalists. Additionally, this poster depicts the day (September 27, 1912) and the place (Belfast) where the Ulster demonstration took its place. On that day, almost 500,000 people signed the Solemn League and Covenant as their opposition to the Third Home Rule Bill Act. Prior to this, Edward Carson, the leader of the Irish Unionist Party (depicted in the middle of the poster) and James Craig, the Unionist MP for East Down, traveled through the cities of Ulster (some of them are mentioned at the bottom of the poster) to promote the covenant. This situation signaled a strong refusal of home rule by the residents of the Protestant province of Ulster. In 1912, as resistance grew, a paramilitary organization called the Ulster Volunteer

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<sup>182</sup> Bunting, *The ancient*, 40.

<sup>183</sup> Bunting, *The ancient*, 40.

<sup>184</sup> *Ulster Demonstration Against Home Rule*, 1912, 28 cm x 21 cm, National Museums Northern Ireland, <https://www.nmni.com/collections/history/1900-1923-home-rule-to-partition/1912-1914-home-rule-crisis/belumzg14115>.



Force was established by Irish unionists. In 1914, this militia smuggled a great number of guns (around 20,000), as well as ammunition from the German Empire. As a response to the Ulster Volunteer Force, Irish nationalists founded a battalion called the Irish Volunteer Force in 1913. Although the outbreak of the First World War postponed the Home Rule Bill, the tension between the two groups gradually grew. Due to the tensions of the time, there are two possible interpretations in the poster. The image of the harp, on the one hand, might have served a uniting function. Through the image, Citizens were reminded their national history and they could feel a sense of belonging and social cohesion. On the other hand, the depiction of the harp may have served a divisive function. Just a simple change of color from green to blue could be used to distinguish between the two groups. However, neither a green nor blue background can change the fact that it is mainly the harp not the colors that is recognizable as a national symbol of Ireland. The harp, therefore, is a constant reminder that the maintenance of Irish national identity is essential.

The symbol of the Irish harp is also frequently depicted on the flags. This depiction appears in a poster “Come into the Ranks and Fight”<sup>185</sup> (1914–1918, Appendix 17). In the lower section of the poster, there are civilian men watching a marching battalion of Irish soldiers, which is passing a flag with the Irish harp on a green field. Furthermore, the Irish House of Parliament is in the background. Flags are both an integral part of everyday experience and important markers of national identity. As Leib and Webster remark in the book called *Flag, Nation and Symbolism in Europe and America*:

[They] ‘condense’ a range of meanings and emotions pertaining to a group’s perceived common historical experience, real or imagined cultural homogeneity, and efforts to define a similarity of outlook for the future. Frequently a central purpose for such flags is to highlight centripetal forces of cohesion, to overcome all existing centrifugal forces of disunion.<sup>186</sup>

In addition, flags have a distinguishing function; in other words, they differentiate an in-group from an out-group. Flags displayed on a variety of occasions are a strong reminder of nationhood. They can be defined as “collective representations,” a concept that Emile Durkheim introduced, which Lukes defines as “the way in which the group conceives of itself in its relations with the objects which affect it.”<sup>187</sup> This implies that flags may hold strong

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<sup>185</sup> *Come into the Ranks and Fight*, 1914–1918, lithograph, 76,2 cm x 50,3 cm, Imperial War Museums, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31643>.

<sup>186</sup> Jonathan Leib and Gerald Webster, “Rebel with(out) a cause? The contested meanings of the Confederate battle flag in the American South,” in *Flag, Nation and Symbolism in Europe and America*, ed. Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Richard Jenkins (London: Routledge, 2007), 31.

<sup>187</sup> Steven Lukes, *Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), 6.

emotional meaning for citizens of a nation. Thus, in terms of the poster, the depiction of the marching soldiers, the Parliament building, and, most importantly, the flag with the harp could have helped to foster national identification.

The Irish harp further appears in the poster “Will You Answer the Call?”<sup>188</sup> (1915, Appendix 3), which has already been analyzed. Besides the harp, there is another important object worth discussing. It is the figure of Erin, the female embodiment of the nation. The name comes from the Irish word “Éirinn,” which means “Ireland.” According to Curtis, Erin has so long a tradition in Ireland that she is deeply entrenched in the psyche of the people who claim Irish ancestry.<sup>189</sup> Curtis adds that since the 1750s, the image of Erin has had a variety of interpretations. Nationalist artists especially used different depictions of this figure to convey messages whose meanings were based “on the predisposition of the viewer as well as the immediate context.”<sup>190</sup> While cartoons in the nineteenth century often portrayed Erin as submissive and chaste, the Great War posters depict her in the opposite way. For instance, in this poster, Erin appears as a goddess wearing a long white robe with a crown and having a golden harp next to her. Moreover, the Gaelic League (discussed in theoretical chapter) produced a poster called “On Which Side Are You?”<sup>191</sup> (1913, Appendix 18) depicting Erin as a warrior with a spear. As the examples illustrate, although this symbolic figure is a woman, her depiction is not in accordance with traditional female gender stereotypes because she is depicted, for instance, as strong and powerful. These two posters, despite depicting a fictional female character, might convey the idea of a powerful nation that is worth fighting for. Additionally, the representation of Erin might immediately evoke memories of the Irish homeland, thereby contributing to a sense of national identity.

In summary, this subchapter analyzes posters depicting traditional Irish symbols and objects that hold strong symbolic meanings. Including information about Saint Patrick’s past may contribute to understanding of his presence in one of the posters. This historical figure who brought Christianity to Ireland is celebrated every year on St. Patrick’s Day, a special occasion that accompanied by grandiose secular parades. Later in this chapter, there is an analysis of the shamrock and the leprechaun in various posters. Both of these well-known symbols are displayed during St. Patrick’s Day and connected with folktales and legends that

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<sup>188</sup> *Will You Answer*, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/31607>.

<sup>189</sup> L. Perry Curtis Jr., “The Four Erins: Feminine Images of Ireland, 1780–1900,” *Éire-Ireland* 33/34, no. 3/4 (Spring 1999): 70.

<sup>190</sup> Curtis Jr., “The Four Erins,” 74.

<sup>191</sup> *On Which Side Are You?*, 1913, 76 cm x 99 cm, National Library of Ireland, <http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000250810>.

have entered the subconscious of people throughout the world. This subchapter further discusses the history of the Irish harp as a national symbol. It also focuses on the depiction of the harp on flags, which represent another essential medium. Flags are a strong reminder of nationhood, have an emotional meaning, and may foster social cohesion. Finally, this part of the thesis explains the symbolic meaning of Erin and analyzes her different depictions in the posters. Most importantly, this chapter interprets each relevant object and symbol appearing in the posters in terms of Irish national identity. Symbols are especially significant because they strengthen the identity of people, convey a sense of belonging, and help differentiate the Irish nation from others.

### 3. Text-only Posters

The primary focus of this chapter is to explore Irish national identity in texts accompanying various posters that emerged throughout the First World War. These texts “appealing to a sense of duty [and] tapping into feelings of guilt”<sup>192</sup> provide an extraordinary insight into the Irish war situation in the second decade of the twentieth century. War recruitment posters were critical in Ireland, where official military conscription was not introduced. They attracted Irish men to a variety of Irish regiments that participated in the war effort and fought remote battles worldwide. Compared with the previous section of this thesis, posters in this analytical chapter are without any visual images. Although text-only posters possess a challenge when analyzing national identity, multiple elements of this construct might be traced.

To begin with, text can be seen as a specific order of a number of signs which convey a particular meaning. As Gracia comments, this meaning depends on two aspects. While the former is “the individual meaning and function of the particular signs of which the text is composed,” the latter is “the arrangement of those signs.”<sup>193</sup> Nevertheless, it is needed to define the meaning of a text. It is what “the text tells us, what it makes us, or is supposed to make us, think about; in short, it is the object of our understanding.”<sup>194</sup> In fact, the construction of meaning is influenced by the reader’s previous knowledge. For instance, during the First World War, propaganda texts in posters aimed directly at the Irish and conveyed a variety of messages. However, the interpretations of these messages might have been completely different for people living outside the Emerald Isle. To be specific, while for the others, the texts might have been just a series of signs without any significant value, for the Irish population having prior contextual knowledge, the texts would have symbolized an emotional connection with their country.

One of the posters containing a strong and lengthy message is called “Appeal from John Redmond, M.P., to the People of Ireland”<sup>195</sup> (1916, Appendix 19). What might strike the viewer first is the large green title saying, “John Redmond.” As pointed out in the previous chapter, John Redmond was a famous statesman who made a great contribution to Irish self-government. It is vital to add that this nationalist politician is an important figure in Irish history. In 1914,

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<sup>192</sup> John Christopher, *British Posters of the First World War* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2014), 1.

<sup>193</sup> Jorge J. E. Gracia, “Texts and Their Interpretation,” *The Review of Metaphysics* 43, no. 3 (March 1990): 496.

<sup>194</sup> Gracia, “Texts,” 499.

<sup>195</sup> *Appeal from John Redmond, M.P., to the People of Ireland*, 1916, lithograph, 76 cm x 51 cm, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3g10985/>.

when the Third Home Rule Bill was passed, he was considered a national hero.<sup>196</sup> Even 100 years later, in 2014, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Charlie Flanagan, observed that Redmond was a part of the “canon of heroes of the Parliamentary tradition.”<sup>197</sup> National heroes are an essential reminder of national identity. As is evident from the example of John Redmond, such characters do not need only to come from myths and legends, but also from the recent past or even the present. According to Arthur, charismatic leaders can become heroes symbolizing unity and power.<sup>198</sup> As Bourdieu observes, symbolic power is “the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition.”<sup>199</sup> Moreover, this recognition can be built upon the efforts that contribute to national identification. Hence, this identification might have been based on John Redmond who had devoted his life to creating an independent Irish state. However, it is crucial to add that heroism may be understood differently by people who have distinctive political standpoints and who belong to various geographical locations.<sup>200</sup> This might be the case of Ireland in 1910–1920, when the country was getting closer to its partition. To be specific, the people in the Ulster province who were claiming either Irish or British national identity might have considered Edward Carson and not John Redmond to be their hero. It is important to note that during the second decade of the twentieth century, the Irish and the Ulster Irish did not form two separate nations on Hibernia (the island of Ireland). For this historical context, it is more appropriate to use the term “nation and a bit”<sup>201</sup> coined by the British and Irish Communist Organization. As Miller argues, “Ireland embraces one (Catholic) nation and one (Protestant) community upon which, for certain specific reasons, the general causes of nationalism did not take effect so fully as elsewhere.”<sup>202</sup> Miller adds that “not Britain, not the United Kingdom, [...] and certainly not Ireland—has attained for Ulster Protestants all the characteristics which a nation commonly

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<sup>196</sup> Éamonn Duggan, “The Life and Times of John Redmond,” *The Past: The Organ of the Uí Cinsealaigh Historical Society*, no. 30 (2009–2010): 65.

<sup>197</sup> “John Redmond belongs to Irish ‘canon of heroes’,” *The Irish Times*, last modified September 18, 2014, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/john-redmond-belongs-to-irish-canon-of-heroes-1.1933979?mode=sample&auth-failed=1&pw-origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishtimes.com%2Fnews%2Fireland%2Firish-news%2Fjohn-redmond-belongs-to-irish-canon-of-heroes-1.1933979>.

<sup>198</sup> Catherine E. Arthur, *Political Symbols and National Identity in Timor-Leste* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 137.

<sup>199</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, “Social Space and Symbolic Power,” *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 23.

<sup>200</sup> Daniel Kravchenko, *The role of national heroes in shaping national identity of Ukraine* (Alliance: The University of Mount Union, 2015), 13.

<sup>201</sup> British and Irish Communist Organisation, *Two Irish nations* (Belfast: The Organisation, 1975), 72.

<sup>202</sup> David W. Miller, *Queen’s Rebels: Ulster Loyalism in Historical Perspective* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1978), 46.

possesses in the modern world.”<sup>203</sup> Gallagher points out the fact that Ulster Protestants tried to establish an independent state during the times of the Third Home Rule Bill, when almost 500,000 people signed the Ulster Covenant.<sup>204</sup> However, Miller notes that this is not evidence of Ulster Protestants being a nation and remarks that Ulster is “a designation which they were reluctantly prepared to put forward as a ‘nationality’ if that was a necessary ploy in the game of self-determination they were, perforce, playing.”<sup>205</sup> Hence, John Redmond might have been a national hero despite the fact the community of Ulster Protestants were against this. Redmond not only contributed to the independent Irish state, but also to the war effort. It is undoubted that he was a strong national character whose name and even face (Appendix 20) appeared in a range of posters. While discussing the name of John Redmond, it is vital to analyze the message placed below his name:

I further pointed out that this was a just war, provoked by the intolerable military despotism of Germany; that it was a war in defence of the rights and liberties of small nationalities; and that Ireland would be false to her history and to every consideration of honour, good faith, and self-interest if she did not respond to my appeal.<sup>206</sup>

In this extract, it is possible to see that Redmond uses a reminder of national history as an appeal to Irish citizens to participate in the war. This common history is an essential factor that binds the nation together. Ireland’s past is especially notable for its heroic instances in which not only kings and knights in the medieval period but politicians in the modern Irish history also fought for the good of their people. Irish historian O’Grady remarks that, “The gigantic conceptions of heroism and strength, with which the forefront of Irish history is thronged, prove the great future of this race and land.”<sup>207</sup> During the war, national history was used as a source of mobilization and aspiration, in order to create a sense of unity. This cohesiveness based on shared history is of great importance for national achievement. In addition, the memory of a collective past enhances and strengthens national identity:

For the first time in history, we have to-day a huge Irish army in the field. Its achievements have covered Ireland with glory before the world, and have thrilled our hearts with pride.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> Miller, *Queen’s Rebels*, 4.

<sup>204</sup> Michael Gallagher, “How many nations are there in Ireland?,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18, no. 4 (1995): 724.

<sup>205</sup> Miller, *Queen’s Rebels*, 119.

<sup>206</sup> *Appeal from John*, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3g10985/>.

<sup>207</sup> Standish James O’Grady, *Selected essays and passages* (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1918), 43.

<sup>208</sup> *Appeal from John*, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3g10985/>.

In his mention of a huge Irish Army, Redmond refers to the 10<sup>th</sup> Irish Division, the 16<sup>th</sup> Irish Division, and the 36<sup>th</sup> Ulster Division of the British army. It is necessary to add that these consisted of various Irish regiments:

Royal Irish Regiment – South East Ireland  
Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers – Donegal, Derry and mid-Ulster  
Royal Irish Rifles – Belfast, Antrim and Down  
Royal Irish Fusiliers – Armagh, Monaghan and Cavan  
Connaught Rangers – Connaught  
Leinster Regiment – Leinster  
Royal Munster Fusiliers – Munster  
Royal Dublin Fusiliers – Dublin and hinterland<sup>209</sup>

In Connell's words, during 1914–1915, around 150,000 volunteers joined the divisions. Another 50,000 were already part of the army at the outbreak of the Great War. The volunteers were lower-class men who mainly enlisted for economic reasons and middle-class men who predominantly enlisted for ideological reasons.<sup>210</sup> The 10<sup>th</sup> Irish Division was a part of Kitchener's New Army fighting in Gallipoli, Salonika, Macedonia, and Palestine. This division was the first of its kind in the British Army and its war effort contributed to the relationship between Ireland and Britain.<sup>211</sup> As stated in *the Irish Independent*, John Redmond saw the 10<sup>th</sup> Division as hope for "a non-sectarian new Irish identity." The 10<sup>th</sup> Irish Division consisting of Catholics and Protestants who fought side by side, represented the unity essential to reconcile the divided nation. Redmond pointed out that, "The men who had differed in religion and politics, and their whole outlook on life, became brothers [...] Unionist and Nationalist, Catholic and Protestant."<sup>212</sup> Redmond's idea of unity among these groups is also depicted in the poster whose text says:

North and South have vied with each other in springing to arms, and please God, the sacrifices they have made side by side on the field of battle will form the surest bond of a united Irish Nation in the future.<sup>213</sup>

Nevertheless, Redmond's efforts to forge the new Irish identity came to naught. One of the reasons was that the 10<sup>th</sup> division was fighting in remote areas outside of Ireland, and thus, the Irish did not hear of its achievements.<sup>214</sup> If the 10<sup>th</sup> Irish division should have symbolized

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<sup>209</sup> Nuala C. Johnson, *Ireland, the Great War and the Geography of Remembrance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 16–17.

<sup>210</sup> Joseph E.A. Connell Jr., "British Army First World War recruitment in Ireland," *History Ireland* 22, no. 4 (July/August 2014): 66.

<sup>211</sup> "10th (Irish) Division is raised," Royal Irish, accessed May 10, 2021, <https://www.royal-irish.com/events/10th-irish-division-is-raised>.

<sup>212</sup> "As dust settled, whose Ireland was it anyway?," *Irish Independent*, March 3, 2016, 14.

<sup>213</sup> *Appeal from John*, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3g10985/>.

<sup>214</sup> "As dust," 14.

unity of both groups, the 36<sup>th</sup> Ulster Division should have represented only the cohesion of Ulster Protestants. This division is mainly known for its participation in the Battle of the Somme. This military clash, in which the armies of the British Empire and France faced the armies of the German Empire, was one of the bloodiest battles in the First World War. Stories about the war effort of the 36<sup>th</sup> Ulster Division in the Somme became famous and essential for the Unionists, because they fostered an Ulster Protestant identity. Thus, “Where Redmond failed, Carson succeeded.”<sup>215</sup> Furthermore, in the poster, Redmond insists on the nationality of the regiments forming the previously named divisions:

We must not, and will not, tolerate the idea of our Irish regiments being reinforced by any but Irish soldiers. Ireland must maintain the Irish regiments until victory has been won. The gaps in the ranks of our Irish army must be filled, not by Englishmen or Scotchmen or Welshmen, but by Irishmen.<sup>216</sup>

As is evident, it was of great importance for Redmond that the Irish regiments within the British Army remained purely Irish. Thus, since the beginning of the war, the Irish regiments focused solely on the recruitment of Irish men. One of the possible interpretations is that the homogeneous regiments of Irish soldiers fighting in distant countries could have symbolized the unity of the Irish nation. This idea of unity would have been vital for the maintenance of national identity. The existence of such unity is based on the homogeneity of the nation and its possible threats in the form of other nations. In terms of the excerpt, if the English, the Scottish, and the Welsh had diversified the Irish regiments, it could symbolize a threat to the unity of the Irish nation.

In the theoretical chapter, it is stated that patriotism is related to national identity. It is necessary to highlight that national pride is closely linked with patriotism. According to Dražanová, national pride is a concept whose essential dimensions are nationalism and patriotism.<sup>217</sup> Moreover, as Fabrykant and Magun argue, when there is objectively grounded national pride, citizens would be willing to participate in the common efforts that could contribute to tangible accomplishments of the country.<sup>218</sup> Additionally, national pride is also mutually related to national identity. As Ha and Jang note, happiness, “which is a type of domain satisfaction that can promote individuals’ general life satisfaction,” is what connects

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<sup>215</sup> “As dust,” 14.

<sup>216</sup> *Appeal from John*, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3g10985/>.

<sup>217</sup> Lenka Dražanová, “National Identity and the Interplay between National Pride and Ethnic Exclusionism: The Exceptional Case of the Czech Republic,” *Ethnopolitics* 14, no. 3 (2015): 237.

<sup>218</sup> Marharyta Fabrykant and Vladimir Magun, “Grounded and Normative Dimensions of National Pride in Comparative Perspective” (working paper, National Research University Higher School of Economics, 2015), 28.



national pride and national identity. To be more specific, this satisfaction that links both terms is represented by a sense of belonging to a particular community.<sup>219</sup> In posters, both national pride and national identity may be evoked by the reminder of historical events of the nation. The following example might be used as an example:

Do you wonder that the Germans treat Irishmen like this? Have you forgotten what the Germans did in Ireland once before—the Hessians in Wexford in '98, whose deeds were condemned by the British Viceroy of the day? We had a saying in Ireland then that every true Irishman should “kill a Hessian for himself. The Germans are the same in 1918 as in 1798.”<sup>220</sup>

This excerpt taken from a poster titled “300 Irishmen Murdered”<sup>221</sup> (1918, Appendix 21) tries to refresh one moment of Irish history that would be beneficial for recruiting civil men. The event linked to this text is the Irish Rebellion of 1798. In the previous chapter, this rebellion organized by the Society of United Irishmen is already mentioned in relation to the slogan “Erin Go Bragh” and the green flag with the Irish harp. It was a major insurrection against the British rule caused by discrimination against Catholics and Presbyterians, Protestant Ascendancy having control over the Irish parliament, ideals of the American and French Revolutions. The excerpt of the poster refers to Wexford; it is a county where one of the most successful uprisings of the rebellion took part. So-called the Wexford Rebellion is known for the capture of towns in county Wexford by rebels. Nevertheless, soon, in a series of massacres, they were defeated by government troops. During this event, there were auxiliaries (German mercenaries) called the Hessians. They were infamously known for their barbaric acts of inhumanity. Although the rebellion was surpassed after a few months, it affected Ireland for the upcoming years. One of the immediate results was the Act of Union in 1800 that united two kingdoms, and their separate parliaments, into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Most importantly, as Murphy comments, the Irish Rebellion of 1798 “fanned the flames of revolution and the desire for freedom among the Irish people that never went away.”<sup>222</sup> In terms of the poster, the excerpt referring to a crucial historical event in Irish history may have enhanced a sense of national identity. Additionally, there is an evident effort to increase

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<sup>219</sup> Shang E. Ha and Seung-Jin Jang, “National Identity, National Pride, and Happiness: The Case of South Korea,” *Social Indicators Research*, no. 121 (April 2014): 474.

<sup>220</sup> *300 Irishmen Murdered*, 1918, National Museums Northern Ireland, <https://www.nmni.com/collections/history/1900-1923-home-rule-to-partition/1914-1918-first-world-war/belumzg14647>.

<sup>221</sup> *300 Irishmen Murdered*, <https://www.nmni.com/collections/history/1900-1923-home-rule-to-partition/1914-1918-first-world-war/belumzg14647>.

<sup>222</sup> “The 1798 Irish Rebellion – A Little bit of Irish History,” My Real Ireland, last modified November 28, 2019, <https://myrealireland.com/irish-knowledge/1798-irish-rebellion/>.

patriotism by pointing out the atrocities on the Irish by Hessians in the county Wexford in 1798 and by the Army of the German Empire in World War I.

The visual images in the previous chapter often depict the landscape and rural life that are essential leitmotifs fostering national identity. In the following excerpts of a poster called “Ireland & Poland”<sup>223</sup> (1915, Appendix 22), it is possible to see that not only images but also texts might function similarly:

They have uprooted some 25,000 Polish farmers and replaced them by Germans. To complete the destruction of Poland, the Germans passed a law prohibiting any Pole purchasing land, so that in process of time the whole soil of Poland must pass into German hands.<sup>224</sup>

As is evident, war propaganda used the Polish scenario to illustrate what might have happened to Irish farmers if the German Empire had invaded Ireland. Especially at the beginning of the twentieth century, the word farmer might have evoked strong national identification. In that era, Ireland was still heavily rural, and farmers were perceived as heroic figures protecting the land and their families. It is essential to mention a poster titled “Three Risks”<sup>225</sup> (1914–1918 Appendix 23) in which a text says: “CAN YOU IRISH FARMERS AFFORD: 1. To have your LAND calmly confiscated to German farmers?” Such propaganda emphasis placed on the worst-case scenarios could have been especially frightening for the society based on agriculture because the confiscation of the Irish land might have been considered an assault on the collective identity. The previous poster (Appendix 22) not only refers to farmers but also to a geographic feature of Ireland:

This is a war of conquest, and the Germans mean to exchange the arid wastes of the Baltic and the sands of Brandenburg for the rich pastures of Ireland. Every one of us should face these facts as common-sense men, and not as dreamers or talkers.<sup>226</sup>

The Irish landscape is typical for endless green pastures and farmlands. Although they are present in the Irish psyche, they did not spontaneously get in there. One of the scenarios behind this is the nationalization of nature. According to Kaufmann and Zimmer, this term implies a significant landscape differentiated from another by specific myths and memories. The landscape then represents national authenticity that contributes to the distinctiveness

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<sup>223</sup> *Ireland & Poland*, 1915, lithograph, 77 cm x 51 cm, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003668423/>.

<sup>224</sup> *Ireland & Poland*, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003668423/>.

<sup>225</sup> *Three Risks*, 1914–1918, 73.7 cm x 48.3 cm, Hoover Institution Library & Archives, <https://digitalcollections.hoover.org/objects/32408/three-risks-can-you-irish-farmers-afford-1-to-have-your-la;jsessionid=E4134025D8B6CADD8E12BF61E5537842>.

<sup>226</sup> *Ireland & Poland*, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003668423/>.

of the nation. This whole process helps the landscape to assimilate into national identity.<sup>227</sup> In the excerpt, the mention of “rich pastures of Ireland” might evoke “nostalgic idealization of pastoral settings, nature as nurturing, maternal and pure, [which] coexisted with characterizations of the country.”<sup>228</sup>

Like the landscape, particular buildings do not have to be depicted in images in posters to evoke national identity. The excerpt from a poster titled “An Appeal to Gallant Irishmen!”<sup>229</sup> (1914–1915 Appendix 24) might serve as an example:

Do you know that Cathedrals and Churches have been violated in Belgium and that Ministers of Religion have been driven from their Churches by the Germans? Do you know that if Germany succeeded in this War Ireland would be crushed and would share Belgium’s fate?<sup>230</sup>

This text is based on events that occurred when Germany invaded Belgium in 1914. The phrase called “the Rape of Belgium” represents a series of violent attacks by the Germans. They hurt the Belgians and burned books, manuscripts, and even destroyed historical monuments such as cathedrals and churches. These buildings are especially of great importance for religious countries. One of them is undoubtedly Ireland, which is known for its Catholic and Protestant history. Throughout the country, there are many well-known cathedrals (Saint Fin Barre’s Cathedral, St. Canice’s Cathedral, St. Patrick’s Cathedral, etc.) and churches (The Church of St. Anne, Whitefriar Street Church, Saint Patrick’s Church in Saul, etc.) that have obtained a symbolic meaning and engendered a sense of Irish identity. These buildings are architectural heritages linked with religious history and culture. The text implies that if Germany had won the war, Ireland and its monuments would have been ruined. Attacks on the famous religious buildings might indicate a threat to national identity. It is conceivable to imagine that such texts were used for enhancing a strong sense of national identity.

Not only in this chapter is it possible to spot the omnipresent color green in multiple posters. Green possesses a strong symbolic meaning for the Irish. The Society of United Irishmen adopted it during the 1798 Irish Rebellion, and this color was also closely linked to Irish nationalism in the nineteenth and the twentieth century. According to Hopkin:

The Irish people, in the late eighteenth century, chose the colour green [...] to symbolise their separate identity as a nation. [...] when independence was finally

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<sup>227</sup> Eric Kaufmann and Oliver Zimmer, “In search of the authentic nation: landscape and national identity in Canada and Switzerland,” *Nations and Nationalism* 4, no. 4 (1998): 486.

<sup>228</sup> Carla Corbin, “American National Identity and the New Landscape of Agriculture: Scale, Power, and Abundance,” *Journal of American & Comparative Cultures* 25, no. 1/2 (March 2002): 68.

<sup>229</sup> *An Appeal to Gallant Irishmen!*, 1914–1915, National Library of Ireland, <http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000250463>.

<sup>230</sup> *An Appeal*, <http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000250463>.

won in 1922, only the colour green was adopted as part of the new state's official iconography.<sup>231</sup>

Green also represents the country's landscape. Due to the Gulf Stream and mild climate, the Emerald Isle is covered by lush green vegetation. Moreover, as Hutchings notes, "When feelings and emotions are symbolized in writing [...], colours act like flags to reinforce meanings and associations."<sup>232</sup> Thus, green in the emotive text-only posters appealing to the Irish public might create associations with Irishness. Subsequently, when these posters were published, this color could develop a sense of belonging that is central to national identity.

Throughout this thesis, various events that shaped the Irish nation has been gradually introduced. For this reason, it is topical to provide final information about the crucial Irish situation in the late 1910s, when some of the posters mentioned earlier were produced. It is an uprising called the Easter Rising which was a great milestone in pursuing independence. Although various Irish regiments participated in the war effort, there were militias such as the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Irish Citizen Army, and the Irish Volunteers that opposed the participation in the war and wanted to establish the independent Irish Republic. The initial plan of the insurrection was to involve the whole nation; however, in the end, it was mainly carried out in Dublin. The uprising began on Easter Monday on April 24, 1916, when the military groups occupied strategic positions in the city. The major one was the General Post Office, where Patrick Pearse, one of the leaders of the Easter Rising, read the Proclamation of the Irish Republic. However, the uprising was surpassed by the British forces and ended on April 29, 1916. In the aftermath, around 3,000 people were arrested, and Patrick Pearse with fourteen other rebellion leaders were executed. Easter rising was one of the most important insurrections since the Irish Rebellion of 1798. It became a symbol that greatly influenced Ireland in the upcoming years. Events that followed the uprising made the Irish support the political party called Sinn Féin. In 1918, in the same year when the First World War officially ended, Sinn Féin won the Irish general election. On January 21, 1919, the MPs of Sinn Féin founded an Irish parliament called "Dáil Éireann" and declared Irish independence. Subsequently, in 1919, as the tension between Ireland and Britain had grown, the Irish War of Independence was initiated. This resulted in the negotiation of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, which ended the Irish War on December 6, 1921. First and foremost, the Anglo-Irish Treaty established the Irish Free State on December 6, 1922, containing twenty-six counties

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<sup>231</sup> Alannah Hopkin, *Living Legend of St Patrick* (London: Grafton, 1989), 106.

<sup>232</sup> John Hutchings, "Colour In Folklore And Tradition - The Principles," *Color Research & Application* 29, no. 1 (February 2004): 64.

with a high degree of independence. The other six counties in the North of Ireland remained within the United Kingdom.

To summarize this chapter, text-only posters from the First World War represent a medium that contains various elements of national identity. Just the simple title including the name of a famous statesman, might indicate a sense of unity and identification. Another essential element that occurs is the reminder of history that is especially important during the war to maintain the nation's cohesion and increase national identity. Furthermore, one of the messages in the poster appeals to Irish regiments to remain purely Irish and not to be diversified by the English, the Scottish, and the Welsh. It is necessary to stress that homogeneous Irish regiments within the British army might have symbolized the unity of the Irish nation. This chapter provides an analysis of texts directly aiming at national pride, which is in a certain way connected with national identity. Similarly, the emotive texts in the posters mentioning farmers and specific landscape features might have contributed to a sense of Irish national identity. The analysis of texts also demonstrates that attacks on famous monuments might indicate a threat to national identity. At the end of this chapter, it is highlighted that green has a strong symbolic meaning. This is for the reason that green is connected with the Society of United Irishmen and Irish nationalism. Most importantly, it is linked to the Irish flora. Green in a range of posters may foster a sense of belonging, which is critical for national identity.

## Conclusion

This master's thesis has provided deeper insight into Irish national identity in posters from the second decade of the twentieth century. It is necessary to point out that Anthony D. Smith's concept of national identity was chosen as the most appropriate one for the analysis of the posters. When examining Irish national identity in this visual medium, it is crucial to take into consideration the political and social situation in Ireland between 1910 and –1920. For greater clarity, the analysis of the posters is provided in two sections. While the first one predominantly focuses on the images in the posters, the second one focuses on text only.

The images of rural areas consisting of houses and pastures with a variety of grazing animals might signal a traditional way of living, which has its basis in the Celtic past. Aspects of Celtic history were celebrated and promoted by movements and organizations involved in the Celtic revival in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century. By reminding people of this golden age of Irish history, the movements tried to enhance Irish national identity. In this respect, a sense of rural life depicted in the posters could have been used to promote Irish national identity during World War I. Furthermore, there are specific landscape elements in the posters, including bogs, that are part of the Irish psyche. The word “bog” not only found its way into various poems but was also used as an insult remark for lower-class people. The representation of bogs in the analyzed poster is a strong reminder of Irish national identity. Among other specific landscape features, there are roads and rivers. They might symbolize the historical uniqueness of the country and the link between communities. Additionally, roads and rivers imply unity, and they are connected with a number of legends and myths. In fact, if these landscape elements are analyzed separately, they do not directly indicate an association with Irish national identity. For this reason, it is necessary to take into consideration other items in the posters and link them to the symbolism of particular landscape features. One of the components is architecture. The depictions of the church, the iconic Irish round tower, and the traditional Irish thatched cottage are significant representations of national heritage. The images in the posters also include human characters. They are wearing either folk costumes or other iconic clothing pieces, which are vital reminders of Irish culture. It is essential to mention that the above-named elements depicted in the images in the posters might evoke national identification and belongingness. Moreover, the variety of combinations of these individual parts of the posters form an overall picture of Irish national identity. The analysis also focuses on posters depicting maps. They might indicate the uniqueness of the country and a sense of unity and togetherness. Such posters could have

fostered national identity during wartime. To a certain degree, Smith's territorial function of national identity might be found in the analyzed images in the posters because they can express a historic territory consisted of specific landscape elements.

Other frequent motifs in the posters are traditional Irish symbols. Several of them are linked to St. Patrick who represents a crucial segment of Irish history. He has been recognized as a religious symbol of Irish identity and a genuine symbol of the nation. His presence in one of the posters may have been beneficial for strengthening national identity. The stories about St. Patrick become expressly symbolic during St. Patrick's Day, which is accompanied by secular parades. These occasions are essentially visual displays of Irish culture that reactivate the collective memory. The depiction of St. Patrick's Day in the poster might have been of great importance because it could have signaled that the Irish maintained their identity, despite the war. As mentioned, St. Patrick is connected with multiple symbols that are also portrayed in numerous posters. One of them is the shamrock, which is linked to St. Patrick's legend, and which became popularized as a result of Irish nationalism. In addition, the widespread popularity of the shamrock might be based on its relationship to the unique flora of Ireland. The portrayal of the shamrock in propaganda posters might have been used to promote and preserve the Irish national identity. Apart from the three-leafed plant, there is the leprechaun. This supernatural character from Irish folklore has the face of John Redmond in one of the posters. The political situation that led to the creation of this poster can, to a certain extent, reflect the political function of national identity. This is because the Irish identity in the second decade of the twentieth century was tried to be built around the values of John Redmond's Irish Parliamentary Party, which was attempting to gain independence from Britain. Moreover, significant historical background of the Irish harp, which is a national symbol of Ireland, is provided. Its depiction in the posters is a constant reminder of Irish national identity. The images in the propaganda posters also portray Erin, who is the embodiment of Ireland. Her symbolic portrayal of the powerful nature of the country may have evoked memories of the Irish homeland and hence generated a sense of national identity. It is crucial to add that posters depicting the above-named symbols can contribute to the internal function of national identity. In particular, through the depiction of Irish symbols, citizens are reminded of their common history and culture, and they might "feel strengthened and exalted by their sense of common identity and belonging."<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Group, 1991), 17.

Not all posters contain images. There are also some that include text only. A simple poster title involving the name of John Redmond is essentially a reminder of national identity. This is because Redmond was a strong Irish political character who contributed to an independent Irish state and who actively participated in the war effort. Such a charismatic statesman was considered a hero. What is more, national heroes possess the potential to unite citizens and to promote identification with the nation. In different ways, symbols of unity are omnipresent in many text-based posters. For instance, it is conceivable to imagine that the reminder of shared history in text-based posters may have evoked a sense of unity during the times of the war. In addition, the historical memories of the nation are a key component of national identity. It is vital to add that reminders of Irish historical events in the text-based posters might have fostered national identity and national pride. These two terms are mutually related. The analysis further demonstrates that not only images of geographic elements and architecture but also text-only posters with these themes may convey the idea of Irish national identity. At the end, green appearing in a range of poster is discussed. This color is associated with the Society of United Irishmen, Irish nationalism and also with Irish vegetation. Green in the analyzed posters can contribute to a sense of belonging that is crucial for national identity.

Unfortunately, the books and digital collections from museums used for this thesis do not contain posters with Irish themes that would encourage people to buy war bonds, conserve food, or to enter various industries. Therefore, the economic function of national identity is not discussed in the analytical section of this thesis. In addition, the provided analyses of the posters from the second decade of the twentieth century demonstrate how complex national identity is and how it interferes in many spheres of everyday life.



## Resumé

Cílem předkládané diplomové práce je průzkum irské národní identity v plakátech z období druhého desetiletí dvacátého století. Tato práce obsahuje celkem tři kapitoly, z nichž ta první nabízí teoretický rámec využitelný pro analýzu plakátů ve zbylých dvou praktických částech. Dobové plakáty, které jsou použity v této práci, pochází z knihy *British Posters of the First World War* od Johna Christophera, a především z online katalogů knihoven a muzeí jako jsou the Library of Congress, the National Library of Ireland, National Museums Northern Ireland a Imperial War Museums.

První podkapitola definuje národní identitu a s ní úzce související pojmy jako jsou národ, nacionalismus, národní vědomí a národnost. Termín národ je podložen první doktrínou národa, a především definicemi od politologa Dona L. Sturza a historického sociologa Anthonyho D. Smitha. Sturzo definuje národ jako individualitu lidu, která je úzce spojena např. s geografí a kulturní tradicí. Důležitost geografie a společné kultury se objevuje také ve Smithově definici národa, který ji navíc rozšiřuje o občanskou ideologii. Tato část práce navíc pojednává o národu jako o imaginární komunitě, což je termín používaný Benedictem Andersonem. V souvislosti s národem je také rozebírána problematika národnosti. Nejvhodnější přístup k národnosti se zdá být z pohledu víry ve společný původ, nežli z pohledu lokace nebo jazyka. Podkapitola se následně přesouvá k moderní ideologii s názvem nacionalismus, jehož význam je důležitý např. pro formování nebo růst národa, vědomí příslušnosti k národu, jazyk a symboliku národa. Dále je uvedena typologie nacionalismů podle A. D. Smitha, která je založena na občanských, územních a etnických, genealogických modelech (dimenzí) národa. Podkapitola také objasňuje pojem národní vědomí, které se objevuje v původní doktríně národa a v definici nacionalismu. Je to společný smysl pro národní identitu a základní stavební kámen národa. Na závěr je definován stěžejní termín, a to národní identita, jejíž multidimenzionalita je vysvětlena na základě výše zmíněných dimenzí národa. Národní identita je následně podložena definicemi od Ernesta Gellnera, který ji přidružuje zejména k pojmu vysoká kultura a A. D. Smitha, který do svého pojetí národní identity zahrnuje taktéž kulturu a dále např. historické teritorium, společné mýty a historické vzpomínky. Je nutné zdůraznit, že definicím národní identity od A. D. Smitha je vymezen velký prostor v této části práce, neboť se jeví jako nejvhodnější pro následnou analýzu plakátů. Z tohoto důvodu jsou doloženy také funkce národní identity, které se dělí na externí (teritoriální, ekonomické, politické) a interní.

Druhá podkapitola se zabývá vlivy, které formovaly irskou národní identitu, a to zejména od devatenáctého století do začátku dvacátého století. Nejdříve jsou nastíněny dva přístupy,

kteře jsou stěžejní pro formování irské národní identity. Zatímco ten první se zaměřuje na archeologickou minulost, ten druhý vyobrazuje tuto identitu jako sociální konstrukt. Tato část práce se následně přesouvá k náboženské, sociální a politické situaci v Irsku, která měla vliv na irskou identitu. Stručný výklad začíná osobností svatého Patrika, přes anglickou reformaci, Plantáž Ulstr a rozdělení země mezi katolíky a protestanty, až k prvotním snahám irských nacionalistů o dosažení limitované irské nezávislosti. Podkapitola se následně soustředí na kulturní situaci v Irsku ke konci devatenáctého a začátkem dvacátého století. Jedná se o keltské obrození, které se skládalo z několika hnutí a organizací, které usilovaly o povzbuzení moderní irské národní identity. Těmi nejzásadnějšími byly bezesporu Gaelská liga a Irské literární obrození. Zatímco prvně jmenovaná organizace usilovala o posílení irské identity prostřednictvím zachování irského jazyka, druhé jmenované hnutí prostřednictvím literatury. Jednotlivé vlivy, které byly popsány v této podkapitole, se podílely na moderní podobě irské národní identity v první polovině dvacátého století.

Druhá kapitola je rovněž rozdělena do dvou podkapitol a analyzuje irskou národní identitu zejména ve zobrazeních plakátů z let 1910–1920. První podkapitola se převážně zaměřuje na geografické prvky. Obrazy venkovských oblastí, které se skládají z domů a pastvin s pasoucími se zvířaty mohou signalizovat tradiční způsob života, který má svůj původ v keltské historii. Keltská minulost je často považována za zlatý věk irských dějin, z tohoto důvodu může zachycení venkova v plakátech vyvolávat pocit národní identity. Tento apel na národní identitu prostřednictvím tradiční irské kultury mohl být obzvláště důležitý během první světové války, kdy většina plakátů s těmito motivy vznikla. Typickým prvkem irské krajiny jsou také bažiny. Slovo bažina bylo v minulosti nejen často spojováno s nižší třídou obyvatel, ale také si našlo cestu do několika irských básní. Z těchto důvodů mohlo vyobrazení bažin na plakátu vzbuzovat silnou národní identifikaci. Analyzované plakáty velmi často zobrazují cesty, které mohou symbolizovat soudržnost a pouto mezi komunitami. To stejné platí pro vyobrazení řeky na jednom z plakátů, které může evokovat vitalitu země a také historii, neboť např. nejdelší irská řeka Shannon je úzce spojena s řadou mýtů a legend. Tyto krajinné prvky jsou v plakátech navíc doplňovány mnoha dalšími položkami, které tvoří celkový obraz irské národní identity. Jedná se např. o architekturu, která taktéž do jisté míry značí národní historii. Cesty jsou v plakátech zobrazeny společně s tradičními irskými domky. Takzvané thatched cottages - doškové chalupy - jsou odrazem irské krajiny. Tyto chalupy byly produktem lidového stavitelství, což znamená, že byly postaveny z krajinných materiálů dostupných v určité části Irska. U vyobrazení řeky na jednom z plakátů se navíc nachází ikonická irská kulatá věž, doplněná siluetou kostela. Zachycení lidských postav je také velice symbolické.

Tyto postavy na sobě mají např. irský kilt nebo jiný tradiční oděv. Vyobrazení těchto typicky irských a krajinných prvků mohlo povzbuzovat irskou národní identitu. Silná národní identita byla obzvláště důležitá během válečného konfliktu. Analyzované plakáty v této podkapitole mohou být navíc do jisté míry spojeny s teritoriální funkcí národní identity od A. D. Smitha, protože vyjadřují určitý sociální prostor a historické teritorium.

Druhá podkapitola analyzuje tradiční irské symboly na plakátech ve vztahu k irské národní identitě. Nejdříve je zde zhodnocen historický kontext svatého Patrika, neboť se jedná o silnou osobnost irských dějin, která měla vliv na formování země. Poskytnuté informace o svatém Patrikovi jsou také nezbytné pro analýzu plakátu, neboť některé symboly jsou s ním určitým způsobem spojeny. Navíc Patrik, silný náboženský symbol Irska, je sám zachycen na jednom z plakátů jako vize nacházející se nad zemědělcem, který obdělává pole. Den svatého Patrika je každoročně slaven 17. března. Slavnosti jsou doprovázeny rozsáhlými průvody, ve kterých jsou vystavovány symboly Irska. Tento den připomíná jeden z analyzovaných plakátů z první světové války. Zachování takové události mohlo být obzvláště důležité v dané době, neboť průvody vytvářejí příležitosti, které pomáhají členům komunity pocítit sociální soudržnost a především posilují národní tradice, které mají kořeny v minulosti. Tudiž udržení oslav Dne svatého Patrika mohlo být potřebné pro zachování silné národní identity. Tradiční irské symboly spojené se svatým Patrikem jsou bezesporu trojlístek a irský skřítek. Symbolika trojlístku je z části založena na legendě o svatém Patrikovi, který měl irským pohanům názorně vysvětlit Svatou Trojici na jednotlivých lístcích této rostliny. Symbolika trojlístku je navíc podpořena jeho hojným výskytem v irské přírodě. Důraz na jedinečnost tohoto symbolu byl také kladen irským nacionalismem. Vyobrazení této rostliny v nejrůznějších formách ve velkém množství plakátů, je silnou připomínkou irské národní identity. Během oslav Dne svatého Patrika se také objevuje symbol irského skřítky, který je rovněž spojen s řadou legend a mýtů. Tato tradiční postava je na jednom z plakátů zneužita pro vyobrazení politické situace kolem roku 1910. Irský skřítek, který má podobu Johna Redmonda se snaží dosáhnout na autonomii pro Irsko (home rule). Do jisté míry lze v tomto plakátu nalézt politickou funkci národní identity, protože John Redmond se snažil o vybudování moderní irské identity na základě hodnot své politické strany, která se snažila o dosažení irské nezávislosti. Tudiž tyto snahy mohly reprezentovat sdílené zážitky (které jsou pro vytváření národní identity nezbytné) a pojivo pro takovou část irských obyvatel, kteří podporovali nacionalisticky zaměřené skupiny a organizace. Tato podkapitola se dále přesouvá k irské harfě, která se stala národním symbolem Irska. Je poskytnut historický kontext, který začíná irským králem Brianem Boru, přes Jindřicha VIII., až po irský nacionalismus. Podobně jako u trojlístku, i harfa se na plakátech objevuje

v nejrůznějších formách např. jako fyzický předmět nebo znak na vlajce. Silná historie tohoto symbolu a jeho zachycení na plakátech může připomínat důležitost zachování irské národní identity. Jelikož se irská harfa často objevuje na vlajkách, tak i tyto objekty jsou analyzovány ve spojení s národní identitou. Vlajky jsou nedílnou součástí každodenního života a jsou důležitými znaky národní identity, protože reflektují společné historické zkušenosti a skutečnou nebo smyšlenou kulturní homogenitu. Závěr této podkapitoly se soustředí na symbolické vyobrazení Erin, což je ženská postava, která představuje ztělesnění Irska. Různé podoby Erin vyjadřují myšlenku silného národa, mohou vyvolávat vzpomínky na irskou vlast a tím přispět k pocitu národní identity. Je nutné říct, že symboly jsou významné pro vnitřní funkci národní identity. Je to zejména z toho důvodu, že vyobrazení symbolů na plakátech připomíná lidem společné dědictví a kulturní spřízněnost, což posiluje smysl pro společnou identitu a sounáležitost.

Třetí kapitola se přesouvá k analýze irské národní identity v pouze textově zaměřených plakátech. První diskutovaný plakát obsahuje rozsáhlou zprávu od Johna Redmonda, jehož jméno je zachyceno hned v nadpise. Toto jméno mohlo evokovat národní identitu, neboť Redmond byl vnímán jako silná politická osobnost, ba co víc, jako národní hrdina, který zasvětil část svého života nejen snahám o irskou nezávislost, ale také aktivnímu válečnému úsilí. Takto charismatičtí lídři mohou navíc symbolizovat jednotu. Následující textová část plakátu apeluje na národní historii. Připomínka sdílené historie byla častým motivem propagandistických plakátů a mohla napomáhat k národní soudržnosti. Navíc vzpomínka na kolektivní minulost může posilovat národní identitu. Redmond v tomto plakátu dále poukazuje na sílu irské armády a na jedinečnost irských pluků. Jedinečnost ve smyslu homogenity vojáků, kteří měli mít pouze irskou národnost. Tato soudržnost mohla do jisté míry symbolizovat jednotu Irů, která se nenechala rozdělit jinými národy. Kapitola dále poukazuje na národní hrdost. Národní hrdost a národní identita jsou termíny vzájemně propojeny pomocí „radosti,“ která napomáhá pocitu sounáležitosti s konkrétní komunitou (národem). Národní hrdost a identita je následně analyzována v textu plakátu, který odkazuje na irské povstání z roku 1798. Další rozbory plakátů dokazují, že nejen obrázky zachycující krajinu a architekturu mohou evokovat pocit národní identity, ale také úderné texty. Na konci této kapitoly je diskutována zelená barva, která je přítomna na většině plakátů, a která je typická pro Irsko. Tato barva byla přijata organizací Society of United Irishmen v osmnáctém století a v následujících stoletích byla úzce spojena s irským nacionalismem. Zelená barva také reprezentuje rozmanitou irskou flórou. Výskyt této barvy na plakátech mohl tedy podporovat pocit sounáležitosti, který je klíčový pro národní identitu.

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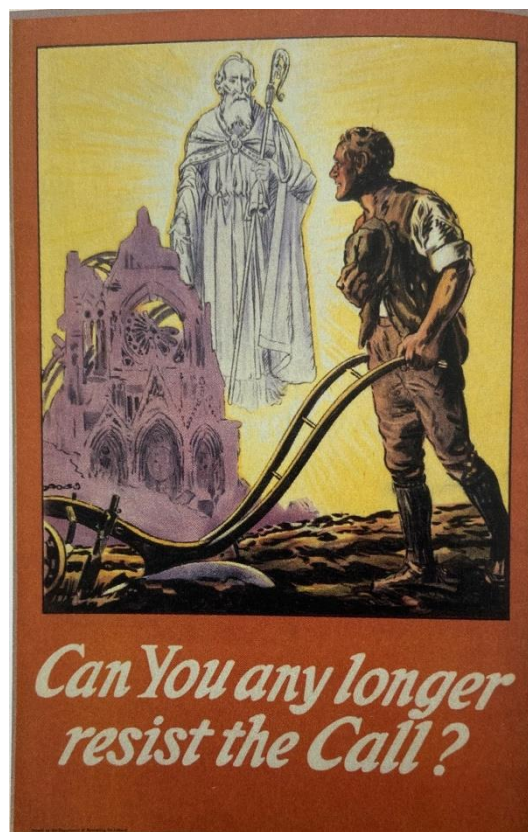
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## Appendices



Appendix 1

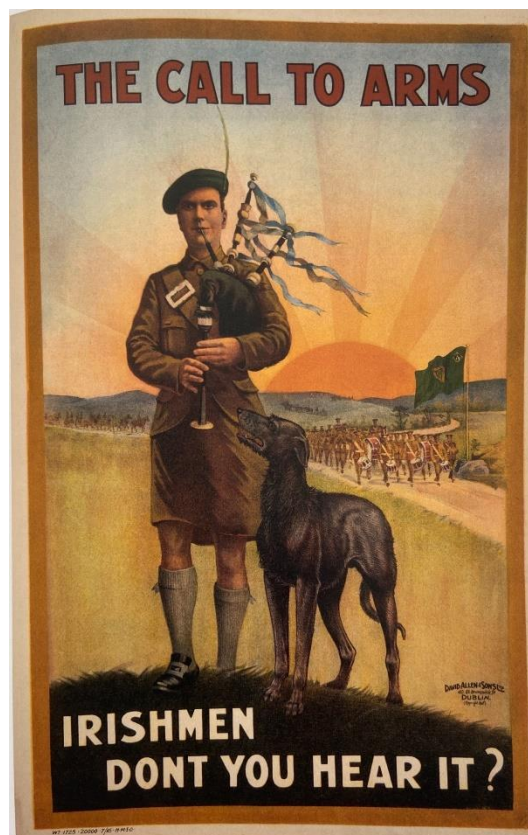


Appendix 2

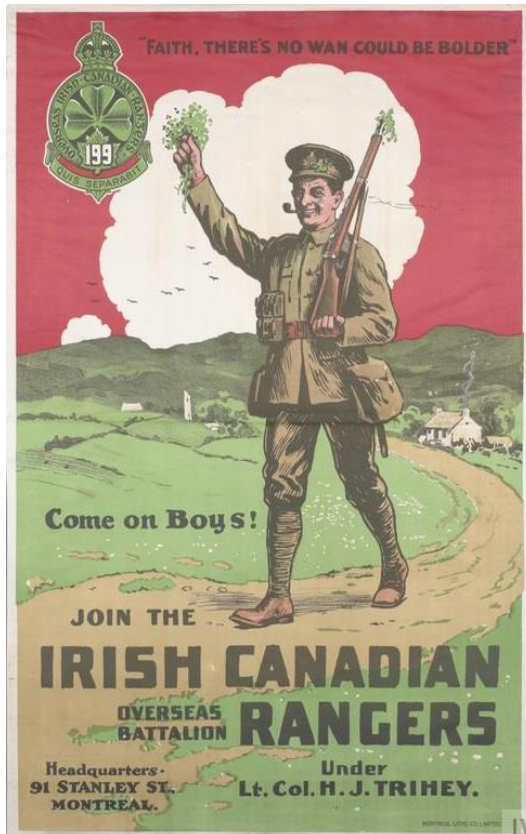




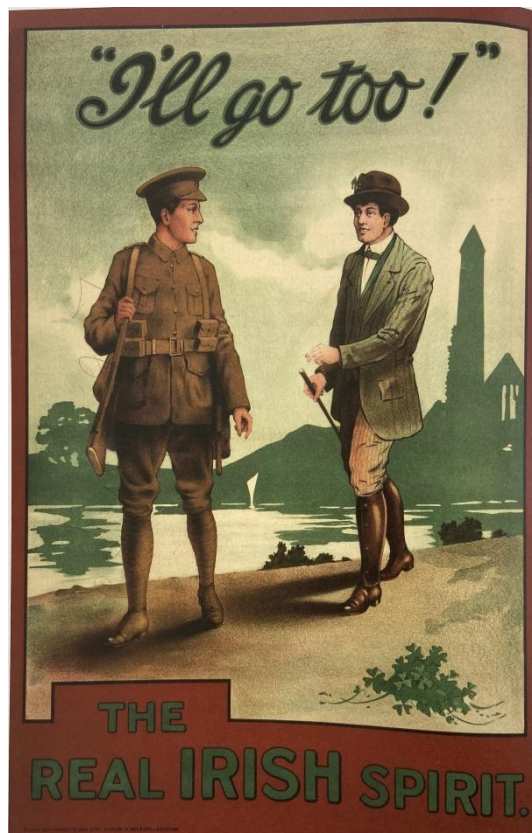
Appendix 3



Appendix 4



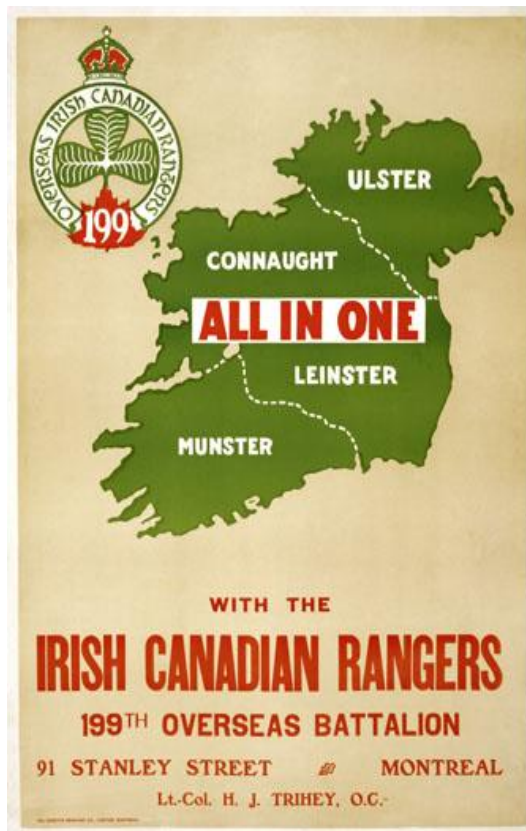
Appendix 5



Appendix 6



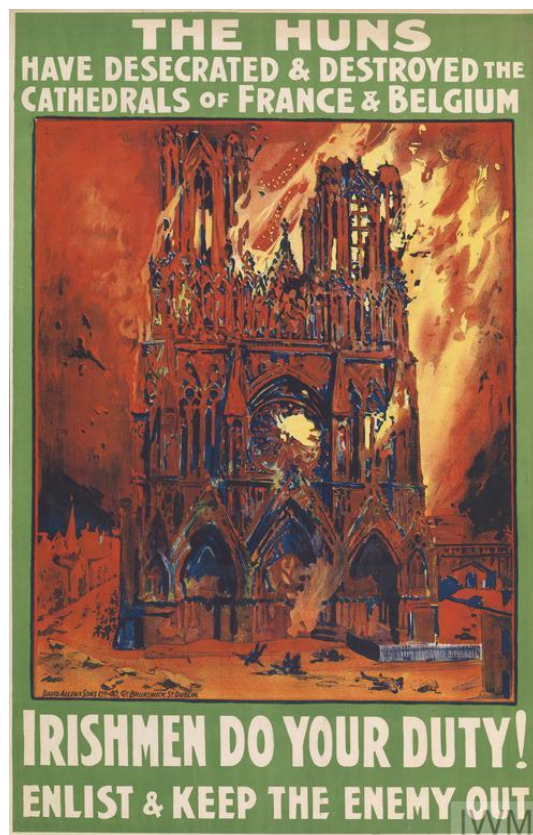
Appendix 7



Appendix 8



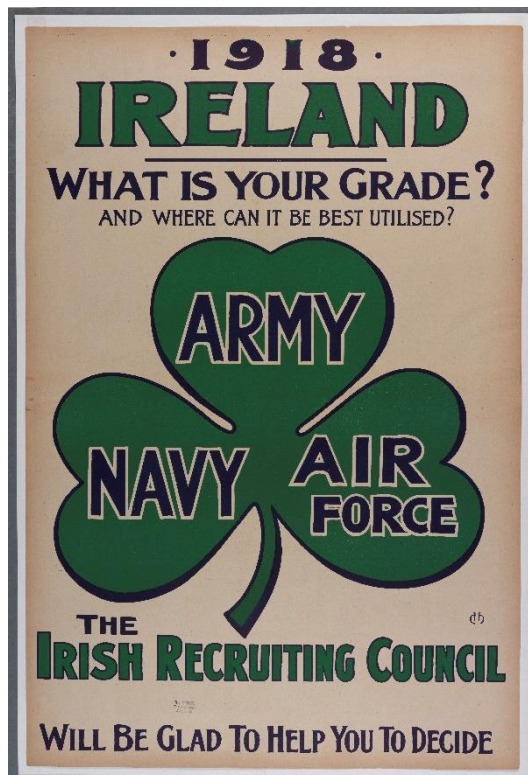
Appendix 9



Appendix 10



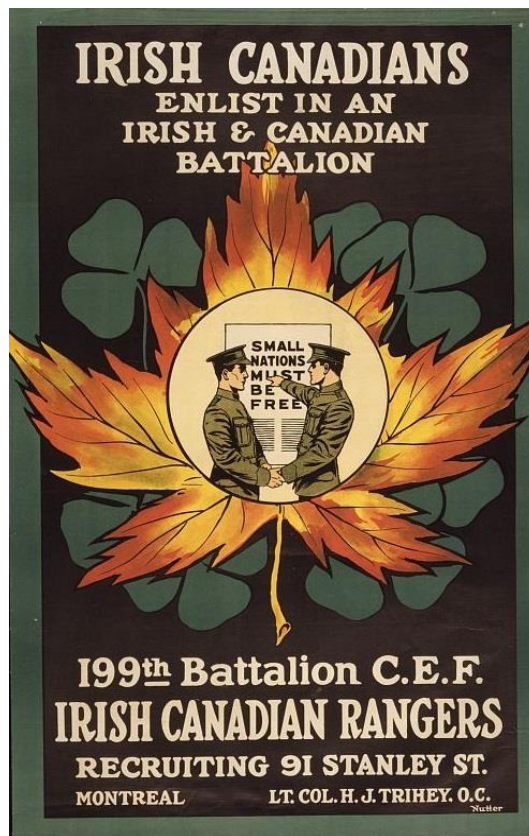
Appendix 11



Appendix 12



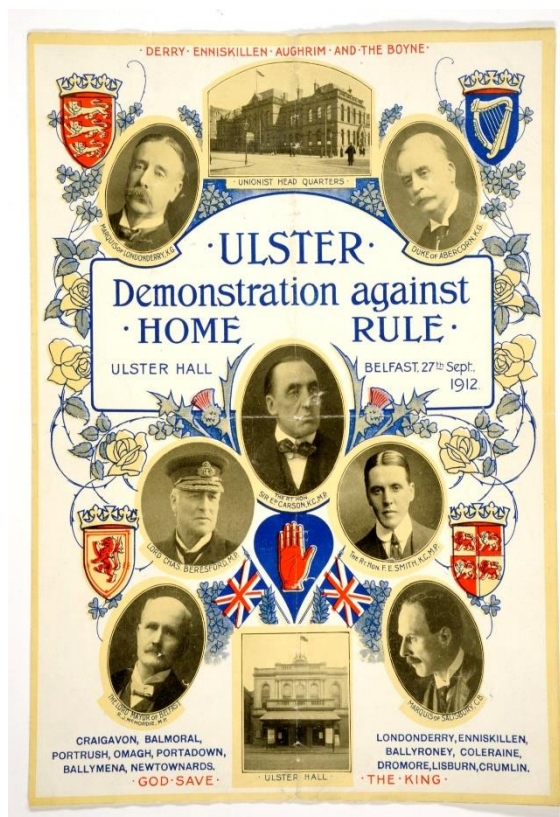
Appendix 13



Appendix 14



Appendix 15



Appendix 16

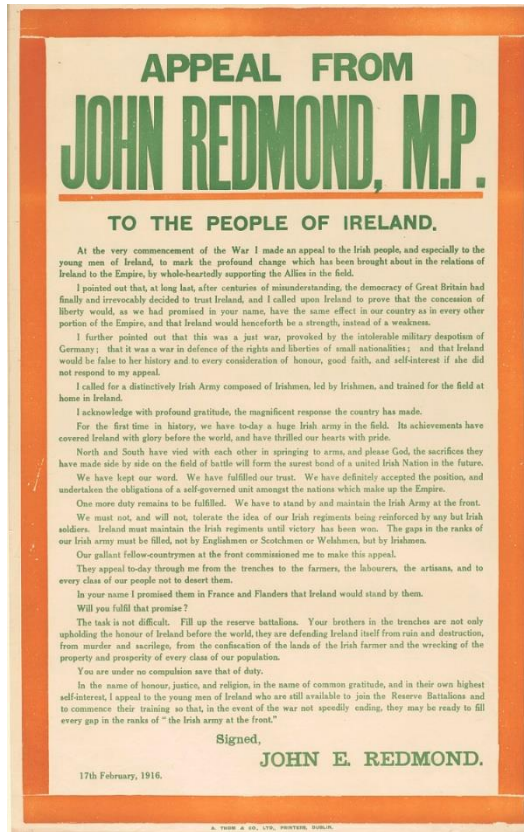


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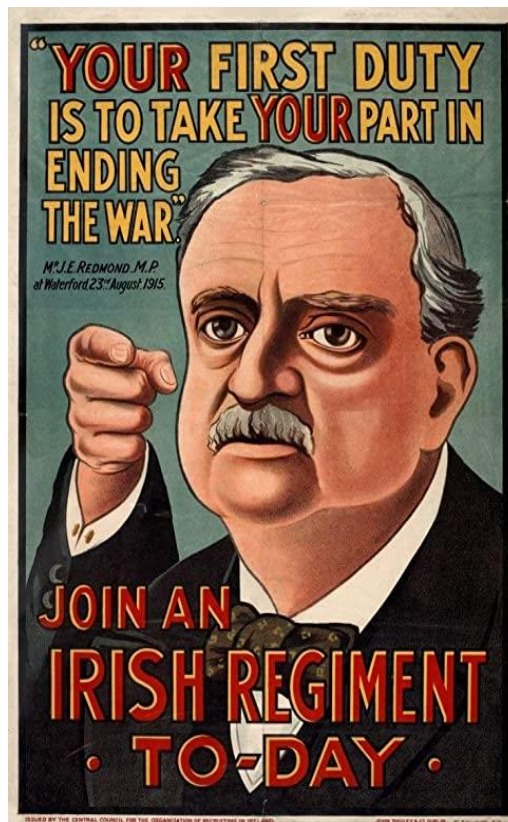


Appendix 18





Appendix 19



Appendix 20

# 300 IRISHMEN MURDERED.

Do you know that at least three hundred innocent, non-combatant Irishmen have been murdered by the Germans in this war, which some people tell you is not Ireland's war?

Perhaps you did not know, but it is the truth. Twelve Irish cross-channel ships have been sunk by German submarines since March of last year, most of them without warning. Here are their names, most of them good Irish names, with their ports and the dates of their sinking:—"Lismore" (Cork, March, 1917); "Bandon" (Cork, July, 1917); "Ardmore" (Cork, November, 1917); "Coningbeg" and "Formby" (Waterford, December, 1917); "Hare" and "Adela" (Dublin, December, 1917); "Cork" (Dublin, January, 1918); "Kenmare" (Cork, March, 1918); "Fern" (Dublin, April, 1918); "Innisarra" (Cork, May, 1918); "Innisfallen" (Cork, June, 1918).

All these twelve Irish ships were manned by Irish sailors, and carried Irish passengers and cattlemen, and nearly all of them were sunk with the loss of many lives. There are sixty-eight families in Cork to-day left destitute by the Germans. There are eighty-five families in Waterford mourning for their men murdered by the Germans.

These twelve large Irish ships are not all. Nearly a score of small Irish coasting ships and colliers have been sunk as well. This year the Germans have even murdered some poor Irish fishermen, and robbed many more of their boats and gear—all their means of living. Have you read Father McHugh's story of the sinking of the "Pretty Polly," a fishing boat of Carna, Co. Galway, by a German submarine—how the Germans put a bomb on board of her and blew her to pieces with her crew of seven men?

Do you wonder that the Germans treat Irishmen like this? Have you forgotten what the Germans did in Ireland once before—the Hessians in Wexford in '98, whose deeds were condemned by the British Viceroy of the day? We had a saying in Ireland then that every true Irishman should "kill a Hessian for himself." The Germans are the same in 1918 as in 1798. This crime at Carna, in Father McHugh's words "calls to Heaven for vengeance," and that crime is the murder of only seven Irishmen out of 300 murdered in the past twelve months.

Isn't the saying of '98 good enough now? If you cannot "kill a Hessian for yourself" the least you can do is to support those who are fighting against the German murderers of 300 Irishmen.

## Appendix 21

# IRELAND & POLAND

**The Germans have set themselves to crush Poland out of existence.**

They have uprooted some 25,000 Polish farmers, and replaced them by Germans. To complete the destruction of Poland, the Germans passed a law prohibiting any Pole purchasing land, so that in process of time the whole soil of Poland must pass into German hands.

**Now, during all this period, the British Government has been labouring to reinstate and root the Irish People in their own soil. Great ranches have been divided up, and no fewer than 4,000 tenants have been restored. Is Germany going to treat Ireland differently from Poland?**

This is a war of conquest, and the Germans mean to exchange the arid wastes of the Baltic and the sands of Brandenburg for the rich pastures of Ireland. Every one of us should face these facts as common-sense men, and not as dreamers or talkers.

**I appeal to every Young Man of Military age to join the Colours.**

**The REV. WILLIAM P. BURKE, C.C., at Cahir, 14th November, 1915.**

## Appendix 22

**THREE RISKS**

**CAN YOU IRISH FARMERS AFFORD**

1. To have your LAND calmly confiscated to German farmers?
2. To be taken as CONSCRIPTS for the Kaiser's schemes of ambition?
3. To see your sons trained by Prussia for future CANNON FODDER?

**WHY HAVE FARMERS**  
and their sons from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and other parts of the Empire sprung to the colours?

**BECAUSE THEY KNEW THE RISKS**

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Appendix 23

**AN APPEAL**  
— TO —  
**CALLANT IRISHMEN!**

Do you hear the voice of heroic Belgium calling for your aid? Will you answer it?

Do you know that Cathedrals and Churches have been violated in Belgium, and that Ministers of Religion have been driven from their Churches by the Germans?

Do you know that if Germany succeeded in this War Ireland would be crushed and would share Belgium's fate?

Have you heard of the glorious deeds of the "Irish Guards," the "Connaughts," the "Dublins," the "Inniskillings," the "Leinsters," the "Munsters," and other Irish Regiments? These Regiments need your help.

**JOIN AN IRISH REGIMENT TO-DAY**

So as to become fit to accompany your

**BRAVE COUNTRYMEN IN BELGIUM**

4-108 9-108 111 10175 10175 10175

Appendix 24