

Paul Fagan, Dieter Fuchs, Tamara Radak (eds.)

STAGE IRISH

PERFORMANCE, IDENTITY, CULTURAL CIRCULATION

# Irish Studies in Europe

Volume

10

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# **STAGE IRISH**

**PERFORMANCE, IDENTITY,  
CULTURAL CIRCULATION**

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**Stage Irish:**

**Performance, Identity, Cultural Circulation /**

Paul Fagan, Dieter Fuchs, Tamara Radak (eds.). -

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*Irish Studies in Europe* is a series of peer-reviewed academic publications in Irish Studies. The series aims to publish new research from within the humanities and social sciences on all aspects of the history, society and culture of Ireland, Northern Ireland, and the Irish diaspora. The programme of the series is a deliberate reflection of the objectives of the *European Federation of Associations and Centres of Irish Studies (EFACIS)*, under whose aegis it is published.

The “European” dimension suggested by the series’ title is an indication of a prioritised, but by no means exclusive, concentration on European perspectives on Irish Studies. With such an “etic” approach the publications in this series contribute to the progress of Irish Studies by providing a special viewpoint on Irish history, society, literature and culture. The series also documents the vitality and wide variety of European traditions of Irish Studies as an inter-, trans- and multi-disciplinary field of research.



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The collection is offered in Werner Huber's memory.

June 2021

Paul Fagan  
Dieter Fuchs  
Tamara Radak



# INTRODUCTION:

## TRANSCULTURAL REFRACTIONS AND RECEPTIONS OF IRISHNESS ON PAGE, STAGE, AND SCREEN

Paul Fagan, Dieter Fuchs, Tamara Radak

The Stage Irishman, Maebh Long writes, “cast[s] a long shadow” (37). For evidence of the endurance of the stock stereotype, which critics have traced back as far as the sixteenth century, we need only note the online response to the 2020 trailer for *Wild Mountain Thyme*, John Patrick Shanley’s film adaptation of his play *Outside Mullingar*. Nate Jones documents the fall-out to “the film’s *bejaysus*-ly broad depiction of Ireland”:

When the film’s trailer dropped in November, seemingly all of Ireland was united in savaging the project. “What in the name of holy bejaysus and all the suffering saints is this benighted cowpat?” asked one columnist. Said a YouTube commenter: “This is worse than the Famine.” (n.p.)

Séamas O’Reilly coined the term “spudface” to describe Christopher Walken and Emily Blunt’s “mangled Irish accents” in the film (n.p.), a term that both acknowledges a history of Irish oppression through representation and ironises that history from a twenty-first-century vantage. In interview with Jones, O’Reilly situates the trailer’s reception within this complex legacy of the Stage Irish stereotype in contemporary Ireland:

[T]here’s a [...] history of Irishness being portrayed in ways that are, I would say, objectively harmful. Thankfully, there’s been an evolution in the standing of Irish people. I think we’ve become less of a bedraggled, loathed, vermin class of people that we were often portrayed as, in everything from *Punch* cartoons to British radio serials to American anti-Irish propaganda. Then in the ’50s and ’60s, it was more of a silly, simplistic, quite sentimental view of Ireland. Now it’s kind of just a mishmash of weird stereotypes and odd touchstones, most of which were invented in America.

Most of the time, it’s actually just laughable, and I think [...] *Wild Mountain Thyme* [...] kind of transgressed being offensive. Irish people don’t take themselves that seriously. We understand where we are in the pecking order of aggrieved peoples. [...] [W]e are ruthlessly sarcastic and incredibly eager to engage with these myths about ourselves because we find them really entertaining. It brings people together. In the absence of having a right to be genuinely offended, we at least preserve the right to mercilessly take the piss. (Jones n.p.)

The contention that in contemporary Ireland, and especially in online discourse, such hetero-stereotypes have become fodder for community-building humour is evidenced in the positive response that met the 18 March 2019 episode of *This Time with Alan Partridge* (S1 E4), a spoof of current affairs programmes broadcast by BBC One. In the episode’s last segment, Steve Coogan plays both Alan Partridge and Partridge’s Irish double, Martin Brennan, a crooked-toothed and thickly accented Irish farmer

who ambushes the show by singing Irish rebel songs (“Oh my god, that was like an advert for the IRA,” Partridge mutters on mic over the closing credits). The Irish broadcaster RTÉ declared it to be the “TV moment of the year” (Anon., “Watch” n.p.).

The distinction between the negative response to the romanticised, but ultimately timid, American ‘Oirish’ fantasy portrayed in *Wild Mountain Thyme*, and the positive response to the provocative portrayal of the cunning, rural, rebel-rousing Brennan for BBC One’s primarily English audience, is worthy of note. In part, the discrepancy can be attributed to the knowledge that Coogan himself has Irish ancestry: “The decisions I make on comedy aren’t made on a whim. That whole history between the British and the Irish runs through me,” he tells Donald Clarke of *The Irish Times* (n.p.). More substantially, the difference lies in the fact that while *Wild Mountain Thyme* offers a fetishised, nostalgic simulation of an Ireland that was always a Hollywood construction to begin with, Coogan’s Stage Irish performance carries a subversive political edge. Coogan’s persona is distinguished from the wholly non-ironised performances of Shanley’s film through an underlying satire, which creates an ironic double exposure to distinctly conceptualisable audiences: to an imagined English audience for whom Brennan might well be the butt of the joke in his fulfilment of long-circulated stereotypical representations of the Irish across media; to an idealised Irish audience, who discern an act of resistance in the visible discomfort that Brennan creates for his English host Partridge, and who can perceive the humour, and historical significance, of Coogan leveraging this Stage Irish conceit to sing “The Men Behind the Wire” and “Come Out Ye Black and Tans” on the BBC.

Rather than relics of Ireland’s colonial past, the figures of the Stage Irishman and Stage Irishwoman retain their power in the twenty-first century to stereotype and Other Irish national identity in ways that can still provoke outrage. Yet, they also preserve a certain vibrant potential – in the tradition of Jonathan Swift’s *A Modest Proposal*, Maria and Richard Edgeworth’s *An Essay on Irish Bulls*, or G. B. Shaw’s *John Bull’s Other Island* – for resisting, ridiculing, or renegotiating such contemporary representations through ironic communal humour and sharp-edged political satire. Less a rigid, historicised stereotype of a previous phase of national identity formation, then, Stage Irishry remains central to contemporary attempts to perform, negotiate, and deconstruct ‘Irishness’ before diverse national and international gazes by engaging, earnestly or ironically, with prevalent myths about Irish selfhood.

*Stage Irish: Performance, Identity, Cultural Circulation* brings together chapters which revisit and reconsider these diverse modes of (mis)representing, performing, articulating, witnessing, constructing, and deconstructing ‘Irishness’ from a twenty-first-century vantage. The time is ripe for such an inquiry. The Celtic Tiger and Brexit, the Marriage Equality referendum and the #Repealthe8th and #WakingTheFeminists campaigns compel us to turn to history and representation (in literature, drama, art, music, film, television, non-fiction, popular and digital culture) to reassess how ‘Irishness’ has been shaped and reshaped through parochial, national, and international

performances and gazes as a variously class-coded, gendered, sexual, religious, national, and artistic identity. This focus on the cultural, societal, historical, and political interfaces between performance, performativity, spectatorship, and identity in diverse Irish and international contexts reveals tensions between self-image and Othering, innovation and cliché, cultural production and negotiated reception.

Our wager is that this collection's return to a critical commonplace of Irish Studies is warranted given the fact that while the Stage Irish trope is often referenced, it is, in fact, seldom interrogated in a sustained way. Of course, one need not read too widely to find informed histories and insightful applications of the specific stereotypes of Stage Irishry (as distinct from discussions of representations of Irish identity more broadly), particularly in studies of Irish drama and film.<sup>1</sup> And yet, there has not been a monograph dedicated exclusively to historicising and re-theorising the specific character type of the Stage Irishman for over a decade, and most of the major works on the topic are over half a century old.<sup>2</sup> Given the significant changes that Irish Studies broadly, and theorisations of national identity and its representation more specifically, have undergone over the last decades, we believe that it is now essential to re-evaluate one of the core concepts of the field from new historical vantages and theoretical perspectives.

The chapters gathered here relaunch and reframe key debates concerning Stage Irish representations through a number of interrelated strategies. First, they re-evaluate authors and texts that have been decanonised and neglected through an often superficial, dehistoricised evaluation of their Stage Irish figures and scenes (William Maginn, Francis Sylvester Mahony, Charles Lever, Dion Boucicault). What these chapters discover is that upon closer inspection, such authors' representations of 'Irishness' are often more nuanced, complex, and political than their legacies as purveyors of Paddywhackery permit. To give one relevant example, while he is often understood to be the origin of the modern sentimentalised, buffoonish Stage Irishman, in recent years critics such as Deirdre McFeely have shown us that Boucicault was a much more politically engaged writer than his critical standing allows. For instance, in *Arrah-na-Pogue* (1864), Boucicault has his Irish characters on stage sing "The Wearing of the Green," about the repression of supporters of the 1798 Irish Rebellion, as Fenian sentiments were rising in the world outside the theatre. Perhaps, then, de-

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1 As a non-exhaustive sampling, we think of Kiberd, *The Irish Writer* (21-41), Hayton (1-24), Trotter (35-72), Long (34-53), Nowatzki (162-84), Cave (62-128), Graves (29-38), Flynn (121-47), Rogers (146-59). Other equally important examples are cited throughout the volume.

2 The main extended studies in the field were published in 1937 (G.C. Duggan's *The Stage Irishman: A History of the Irish Play and Stage Characters from the Earliest Times*), 1971 (L. Perry Curtis Jr's *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*), 1976 (Annelise Truninger's *Paddy and the Paycock: A Study of the Stage Irishman from Shakespeare to O'Casey*) and most recently in 2009 (Kathleen Heininge's *Buffoonery in Irish Drama: Staging Twentieth-Century Post-Colonial Stereotypes*).

spite their reputations, Boucicault's Stage Irish characters are the progenitors not only of the Hollywood 'Oirish' tradition that would give us *Wild Mountain Thyme*, but also of a type of politically inflected Stage Irish performance that gives us Coogan's Martin Brennan.

Secondly, the chapters address the Stage Irish figure not as solely the product of a two-way power dynamic between coloniser and colonised, but rather a performance that is constantly shaped and re-shaped in a more complex network of performances and gazes through acts of transnational refraction and reception. This focus entails a more devolved view of the Atlantic Archipelago that moves beyond a reductive two-way relation between Ireland and Britain – with 'Britain,' as Richard Barlow points out, still too often used interchangeably with 'England' in an Irish Studies context (1-2) – to consider Stage Irish encounters with, and performances by, Scottish Whigs and Corkonian Tories, Derry Catholics and transatlantic tourists. The attention the volume pays to Northern Ireland (Lisa McGee, Stacey Gregg, David Ireland, Jez Butterworth) is crucial to this agenda. Elsewhere, contributors reflect on the transnational circulation of Irish literary representations of the local through material publishing networks (Jane Barlow, Seumas MacManus, Katharine Tynan, Emily Lawless, Frank James Mathew), alongside the reception of Irish dramatists and modernists in Vienna, Trieste, Ljubljana (Seán O'Casey, James Joyce), and American representations of the Irish (Hollywood Animation, Disney, St. Patrick's Day parades).

Thirdly, the chapters reinvestigate and theorise the Stage Irish trope's legacy to increasingly inclusive and diverse definitions of Irishness, by taking into account its intersections with representations of gender (in Ethel Colburn Mayne, Deirdre Kinahan, Edna O'Brien, Marina Carr, among others), race (Conall Morrison), and economic class (in Maginn, Lever, Colburn Mayne, Deirdre Kinahan, David Ireland, among others). Although often neglected in favour of her pipe-smoking male counterpart, the Stage Irishwoman also has a long and storied history, as M. Alison Kibler has shown (5-30), from the 'colleen' to the 'Irish servant girl.' At the same time, Irish Orientalist auto-stereotypes and simianised hetero-stereotypes of the 'wild Irish' demonstrate that the Stage Irish figure has always been an image of a racialised Other. As well as retracing these histories from new perspectives and through overlooked authors and texts, *Stage Irish* responds to, and means to advance, recent work on twenty-first-century renegotiations of Irish identity on stage, such as Marguérite Corporaal and Ruud van den Beuken's collection *A Stage of Emancipation: Change and Progress at the Dublin Gate Theatre* (2021). This component of the present volume's interrogation of 'Stage Irishness' is crucial to gain a greater vantage on discourses of Irish identity today by relating them to the interwoven histories of representing, performing, mimicking, and stereotyping Irishness. This comparative reflection on present and past articulations of 'Irishness' also helps to move the discussion of Stage Irishry beyond previous conceptualisations of national identity as an essentialist category to more contemporary understandings of Irishness as a fluid discursive construction. This book aims to provide a sound basis, practical anchors, and guiding lights for this

ongoing critical conversation by retracing the legacy of the Stage Irish trope from new historical, critical, and theoretical perspectives.

### **Stage Irish Origins: From Wild Other to Comic Fool**

Perhaps the most complete and enduring characterisation of the Stage Irishman is provided by Maurice Bourgeois in his 1913 study *John Millington Synge and the Irish Theatre*:

The Stage Irishman habitually bears the generic name of Pat, Paddy, or Teague. He has an atrocious brogue [Irish dialect], makes perpetual jokes, blunders, and bulls in speaking, and never fails to utter, by way of Hibernian seasoning, some wild screech or oath of Gaelic origin at every third word; he has an unsurpassable gift of “blamey” and cadges for tips and free drinks. His hair is of a fiery red; he is rosy-cheeked, massive, and whisky-loving. His face is one of simian bestiality with an expression of diabolical archness written all over it. He wears a tall felt hat (billicock or wideawake), with a cutty-clay pipe stuck in front, an open shirt-collar, a three-caped coat, knee-breeches, worsted stockings, and cockaded brogue-shoes. In his right hand he brandishes a stout blackthorn, or a sprig of shillelagh, and threatens to belabour therewith the daring person who will “tread on the tails of his coat.” For his main characteristics (if there is any such thing as psychology in the Stage Irishman) are his swagger, his boisterousness, and his pugnacity. He is always ready with a challenge, always anxious to pick a quarrel; and peerless for cracking skulls at Donnybrook Fair. (109-10)

While Bourgeois frames the Stage Irishman as “not altogether a fictitious convention,” albeit “with the help of occasional touches of eccentricity” (110), the figure he presents is something of a Frankenstein’s monster of different stereotypes of the Irish, produced under various historical, cultural, and discursive conditions and drawn together cumulatively from Tudor, Stuart, Jacobite, Augustan, Romantic, Melodramatic, Victorian, Revivalist, and early Modernist contexts of representation.

For many, the figure first comes to prominence in William Shakespeare’s MacMorris, who declares memorably in *Henry V* (1599): “What ish my nation? Ish a villain, and a bastard, and a knave, and a rascal. What ish my nation? Who talks of my nation?” before threatening (“Chrish save me”) to cut off the Stage Welshman Fluellen’s head (132, 3.3.61-71). However, the earliest recorded example of a broad Hiberno-English accent on the stage is understood to have pre-dated the Bard by a few years, in the *Famous History of the Life and Death of Captaine Thomas Stukeley* (performed 1596, printed 1605). Still, as Duggan notes, at this point there is little precision and distinction in the Stage Irishman’s pattern of speech, which often included lisping and other linguistic features that were applied indiscriminately also to Stage Welshmen and Stage Jews merely as markers of racialised Otherness (195). While appearing for the first time on the English stage, these representations had a history in the rhetoric of the “wild Irish,” which had been current from at least the fourteenth century, particularly to describe those Irish who lived outside the Pale. The legacy of this representation of the Irish from the colonial perspective as animalistic, savage, and uncivilisable informs numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works, from Edmund Spenser’s *The Faerie Queen* (1590/1596) and *A View of the Present State of*

*Ireland* (1596) (which presents the Irish variously as cannibals and nonhuman quadrupeds grazing the fields and feeding on shamrocks) to Thomas Dekker's *The Honest Whore, Part 2* (1605/6), where it is claimed that the "wild" Irish "knave [...] if hee were put to't, would fight more desperately then sixteene" men (138).

While the "wild" Irish are thus generally represented as an exotic and fearsome quasi-nonhuman Other, during this period we also start to see an increased use of the trope for comic purposes, such as in the bathos that undermines the Clown's initially fearful description of the wild Irish in Dekker's *The Welsh Ambassador, or a Comedy of Disguises* (1623):

EDMOND: And priddy now, tell me who is more terrible in batails [battles], de Irish or de Welsh?

CLOWN: Oh, Irish, Irish; every Irishman with a dart looks like death; only death has not so much hair on's head. (377)

The most renowned instance of a sustained depiction of these Stage Irish tropes in the early stages of its theatrical development is Ben Jonson's *Irish Masque at Court* (1613), which opens with the uncouth footmen of the Irish "imbasheters" (ambassadors) to the court bursting onstage in a comical manner and declaring in a thick brogue:

PATRICK: For chreeshes sayk, phair ish te King? phich ish he an't be? show me te shweet faish, quickly. By got, o' my consheence, tish ish he! Ant tou be King Yamish, me name is Dennish, I sherve ti Mayesties owne cashtermonger, be me trote; and cry peep'sh, and pomwater'sh i'th Mayesties shervice, tis five year now. Ant, tou vilt not trush me now, cal up ti clarke o' ti kitchin, be ant be, shall give hish wort, upon hish book, ish true.

DONNELL: Ish it te fashion, to beate te imbasheters, here, and knocke 'hem o'te heads, phit te phoit stick? (709, 1.1.5-17)

As James M. Smith has shown, when these exaggerated characters and speech patterns are returned to their original political context, we also discern the ideological functions of the representation, as Jonson "fictionalises Ireland as a bifurcated colonial arena where inferior Native Irish traits are opposed by superior English cultural practice" (301), in order to legitimise "Ireland's incorporation into the nation state" (298).

In this period of the transformation and realisation of the modern Stage Irishman, the figure of the Teague – or Irish servant – began to emerge as a "popular" and "enduring" iteration of the character type, "a thoroughgoing stereotype" of an "exotic" Other which was nevertheless distinct in significant ways from his wilder forebears:

[The Teagues] enter wearing their traditional mantles, saffron-colored shirts, and tight blue trousers and are portrayed as exotic from their thick, shaggy hair to their brogues [Irish shoes], literally from head to toe. They are much given to howling in the presence of the dead, long for a diet of shamrocks, bonny clabber, and watercress, and fight very bravely [...]. But with their wildness also comes a simplicity of heart that manifests itself in extreme devotion and loyalty to their masters. (Trainor 27)



Charles Trainor notes that as he developed from the Elizabethan period to the eighteenth century, the Irish servant “was less often portrayed as exotic and more often mocked as absurd,” with English playwright Robert Howard’s *The Committee; or, the Faithful Irishman* (1662) serving as “[t]he play that more than any other established the comic stereotype” of the Stage Irish Teague (28). Through Howard’s example, the Teague became renowned for “continually making mistakes”: while he “is so loyal and true that he will do anything for his master, [...] he is so confused and simple that the things he does are generally wrong” (Trainor 28). A notable instance is the character of Teague in George Farquhar’s *The Twin Rivals* (1702). As the Stage Irish Teague “became ever more popular, he became ever more inept” (Trainor 29), appearing under a diversity of strikingly absurd names: Teague O’Dively in Thomas Shadwell’s *The Irish Priest* (1681); Captain O’Blunder in Thomas Sheridan’s *The Brave Irishman* (1740); Sir Callaghan O’Brallaghan in Charles Macklin’s *Love à-la-Mode* (1759); Sir Lucius O’Trigger in Richard Brinsley Sheridan’s *The Rivals* (1775); Denis Blunder O’Whack in Frederick Reynolds’s *Notoriety* (1792); Sally Shamrock in Samuel James Arnold’s *The Shipwreck* (1796); O’Shatter in Arnold and Henry James Pye’s *A Prior Claim* (1806). Across these productions, we see the figure’s deterioration into a crude stereotype: the comic type of the fool.

In conversation with David Hayton’s insightful chapter “From Barbarian to Burlesque: The Changing Stereotype of the Irish” (1-24), Maebh Long succinctly draws together the history of this transition from the ‘wild’ to the ‘comic’ Stage Irishman:

As England’s power in Ireland expanded [in the seventeenth century], the Irish stock character became correspondingly lampooned, moving gradually from a figure of perplexing otherness to a reassuringly familiar fool. During the seventeenth century, the stereotype was commonly featured “[d]rinking, bragging in his cups, nursing his pride and forever taking up arms in defence of his ‘honour,’ hunting fortunes, murdering logic and the English language” [Hayton 2]. The growing control of Ireland in the latter half of the eighteenth century saw the stage and cartoon Irishman portrayed as increasingly “contemptible [...] a prime source of humour and a proverb for all that was inferior or ridiculous” [Hayton 22]. By the mid-nineteenth century, the figure was so ubiquitous on the English stage as to be worthy of immediate parody. (36)

Indeed the “Teague was still very much alive and thriving” well into the nineteenth century, as can be seen in John Maddison Morton’s blundering *Irish Tiger* (1846), “who is heard off-stage breaking crockery before he enters” (Trainor 29).

### **Stage Irish Hetero-Stereotypes and Auto-Stereotypes**

Walter Lippmann, who coined the term “stereotype” in his 1922 work *Public Opinion*, notes that “[i]ts hallmark is that it precedes the use of reason; is a form of perception, imposes a certain character on the data of our senses before the data reach the intelligence” (65). Clearly, such a definition captures the *a priori* prejudicial character of the colonial stage presentations of the Irish as variously wild, exotic, faithful, or buffoonish racialised Others. However, at this juncture in our potted history of Stage Irishry, it is worth pausing to draw finer distinctions between

1. the hetero-stereotype: “a group’s perception of another group’s members’ traits, characteristics, or values” in terms of “rigid ethnic characterisations and strong generalisations” about national or cultural “group membership” (Pastor and Fuentes 649);
2. the auto-stereotype: “a group’s views about the traits or characteristics of its own members” (Pastor and Fuentes 649).

In other words, hetero-stereotypes are preconceived views that others hold about a community, while auto-stereotypes are preconceived views that a community holds about itself. As Seamus Deane contends, “[a]lthough the stereotyping initiative, so to speak, is taken by the community that exercises power,” ultimately “stereotypes are mutually generative of each other, as in the case of the English and Irish” (“Introduction” 12). To appreciate the history of Stage Irish representation and performance, it is necessary to consider how the character type takes shape (and takes hold) not only through colonial representation, but also through the ways in which the Irish (however this term is constructed and whatever value is given to it across and between diverse cultural practices and national discourses) internalise these representations in their negotiations of a self-conceived and self-constructed identity.

In the aftermath of the 1800 Acts of Union, we observe a growing resistance to Stage Irishry, either through satire or attempts to refashion the Paddy and the Teague into more benign, affectionate figures. In the first category, stereotypical depictions of the Irish are mocked in Maria and Richard Edgeworth’s *An Essay on Irish Bulls* (1802), which feigns to demonstrate the Irish native’s innate propensity to blunder while ultimately proving that the Irish Bull is in fact an English invention. In one section, a discussion about the Union is presented between “an Irish, a Scotch, and an English gentleman,” in which the Englishman acknowledges his people’s continued ignorance of Ireland, despite their political union:

To be sure we do not now, as in the times of Bacon and Spenser, believe that wild Irishmen have wings [...]. [However, w]hen I first went over there, [...] I imagined that I should have nothing to drink but whiskey, that I should have nothing to eat but potatoes, that I should sleep in mud-walled cabins; that I should, when awake, hear nothing but the Irish howl, the Irish brogue, Irish answers, and Irish bulls; and that if I smiled at any of these things, a hundred pistols would fly from their holsters [...]. (153)

Yet, his direct experience thwarts and overturns these pre-conceived notions, and the Edgeworths warn “English retailers or inventors of Irish blunders” to “beware of such prefatory exclamations as – ‘By my shoul and St. Patrick! By Jasus! Arrah, honey!’” as “all such phrases” are “absolutely out of date and fashion in Ireland” (113).

As English hetero-stereotypes of the Irish begin to be deconstructed critically in this period, and as the Union incentivises the formation of a distinct national and cultural identity, we observe the rise of Irish Romantic and melodramatic auto-stereotypes, from Thomas Moore’s *Irish Melodies* to Boucicault’s Irish melodramas *The Colleen Bawn* (1860), *Arrah-na-Pogue* (1864), and *The Shaughraun* (1874). For an example

of this Irish romantic self-fashioning, when Sydney Owenson, author of *The Wild Irish Girl: A National Tale* (1806), was “abroad in England as a young novelist,” she “often performed her ‘Irishness,’ becoming an exotic lass from wild Gaelic country,” as she “answered socially to the name Glorvina, wore a Gaelic mantle to society parties, and played the harp for her hosts” (Lennon 143). And while Boucicault “has often been misrepresented as purveying the worst kind of Irish stereotypes, his declared intention was to abolish Stage Irishry” (Deane, *Field Day* 234). Yet, it was exactly the Boucicauldian comic hero that Lady Gregory and W.B. Yeats had in mind when expressing their aversion towards “Stage Irishry,” announcing at the foundation of the Irish Literary Theatre in 1897: “We will show that Ireland is not the home of buffoonery and of easy sentiment, as it has been represented, but the home of ancient idealism.” The revivalist project inaugurated a new auto-stereotype: Ireland as “the home of ancient idealism” (Gregory 9). In turn, Frank Hugh O’Donnell, in “The Stage Irishman of Pseudo-Celtic Drama” (1904), dismissed the Revival as “constructing an impossible country” by performing a “Celtic Past [which] never existed anywhere outside [their] own productions” (13, 9). In Declan Kiberd’s estimation, Shaw’s 1904 play *John Bull’s Other Island* warned that “the wrong kind of ‘revivalism’ might produce exactly what the British now wanted, a tourist’s landscape of colourful, non-threatening characters, who mark off their ‘interesting’ cultural differences from the London visitor, even as they become ever more tractable to his economic designs” (*Inventing Ireland* 519). In his 1913 study of Synge, Bourgeois identifies the “so-called ‘stage Irishman’” as “a type against which the present-day Irish dramatic movement stands in professed reaction, but which [...] it has not perhaps quite succeeded in rooting out” (107).

Thus, the tension between hetero-stereotype and auto-stereotype is not only oppressive of the people being constructed through discourse, representation, and performance, but also productive, as the resistance to diverse versions of ‘Irishness’ at home and abroad drive innovations that are themselves destined to become the next movement’s clichés. As Seamus Deane has explained:

In the attempted discovery of its “true” identity, a community often begins with the demolition of the false stereotypes within which it has been entrapped. This is an intricate process, since the stereotypes are successful precisely because they have been interiorised. They are not merely impositions from the coloniser on the colonised. (“Introduction” 12)

Kiberd contends that this strategy of auto-stereotyping enabled the Irish to take “many images which were rejected by English society, occupy them, reclaim them, and make them their own” (*The Irish Writer* 32). Yet, as Long reflects, “[d]omestic and international gazes cannot unsee a long history of conventions of representation, and stereotypes inevitably haunt new attempts at independent identity, be they on the stage, page, or street” (38).

As Irish self-representation became more prominent, varied, and politically inflected in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Fenian Rising, the growth of the Irish

nationalist movement, and mass immigration in the aftermath of the Famine led, in turn, to a series of new hetero-stereotypes in British and American culture and media. To frame the perceived threats of the Irish as ill-tempered, unruly, drunken, violent rebels and uncivilisable, unassimilable immigrants, the “wild Irish” trope was revived and racialised through nineteenth-century discourses of race science. Hazel Rose Markus and Paula M.L. Moya have demonstrated that the discourse of race “always involves creating groups based on perceived physical and behavioural characteristics, associating differential power and privilege with these characteristics, and then justifying the resulting inequalities” (x). These three moves are traceable in the justification of colonial rule expressed in Charles Kingsley’s letter to his wife from his 1860 visit to Sligo:

I am haunted by the human chimpanzees I saw along that hundred miles of horrible country. I don’t believe they are our fault. I believe [...] that they are happier, better, more comfortably fed and lodged under our rule than they ever were. But to see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black, one would not feel it so much, but their skins, except where tanned by exposure, are as white as ours. (107)

The categorisation of the Irish, alongside other racialised categories of people, as ‘less-evolved primates’ and inferior nonhuman creatures took hold in the popular imaginary through cartoons and illustrations in which they are represented, in pseudo-Darwinian terms, with simian or monstrous features,<sup>3</sup> and in lampooning vaudeville performances (see Mooney). The “resulting inequalities” in “power and privilege” are justified through pseudo-scientific discourses, as in Samuel R. Wells’s *New Physiognomy, or, Signs of Character as Manifested through Temperament and External Forms* (1866), which contrasts an image of the ‘pure’ and ‘cultivated’ Florence Nightingale with a simian caricature of the Irish type “Brigid McBruiser,” who is described as “rude, rough, unpolished, ignorant, and brutish” (537-38). Through the pseudo-scientific discourse of physiognomy, McBruiser’s “appearance as a racial Other marks her, permanently, as ineligible for inclusion in the white middle class” (Black 64). A few decades later, *The Spectator’s* reviewer, weighing the evidence presented in H. Strickland Constable’s *Ireland from One or Two Neglected Points of View* (1888),<sup>4</sup> is convinced that Constable has successfully proven that the Irish are a “low-type race [...] quite incapable of governing themselves” (Anon., “Review” n.p.).

In America, these racist hetero-stereotypes were likewise disseminated through political cartoons and pseudo-scientific illustrations. In the notorious 1876 *Harper’s Weekly* cartoon “The Ignorant Vote,” freed slaves in the South and Irish Catholic immigrants in the North are equally weighed; elsewhere, a caricature from an 1899

3 Examples are legion, but famous instances include: “Two Forces: Britannia vs. Anarchy” in *Punch*, 1881; “The Irish Frankenstein” in *Punch*, 1882; “The King of A-Shantee” in *Puck*, 1882; “Gorilla Warfare” in *Punch* 1884. See Curtis Jr. and de Nie.

4 In this text, Constable argues, for instance, that “Irish miseries come from the degraded nature of the aboriginal natives, whether low-type Celts, Finns, Iberians, or descendants of savages from the Stone Age” (164).

*Harper's Bazaar* (conspicuously sub-titled *A Journal of Civilization*) applies phrenology to Irish and African skull types to argue that each "in consequence of isolation from the rest of the world, had [...] made way, according to the laws of nature, for superior races."<sup>5</sup> As Robert Nowatzki demonstrates, this circulation and blurring of anti-Irish and anti-Black rhetoric is borne out in Stage Irish and blackface performances for American Minstrel Shows:

Native white minstrels often ridiculed Irish-Americans as characters, partly because they often saw the Irish as racial Others in some ways similar to African-Americans (the main target of racist minstrel humour) [...]. Later, however, Irish-American minstrel performers gradually became more 'white' and 'American' as a result of denigrating (or at least differentiating themselves) from African-Americans by performing their Irishness in ways that were less derogatory than the 'stage Irishman' stereotype and by asserting their American patriotism. (163)

This trajectory of Stage Irish minstrelsy bears out the thesis of Noel Ignatiev's 1996 study *How the Irish Became White* that whiteness (indeed, the category of race itself) is a historically contingent social construct that regulates who does and who does not have access to white privilege. Ignatiev traces how Irish Americans transitioned from being coded as 'non-white' by the dominant WASP population to being integrated as 'white' through their performed prejudice against free blacks and support of slavery (81, 94). With the assimilation of the third-generation Irish immigrants, Ireland is re-conceived in the American cultural imaginary as a nostalgic counter-world of the past – a rural, idyllic, almost pre-lapsarian sphere. This partial transition is observable in the constructions of Ireland and the Irish in the American cinematic imaginary, from the Kalem Company's scenic Irish cinemascesapes<sup>6</sup> to John Ford's Irish films<sup>7</sup> – which, according to Jack Morgan, "energised stereotypes which by the 1950s were otherwise largely on the wane" (34) – and the Disneyfication of Irish myth in *Darby O'Gill and the Little People*. Stars such as Bing Crosby and Spencer Tracy served as representatives of a new concept of the fully Americanised WASP Hollywood Stage Irishman, and yet, the figure's dark history is traceable in films such as *Holiday Inn* (1942), in which Crosby stars as Jim Hardy, a Blackface Minstrel performer.

Back in turn-of-the-century Ireland, a distinctly Irish critical discourse about the Stage Irishman emerged and was formalised in Lawrence (1903), O'Donnell (1904), and Grattan-Flood (1905).<sup>8</sup> The role of the Stage Irishman as a foil for the formation of the

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5 The offending image and accompanying text are available to view on *Wikimedia Commons*: <[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Scientific\\_racism\\_irish.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Scientific_racism_irish.jpg)> (15 May 2021).

6 From Blarney Castle and Glengarriff to the Gap of Dunloe and the Lakes of Killarney in *A Lad from Old Ireland* (1910), *The Irish Honeymoon* (1911), and their adaptation of Boucicault's *Colleen Bawn* (1911).

7 *The Tornado* (1916), *The Prince of Avenue A* (1920), *The Shamrock Handicap* (1926), *Mother Machree* (1927), *Hangman's House* (1928), *The Informer* (1935), *The Plough and the Stars* (1936), *The Quiet Man* (1952), *The Long Grey Line* (1955), *The Rising of the Moon* (1957), and *The Last Hurrah* (1958).

8 See also Anon., "Crusade" 145.

Irish artist in the early modernist period is reflected in conversations among the students in James Joyce's *Stephen Hero*, composed between 1903 and 1905 as the above pieces were appearing in print. In this early, abandoned work, the activist Madden chastises Stephen Dedalus for repeating a sentence he heard "in some 'stage-Irishman' play" and denounces the "old stale libels – the drunken Irishman, the baboon-faced Irishman that we see in *Punch*" as "a libel on our countrymen" (64-65). At the same time, Dublin comic weeklies such as *Pat*, *The Leprechaun*, *Zozimus*, and *The Jarvey* ridiculed and satirised vaudeville performances and periodical illustrations of the grotesque Irishman in its hetero-stereotypical and auto-stereotypical forms (see Curtis 68-88). These satirical sites of writing back at the Empire, which often assumed the mantle of the Stage Irishman so as to travesty him, laid the groundwork for any number of subsequent carnivalesque and modernist deflations of the figure; as in the fake Stage Irishman paraded by Mr Louit in Samuel Beckett's *Watt*, or *An Béal Bocht*, Brian O'Nolan's savage Irish-language satire of romanticisations of Irish rural poverty and starvation. Indeed, under his *Irish Times* persona 'Myles na gCopaleen' – a name taken, we note, from a Stage Irish figure in Boucicault's *The Colleen Bawn* – O'Nolan reflects, in 1945, that "[t]he Stage Irishman is most undead" (2).

### Postmodern Legacies

In line with O'Reilly's characterisation of contemporary attitudes to Paddywhackery, cited at the outset of this introduction, and Myles na gCopaleen's image of the Stage Irishman as a zombified figure lumbering into the mid-twentieth century, today these competing legacies of the Stage Irish figure merge and blend together in something of a postmodern farrago of signifiers that are treated as often as subjects for irony as for offence. Irish entertainment websites petition for clicks with headlines such as "Begorrah! The Best and Worst of Oirish Movie Accents" (Corr n.p.; see also O'Riordan n.p.) – where offenders such as Tom Cruise in *Far and Away* or Gerard Butler in *PS I Love You* are made to account for their sins – and with catalogues of dodgy Irish representations in the television shows and cartoons of their readers' youths that appeal to a certain mix of nostalgia and superior comic ridicule.<sup>9</sup> In part,

9 In a non-exhaustive selection (which excludes Irish-themed shows such as *Mystic Knights of Tir Na Nog* (1998-99)), with help from friends on social media, we have gathered examples of 'special episodes' of the following TV shows set in Ireland or with stock Irish characters: *Fawty Towers* (the great David Kelly as the notorious O'Reilly the builder), *Murder, She Wrote* (in episodes such as "A Killing in Cork" and "A Celtic Riddle"), *Moonlighting* ("Somewhere under the Rainbow"), *Magnum P.I.* ("Faith and Begorrah"), *Remington Steele* ("Steele Your Heart Away"), *Star Trek: Next Generation* (in which the crew visit a planet of Stage Irish people called the Bringloidi) and *Star Trek Voyager* (which features two episodes set in a holographic Irish village), *Inspector Gadget* ("Luck of the Irish"), *Captain Planet* ("If It's Doomsday It Must Be Belfast," in which the Planeteer Wheeler manages to resolve the North's sectarian violence six years before the Good Friday Agreement), *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* ("The Irish Jig is Up," in which antagonists Krang and Shredder use Ireland as the base for their "Rainbow Trans-Charmer" device and April O'Neil is almost eaten by wild animals in Dublin

these re-evaluations of past representations of the Irish were consequences of Celtic Tiger-era attempts to re-articulate Ireland as a modern, cosmopolitan nation (and a way of processing the 'Irish cringe' that such a self-refashioning produces), and in part they are manifestations of genuinely affectionate and reflective self-parody that is evidenced in shows such as *Father Ted* and *Derry Girls*.

The contemporary Stage Irishman remains a prominent cultural figure, despite these processes of cultural repression and sublimation. For example, J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series (particularly the film adaptations) feature a character stereotypically named Seamus Finnigan, who, as his teacher puts it, has a "particular proclivity for pyrotechnics" (*Harry Potter*), is somewhat intellectually inferior to other characters, and is often the butt of jokes. In a gesture that echoes the simian Irish trope, Finnigan is forced to write the line "I am a wizard, not a baboon brandishing a stick" (Rowling 333) in detention, having been so excited at the prospect of learning how to apparate that he bumblingly knocked over his teacher. Elsewhere, Terry Eagleton's *The Truth About the Irish* (2001) claims that there is not just one Irish type: "The nation as a whole is made up of culchies and jackeens, yuppies and yokels, saints and Satanists, travellers and settled people, nationalists and anti-nationalists, heroin addicts and holy water addicts, mystical monks and atheistic intellectuals" (104). As ironic as this proliferation of binaries is meant to be, rather than 'breaking' the myth of the essentialist Stage Irishman, such a catalogue merely multiplies it, or at least shows that it has always been a multiform stereotype – real and imagined, hetero-stereotype and auto-stereotype – that is constantly being re-articulated through different historical discourses, refracting and cumulating along the way.

### **Performance, Identity, Cultural Circulation**

The chapters collected in this volume address the gaps and reframe the commonplaces of the standard history of Stage Irishry outlined in this introduction in at least two ways. First, they turn to overlooked texts and neglected perspectives that complicate the critical narrative of Stage Irishness; secondly, they revisit staples of the critical tradition from new historical and theoretical perspectives. The contents are organised in a broadly chronological structure, moving from Victorian and modernist literature, through twentieth-century drama, film, television, and parades, culminating in a forum on renegotiations and diversifications of Irish identity in twenty-first-century theatre.

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Zoo), *James Bond Jr* ("Goldie Finger at the End of the Rainbow," in which the teenage nephew of the MI6 agent fights an evil leprechaun), *The Young Indiana Jones Chronicles* ("Ireland, April 1916," in which 'Old' Indiana Jones discloses that he was a first-hand witness to the Easter Rising, where he discussed Irish theatre with Seán O'Casey), *The Simpsons*, *Family Guy*. These and similar examples are regularly circulated in online articles of the type described above (see "Claire," n.p.).

The first section is titled “What ish my nation? Constructing Irishness from Romanticism to Modernism.” **Paul Fagan** begins the collection in the 1820s-1830s, as Irish unionist Tories and conservative wits battle with Irish romantic nationalists and O’Connellites over post-Union debates about redefining Irish identity, culture, and politics. Fagan focuses on the periodical ‘mock-hoaxes’ through which Corkonian Tory William Maginn and Catholic unionist Francis Sylvester Mahony self-ironically inhabit Stage Irish tropes both to settle scores with enemies such as Thomas Moore, and to perform a complicated liminal identity both inside and outside the political and cultural constructions of ‘Britain’ and ‘Ireland.’ **Margu rite Corporaal** contributes to debates about regional literature from the long nineteenth century by examining the branding of Irish local colour literature in transnational contexts of translation, republication, and reception. Corporaal’s analysis of the paratextual prefaces and visual/material aspects which reframed these texts when they were published abroad illuminates how Irish writers such as Jane Barlow, Seumas MacManus, Katharine Tynan, Emily Lawless, and Frank James Mathew were not just producing auto-stereotypes of Irish regional life but were also mediating “Irishness” towards communities abroad, in complex dynamics between regional, national, and transnational identity construction. **Elke D’hoker** focuses on national and gendered stereotypes in Ethel Colburn Mayne’s 1919 short story “The Happy Day.” D’hoker discusses the story’s engagement with the prevalent images of Irish national character in relation to both the establishment of an Irish tourist industry in the final decades of the nineteenth century and the constructions of Irish identity staged in the Celtic Literary Revival. In its juxtaposition of images of Irishness and womanhood, the chapter argues that Mayne’s fiction anticipates the more pervasive critique of national and gendered identity that would characterise Irish writing and criticism in the second half of the twentieth century. **Richard Barlow** studies the role of Stage Irishry in James Joyce’s experimental final work *Finnegans Wake* with specific reference to Dion Boucicault’s *Arrah-na-Pogue*. Barlow shows how, in typical Wakean fashion, Joyce explores Stage Irishness as a hybrid phenomenon, bound up with both the presence of English culture and traditions in Ireland and with rebellions against the British occupation of Ireland and with Celtic matters. In the process, the chapter makes a powerful case that, as the reductive and overly negative appraisals of Boucicault’s work are stripped away and the political resonances of his plays are revisited, his significance to Irish modernism needs to be re-evaluated.

The second section offers a special forum, co-edited with Igor Maver of the University of Ljubljana, that focuses on Staging Irishness in Vienna, Trieste, and Ljubljana. **Dieter Fuchs** introduces the forum and focuses on two Stage Austrian character types which may be considered the Viennese and the Tyrolean counterparts of the Irish Paddy. As Fuchs shows with regard to the critical reception of two productions of Se n O’Casey’s *Juno and the Paycock* staged in the Austrian capital in 1930 and 1934, Viennese theatre reviewers tended to stress the allegedly unbridgeable ‘otherness’ of Hibernian culture, despite the resonances between the Stage Irishman and



their own stock characters. **Elisabetta d'Erme** focuses on the 'Lost Victorian' Irish novelist Charles Lever to re-evaluate his unfair reputation as a purveyor of crude Stage Irishisms. Residing in Trieste, the major commercial seaport of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as an expatriate, Lever re-fashioned the Stage Irish cliché of the Paddy by applying it to the Hibernian pro-English landowning elite. As d'Erme shows, to satirise the 'English' lifestyle of the landed gentry rather than the Irish peasants, Lever's novels feature Stage Irishness in terms of 'Stage Ascendancy.' **Igor Maver** closes this special forum on Stage Irishness in the Austro-Hungarian Empire with an analysis of Joyce, the Slovenian community in Ljubljana and Trieste, and the cliché of the Orientalised 'Eastern Paddy' from the Balkan Peninsula colonised by the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The third section, "Popular Paddies: Parading Irishness on the Screen and in the Streets," opens with **Michael Connerty's** detailed analysis of Ireland and Hollywood animation from 1947-1959. Connerty argues that the cartoons under analysis operate straightforwardly as fantasy, and that the presence of magic, supernatural creatures, and gothic settings function generically as a feature that chimes with cinematic characterisations of Ireland as the antithesis of modern industrialised society. These short films speak to the conception of Ireland as a fantasy, reflecting the experience of second and third generation Irish Americans, accessing, via a nostalgic silver screen imaginary, a place they had never known. While the 1959 Disney film *Darby O'Gill and the Little People* is commonly considered to epitomise stereotypical 'Oirishness' in its focus on leprechauns and pastoral landscapes, here **Michelle Witen** reads the film against the grain as a "site of resistance." Witen argues that while *Darby O'Gill* contains many Stage Irish elements that support an appraisal of the film as reductive in its presentation of Irishness, nevertheless its depictions of folkloric objects and animistic spirits leave the text open to a deconstructive reading that complicates and resists both Disney's attempted creation of a "stage folklore" and problematic tropes such as the "Paddy" or the "Stage Gael." **Eimer Murphy**, Prop Master at The Abbey Theatre, looks at the celebration of St. Patrick's Day as a 'material marker' designed to project specific ideas of Irishness, both on a national and on an international level. She focuses on the cultural and creative re-invention of the Dublin St. Patrick's Day Parade in 1996 as a reflection of an emerging cosmopolitan and increasingly confident Ireland in the beginnings of the 'Celtic Tiger' era. **Verónica Membrive** adds to the critical debate concerning the role of media in the process of renegotiating representations of the Troubles by analysing how Lisa McGee's 2018 sitcom *Derry Girls* uses humour and irony to deconstruct stereotyped notions not only of the Catholic and Protestant populations but also of other 'Others' in the city of Derry. The chapter explores how the legacies of Stage Irish hetero-stereotypes and auto-stereotypes are intermingled in *Derry Girls*, as it represents changing sectarian, gender, and religious identities of Northern Ireland in the years 1994-1995. The series, Membrive shows, both exploits and goes beyond "Stage Irishry" in exploring the possibility of challeng-

ing binary stereotypes about Irish Catholics and Protestants through humour and irony.

The fourth and final section of this collection focusses on contemporary political theatre, exploring the ways in which Irishness is re-negotiated on the twenty-first-century stage. **Anne Fogarty** examines “Reconfigurations of Gender in Contemporary Irish Stage Adaptations,” focussing on four plays performed between June 2019 and August 2020: Deirdre Kinahan’s *The Unmanageable Sisters*, Edna O’Brien’s *The Country Girls*, Marina Carr’s *Hecuba*, and Michael West’s *Solar Bones*. The chapter investigates how the productions of these plays emanate from conjoint socio-political concerns and anxieties, and probes how their dramaturgy self-consciously tests the span and limits of character, embodiment, and voice and interrogates power structures and gender roles in the different worlds that they envisage. As Fogarty argues, these adaptations are uneasily poised between critical interrogation, possibilities of empowerment, and the desire for social change in the past and present. Drawing on Birte Heidemann’s work on negative liminality and Sianne Ngai’s reflections on the aesthetics of negative emotions, **Clare Wallace**’s paper investigates how the tangle of “dysphoric affects” (Ngai 3) that adhere to the North is expressed and complicated in three recent plays: Stacey Gregg’s *Shibboleth* (2015), David Ireland’s *Cyprus Avenue* (2016), and Jez Butterworth’s *The Ferryman* (2017). Wallace argues that attention to the interplay between liminality and animatedness in these plays can illuminate how they reproduce or restructure the tropes associated with a Northern Irish imaginary. In “Regarding the Rights of Others: Spectres of the Middle East in Conall Morrison’s *The Bacchae of Baghdad*,” **Natasha Remoundou** closes the collection by analysing representations of the Middle Eastern ‘other’ in contemporary Irish theatre. Identifying the aesthetic and ideological dimensions involved in this process, Remoundou examines contemporary engagements with both an ethics of ‘otherness’ and the rights of ‘others’/strangers as ciphers of the confrontation between East and West. The chapter draws on Susan Sontag’s argument that “being a spectator of calamities taking place in another country is a quintessential modern experience” (16) in order to bring human rights issues in contemporary Irish theatre into sharper focus.

### Postscript: Werner Huber

The present volume originates, in part, from talks given at two separate events: the Vienna Irish Studies and Cultural Theory Summer School *Stage Irish* at the Vienna Centre for Irish Studies, which was founded by Professor Werner Huber, and *Stage Irish: The Twelfth Conference of EFACIS*, which was graciously hosted by Igor Maver at the University of Ljubljana, 28-31 August 2019, in memory of Werner (1952-2016). It is not necessary here to restate Werner’s significance to European Irish Studies, or his importance to EFACIS and the *Irish Studies in Europe* (ISE) series, or indeed his generosity as a colleague, teacher, and friend – these will all be well known to EFACIS members and ISE readers, and Hedwig Schwall’s fantastic volume in this series dedicated to his memory has already made the case eloquently and at length (*Irish Studies*

in *Europe*, vol. 8: *Boundaries, Passages, Transitions: Essays in Irish Literature, Culture and Politics in Honour of Werner Huber*). However, we are pleased that the collection will mark the fifth anniversary of Werner's passing with a theme that was close to his heart, as known to those who recall his wonderful Irish studies lecture series at the University of Vienna titled "What ish my nation?."

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