# Exhibiting Ireland:

## Irish Villages, Pavilions, Cottages, and Castles at International Exhibitions, 1853-1939

By Caroline R. Malloy

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(Art History)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2013

Date of final oral examination: 5/2/13

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Nancy Rose Marshall, Professor, Art History
Mary Trotter, Associate Professor, Theatre and Drama
Jill H. Casid, Associate Professor, Art History
Anna Andrzejewski, Associate Professor, Art History
Daniel Ussishkin, Assistant Professor, History

© Copyright by Caroline R. Malloy 2013
All Rights Reserved

For Steve

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

LIST OF FIGURES vi

INTRODUCTION 1
Why Exhibitions?

CHAPTER 1 19
A Post-Famine Tabula Rasa: Ireland at the 1853 Dublin Exhibition of Arts and Industry

CHAPTER 2 75
The Blarney Stone at 57th and Portland: Irish Fairs in 1890s America

CHAPTER 3 119
Ballymaclinton, the Cleanest, Happiest, Hardest-Working Irish Village in London

CHAPTER 4 175
First Impressions: Ulster at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924

CHAPTER 5 235
Solving a Problem: Éire/Ireland at the Exhibitions, 1938-1939

EPILOGUE 287
Expo 2010, Shanghai

BIBLIOGRAPHY 303

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project is the unexpected result of my encounters with three quite unrelated individuals over nearly a decade and a half: Dr. Charlene Mires, an enthusiastic history professor at Villanova University who first introduced me to the fascinating world of international exhibitions; Des Kenny of Kenny's Bookshop in Galway whose book recommendations made me realize I should turn my Irish Studies hobby into a profession; and Professor Florencia Mallon, a preeminent Chilean historian at University of Wisconsin-Madison who went out of her way to put me at ease on my first day of graduate school by asking me a question about Ireland.

I don't remember how I first came across Dublin's 1907 Irish International Exhibition. I only know that Professor Nancy Rose Marshall not only encouraged my excitement at the discovery, but she then provided me a safe and supportive environment where I could build upon it. She fostered my self-confidence, my skills as a writer, and my voice as an art historian. Her patience, advice, insight, and enthusiasm have been exceptional and boundless. She has never stopped believing in my work or my abilities and she challenges me to be a better, more confident scholar. Whatever I have of academic success is due to her passion for her students and her faith in me.

I am grateful to Professor Mary Trotter who, with a constant and encouraging smile, was my rock when I first presented any of this material to an audience. Her passion and her drama inspire me and her enthusiasm and optimism are infectious. While I may never have the courage to reenact any great scenes from Irish history in front of a room of my peers, I hope to always share with my students the endless excitement and thorough depth of knowledge she has shared with me. To Professor Jill Casid I owe special thanks for challenging me to think beyond my limits and to be more precise, more thorough, and more thoughtful in every word I write. She

has invaluably engendered in me a careful, critical attention to the nuanced and expansive possibilities of visual culture as both a theoretical approach and an academic practice. I would also like to thank Professor Anna Andrzejewski and Professor Daniel Ussishkin, whose willingness to support, critique, and offer advice on this project have not only made my work better, but have also made me a better scholar overall. Finally, Professor James S. Donnelly, Jr. motivated me to discover my full potential as both a researcher and a scholar; I would not have accomplished my goals without his influence on my academic career.

While countless professors, colleagues, and friends have made this project possible, I want to specially acknowledge Marsely Kehoe, Brian Leech, Amy Powell, Michelle Wing, and Nadine Zimmerli whose advice, brilliance, encouragement, laughter, and incredible editing skills have been invaluable over the past nine years. I am honored to call them friends and colleagues and only hope I can someday return the countless favors. Janice Helland, Elaine Cheasley Paterson, and Joseph McBrinn offered advice, encouragement, and a home-cooked meal at the most fortuitous moments. They embody the surprisingly large impact of small kindnesses.

Of the many librarians, archivists, and curators who have assisted me with this project, I want to especially thank Patricia Bogue of the Donaghmore Historical Society. Her warm Irish hospitality (complete with tea and scones), her boundless enthusiasm, and her incredible knowledge of Donaghmore, the Brown family, and Ballymaclinton were invaluable and inspirational. In London, Jane Kimber, Borough Archivist of Hammersmith and Fulham, and Beverley Cook, Curator of Social and Working History at the Museum of London, welcomed me enthusiastically and shared both their passions and their wonderful resources. To Louise Morgan of the National Gallery of Ireland, I still owe a cup of tea for her endless kindness and assistance in tracking down images. I must also acknowledge the archivists and librarians at The Mitchell

Library's Special Collections and Glasgow City Archives. They were the most helpful, enthusiastic, and friendly group of scholars with whom I had the pleasure of working on this entire project. Finally, Juliet Latham and Pat McLaughlin always made me feel at home and were always willing to take me in when I needed a place to stay in my typical last-minute fashion.

The extensive travel to four countries and dozens exhibition sites and archives would not have been possible without the generous support of several organizations. Over the past few years, University of Wisconsin-Madison Vilas travel grants laid the foundation for every one of my research opportunities abroad. The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art allowed me to begin my dissertation research in England while the Scottish Society for Art History, the American Historical Association, and especially the Huntington Library expressed strong support for my work and allowed me to complete the project.

I am incredibly lucky to have a family that has always believed in me. My parents have encouraged me to pursue my dreams, no matter how unpredictable, and my brothers have provided laughter in my life. My grandfather was always my biggest fan and I am still his, while my wonderful grandmother, who always thought American history was a much more worthwhile pursuit than Irish, never seemed to realize that her own love of Ireland was probably my earliest inspiration. Last but not least, I thank my husband, Steve, as if there were words enough to adequately thank my partner, my rock, my personal chef, and my best friend, who believes in me no matter what and has believed in this project every day, even on those days when I did not. He is my everything and he is the heart and soul behind the completion of this project. Thank you.

# LIST OF FIGURES


1.1. "The Dublin Great Industrial Exhibition: The Opening by the Lord Lieutenant." *Illustrated London News*, 4 June 1853, p. 457. 63

1.2. "Bridget O'Donnell and her Children." *Illustrated London News*, 22 Dec. 1849, p. 404. 64

1.3. "The Village of Tullig." *Illustrated London News*, 19 Dec. 1849, p. 393. 64

1.4. "Statue of William Dargan, Esq." In *The Irish Exhibition Almanack*. London: John Cassell, 1854, p. 7. 65

1.5. Edward King Tenison, "Dublin International Exhibition, 1853." In Roger Taylor, *Impressed By Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007, pl. 44. 66

1.6. James Mahony, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert Opening the 1853 Irish Industrial Exhibition, Dublin, 1853*. Watercolor on paper. 60.1 x 73.3cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. 67

1.7. Phil Henry Delamotte, "The Dublin Exhibition, 1853," collodion negative, 1853. City and County of Swansea, Swansea Museum Collection. In Fintan Cullen, *Ireland on Show: Art Union, and Nationhood*. Aldershot UK: Ashgate, 2012, p. 23. 68

1.8. "Visit of Her Majesty to the Dublin Great Industrial Exhibition." *Illustrated London News*, 10 Sept. 1853, p. 208. 69

1.9. "The Illumination at Dublin – Scene on Carlisle Bridge." *Illustrated London News*, 10 Sept. 1853, p. 209. 70

1.10. James Mahony, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in the Paintings and Sculpture Hall of the 1853 Irish Industrial Exhibition, Dublin*. Watercolor on paper. 62.8 x 81cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. 71

1.11. Close-up of James Mahony, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in the Paintings and Sculpture Hall of the 1853 Irish Industrial Exhibition, Dublin*. Watercolor on paper. 62.8 x 81cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. 72

1.12. "Opening of the Dublin Great Industrial Exhibition." *Illustrated London News*, 21 May 1853, p. 393. 72

1.13. "Bog-oak Casket." In *The Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*. London: Virtue & Co., 1853, p. 47. 73

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1.14 | Robert George Kelly, *An Ejectment in Ireland (A Tear and a Prayer for Erin)*. 1847-8. Oil on canvas, 46 x 57". John J. Burns Library, Boston College. | 73 |
| 1.15. | John Lawlor, *The Emigrant*, engraving. In Silliman and Goodrich, eds., *The World of Science, Art and Industry, illustrated from Examples in the New York Exhibition*. New York, p. 48. | 74 |
| 2.1. | "Map of the Exposition Grounds." In Rossiter Johnston, ed. *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition... By Authority of the Board of Directors*, 4 vols. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1897. | 113 |
| 2.2. | "Donegal Castle. The Irish Village, Midway Plaisance." C. D. Arnold Photographic Collection. Ryerson & Burnham Libraries, The Art Institute of Chicago. | 114 |
| 2.3. | "The Irish Industrial Village at the Columbian Fair, Chicago." *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, 20 May, 1893. | 114 |
| 2.4 | "Donegal Castle. The Irish Village, Midway Plaisance." Trade card. 3" x 4.5". Private Collection. | 115 |
| 2.5. | "The Irish Village, World's Columbian Exhibition, Chicago, Illinois." *The American Architect and Building News*, 15 Sept. 1894. | 115 |
| 2.6. | "The Irish Village at Chicago." *Freeman's Journal*, 15 June 1893. | 116 |
| 2.7. | From "Scenes in the Irish Village," 1893. Watercolor. In Charles Graham. *World's Fair in Watercolors*. Springfield, OH: Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick, 1893. | 116 |
| 2.8. | "Lady Aberdeen at her Spinning Wheel," 1893. In Hubert Howe Bancroft. *The Book of the Fair*. Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893. | 117 |
| 2.9. | "Great Britain - Irish Spinning Wheel," 1893. Photograph. In James W. Shepp and Daniel B. Shepp. *Shepp's World's Fair Photographed*. Chicago: Gothic Bible Publishing, 1893. | 117 |
| 2.10. | From "Blarney Castle," 1893. Watercolor. In Charles Graham. *World's Fair in Watercolors*. Springfield, OH: Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick, 1893. | 118 |
| 3.1 | "Irish International Exhibition." 1907. Postcard, 3" x 5". Private collection. | 159 |
| 3.2. | "Old Irish Cottage, Exhibition, Dublin 1907." 1907. Postcard, 3" x 5". Private collection. | 159 |
| 3.3. | "Old Irish Cottage, Exhibition, Dublin 1907." 1907. Postcard, 3" x 5". | 160 |

Private collection.

3.4. "Making McClinton's Soap at the Old Irish Cottage, Exhibition, Dublin, 1907." 1907. Postcard, 3" x 5". Private collection. 160

3.5. Map of the Franco-British Exhibition, 1908. In Donald R. Knight. *The Exhibitions: Great White City, Shepherd's Bush London*. London: Barnard & Westwood, Ltd., 1978. 161

3.6. "Franco-British Exhibition, London - The Congress Hall." 1908. Postcard, 3" x 5". Private collection. 162

3.7. Map of the Franco-British Exhibition, 1908 with circles added to indicate the Main Entrance (red) and the Irish Village (green). In Donald R. Knight. *The Exhibitions: Great White City, Shepherd's Bush London*. London: Barnard & Westwood, Ltd., 1978. 163

3.8. Japan-British Exhibition. Japanese Village. 1910. Photograph. National Archives, Kew, London. 164

3.9. Imperial International Exhibition. Ballymaclinton. 1909. Photograph. Donaghmore Historical Society, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland. 164

3.10. "Ballymaclinton at the Crystal Palace." 1909/1911. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection. 165

3.11. "Entrance to Irish Village (Ballymaclinton) Franco-British Exhibition, London, 1908." Reverse. 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private collection. 165

3.12. "Entrance to Irish Village (Ballymaclinton) Franco-British Exhibition, London, 1908." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private collection. 166

3.13. Pencil Drawing. *The Irish Builder*, October 31, 1908. Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast. 166

3.14. Beleek, Ballymaclinton pigs. Irish Historical Textiles. http://irishhistoricaltextiles.com/2012/03/26/the-junior-spinning-champion-of-ireland-and-the-entente-cordiale/ 167

3.15. "In the Farmyard, Ballymaclinton." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection. 167

3.16. Unhealthy Bedroom Exhibited at the Tuberculosis Exhibit in the Irish Village of the Franco-British Exhibition. In *The British Journal of Tuberculosis* 2 (1908), p. 311. 168

3.17. Healthy Bedroom Exhibited at the Tuberculosis Exhibit in the Irish Village 168

of the Franco-British Exhibition. In *The British Journal of Tuberculosis* 2 (1908), p. 310.

3.18. Colleen Soap box c. 1910. Donaghmore Historical Society, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland. 169

3.19. "Colleens Washing, Ballymaclinton." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection. 169

3.20. Norah Gallagher and Napper Tandy, Franco-British Exhibition, 1908. Photograph. Donaghmore Historical Society, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland. 170

3.21. "Main Street and Ancient Church, Ballymaclinton." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection. 170

3.22. “Dancing on Village Green, Ballymaclinton." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection. 171

3.23. Harriett Lowe. 1908. Photograph. Donaghmore Historical Society, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland. 171

3.24. "A Ballymaclinton Colleen." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection. 172

3.25. "A Ballymaclinton Colleen." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection. 172

3.26. "Make Your Complexion Like the Colleen's." In *The Graphic*, 3 Jan. 1914. 173

3.27. "Ireland and the Empire." In *The Graphic*, 26 Sept. 1914. 173

3.28. "Sheila Soap," in *Brown & Son Price List*. Belfast: William Strain & Sons, 1917. 174

4.1. “Harbour Model.” Photograph from the Album of M. J. Watkins, General Manager of the Belfast Harbour Commission. Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast. 222

4.2. Map of the British Empire Exhibition. *The British Empire Exhibition Official Guide*. 1924 222

4.3. Map published in The Ulster Pavilion “Location Plan” pamphlet released by the Ministry of Commerce, 1924. Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast. 223

4.4 Panoramic View of the British Empire Exhibition. In *Metro-Land: British Empire Exhibition Number*. 1924. 223

4.5. Clough Williams-Ellis, Sketch Design for the Ulster Section, 1924. Print, 230 x 275cm. The Royal Institute of British Architects, London. 224

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4.6. | Clough Williams-Ellis, “Two Ulster Porticoes.” 1924. | 224 |
| 4.7. | “Ulster Pavilion.” Photograph from the Album of M. J. Watkins, General Manager of the Belfast Harbour Commission. Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast. | 225 |
| 4.8. | Ulster Pavilion Plan, showing the Harbour Model (13) on the lower right corner. | 226 |
| 4.9. | “Harbour Model.” Photograph from the Album of M. J. Watkins, General Manager of the Belfast Harbour Commission. Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast. | 227 |
| 4.10. | “Harbour Model.” Photograph from the Album of M. J. Watkins, General Manager of the Belfast Harbour Commission. Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast. | 227 |
| 4.11 | Hans Iten, *A County Down Bouquet*, n.d. Oil on canvas, 129.03 x 166.37 cm. Ulster Museum, Belfast. | 228 |
| 4.12 | Rosamund Praeger, *The Philosopher*, original ca. 1913, copy ca. 1920-22. Marble, 43.2 x 16.3 x 22.5 cm. Ulster Museum, Belfast. | 228 |
| 4.13 | Grace Henry, *Girl in White*, ca. 1910. Oil on canvas, 61 x 51 cm. Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, Dublin. | 229 |
| 4.14 | Paul Henry, *Connemara Hills*, ca. 1924. Oil on board, 10”x 12”. Private Collection. | 229 |
| 4.15. | Charles Lamb, *Hearing the News*, 1920-21. Oil on canvas, 63.3 x 53.3cm. Private collection. | 230 |
| 4.16. | John Lavery, *The Studio Window, 7 July 1917*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 141.5 x 89.9cm. Ulster Museum, Belfast. | 231 |
| 4.17 | John Lavery, *Cathleen ní Houlihan*, 1928. 13 x 15.5cm. Central Bank of Ireland, Dublin. | 232 |
| 4.18. | Main street view with “peasantry,” Irish Village, Irish Exhibition, Olympia, London. 1888. Photograph. National Archives, Kew, London. | 232 |
| 4.19. | Colleen Cottage, 1924. Photograph. Norah Gallagher's Scrapbook, Donaghmore Historical Society, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland. | 233 |
| 4.20. | Donaghmore High Cross. 2010. Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland. | 233 |

4.21. Colleen Cottage souvenir booklet. 1924. Donaghmore Historical Society, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland. 234

4.22. The Burmese Pavilion, British Empire Exhibition, Wembley. Postcard, 3 x 5". 234

5.1. Michael Scott, Ireland Pavilion model, aerial view, 1938. 275

5.2. Mainie Jellett, murals. Interior, Ireland Pavilion. Glasgow Empire Exhibition, 1938. Scran digital collection, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh. 275

5.3. Seán Keating, *Shannon Basin*, 1939. Photograph. Interior, Ireland Pavilion, New York World's Fair. Gandon Editions, Kinsale. 276

5.4 Michael Scott, Ireland Pavilion sketch, 1938. Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin. 276

5.5. Map of Glasgow Empire Exhibtion, 1938. 277

5.6 "Ireland & Australia Pavilions, Empire Exhibition, Scotland, 1938." 1938. Postcard, 3" 5". Private collection. 277

5.7. Mainie Jellett, Gouache designs for Empire Exhibition murals, 1937. National Gallery, Dublin 278

5.8. Chang Feng, W*inter Landscape, c*. 1650. Album painting, ink on paper, 14 x 10½ in. Private Collection (as of 1935). 278

5.9. Hsieh Shih-Ch'en, *Landscape, 1546*. Ink on silk, 11¾ x 80¾ in. Berlin, German State Museum (as of 1935). 279

5.10. Mainie Jellett, "Agriculture," Glasgow Mural, Gouache. National Gallery, Dublin. 279

5.11. Mainie Jellett, "Agriculture," Glasgow Mural, Sketch. National Gallery, Dublin. 280

5.12 Mainie Jellett painting "Agriculture." *London Evening News*, 4 May 1938. 280

5.13. Mainie Jellett, "Weaving and Spinning," Glasgow Mural, Gouache. National Gallery, Dublin. 281

5.14 Mainie Jellett, "Weaving and Spinning," Glasgow Mural. Jellett Collection, NIVAL. 281

5.15. Samuel H. Gottscho, "Trylon and Perisphere, New York World's Fair." 1939. Photograph. Metropolitan Museum of Art. http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/190017253 282

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5.16 | Michael Scott, Ireland Pavilion sketch, 1938. Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin. | 282 |
| 5.17. | Michael Scott, Ireland Pavilion model, aerial view, 1938. | 283 |
| 5.18. | Michael Scott, Ireland Pavilion photograph, 1938. | 283 |
| 5.19. | Michael Scott, Ireland Pavilion model, side view, 1938. | 284 |
| 5.20 | Seán Keating, *Shannon Basin*, 1939. Photograph. Interior, Ireland Pavilion, New York World's Fair. Gandon Editions, Kinsale. | 284 |
| 5.21. | Seán Keating, *Night's Candles Are Burnt Out*, 1928-9. Oil on canvas. Oldham Art Gallery, Oldham, UK. | 285 |
| 5.22. | Michael Scott, Interior view of Ireland Pavilion from main entrance, showing Keating's mural on right. 1939. Gandon Editions, Kinsale. | 285 |
| 5. 23. | Evie Hone, *Four Green Fields*, 1939. Stained Glass. Government Buildings, Merrion Square, Dublin. | 286 |
| E.1 | "Irish Expo Pavilion." Preliminary model. Henry J. Lyons, Architects. http://www.hjlyons.com/Overseas/HJL_Project_Overseas_IrishExpo_Pg1.html | 298 |
| E.2. | "Entrance Ramp." Ireland Expo 2010 Shanghai. http://www.irelandexpo2010.com | 298 |
| E.3. | "Window of the World." Ireland Expo 2010 Shanghai. http://www.irelandexpo2010.com | 299 |
| E.4. | "Area 5. Time Portals." Ireland Expo 2010 Shanghai. http://www.irelandexpo2010.com | 299 |
| E.5. | "Better Living Gallery. Today." Ireland Expo 2010 Shanghai. http://www.irelandexpo2010.com | 300 |
| E.6. | "Better Living Gallery. 100 Years Ago." Ireland Expo 2010 Shanghai. http://www.irelandexpo2010.com | 300 |
| E.7. | "Better Living Gallery. 100 Years Ago." From the *Video Walkthrough*, Ireland Expo 2010 Shanghai. http://www.irelandexpo2010.com | 301 |
| E.8. | "Interior of McKinley Cottage, Ballymaclinton." 1907. Postcard, 3" x 5". Private collection. | 301 |
| E.9. | "Interior of McKinley Cottage, Ballymaclinton." 1908. Postcard, 3" x 5". Private collection. | 302 |

E.10. Robert J. Welch, “Farm Kitchen.” Ulster Museum, Belfast. In Claudia Kinmonth, *Irish Country Furniture, 1700-1950*. New Haven and London; Yale University Press, 1993, p. 129. 302

# INTRODUCTION

## WHY EXHIBITIONS?

This is the first comprehensive study of Ireland's participation in or representation at international exhibitions. My project is, on the one hand, a necessary overview of Ireland's appearance and reception at these international events, initiated in 1851 by Prince Albert in London to showcase the world's greatest industrial and artistic achievements and still produced around the globe today. On the other hand, my dissertation is a series of in-depth case studies of five specific exhibitions that allows me to explore the range of political, social, and artistic interests that both contributed to and reacted to displays of Ireland and Irishness at particular historical moments. My analysis of visual, material, and textual evidence from the exhibitions illuminates how various actors and objects were implemented and interpreted as Irish in unique combinations for specific exhibition contexts. The picture of shifting representations and interpretations of Ireland and Irishness that I map out demonstrates how these relationships responded not only to political and social exigencies, but also to past exhibitionary models of the nation; they impacted diverse audiences in a global environment in ways that both compared with and transcended other phenomena of cultural diffusion such as tourism efforts, the expansion of Irish textual, visual, and performance arts in this period, and the conflicts over establishing territorial and popular boundaries of the post-Famine Irish diaspora.

My work is essential to exhibition histories in that I explore the importance of the exhibition phenomenon in the national development of one particular, complicated national entity from the earliest years of exhibitions through World War II. In so doing, my dissertation also addresses a gap in Irish histories more broadly. I stress the importance of Irish visual

studies in understanding the development of both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland and I introduce the exhibition construct as a key tool for the transmission, acceptance, and/or rejection of particular sets of identifiers as Irish or as representing Ireland in the years from the Famine in the late 1840s to the signing of the Constitution of the Republic at the end of the 1930s. I offer a visual history of competing, intersecting, and often reactionary interpretations of Ireland not only by various exhibition organizers from a range of political, religious, and economic positions, but also by exhibition visitors whose understanding of and responses to these displays and constructions of Ireland varied widely across several continents and over nearly one hundred years.

The visuality of the exhibitions was the primary experience of the event, whether one visited in person, viewed innumerable postcards sent from the fairgrounds around the world, or pored over images in the local newspapers and illustrated journals. Any investigation of these exhibitions must engage the multiplicity of visual components and remnants. While I consult the official records, public reporting, and personal remembrances of the exhibitions, I prioritize the profuse visual materials of these exhibitions as primary evidence in my investigation: postcards, illustrated magazines, souvenirs, architectural ornamentation, even the physical and topographical mapping of the exhibition spaces. This project considers how and by whom Irish national or cultural identity was expressed visually and materially at each exhibition, how these varied constructions functioned within the lived experiences of the exhibition grounds, and how such depictions were received and interpreted by visitors and fellow exhibitors.

My project unearths a multiplicity of intentions and receptions of markers of Irishness in the specific scenario of the international exhibition. As such, it attends to issues of race, class, religion, citizenship and gender, revealing how each of these factors contributed to an ongoing

process of defining Ireland through the lens of international exhibitionary display. I do not aim to reject, repudiate, or reaffirm the political actions of the varied groups laying claim to an Irish identity through the tumultuous period of Irish history covered by this project. Instead, I engage these exhibitions as important sites for reading the cultural and ideological conflicts surrounding Irish nationhood and identity at discrete historical moments from a range of critical points of view.

This work intersects with Irish tourism studies that have traced the movement of similar national visions. Marie Boran, for example, has surveyed Belfastman Robert J. Welch's rural photographs published in Irish tourist guides from 1899 to 1920, photographs that impacted exhibitionary village constructs as well. Similarly, Eric Zuelow, whose recent work examined the landscape and village promotion programs of the Irish Tourist Association from the 1920s to the 1950s, has stressed the direct impact of Irish tourism practices and technologies on international perceptions of Ireland and Irishness.[1] He refers to "the specific set of Irish assumptions about what belonged in Irish landscapes and townscapes"[2] that consistently included rural women, fishermen, farm fields, and thatched cottages. I address these "sets" of touristic images as well as their modification and reinterpretations on the fairgrounds and explore how they can provide both a positive vision of a new Ireland as well as, in the words of literary scholar Spurgeon Thompson, "reinforce with visual, documentary authority the range of [negative] stereotypes [of Ireland and the Irish people] that had long been travel writing's signature."[3] My work frequently highlights just such potential chasms between intent and reception, between positive self-promotion and negative interpretation based on centuries of

[1] Marie Boran, "Tools of the Tourist Trade: The Photography of R. J. Welch in the Tourist Literature of Late
[2] Zuelow, *Making Ireland Irish*, 180.
[3] Spurgeon Thompson, "The Politics of Photography: Travel Writing and the Irish Countryside, 1900-1914," in *Images, Icons and the Nationalist Imagination*, ed. Lawrence McBride (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 113.

tension between Ireland and England.

I also insert exhibitions into a slowly growing scholarship of Irish art history. Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch has argued that the political and social embrace of paintings of the West of Ireland "played a significant role in affirming Irish distinctiveness"[4] in reaction and response to centuries of perceived identity manipulation by various British governments, businesses, and social interests. As with tourism photography, competing political ideologies in Ireland often repurposed and reauthorized such Irish artwork for international consumption. I contend that exhibitions provided a unique platform for the display of Irish art, the creation of new Irish art and architecture, and the intersection of Irish visual forms with more international influences and styles outside of Ireland. By removing "Irish art" from an insular context, the difficulties in delimiting such a category becomes both clearer and more compelling. I furthermore take up the argument recently made by Irish literary scholar Paige Reynolds, who has suggested that J. M. Synge's infamous *The Playboy of the Western World* and the resulting theatre riots over its production in Dublin in 1907 challenged nationalist audiences to grapple with the multiple layers, interpretations, and possibilities of the rural Irish ideal that had been so heartily adopted by these urban groups as a monolithic national symbol. By using the exhibition as my model, I am similarly able to illustrate how the representations of Ireland at international exhibitions juxtaposed contradictory symbols of Ireland in a given exhibition space: peasant cottages were offset by modern electrical technology; displays of rural industry contrasted with aspirational views of aristocratic leisure; nostalgic shamrocks were constructed from steel girders. At these nodes of intersection, the intentions of the organizers are challenged by the experiences of the fair-workers and the fairgoers and such points of contact illuminate a range of visual options for

[4] Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch, "Painting the West: The Role of Landscape in Irish Identity," in *Ireland's Art, Ireland's History: Representing Ireland, 1845 to Present* (Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, 2007), 75.

identifying and defining Ireland.

Famine to Freedom, London to New York

This project explores five key Irish exhibitionary moments between the first international exhibition in London in 1851, Prince Albert's Exhibition of the Industries of All Nations, and the last international exhibition before the Second World War, the New York World's Fair of 1939. I focus exclusively on exhibitions in America, England, Scotland, and Ireland, since such Atlantic nations are more directly intertwined with the political tensions in Ireland over these years; this timeline from the 1850s to the 1930s corresponds to a significant, tumultuous period in the history of Ireland. The potato blight that triggered the Irish Famine from 1845 to 1849 not only destroyed the rural population of the country, but also was accompanied by a series of failed relief policies by the British Government. Over one million Irishmen and women, predominantly from the Western counties, died from hunger and disease, while another million emigrated in the waves of the great Irish Diaspora. The brutal combination of starvation and ineffective political strategies fueled an already-present hostility between the predominantly Catholic peasantry, given a political voice in 1829 by political leader Daniel O'Connell, and Anglo-Irish, predominantly Protestant landowners and urban elites.[5] O'Connell died in 1847 after a long career dedicated to securing constitutional nationalism for Ireland by fighting for the repeal of the 1800 Act of Union between England and Ireland that had dissolved the Irish Parliament. A year later, in 1848, a group of middle-class Irish literary figures called the Young Irelanders advocated complete independence from England and subsequently failed in their attempt at an armed rebellion.

[5] The most thorough resource on the Famine, its impact, its implications, and its treatment by scholars in the ensuing century and a half remains James S. Donnelly Jr., *The Great Irish Potato Famine* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2001).

My first chapter begins in the political, social, and economic vacuum that followed the Great Irish Famine when a middle-class Catholic businessman in Dublin, William Dargan, decided that hosting an exhibition of the scale and scope of the first, 1851 London Exhibition would offer Ireland much-needed industrial and psychological stimulation. Dargan's 1853 Dublin International Exhibition of the Arts and Industries of all Nations provided Irish businesses the platform through which to rebuild an Irish national image simultaneously for nationalist and loyalist audiences as well as for international visitors. However, the 1853 Exhibition explicitly configured post-Famine Ireland as a tabula rasa, obscuring the Famine's enduring impact on Irish life in both the city and countryside. The massive wood-and-glass architecture, international fine arts collections, elaborate pageants and performances, and repeated royal visits offered a visible and tangible alternative to the popular stories and images of poverty, health and land concerns, and population decline that had been circulating for years in the British and American presses. The physical presence of the exhibition palace and the visual experience of exploring its galleries impressed upon visitors a new vision of Ireland in the present, far removed from the dirt and disease of the potato blight of the past decade. Instead it promised that in the second half of the nineteenth century, the world would see Ireland emerge as a peaceful, non-partisan, religiously tolerant nation. Rather than explore solutions for legitimate national concerns over poverty and policy, Dargan and his supporters offered the exhibition itself as the solution to Famine recovery, showcasing on over six and a half acres an idealized Ireland undamaged by disease and fully unfettered from its not-too-distant past. I offer, in contrast, a reading of this exhibition's displays of Irish symbols, objects, and citizens as ultimately unable to erase the Famine experience from national memory and international opinion, despite the carefully constructed message displayed in and by the physical exhibition space.

From Dublin, my project moves to the exhibitions visited by, among others, Irish immigrant communities in the United States whose ranks were so swelled in the previous decades by the Famine migration. In my second chapter, "The Blarney Stone at 57th and Portland: Irish Fairs in 1890s America," I address two exhibition extremes: the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, certainly the biggest and most successful of the American exhibitions of the nineteenth century, as well as the smaller Irish Fairs in New York and Chicago in 1897, which emerged in both format and style from the example set in 1893. This chapter illuminates a variety of new visions of and for Ireland existing almost simultaneously, vying for attention, legitimacy, and economic support from the Irish-American and American audiences. These exhibitionary Irish spaces in America were the first significant, internationally-staged attempts to coordinate a vast majority of rural, Western Irish icons and imagery as synecdochal representations of Ireland as a whole: the round tower, the Celtic high cross, the harp, the cottage, and the Irish peasant woman known as the "colleen."

The Irish "villages" on the fairgrounds of 1893 and in the exhibition palaces of 1897, pieced together from symbolic objects and even the individuals populating the grounds, appeared as visual, tactile, interactive evidence of a renewed Ireland. Celtic symbols, rural tropes, and modern industrial techniques combined to project a new international vision for Ireland against the backdrop of increasingly contentious political and cultural struggles coming to the fore in Ireland itself. This chapter explores how the various organizers, ranging from the Scottish wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to a wealthy English philanthropist to local members of New York and Chicago Irish-American committees, used many of the same symbols and objects to construct often contradictory and competing visions of and for Ireland.

Chapter Three, "Ballymaclinton: the Cleanest, Happiest, Hardest-Working Irish Village

in London," provides an examination of the motivations behind, efforts during, and lasting effects of the Irish village constructed at the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition in London. Despite the tensions between Irish nationalists and Union loyalists that would soon reach a boiling point with the 1916 Easter Sunday Rising in Dublin, the County Tyrone soap company that organized Ballymaclinton attempted to transcend religious and political conflicts by asserting the town's - and by extension, the country's - industriousness, cleanliness, and global commercial impetus. Brown and Son Soap Company's new vision of Ireland for 1908 worked explicitly to counteract English and Continental concerns over the increasing rumors of rebellion and violence in Ireland.

The buildings, people, and objects mobilized for the task, however, often stood in stark contrast to such lofty goals. Ballymaclinton was populated almost exclusively by "colleens" who made, sold, promoted, and even washed with soap that would, according to the advertisements, give the purchaser the same pure, white skin as the fair colleens.[6] Such associations with soap and cleanliness connected the village less to a healthy imperial future than to a racialized and often exoticized colonial past. Similarly, Ballymaclinton was expected to raise money for and awareness of the tuberculosis epidemic in Ireland. In promoting such a health campaign, the organizers signaled to the exhibition visitor that the soap was needed to cleanse the inhabitants of its diseases. These tensions emerge most significantly in the extensive visual coverage of the village, from postcards to guidebooks to personal photographs. I argue that Ballymaclinton, one particular vision of an Irish town in the heart of England, paralleled the increasing cultural instability in Ireland at the beginning of the twentieth century rather than expressed a new, healthy, happy vision for Anglo-Irish commercial and social futures.

Unsurprisingly, the idealized, clean, friendly vision of Ireland as embodied in

[6] The widely-circulated Valentine postcard series contained the following on the reverse: "The Irish colleens use this soap, note their beautiful complexions."

Ballymaclinton failed to materialize outside the exhibition grounds. The 1910s in Ireland witnessed the complete collapse of a diplomatic path to any form of Irish independence replaced by increasingly bloody displays of commitment to the extremes of national identity. In 1912, as leader of the Ulster Unionists, Edward Carson was the first of hundreds of thousands of Northern Irish to sign the Ulster Covenant whereby signatories promised to defend the Union of Ulster to the British Empire "by all means… necessary."[7] In Dublin, on the other hand, a 1916 armed rebellion by the nationalist Irish Republican Brotherhood, Irish Citizen Army, and Irish Volunteers resulted in the summary execution and consequent national martyrdom of its leaders. Within four years, the Anglo-Irish War pitted the English as well as a substantial Unionist segment of the Northern Counties against the military forces of the Catholic Irish Republican Brotherhood and its political arm, Sinn Féin, in the South. The resulting Truce and Treaty offered Southern Ireland dominion status within the Empire, a much greater concession than O'Connell or Parnell had conceived, but it also preserved parts of the Northern Counties within the United Kingdom and a Civil War between a now-divided island began.[8]

While the Irish Civil War continued into 1923, the British Parliament turned its attention to cultural renewal at home in the wake of World War I. The Great War had put on hold English plans to host a great Empire Exhibition until 1924, the same year that a Boundary Commission was established to map out the precise new border between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State in the South.[9] In my fourth chapter, "First Impressions: Ulster at the British Empire Exhibition of 1924," I explore the first national Pavilion dedicated to any part of Ireland. The

---

[7] Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster*, New Updated ed. (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 2001), 437.
[8] The seminal text continues to be R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (London: Penguin Press, 1988). More recent social, cultural, and economic histories of note include Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland, 1900-2000* (London: Profile Books, 2004); and Thomas Bartlett, *Ireland, A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[9] For more in depth attention to the Boundary Commission, see chapter 14 in James Loughlin, *The British Monarchy and Ireland: 1800 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 323-355. Also see chapter 11 in Bardon, *A History of Ulster*, 466-551.

opportunity to display the new nation in such international context forced the Northern Government to develop a marketable set of national identifiers and to present a vision of a brand new Northern Ireland to the world before the boundaries between Ulster and the southern Free State had even been decided.

I contend that the lack of Southern Irish representation in 1924, combined with an exhibitionary audience now long-conditioned to see new versions of Ireland and Irishness on display, provided a window of opportunity for the Ulster organizers to seize for themselves the label of "Irish." The resulting 1924 Ulster Pavilion reveals that, as much as the Northern organizers hoped to enforce distance and separation through their displays and to prove their unity with the British Empire, they could not escape their cultural, historical, and geographic ties to the island of Ireland as a whole. This chapter examines the objects, artworks, and industries on display in the Pavilion to explore the many ways in which the social, political, industrial, and artistic boundaries between the two Irelands were crossed by Ulster's lone Irish presence at the Exhibition. In particular, I address the consistent devotion by Northern organizers and politicians to the physical land and landscape of the entirety of Ireland, regardless of the new boundaries delimiting Northern Ireland to a mere six counties. Viewing the emerging state of Northern Ireland in the international exhibition framework invites new interpretations and understanding of the conflicts as well as the continuities between the North and the South in the years after Partition.

My project concludes with the 1930s counterpoint to the 1924 Ulster Pavilion. Although the Irish Free State had declined to participate in the 1924 exhibition, citing financial limitations rather than admitting political wariness,[10] at the end of the 1930s, a more confident Irish

[10] E. J. O'Riordan to the Ministry of Agriculture, letter, 21 Sept. 1923, AGF/92/3/438 Wembley Exhibition, National Archives of Ireland.

government under Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Eamon DeValera agreed to construct two Irish national Pavilions, one for the British Empire Exhibition in Glasgow in 1938 and the other for the New York World's Fair of 1939.[11] In this final chapter, I investigate the Government's choices of modernist artists and architects to design and decorate these pavilions in light of the increasing conservatism of public policy in Ireland. Mainie Jellett, a controversial Irish modernist painter, was commissioned as the muralist for the 1938 Irish Pavilion, the first Free State national pavilion at any international exhibition. Her massive interior designs offer a particularly intriguing contrast to Seán Keating's social realist work at the Irish Pavilion in New York just one year later.

These competing, self-consciously "new" representations of Ireland mark an unusual intersection of modernism and Irish national image-making in the late 1930s. They paralleled for international audiences the internal conflicts of DeValera's fledgling Government at the time, simultaneously advocating a rural national ideal while promoting a hydro-electric scheme as equally important to national renewal and identity construction. My study illuminates a multiplicity of competing visions of Ireland where past met present and where traditional symbols were repurposed and controversial modern visions mobilized to represent the new Ireland. In so doing, I challenge the art historical position that has treated Jellett's work in Glasgow as merely a footnote to Keating's vaunted murals in 1939. I also consider the lauded steel and glass "Shamrock Building" designed by Irish architect Michael Scott to house the Keating mural. The combinations of traditional imagery with modernist art and architectural features reveal the range of modes and methods employed by Government exhibition organizers to represent the official Republic of Ireland, only recently established by the signing of the

[11] Glasgow had hoped to earn the designation "international," but an international exhibition regulatory board, the Bureau Internationale des Expositions, had been established in 1928 to regulate the frequency of "international" exhibitions. "Bureau Internationale des Expositions Web Site," BIE, http://www.bie-paris.org/

Constitution of Ireland at the end of 1937.

An exploration of the variety of ways Ireland was envisioned at these exhibitions - regardless of organizer, audience, intent or outcome - reveals three major commonalities: a rejection of past exhibitionary models of Ireland through a renewal or reconstruction of the physical, visual, or personal Irish exhibition geography; visions and material representations of Ireland's industriousness, particularly vis-á-vis cultural stereotypes of dirtiness, disease, and laziness; and an emphasis on innate Irish artistic genius. Specific icons and imagery such as cottages, colleens, pigs, turf, and harps move within and through these exhibition commonalities to illuminate the various combinations of Irishness that are either mobilized or rejected to suit the "new" Ireland of the moment.

Exhibitions and Irishness

The exhibition concept originated with Prince Albert's decision in 1849 to support an exhibition of industry and design in London in 1851 that would promote and educate the British public on mechanical innovation and industrial design. It would also be explicitly international in scope.[12] From 1851 onwards, similar events of increasing size and purview proliferated across six continents to convey to all classes of society the industrial and artistic prowess of both host and attendee nations and groups. Throughout the British Empire, they were called "international exhibitions;" American events were titled "world's fairs" or "international expositions," taking a cue from the French term for such fairs, "*expositions universelles*." British and French governments also supported various "empire exhibitions" that I consider within this same framework, as many times the scope of the empire exhibitions was the same as the more official

[12] Jeffrey A, Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 23.

"international" events and contemporary organizers and visitors recognized little distinction between the two.[13]

Regardless of location, size, or title, these exhibitions developed several common physical features and visual experiences including grand central palaces, axial planning with long lakes and broad pathways, and peripheral colonial and/or amusement areas. They often counterbalanced local or regional successes with foreign exoticism. They coordinated industrial prowess, artistic genius, and popular entertainment. Exhibitions became, in the words of historian Robert Rydell, "symbolic universes" wherein sets of images and icons displayed national and commercial agendas either to strengthen or to redefine the visitors' opinions, beliefs, and responses to "constellations of symbols."[14] In short, they stood as physical, material, and visual manifestations of specific sets of world-views intended to express a particular conception of a given business or a nation for a brief, often six-month moment in time. From independent, imperial powers to colonized territories, various populations, products, and architectural forms were put on display to be observed, consumed, and judged by ever-changing audiences.

Political scientist Timothy Mitchell takes Rydell's position one step further, suggesting that "exhibitions, museums, and other spectacles were not just reflections of [historical] certainty… but the means of its production, by their technique of rendering history, progress, culture and empire in 'objective' form."[15] He has highlighted the interplay between intended imperial vision and colonial interpretation to address how repeated cycles of viewing or experiencing an exhibition could begin to break down the boundaries between what was

[13] "International Exhibitions" were formally delimited in 1928 by the Bureau des Expositions Universelles. Before that point, use of the term was much more fluid and after 1928, titles like "empire exhibition" were adopted as a short cut around BIE regulations.
[14] Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 3.
[15] Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 7.

perceived as real and what was known to be artificial. Mitchell coined the term "world-as-exhibition" to refer to the outcome of this cycle wherein the objects, persons, and industries displayed at an exhibition could become indistinguishable from the outside world.[16] In other words, exhibitions, as powerful, visual spectacles, had certain resonance and impact beyond the exhibition walls. Historian Peter Hoffenberg has called the resulting effects "spectacles of tangible fantasy… both imaginary and material" that unified audiences within a particular imperial vision while simultaneously revealing the fractures and tensions present in the various political, social, and economic groups making up those audiences.[17]

Comparative histories of individual nations at exhibitions, such as Mitchell's work on Egypt and Hoffenberg's on India and Australia, offer useful models for my work on Ireland. Organizers of exhibitions both in Ireland and of Ireland constructed complex and often contradictory fantasies of both the specific nation, national group, or industrial interest and the world at large. At the same time, such fantasies were often challenged or undermined by political and social tensions in Ireland regarding who was authorized to represent the nation or who had the authority to define the nation at any given international event; by the range of diaspora experiences of the visitors to Irish exhibition displays in America, Scotland, and England; and by the preconceived notions and pre-existing biases about Ireland and the Irish held by various non-Irish audiences.

Anthropologist Burton Benedict has suggested that exhibitions had the power to invent traditions by depicting "peoples and cultures of empire as though they were parts of single whole; the metaphor of family was often used… the image of unity was stressed."[18] He draws

---

[16] Ibid., 13.
[17] Peter Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), xv.
[18] Burton Benedict, "International Exhibitions and National Identity," *Anthropology Today* 7, no. 3 (June 1991): 8.

attention to the value of "collective representations" organized around key symbols and symbolic structures that affirmed the unity of the nation despite the fractures in the particular society on display or among particular groups visiting the fairgrounds.[19] This is similar to the discursive move suggested by sociologist Tony Bennett in "The Exhibitionary Complex." Echoing Graeme Davison's adaptation of Foucault, that "the Panopticon was designed so that everyone could be seen; the [1851] Crystal Palace was designed so that everyone could see,"[20] Bennett has argued that the very act of seeing the world on display at an exhibition was a form of social discipline, unifying the visitors in their new world knowledge. Exhibitions ideally allowed people "to become, in seeing themselves from the side of power, both the subjects and the objects of knowledge, knowing power and what power knows, and knowing themselves as (ideally) known by power, interiorizing its gaze as a principle of self-surveillance and, hence, self-regulation."[21] My work draws out the complications of this model of enforcing particular imperial knowledge by attending to the ever-shifting Irish interests "seeing" and "being seen."

My evaluation of Ireland at these exhibitions builds from this configuration of the unifying world-as-exhibition wherein constellations of symbols combined in unique and often unpredictable ways to impress upon the visitors that their experiences of Ireland on the fairgrounds were, in fact, similar to, or perhaps exactly the same as, the visual and material experiences of Irishness in Ireland itself. The exhibitions functioned as a space between the actual nation and the representation of the nation, and between the intentions of the organizers and the receptions of the viewers. In the case of Ireland, with each successive exhibition at each new moment of national crisis and opportunity from the late nineteenth through early twentieth

---

[19] Burton Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (London and Berkeley: Scolar Press, 1983), 12-13.
[20] Graeme Davison, "Exhibitions," *Australian Cultural History* 2 (1982/3): 7, quoted in Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 65.
[21] Ibid., 63.

centuries, the symbols brought together to represent the nation could function both to imagine a new present as well as to erase the past. They provided a physical space for the renewal, revisioning, and reintroduction of visions of Ireland that could then be reinscribed as "representative of the real" once the exhibition visitors had left the fairgrounds.[22] The effectiveness of such structures, however, was wholly unpredictable, as various audiences approached the exhibitions and the nations on display therein from a multitude of political, social, and economic positions.

Echoing architect Michael Scott's argument that "there is no Irish architecture after the twelfth century,"[23] literary critic Declan Kiberd has highlighted the problem of "inventing Ireland" in the present or for the future by utilizing past objects, texts, and art works that are already culturally and politically loaded with multiple meanings.[24] Like Kiberd, I show throughout my work that the essentialism of reducing Ireland to "orange" and "green" excludes important cultural, visual, and material histories of the middle ground where more hybrid, nuanced versions and visions of Ireland come to light in these transitory, historical, exhibitionary spaces.[25] Similarly, scholar James P. Byrne and his colleagues have suggested that this concept of "in-between" can be used more broadly to conceive of the complex variations of Irishness in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[26] They have argued that Irishness, as a national identity, eventually becomes an act, an accrual and display of symbols whose paradoxical meanings, encompassing aspects of both the nationalist movement and imperial authority, require further

---

[22] Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, xiv. Mitchell frames his text as an exploration of "representations of the real."
[23] Dorothy Walker, *Michael Scott, Architect: In (Casual) Conversation with Dorothy Walker* (Kinsale: Gandon Editions, 1995), 95.
[24] Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Irishness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 4.
[25] Ibid., 7.
[26] "Introduction," in *Affecting Irishness: Negotiating Cultural Identity Within and Beyond the Nation*, ed. James P. Byrne, Padraig Kirwan, and Michael O'Sullivan (New York & Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2009), 1-17.

investigation to unearth their instrumental meanings in present-day Ireland.[27] My work explores not only the paradoxical meanings of exhibitionary forms of Ireland, but also how and why these paradoxes were created in the first place.

In his foundational text, *Imagined Communities*, scholar Benedict Anderson has laid the groundwork for studying the development of nationalism, or "nation-ness," by marking it as a combination of "cultural artefacts… 'modular,' capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations."[28] While he has followed these developments through language and print-media, I contend that exhibitions were also sites of such modular components arranged and displayed as essentially a series of micro-experiments in nation-building combining various variable symbols, peoples, and politics. I use the term "Irishness" to encompass these particular combination of symbols, individuals, and memories of past exhibitions that contribute to the whole "symbolic universe" of Ireland on display.

I am following a similar model to that adopted by Lucy McDiarmid in her study of Irish controversies of nationalism in the early twentieth century. Like McDiarmid, I conceive of Irishness as an intentionally empty term, not in that it lacks meaning, but that it is able, as a concept, to encompass a range of signifiers at any given exhibitionary moment.[29] As each exhibition reconfigured the world for new audiences and new international moments, so too did each display exhibit new, different, reconstituted versions of Ireland. Artifacts contributing to a given exhibitionary vision of Irishness could fluctuate in both meaning and value from exhibition

---

[27] Ibid. Byrne et al. use the image of pulling on an Irish sports jersey to express a casual encounter with Irishness: once the game is over, the jersey is removed.
[28] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 2006), 4.
[29] Lucy McDiarmid, *The Irish Art of Controversy* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 3.

to exhibition. For example, I explore how the particular qualities and interpretations of a whitewashed Irish cottage on display in Chicago in 1893 was both intended and interpreted in profoundly different ways from a similar cottage exhibited as Irish in Dublin in 1907 or Scotland in 1924.

My investigation of the repeatedly new versions of Ireland envisioned by exhibition organizers and experienced by visitors reveals the insular tensions of these tumultuous decades in Ireland, as well as the international aspirations of various Irish groups; it also highlights the instability of these aims by charting the fluidity of national signifiers and the wide, unpredictable range of responses to these visions. The exhibitions captured moments in which competing Irish interests attempted at best to offer solutions to national problems and at worst, to ignore or distract from insular conflicts. These exhibitionary visions played out through the performances of a range of hired actors whose own role in the creation of international conceptions of Irishness must not be overlooked. My project considers the impressions and opinions of the visitors, as well, who also contributed to the knowledge of Ireland propagated on the fairgrounds. In sum, the series of exhibitionary models of Ireland that I explore emphasizes that the nation was never completely captured in the form of the cottage or the castle, the farmer or the engineer, the rolling green fields or the bustling industrial harbor, the nationalist or the loyalist. Instead Irish identity was and continues to be constantly shifting through a fluid set of signifiers, all of which contributed to a multiplicity of international representations of Ireland and Irishness in the ideologically potent frame of the international exhibition phenomenon of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

# CHAPTER 1

## A POST-FAMINE TABULA RASA: IRELAND AT THE 1853 DUBLIN EXHIBITION OF ARTS AND INDUSTRY

On May 12, 1853, the Irish Industrial Exhibition opened in Dublin, Ireland. Newspapers and magazines throughout England, Ireland, and the United States, as well as journals in major cities like Paris and Brussels chronicled this momentous occasion in a country better known at the start of this decade for starvation, disease, emigration, and political and religious turmoil. On this afternoon, however, tens of thousands of people packed the interior of architect John Benson's massive Temple of Industry, erected from local woods, iron, and glass in mere months on Merrion Square; an even greater number of all classes of Irishmen and women, English and Continental visitors filled the streets of the Irish capital. The weather was unexpectedly glorious, the crowds were uncharacteristically cheerful and hopeful, and the exhibition that had been a year in the planning was unbelievably ready on time.[1] According to the correspondent for the *Freeman's Journal*,

> never indeed, had a scene of more thrilling interest, of greater brilliancy, or of more enduring importance, been enacted on the soil of Ireland! Never before has there been an event in Irish history for the promotion of which there has been such a heartfelt and cordial union of all ranks, all classes, and all creeds of Irishmen. From the representatives of royalty and the proud aristocracy of the country, throughout all the gradations of society, down to the humble artisan who earns his bread by honest industry, there was not one man whose heart did not beat quicker as the hour of inauguration drew nigh, and who did not take the deepest personal interest in the success and prosperity of the Exhibition.[2]

These themes of unity, harmony, and national pride dominated Dublin and London press coverage of the event for over six months. Such celebratory rhetoric was often paired with

[1] The repetition of stereotypes of the Irish as lazy, late, and unreliable is high in both English and Irish accounts of
[2] "The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853: The Inauguration," *Freeman's Journal*, 13 May 1853.

triumphal imagery in publications such as the *Illustrated London News*, a journal that just a few years earlier had predominantly depicted Ireland as a nation of starving children and abandoned villages in the Famine years of the late the 1840s. In 1853, however, the publication shared with its predominantly English readership a majestic Irish architectural achievement filled with civilized, well-dressed citizens (Figure 1). The artist, most likely the Irishman James Mahony who had created several of the *Illustrated London News'* picturesque and tragic images in the 1840s and produced three formal watercolors of the Exhibition by the end of the season, focused on the massive height of the exhibition building and the density of the crowd within to suggest both the grand scale and the success of the undertaking.[3]

Such transcendent visions and the hyperbolic text that accompanied it stood in stark contrast to earlier images from the Famine years such as that of Bridget O'Donnell in 1849 (Figure 2), the pathetic victim of starvation. This chapter addresses the surprising turn of public sentiment that occurred seemingly overnight in 1853. I explore the exhibitionary moment in Ireland and the contrasts it produced in international perceptions of Ireland by mapping out the various methods employed by the exhibition organizers, artists, and participants to establish a new Ireland in Dublin after the Famine years. Such a study also highlights the ways in which the organizers' attempts likely better served to reify the realities of post-Famine Irish struggles for political, cultural, and even personal survival.

According to F. S. L. Lyons' seminal text on *Ireland Since the Famine*, "in a poor backward country [like Ireland], with virtually no tradition of entrepreneurial enterprise and lacking even the leadership of an effective ruling class, the impact of government upon society must always be direct and powerful."[4] Such impact manifested in the deaths, evictions, and

[3] Mahony was sent by the *Illustrated London News* to be their official presence at the event.
[4] F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine* (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1971; reprint, Collins/Fontana,

diaspora migrations tied to the Famine and the ensuing, restrictive political and agricultural policies. However, in 1852, an aspirational railway contractor named William Dargan emerged to offer cultural leadership and an entrepreneurial solution to the lingering effects of the Famine and the so-called political and cultural "lull" of the early 1850s in Ireland.[5] Dargan, a middle-class, non-practicing Catholic from Dublin, turned to popular entertainment and national industrial inspiration to provide a remedy for the suffering, maligned Irish image of the 1840s.[6] He had visited Prince Albert's Exhibition of the Arts and Industries of All Nations in London in 1851; he had been in Cork for the 1852 Cork National Exhibition; and he believed that in 1853, Dublin could host an event of greater scale and scope to revitalize the nation from the depths of Famine desolation and the related stereotypes of the Irish increasingly held by English and Anglo-Irish middle and upper classes. This chapter takes a closer look at Dargan's national project to explore both the event's and, by extension, the post-Famine nation's successes and failures in promoting and developing Ireland through the newly-developed international medium of the exhibition.

By the end of the 1840s, the predominantly middle-class British readership of the *Illustrated London News*, popular journal for over one-hundred-thousand consumers, had become accustomed to stories and images of starvation, disease, and desolation from the "sister island"[7] across the Irish Sea.[8] In 1845, the potato blight had struck Ireland, the fungus *phytophthora infestans* that had destroyed the potato harvests in central Europe the year before and would tragically impact nearly half of Ireland's 8.5 million inhabitants by the time it was

---

1982), 71.

[5] R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (New York: Penguin Press, 1988), 373. In 1848, a group of young writers and journalists had tried unsuccessfully to resolve issues between England and Ireland through armed insurrection the failed Young Ireland rebellion.

[6] Lyons, 107-110.

[7] Art-Journal, *The Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin* (London: Virtue & Co., 1853), 30.

[8] Peter Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page: Representing the Nation in the Illustrated London News* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998), 16-19.

eradicated from the island.[9] In less than five years, its effects were irrevocable, decimating the rural population, nearly 3.3 million of whom had relied on the potato as their main source of nutrition, and driving well over a million Irish into exile.[10] During these years, various British governments and their official representatives in Ireland had devised, debated, and enacted a series of reforms to mediate the calamity, from repealing food restrictions to public relief works, including the infamous revisions to the Poor Laws in 1847 that resulted in mass evictions and severe mortality rates in the public workhouses.[11] Historian Michael de Nie has argued that the overwhelming response in England, from politicians to dock workers, was that the solution to the Irish Famine had to be an Irish responsibility.[12] By 1847, early British sympathy and concern for the beleaguered Irish turned to hopelessness and pity, as illustrated magazines carried pathetic images of evictions; by 1848, the images began to include harsh caricature, as the public opinion in England of the Poor Laws declined and publications supported the political shift to place the responsibility for the problem squarely back the shoulders of the Irish alone.[13]

Images such as that of Bridget O'Donnell in the *Illustrated London News* were typical. Accompanied by a tragic story of her eviction, disease, and poverty, this 1849 etching revealed a gaunt, haunted girl, barely old enough to be the mother of the two ragged children by her side. She pushes them forward towards the reader with her skeletal hands, their emaciated bodies accentuated by the artist's deft use of dark shadows under their eyes and around the bones of their joints. The image was designed to evoke sympathy from the *Illustrated London News*'s English audience, but it also had the potential to promote English fear. By 1849, Bridget and her children represented disease and death; they were an economic and social drain on the imperial

[9] James S. Donnelly Jr., *The Great Irish Potato Famine* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2001), 1, 41-42.
[10] Ibid., 1.
[11] Ibid., 110-111.
[12] Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 101-02.
[13] Ibid., 109-16.

economy; and, perhaps worst of all, they embodied the perceived lack of Irish self-sufficiency that had led to their present predicament.

Illustrations also revealed the abandoned villages such as that of Tullig, County Kildare (Figure 3) where the *Illustrated London News* introduced its readers to a lone boy with a crutch dragging himself past the crumbling remains of what had once been a busy, prosperous village before famine and landlord evictions combined to kill or drive off its residents by 1849. The Irish peasants of Tullig seemingly abandoned their homes to desolation and danger, leaving behind this scene of a child's lonely suffering. On the other hand, roofs burned out and walls collapsing signaled the practices of "crowbar brigades," landlord employees who were permitted by law to destroy the cottages of tenants who had sought out the workhouses or other forms of government support.[14] Strikingly, when paired with a sick child, these images also reaffirmed for the *Illustrated London News'* readers the hopeless tragedy of Ireland even as the Famine was coming to an end.

In contrast to these tragic images, James Mahony's 1853 Dublin Exhibition drawings for the *Illustrated London News* presented a scene of harmony and celebration. The image's Gothic arch frame of mimicked the shape of the exhibition palace itself, the so-called "Temple of Industry," 450 feet long by 100 feet wide by 125 feet tall. The room resembles nothing so much as a cathedral, equally recognizable to both Catholic and Protestant viewers. The ornamental, oak organ in the apse serves as the altar, while the banners and medallions representing the cities, nations, and tradesmen on display throughout the exhibition grounds suggest the military and regional banners often hung in Protestant cathedrals, perhaps further familiarizing the English reader with the Irish space. Rising up from within the central crowd, the oversized statue of a military figure on horseback depicts Queen Victoria herself.

[14] Donnelly, 114-116.

This is a scene of triumph focused on a ruler on horseback leading her orderly, healthy, and responsible Irish populace. Mahony's exhibition sketch offers no hint of the recent political and social troubles in Ireland or of the incessant stereotyping to which his own work had contributed in the past. This was an Ireland unfettered from famine, disease, and partisanship; a tabula rasa on which a new, peaceful Ireland-within-the-Empire could be constructed without any hint of nationalist politician Daniel O'Connell, of his monster meetings for the repeal of the 1800 Act of Union that had dissolved the Irish parliament, of the Young Ireland rebellion of 1848, or of the trauma and disease lingering from the Famine.

In Mahony's *Illustrated London News* vision, a dense, lively crowd fills every ground-space, adding contrast to both the soaring, majestic space of the exhibition building and the sparsely-populated rural villages from past publications. Arrayed in calm, orderly lines, the figures in the crowd are dressed in their finest. Women line the center aisle, while men stand solemn and suited in rows behind them on each side. According to one witness, "such was the density of the crowd that it was a considerable time before the people could circulate freely in the central hall, which, from its immense size, one would almost fancy was never likely to become [so] inconveniently full."[15] All eyes were fixed on the procession as it moved, seemingly without end, through the massive hall. This triumphal, participatory scene reiterates the foundational ideals of an Irish exhibition developed and built by Irishmen to promote and stimulate Ireland and Irish industry on an international scale only seen once before at the 1851 Crystal Palace in London.

Several scholars have considered the significance of the 1853 Dublin Exhibition, located, as it was, at the chronological juncture between the Irish Famine in the late 1840s and the rise of the militant revolutionary appeal of Fenianism in the 1860s. Historian A. C. Davies, in drafting

[15] "The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853: The Inauguration," *Freeman's Journal,* 13 May 1853.

the first analysis of the 1853 Exhibition, approached its value from a purely economic standpoint, concluding that it was inevitably unsuccessful due to the inability of Ireland's political and social leaders to comprehend that the long-term problems with the Irish economy could not possibly be resolved through a short-term exhibition.[16] Rather than promote Irish industries, Davies has suggested that the exhibition "probably hastened the decline of some rural industries by exposing their vulnerability to competition from imports."[17] Media scholar Stephanie Rains has more recently returned to the economic argument, reversing Davies' critique of Ireland's failed economic production; in the context of the boom in department stores in Dublin in the 1850s, Rains has argued that the exhibition was ultimately successful in increasing consumption.[18]

The exhibition as a visual spectacle has also attracted more explicitly art historical consideration. Maggie Williams has contemplated the use of Celtic crosses to historically ground the exhibition on an Irish timeline, arguing that they acted as "the first steps" of Irish artistic development, "proof of [Ireland's] aesthetic history."[19] Paula Murphy has taken a different approach, stressing the opportunity afforded by the 1853 exhibition to fully showcase for national and historical appreciation the Irish sculptors working in England at the time.[20] Most importantly, the work of Nancy Netzer and her close study of representations of the exhibition provided the foundation for these and my own study by exploring the organizers' mobilization of

---

[16] A. C. Davies, "Ireland's Crystal Palace, 1853," in *Irish Population, Economy, and Society*, ed. J. M. Goldstrom and L. A. Clarkson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 249-270. Two earlier accounts of the Exhibition, by F. E. Dixon and John Turpin respectively, offer brief historical summaries but no analysis. F. E. Dixon, "Dublin Exhibitions: Part I," *Dublin Historical Record* 26, no. 3 (June 1973): 93-100; John Turpin, "Exhibitions of Art and Industries in Victorian Ireland: Part I: The Irish Arts and Industries Exhibition Movement 1834-1864," *Dublin Historical Record* 35, no. 1 (Dec. 1981): 2-13.

[17] A. C. Davies, "Ireland's Crystal Palace, 1853," 268.

[18] Stephanie Rains, "Here Be Monsters: The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853 and the Growth of Dublin Department Stores," *Irish Studies Review* 16, no. 4 (Nov. 2008): 487-506.

[19] Margaret McEnchroe Williams, "The 'Temple of Industry': Dublin's International Exhibition of 1853," in *Irish Art Historical Studies in Honour of Peter Harbison*, ed. Colin Hourihane (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 271.

[20] Paula Murphy, "British Sculpture at the Early Universal Exhibitions: Ireland Sustaining Britain," *The Sculpture Journal* 3 (1999): 64-7.

art more broadly to communicate the exhibition's theme of unity between antagonistic nations and national progress.[21]

Scholarship on the exhibition has often focused on the triumphalist narrative, or, more generally, the exhibition's success at creating a blueprint for a peaceful resolution of Anglo-Irish politics, religion, and national independence. Literary scholar Leon Litvack has examined the exhibition as the highest form of colonial praise-through-mimicry. Drawing from Homi Bhabha's work, he has suggested that the similarities between the Dublin and London exhibitions mediated the social and cultural tensions between England and Ireland heading into the second half of the nineteenth century by charting common cultural ground.[22] Art historian Margarita Cappock and historian James Loughlin have both emphasized the symbolism of the Queen's visit to the exhibition, Loughlin going so far as to call the national recognition of this shared cultural experience "a moment of national epiphany."[23] Cappock is more cautious in her consideration of the Queen's appeal, suggesting that the Irish crowds may simply have been "responding to a normal human impulse of interest in spectacle."[24] Anthropologist Jamie Saris, on the other hand, has examined contradictions inherent in the actions of the middle-class Irish organizers who ironically implemented imperial modes of transmitting knowledge - namely, an exhibition displaying the manufactures of colonies and dominions - to indoctrinate the Irish lower classes.[25]

---

[21] Nancy Netzer, "Picturing an Exhibition: James Mahony's Watercolors of the Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853," in *Visualizing Ireland: National Identity and the Pictorial Tradition*, ed. Adele M. Dalsimer (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1993), 89-98.
[22] Leon Litvack, "Exhibiting Ireland, 1851-3: Colonial Mimicry in London, Cork and Dublin," in *Ireland in the Nineteenth Century: Regional Identity*, ed. Leon Litvack and Glenn Hooper (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 15-57.
[23] Margarita Cappock, "Pageantry or Propaganda? The Illustrated London News and Royal Visitors in Ireland," *Irish Arts Review* 16 (2000): 86-93; James Loughlin, *The British Monarchy and Ireland: 1800 to the Present* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 92.
[24] Margarita Cappock, "Pageantry or Propaganda," 91.
[25] A. Jamie Saris, "Imagining Ireland in the Great Exhibition of 1853," in *Ireland in the Nineteenth Century: Regional Identity*, ed. Leon Litvack and Glenn Hooper (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 66-86.

These studies have contributed to my contention that the exhibition in Dublin in 1853 provided Dargan and other middle class Irishmen and women the opportunity to use spectacle to sway public opinion. More importantly, the spectacle of the exhibition, a constructed space designed to show the ideal vision of the nation, could project an image of Ireland to both the rural Irish who survived the Famine and the English aristocracy who, according to DeNie, had simply "lost interest" in Irish problems or success by 1850.[26] Litvack has suggested the exhibition served as "a site of inscription,"[27] although he only gestured broadly at what future may have been "inscribed" therein; similarly, Williams judged the Celtic crosses to be "emblems of a culture's perseverance,"[28] without addressing how these emblems could be loaded with a profound cultural meaning for the Irish crowds and even English visitors just a few short years after the official end of the Famine in 1848. The intentions of the organizers notwithstanding, a close study of this exhibition reveals the tensions beneath the surface of international exchange and the impressions and responses of a nation trying slowly to recover from a very real and very omnipresent Famine experience.

The *Illustrated London Magazine* carefully described the Dublin Exhibition as "a gigantic anomaly in a land long celebrated for its paradoxes,"[29] an unexpected sign of industrial, economic, political and cultural advancement. My examination of this event will attend to the way in which it was propagated, preserved, and interpreted by the *Illustrated London News*, by the independent watercolors of James Mahony, and by the specific artistic and architectural details in the Exhibition palace itself, to highlight paradoxes implicit in an Exhibition that promised an idealized vision of a nation while tragic figures stumbled past its majestic gates on

---

[26] de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy*, 140.
[27] Litvack, "Exhibiting Ireland, 1851-3," 57.
[28] Williams, "The 'Temple of Industry'," 275.
[29] "The Dublin Industrial Exhibition of 1853," *Freeman's Journal*, 16 Sept. 1853. Quoting the first number of the *Illustrated London Magazine*.

their way to the emigration boats. Rather than approach the exhibition as a passive site of inscription, I offer a reading of the exhibition as an event that obscured as much as it revealed about this new Ireland of Dargan's middle-class Irish imagination in which the Famine has no lasting impact, the nation is secure in its industrial and artistic genius, and "peaceful within the Empire" is the natural state of the Irish populace. This first major international exhibition stood as a physical, visual, and tangible rejection of the past and embodied a clear and immediate replacement in the present, but it held a tenuous position between England and Ireland, between the urban rising middle classes and the rural peasantry, and between Famine and a the promise of an unknown future.

I illuminate the stark contrasts that emerge between images and symbols of the Famine and rural poverty and the exhibitionary Ireland of 1853. Mahony's watercolors omit a number of specific cultural details in their depictions of the Queen's visit to the Exhibition, suggesting a pronounced nervousness on the part of the organizers and promoters that the Exhibition might not be remembered for its particular brand of international harmony and national idealism without further assistance from the artist in envisioning such a utopian space. Similarly, illustrations of crowds at the Exhibition in the *Illustrated London News* highlight the continuing divide between rich and poor in Ireland, between the rising middle and upper classes and the laborer driven to destitution and emigration by the Famine. The radiant, well-dressed figures inside the palace offered a visual replacement to the British readership for the crowded and dirty Irish city streets and Famine-stricken rural villages inhabited by figures like Bridget and her children.

Yet the exhibitionary Ireland was not an instant tonic, as Dargan, Mahony, and others had hoped. Thus I conclude with an examination of the physical and visual presence of the Famine

in the Exhibition space itself to highlight the inescapable experiences of contemporary Ireland that could not be erased by an idyllic fairground. By reading the imagery of the Exhibition - newspaper sketches, watercolors, and even fine art and material objects on display – against the well-published and publicized narrative of its organizers, I contend the Exhibition reveals Ireland in the 1850s in a time of national crisis, trying to forget the past, yet ultimately unable to erase it in the present. The new Ireland of the 1853 Exhibition mobilized powerful symbols of a prosperous nation, but these symbols and their impact were often limited to the exhibition alone.

William Dargan: The Man with his Hand in his Pocket

Any consideration of the 1853 Exhibition must begin with its originator, the Irish railroad magnate, William Dargan. Son of a Catholic farmer, he began his engineering career working on canals before eventually supervising the construction of more than half the rail lines in Ireland. It was estimated that by 1853, he had built over six hundred miles of Irish railroad.[30] In so doing, he amassed both a significant fortune and a reputation among the Irish for being a fair taskmaster and careful businessman.[31] In the early 1850s, as related enthusiastically in the *Exhibition Guide Through Dublin*, Dargan "watched with considerable interest the manifold benefits that accrued from the [1852] Exhibition at Cork… [and] to his patriotic and benevolent mind it became evident, that… a Crystal Palace might be erected the ensuing year in Dublin, which would equal even the monster one of 1851, in the beauty of its design as well as in the utility of its effect."[32]

In June of 1852, Dargan approached the Royal Dublin Society, known for its own

[30] John Sproule, ed. *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue of Its Contents* (Dublin: James McGlashen, 1854), xi.
[31] Despite the Irish insistence that Dargan was famous in his own right before the exhibition, several British accounts expressed surprise at the sudden emergence of the hitherto unknown Irishman on the international stage. The *Illustrated London News* went so far as to suggest that he was "scarcely known beyond the circle of the workmen whom he employed," "The Dublin Exhibition," *Illustrated London News*, 21 May 1853.
[32] *The Exhibition Guide through Dublin...* (Dublin: Henry Gonne, 1853), iii-iv.

triennial industrial exhibitions in the city, and made a shocking yet irresistible offer: he promised £20,000 for the Society to convert their small exhibition into an international event along the lines of the 1851 Exhibition. He insisted on a new building on the Society's Merrion Square grounds, as well as control of the Executive Committee. Most appealing to the group, however, was his condition that he would make no profit more than 5% interest on his down payment. Should the exhibition fail, the loss would be his; should it succeed, the profit would go to the Society.[33]

In executing this plan, Dargan emerged in the Irish popular imagination and press as the envy of monarchs,[34] "princely,"[35] and the living representation of "all that seemed great, glorious, and liberal in the annals of Irish disinterestedness."[36] In England, the *Art Journal* praised him "not only as a Patriot to his Country, but as a Benefactor to the World,"[37] while the *Times* recognized him as "one of those great men who will come forward at a [time of] national crisis."[38] Even the American press proclaimed "a man in whom so much energy and perseverance are united with so much patriotism, is above all entitled to receive a due meed of praise from America - so many of whose great men have, like him, been self-made, and so many of whose citizens derive their origin from the land upon which his enterprise and philanthropy are reflecting such credit."[39] No mention of the Exhibition was ever complete without hyperbolic praise for the man who single-handedly accomplished what London had needed a monarch and a massive exhibitionary bureaucracy to complete in 1851.

Impressively, Dargan publicly met each increase in the cost of the exhibition with more

---

[33] For a copy of Dargan's offer, Sproule, ed. *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue,* 5. He did not make a profit.
[34] "The Great Exhibition: The Dublin Operatives," *Freeman's Journal*, 14 May 1853.
[35] *The Exhibition Guide through Dublin*, iv.
[36] Ibid., iv-v.
[37] Art-Journal, *The Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, iv.
[38] "The Great Industrial Exhibition," *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Sept. 1853. Quoting the *Times*.
[39] "William Dargan and the Irish Exhibition of 1853," *The Illustrated Magazine of Art* 1, no. 3 (1853): 152.

of his own money, eventually contributing between £80,000 and £100,000.[40] His selfless devotion to the project became legendary. When workers were injured, he supported their families and paid their bills;[41] when revenues were lower than expected, he bought his own admission tickets.[42] Critically, when offered a knighthood, he turned it down, ostensibly as too much unwanted attention upon this humble farmer's son.[43]

The mythic qualities of Dargan, dubbed "the Man with his Hand in his Pocket,"[44] soon merged with the ideals of the Exhibition itself. His industriousness and focus, his lack of public policy positions on matters of religion or politics, and his self-made wealth and success were in line with the exhibition's espoused purpose of improving the national economy through industrial progress, empowering and educating all Irishmen, regardless of class or creed, and, in so doing, raising Ireland up as a strong and successful partner to England heading into the second half of the century. As the Lord-Mayor of Dublin declared at the opening ceremony, "we rejoice at an event which must confer the greatest advantages on all classes amongst us, by the promotion of self-reliance, the diffusion of industrial education, and the cultivation of a taste for the fine arts… [it is] our earnest hope that this great exhibition of the industry of many nations may fully realize all the benefits to this country which are so dear to the heart of it generous and patriotic origination."[45]

To honor the noble founder, the Exhibition committee funded a celebratory statue of Dargan for the main hall of the Exhibition (Figure 4). The noble statue of Dargan stood at the

---

[40] The *Exhibition Guide to Dublin* claimed he contributed £80,000, while the *Illustrated London News* recorded a total of £100,000. *The Exhibition Guide through Dublin,* xiii; "The Dublin Exhibition," *Illustrated London News*, 21 May 1853.
[41] "The Accident at the Exhibition Building," *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Apr. 1853.
[42] "The Exhibition of 1853 and the Royal Dublin Society," *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Apr. 1853. Quoting the *Advocate*.
[43] Margarita Cappock relates that Dargan's only real imperfection may have been in not arriving back from the Exhibition on time for the Queen's visit to his own home! Cappock, "Pageantry or Propaganda," 91.
[44] "The Great Industrial Exhibition." *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Sept. 1853. Quoting the *Examiner*.
[45] "The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853: The Inauguration." *Freeman's Journal*, 13 May 1853.

entryway to one of the auxiliary wings of the Exhibition facing the grand central "Temple of Industry" and overseeing the throngs of visitors each day with a stoic gaze that reminded viewers of his actual presence throughout the construction of the site. With his hand thrust in his pocket and the other firmly grasping the plans for the Exhibition itself, the sculpture's bold Neoclassical style imbued his erect, calm countenance with the simple moral nobility that he hoped the exhibition would embody for his compatriots.

Dargan's insistence on and the Exhibition's promotion of Irish attributes of national strength, industrial potential, and political and religious harmony contrasted dramatically with the stereotypes of the Irish that had become so prevalent in England by this time. More than one politician or journalist admitted the Exhibition highlighted the need to move on from old beliefs about Irish indolence, unreliability, and general filthiness. At the opening banquet, the Earl of Granville joked that "I am afraid that after this we [English] must hide our diminished heads, and at all events forswear for ever that saying, which has become too vulgar, that though Irishmen can conceive great things they are not able to bring them to a practical issue."[46] Similarly, the *Freeman's Journal* boldly declared "henceforth the character of the Irishmen for patient, practical, and persevering industry (the possession of which it has been the flippant fashion of the day to deny us) will stand high in the estimation of our English and continental neighbors."[47] Undoing the detriment of such an international reputation was clearly a signature goal of the Exhibition, such that the *Freeman's Journal* raved, "were the Exhibition to have effected no other good than this - the forcing from the *Times* a recognition of the great industrial capabilities of our nation - it would have rendered a great national service"[48]

The Exhibition's avowed impartial display of industry and advancement included the

[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] "The Dublin Industrial Exhibition," *Freeman's Journal*, 20 May 1853.

latest technologies and machinery from Ireland, England, Scotland, France, Belgium, Italy, and even as far abroad as China and Japan. Expanding upon the foundation laid by the 1851 Great Exhibition, the Dublin event added a Fine Arts gallery, contending that Art, as connected to the Ideal, was foundational to the use and understanding of the Material, namely, Industry. As Sproule relayed in his description of the debate over its inclusion, "it must be with deep satisfaction that an Irishman remembers that the first instance of the association of Art (that is the Ideal) with Material Industry occurs here, in the capital of one section of that Celtic race whose tendencies have ever been especially towards the Ideal."[49] Committee-members' early "objection [to a Fine Arts hall in an Industrial exhibition] was gradually felt to be founded in a mistake of the true relations of Art as one of the highest elements of real civilization."[50] Old Masters hung opposite the latest British and Irish successes with both Classical and modern marbles on pedestals in between. The Main hall gathered sculpture, textile arts, and bookmaking around the organ, terra cotta displays, and a central celebratory fountain (Figure 5). As captured by British photographer Edward Tenison, paintings, sculptures, decorative artworks filled every possible space in Benson's massive building.

Overseeing the entire space was the triumphant statue by French sculptor Baron Marochetti of Queen Victoria on horseback visible in Mahony's opening image. The side galleries displayed the latest small manufactures, such as embroidery and small arms, while entire wings were added to Benson's original plan to accommodate the massive display of machinery both in-use in Ireland already, as well as technologies newly-developed and ready for implementation.[51] That these items were meant to be incorporated immediately into Irish work

[49] Sproule, ed. *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue,* 420.
[50] Ibid.
[51] One of the more entertaining and certainly terrifying displays was that of the Colt Rifle Company that positioned a massive stuffed polar bear, shot on an Arctic expedition with a Colt rifle, at the top of a staircase! "The Great

and culture was reflected in another change from the 1851 blueprint: the Committee allowed all merchants and exhibitors to sell their wares on the sole condition that they did not sell their floor models.[52]

Beneath the pomp and circumstance, however, and beneath the optimism and high praise, was a running fear that the success of the exhibition might prove false. The hope that the Exhibition would serve as ”a means of diffusing throughout the land, the love of peaceful and industrious pursuits”[53] was undercut, in the words of the Mayor of Liverpool, by “political agitation and religious animosity, which never could give prosperity or happiness to the country."[54] The land wars and tenant evictions of the previous decades as well as post-Famine parliamentary restitutions had highlighted not only a political divide between the landed aristocracy and its peasant farmers in Ireland, but also a coincident religious divide, as the former were predominantly Anglo-Protestant families and the latter Catholic. Despite the careful decision to exclude an official prayer from any ceremonies, thereby offending neither Catholic nor Protestant,[55] and the admission even of the *Times* that “for once the jar of Irish politics was drowned by general consent in the anthem and hymn of praise,”[56] Ireland’s recent history was never far from anyone’s mind. This was an Irish past that directly undermined the triumphal symbolism of the shining Exhibition spaces. Tragedy and Famine had little role in Dargan’s new vision for Ireland. The *Exhibition Expositor and Advertiser* dismissed the Famine altogether as

---

Industrial Exhibition of 1853: The Inauguration." *Freeman's Journal*, 13 may 1853.

[52] Stephanie Rains has suggested that the use of price tags may have been modeled after department store practices. Rains, "Here Be Monsters," 496.

[53] "The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853: The Inauguration." *Freeman's Journal*, 13 May 1853.

[54] Ibid.

[55] The series of letters to editors and editorial responses on the issue of prayer at the opening ceremony suggests that it was a hot topic of conversation and rumor. "The Dublin Exhibition,” *Illustrated London News*, 21 May 1853; "The Great Exhibition," *Freeman's Journal*, 30 Apr. 1853.

[56] "The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853," *Freeman's Journal*, 16 May 1853. Quoting the *Times*.

"a dreadful ordeal of transition."[57] In other words, the shift from past to present, from suffering to successful had already occurred and the Exhibition was the manifestation of this renewed Ireland.

Mahony's Fiction

One way in which Dargan and the organizers dealt with this fear was to ignore it; another was to reinforce, by every means possible, that the Exhibition was, in fact, perfect, harmonious, and peaceful, a picture of an industrious and progressive Ireland unaffected by famine, partisanship, and sectarian conflict. A formal demonstration of this willful optimism and the accompanying insistence on new imagery regardless of lived experience outside the walls of the Exhibition and of the idealized Exhibition space that it engendered was the watercolor series by James Mahony. He had sketched the Exhibition for the *Illustrated London News* in the Spring and he most likely returned in August to develop his three larger scenes of the royal visit.[58]

While art historian Nancy Netzer has thoughtfully analyzed these paintings as a manifestation of the aspirations of Dargan and the Executive Committee, concluding that "as the exhibition foretold a new age of industry and art, so the industrialist [Dargan] and the artist [Mahony] foretold of better days for Ireland,"[59] I propose that the idealizing project to which these watercolors contributed also clearly reveals that tragedy and turmoil that it sought so strenuously to overcome. Netzer has studied the additions Mahony made to his representations of the Exhibition space, but the issues obscured by his exclusions are equally worthy of analysis. Comparing Mahony's watercolor paintings to the *Illustrated London News* representations of the

[57] Rains, "Here Be Monsters," 501.
[58] These works now hang in the National Gallery of Ireland, the museum founded, coincidentally, as a result of the Fine Arts gallery on display in 1853.
[59] Netzer, "Picturing an Exhibition," 98.

same scenes and venues, as well as to contemporary photographs reveals the extent of Mahony efforts to design a new visual space for post-Famine Ireland. Netzer attributed Mahony's manipulation of people and settings as part of his "artistic license" harnessed for the greater good of industrial success. I contend that Mahony's overemphasis of the unofficial peace engendered between England and Ireland specifically through the royal visit also reveals the anxiety of the exhibition organizers that the collected symbols of the new post-Famine Ireland needed additional assistance in transmitting their message of prosperity and peace by the removal of contentious, less easily-regulated images of the Famine's lasting effects.

In the wake of Repeal politician Daniel O'Connell's death in 1847 and the collapse of the Young Ireland movement after the failed 1848 rebellion, a visit by the Queen to an event in Ireland coordinated by a rising Catholic businessman was certainly a worthy historical moment. The extent to which Mahony's fiction overreaches even the constructed utopian vision of the physical exhibition site, however, indicates an insecurity about the effect of the Exhibition on its own to counter cultural stereotypes, fears of famine and violence, and a general malaise about the failure of the agricultural and political economy in Ireland.

The first of Mahony's series captures the arrival of the Queen at the Exhibition on August 30, 1853 (Figure 6) in a painting one might believe is of the giant hall, itself, rather than of the Queen and her escort. Mahony fills his space with the vast, awe-inspiring emptiness of the exhibition hall, spanned by the massive iron girders. A viewer follows those spans to the roof, which lets in a glimpse of the bright blue heavenly sky through the glass panels while bold beams of sunlight draw the eye to the central figure on the floor: the Queen, accompanied by Prince Albert and their sons. Also caught in the sunlight is Baron Marochetti's statue of the Queen sent over from Glasgow to be the centerpiece of the Hall. Thus Victoria appears twice in

this view, simultaneously triumphant after battle, poised on a prancing charger, flag and crowned-head held high, as well as politely and formally dressed, standing on the same level as the crowds with whom she is celebrating Ireland with equal enthusiasm. By physically illuminating the Queen during her harmonious and historic meeting with the representatives of the Exhibition, Mahony is also quite literally shining the light on her role as Conqueror. Neither the Exhibition narrative of unity and equality nor the praise of Baron Marochetti's artistic skill could erase the implications of an English monarch depicted in Ireland in a style previously reserved for military heroes. Mahony reveals her as a Janus-like figure in the Exhibition space, at once a noble, wise queen happily accepting this new potential for Ireland and at the same time a fierce leader willing to use brute force to keep control over her empire.

In John Sproule's 1854 "Memoir of William Dargan," he wrote, "there are triumphs of more lasting value than those won on the battle field - those of benevolence over sordid selfishness, of enlightenment over ignorance, and of industry over idleness… The pioneers of social progress are, in fine, the true heroes of a utilitarian age."[60] Thus was Dargan configured as the man who raised Ireland from its worst traits to England's best. This Irish hero, like the Queen, merited a statue in the main hall.[61] However, the only heroic statue in Mahony's depiction of the Main Hall is that of the Queen. The statue of Dargan - notably not on horseback, but in a standing pose - is explicitly excluded. Mahony's chronicle of the peaceful and equal meeting of nations thus doubles the significance and power of one national leader and hero, while erasing the heroism of the other completely. Victoria is envisioned as the sole progenitor of Irish peace and industrial success; Dargan, the actual patron of the Exhibition, is not equally responsible in Mahony's artistic representation.

---

[60] Sproule, ed. *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue,* ix.
[61] *The Irish Exhibition Almanack* (London: John Cassell, 1854), 7.

The Queen's visit was considered the validation by the Crown of the efforts and successes of the Exhibition specifically, and of Irish industrial promise, in general. According the *Official Catalogue*, "the people saw [in the visit] a recognition of the dignity of Labour, an acknowledgment of the importance of well-applied persistent Industry, which could not fail to be attended by beneficial effects in a country in which it had been the fashion for a spurious and affected gentility to sneer at such pursuits."[62] Mahony chose to represent that very first moment of the positive and regenerative encounter between the Queen and the new industrial Ireland, embodied in the Lord-Lieutenant in his green and gold regalia. He stands at the end of the aisle as well-dressed crowds crush up against the railings to view the royal family. Mixed in with the crowd are also various statues, some of which were permanently displayed in the Hall, others transported into the scene by Mahony's imagination, as Phil Delamotte's photograph (Figure 7) reveals. Most appear to be continental and Classical works, perhaps representing not only the international support of the exhibition, but acting as impartial witnesses to this great peace between the two islands, meeting here ostensibly for the first time in the modern era with no political or religious tension.[63]

These generalized statues replaced other symbols more specifically tied to Ireland that also would have been present at this momentous occasion. Throughout the main hall, often to the complaints of commentators, were several Irish high crosses, the tallest rising nearly twenty feet. Also, the piano display in the foreground should have included over half a dozen examples of Irish harps, none of which Mahony envisioned in the space.[64] It would seem, then, that Mahony, by his omissions, judged such traditional symbols of Ireland to undermine the

---

[62] Ibid., 15.
[63] Netzer spends much of her investigation identifying the statues in each of the three paintings. Netzer, "Picturing an Exhibition," 93, 95-6.
[64] "The Great Industrial Exhibition." *Freeman's Journal*, 16 Sept. 1853.

hyperbole of apolitical harmony so stressed by the Exhibition organizers. As the Dublin Corporation expressed during the ceremonial reception, "[these displays] are but the emblems of the new era which they are here to inaugurate, and of the new spirit which has happily been evoked in Ireland."[65] In Mahony's version, the emblems of this new era do not physically or visually derive from Ireland but are instead Classical, Continental, and English. He offers a picture of harmonious intercourse between nations by excluding and minimizing references to both the ancient and immediate past of the host country.

Finally, the solemnity of the scene is undercut by the disinterest shown towards the event by several of the most prominent figures in the foreground. While the Lord-Lieutenant stands formally with his back to the viewer as he welcomes the Queen, all of the other figures defined in the foreground, a group that would have included Dargan, the architect Benson, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and other members of the Executive Committee and Dublin Corporation, are engaged in private conversations across the front of the picture plane. While the masses stand at attention, a couple in black on the far left faces away from the Queen to talk with a woman with her back to the viewer; similarly, a pair of finely dressed men stand behind the piano display engrossed in their own topic of conversation. On the far right, it is most likely the officials of the Dublin Corporation and Royal Dublin Society who casually await their introduction. While Mahony certainly turned these prominent men to the viewer to aid in the recognition of key figures - the two behind the piano are most likely Dargan and Mr. C. P. Roney, founder of the tourist booking system in Ireland and Secretary to the Exhibition - in so doing, he created a scene that did not, in fact, exude impartial purity of devotion and patriotism to the Empire, but rather the general disinterestedness of the rising Irish middle class to the pomp and circumstance of the ceremonial trappings of the British monarchy.

---

[65] Sproule, ed. *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue,* 17.

In describing this same encounter between English royalty and Irish masses, the *Illustrated London News* proclaimed, "the spectacle which the hall now presented was singularly imposing - in front, the vast assemblage standing up and cheering loudly… on the verge of the platform, a semicircle of the Irish nobility. The Queen appeared touched by the scene…[and] gazed earnestly for some minutes over the great area of the hall, to the aspect of which the enthusiasm of loyalty added an indescribable charm."[66] By stressing the loyalty of the crowd, the *Illustrated London News* author was participating in that same act of erasure as Dargan, Mahony, et al. Irish Catholics, tenant farmers, and even legitimate politicians had been for several decades notoriously disloyal. By affirming to the English readers that this crowd, synecdochally representing the entirety of the Irish populace, was loyal to the crown, the author quickly calmed any lingering concerns that Famine-era tensions still played a prominent role in Irish society.

The accompanying illustration (Figure 8) focuses on the Queen's emotional moment. Unlike Mahony's grand scene, the *Illustrated London News* representation reduces the scale of this momentous occasion to the level of the Queen, herself. Standing on the dais, she, Albert, and their sons Alfred and Arthur survey the crowds lining either side of the hall. The lunette-window shape of the drawing emphasizes the specific focus of this vignette and conveys the importance not of the Exhibition generally, but of the royal family and the Queen, who "stood in evident admiration of the magnificent scene before her… in evident admiration and surprise of everything she saw and heard."[67] The text clearly emphasizes to its English readers that the Irish Exhibition Hall would not look as he or she would expect such an Irish Exhibition Hall would look, yet the illustration does not offer any view of what was so anomalous in the space that it

[66] "The Queen's Visit to Ireland," *Illustrated London News*, 10 Sept. 1853: 210.
[67] Ibid.

surprised the Queen. She appears calm and exists in a neutral space; she could be at the exhibition or at any public function with a dais. Such placement supports the broad message of the Exhibition: that this new Ireland is no longer partisan, no longer a threatening or wasteful nation; on the other hand, there is an implication that Ireland has nothing much to offer England anyway, a critique that was reiterated in both the *Illustrated London News* and the *Times* throughout the six-month run.

Crowd Control

The crowd that has been left out of the *Illustrated London News* depiction of the Queen's visit appears elsewhere in the publication and, in fact, figures prominently in most other representations of the Exhibition. From Mahony's watercolors, to weekly periodicals, to the illustrations in the *Official Catalogue, Exhibition Almanack*, and other related publications, the Exhibition spaces were rarely reproduced in any visual form without the crowd, the necessary reflection of the effectiveness of the spectacle. Without the tens of thousands of visitors, the moral and political lessons of the exhibition would go unlearned.[68]

Tony Bennett, drawing from the panoptic work of Michel Foucault, mapped out the relationship between the crowd and the exhibition as a regulatory experience, where the visitor was instructed on proper social and behavioral models by viewing them as already normalized and validated both through the exhibition displays and by the other visitors.[69] He has suggested the exhibition setting mobilized "a technology of vision which served not to atomize and disperse the crowd but to regulate it, and to do so by rendering it visible to itself, by making the

[68] The peaks of attendance were nearly 15,000 daily during the first week, the week of the Queen's visit, and the closing week, where attendance reached over 16,000. "The Great Exhibition." The total over six months was just under one million visitors.

[69] Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," in *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 59-88.

crowd itself the ultimate spectacle."[70] Proceeding from this logic, not only was participating in the crowd important to the cultural and industrial progress embodied by the exhibition, but viewing the crowd was equally, if not more significant.

It was clear from the outset that the participation of all levels of Irish society was expected at the Exhibition. As the *Exhibition Guide Through Dublin* reminded its readers, Dargan planned that the "sole object was to benefit his native country, even at a sacrifice, and to expend a portion of that capital he had realized, in bringing under the observation of his countrymen the industrial resources of other nations - and thus to originate a great national good, by stimulating the innate capabilities of Irishmen, and spurring the genius of Erin to come forward into the arena of artistic and scientific competition."[71] An Irish crowd interested in industry, or better yet, being industrious, was pivotal in dissipating the common English critique that the Irish were idle and lazy. Thus the *Freeman's Journal* covered the construction of the exhibition buildings not only by describing the architectural progress, but also by repeatedly emphasizing "crowds of *industrious* artizans working assiduously at their several callings, [where] nowhere could [one] obtain a better illustration of *the busy 'hum' of industry* than when listening to the combined sounds produced by a thousand *vigorous* arms in *full operation* of their several departments."[72] The crowd was seen as key to the success of this Exhibition.

Descriptions of the opening day in both the Irish and English press devoted the majority of their space to the crowd that gathered, innumerably packing the streets of Dublin and pouring into the Exhibition Hall to the total of nearly twenty thousand people.[73] As a typical selection from the *Freeman's Journal* illustrated,

---

[70] Ibid., 68.
[71] *The Exhibition Guide through Dublin,* iv-v.
[72] "The Great Exhibition Building," *Freeman's Journal*, 4 Apr. 1853. Emphasis added.
[73] Various papers report a minimum of 10,000 and up to 20,000 people in the main exhibition hall for the opening ceremony.

> the carriage and pathways were crowded in every part [of Dublin] by eager thousands of young and old of both sexes, dressed in their best and gayest attire, while not only the windows but the roofs of every house, and the tops of the chimneys were absolutely crammed with delighted spectators, all of whom, unable to restrain the feelings of gladness that filled their breasts, gave repeated and enthusiastic cheers for the success of our National Exhibition of the productions of nature and of human ingenuity, skill, and taste, from every clime, about to be so auspiciously inaugurated."[74]

Here were all ages, genders, political parties, religions, and classes unified around industry and participating in a national project with little obvious political malice towards England. Rather than inciting opposition to English rule, religion, or general economic policies, the politics of the Dublin exhibition were explicitly conceived in the minds of the organizers and the press as a sort of peace process. The *Times* went so far as to suggest that the politically-contentious "'monster meetings' [of the 1840s] may be unobjectionably revived for the Dublin Exhibition."[75] This reference to Daniel O'Connell is striking, as his infamous "monster meetings" to repeal the Act of Union had been banned in 1843 when attendance had totaled into the hundreds of thousands over the course of that summer.[76] It reveals that by 1853, such a gathering of Irishmen and Irishwoman could be perceived as non-threatening and specifically apolitical in the neutralized space of the Exhibition.

The *Examiner* called Dargan the man "whose name will be hereafter a household word in Ireland, and whose services will cause his memory to be revered in his native land, long after the Dagons and Molochs of faction and fanaticism shall have ceased to be worshipped."[77] It was this avowed lack of partisanship, made manifest through the vision of organized and respectful crowds in a Temple of Industry, that became the most-repeated hallmark of the exhibition. In the eyes of the organizers as well as a large number of British dignitaries, journalists, and general

---

[74] "The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853: The Inauguration." *Freeman's Journal*, 13 May 1853.
[75] "The Dublin Exhibition," *The Times*, 23 May 1853.
[76] Thomas Bartlett, *Ireland, A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 276.
[77] "The Great Industrial Exhibition," *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Sept. 1853. Quoting the *Examiner*.

visitors, these massive crowds could embody a unity of purpose and commitment to a peaceful Ireland hitherto unseen. It had been expected that the Exhibition would prove that "the bringing of Irishmen of all classes, and creeds and politics together, in harmonious co-operation, not merely in matters of science and art, but in matters of trade, commerce, and manufactures… [would have] a wonderful result fraught with important civil, social, and commercial consequences."[78] Against the backdrop of recent Anglo-Irish tensions, the Famine, and the emigration crisis, the presence of the crowd gained an extra importance. The congregation of so many healthy Irish citizens participating calmly and appropriately in a demonstration of Irish industrial progress and international industrial education boldly introduced Dargan's new vision for Ireland to counter the more popular narrative of Ireland as a location of poverty, death, and discord.

The imagery in the *Illustrated London News* supported this new Irish theme. Calling the Exhibition "so creditable in every way to Ireland and to Irishmen,"[79] the journal covered it repeatedly throughout the six-month run and devoted an extra issue to it on June 4, 1853. This issue contained nearly twenty sketches of the building and its contents, many of which included the dense crowds that filled the halls "almost to suffocation."[80] The image of the opening ceremony above most clearly represents the general vision of the Irish Exhibition crowd. It is orderly, respectful, focused, and particularly well-dressed. They observe the procession with due reverence, as if in a religious ceremony.[81] They also, however, observe each other: the rows are arrayed opposite each other, encouraging one's gaze to take in the crowd on the opposite side of the hall; several groups of gentlemen in the lower right seem to be engaged among themselves,

[78] "The Exhibition of '53," *Freeman's Journal*, 3 May 1853. Quoting the *Morning Herald*.
[79] "The Great Industrial Exhibition of Ireland," *Illustrated London News*, 4 June 1853: 462.
[80] "Close of the Dublin Industrial Exhibition. From the *Morning Advertiser*," *Illustrated London News*, 5 Nov. 1853.
[81] Bennett has detailed some of the similarities between a congregation in a cathedral and a crowd at an exhibition that are particularly fitting in the cathedral-like setting of the Dublin exhibition. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 55.

surveying, if not clearly conversing. The only figure in the crowd not engaged is the woman in the lower left who looks back out of the picture place to observe the viewer, who is, him or herself, brought into the orderly masses by her gaze.

There is no indication that these crowds could be the same people who attended any of the subversive "monster meetings," nor the political or religious zealots responsible for fomenting Irish partisanship. Noting several famous religious figures on the dais, the *Times* expressed surprise that even the staunchly anti-Protestant Archbishop of Dublin "Dr. Cullen and the hottest Orangeman of his time rubbed shoulders during a considerable portion of the ceremony."[82] This crowd was the embodiment of a new Ireland, forcing the *Examiner* to admit "it excited an unwonted feeling, after the din of civil discord and religious warfare which alone has jarred upon the ear in that hitherto distracted land, to catch the hum of admiration, and mark the earnest looks of honourable pride and satisfaction which now fill the area of those vast halls."[83] The change struck observers and commentators as so abrupt and unexpected that Dargan's vision of his new Ireland may well have seemed possible.

This illustration of the perfect Irish crowd, however, may have been made possible by the problematic omission of those very lower and agricultural classes about whom much slander was spoken and for whom the Exhibition was supposed to be most inspiring: those crowds of people who did attend the monster meetings. In the days leading up to the Exhibition, letters began appearing in the Irish press complaining of the lack of a concurrent national or metropolitan holiday. While the 1851 Great Exhibition in London had provided a day off to encourage as many Englishmen and women from as many classes as possible to participate in the opening events, no such permission had been granted in Ireland. Moreover, there were no discounted

[82] "The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853." *Freeman's Journal*, 16 May 1853. Quoting the *Times*.
[83] "The Great Industrial Exhibition." *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Sept. 1853. Quoting the *Examiner*.

admissions planned, nor were soldiers allowed leave to attend.[84] Bemoaned one writer,

> Shall the people not be there? The source, the fountain of all this power, and splendor, and greatness. Shall the weary artisan, the horny-handed mechanic, not be there except at the loss of a day's pay, perhaps of his employment? Shall this great epoch of liberty - liberty of the mind which soars above the power and dominion of the oppressor, this great dawning of art, science, and literature upon us, not be bailed with joy and festivity by the Irishman of every rank and station in life? It will be a blot, a shame, a stigma upon us, our name and country for ever, should we not honor this greatest day upon which the sun ever illuminated an Irish sky.[85]

This author and others like him may have seen the Exhibition as truly significant for Ireland and Irish interests, but felt a particular bias was being enacted by the middle and upper class businessmen planning the Exhibition against those whom they promised to help, what Jamie Saris has called the "Janus-faced gaze of a bourgeoisie in the uncertain centre of Dublin."[86] Dargan and his Committee were caught between demonstrating new industrial practices to the poor agricultural laborers and demonstrating to the English and international public that Ireland was something new and not actually full of poor agricultural laborers. Despite the broad rhetoric of an Irish crowd unified across class differences, even the *Freeman's Journal* noted that once the crowd reached Merrion Square and the Exhibition building on opening day, that it was "the rank and fashion of the city… [who] all combined to form a scene of unequalled splendor and magnificence"[87] The masses lined the streets, but were not fêted inside the palace.

That the polite, well-dressed Irish crowd was not a transformed or renewed national group, but a specifically selected segment of that populace is further emphasized not by the criticisms of the press, but by another crowd scene depicted by the *Illustrated London News*. As part of the Queen's visit to the Exhibition, Dargan had arranged with the Dublin Corporation to

---

[84] "Imperial Parliament," *Freeman's Journal*, 12 May 1853.
[85] "Letters to the Editor," *Freeman's Journal*, 10 May 1853.
[86] Saris, "Imagining Ireland in the Great Exhibition of 1853," 85.
[87] "The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853: The Inauguration." *Freeman's Journal*, 13 May 1853.

light the way from the Exhibition to the port on the Queen's last evening. After the ceremonies were over, the crowds gathered again in the streets, much as they had on opening day. The *Illustrated London News*, along with the image of the Queen observing the crowd, published a sketch of the crowd lining the illuminated street (Figure 9). This group, despite ostensibly being of that same, new, unified and peaceful Irish population, is profoundly different from that suggested either by the press reports or the interior crowd scenes.

The accompanying description of "The Illumination" states, "multitudes of well-dressed ladies and gentlemen walked in every direction, enjoying the *coup d'oeil*. The throng… was immense."[88] The illustration, however, reveals a much darker, more heterogeneous mass piled onto Carlisle Bridge. Rather than memorialize the ideals and utopian vision prevalent within the walls of the Exhibition, this illustration preserves the chaos, inconsistency, and desperation that represented Ireland in the immediate post-Famine years; it represents the paradox of the Exhibition myth in what it reveals just outside the Temple gates. As a visitor from the *Daily News* lamented, "so great a change has come over Ireland, that it is quite time that a change should come over the English tone about Ireland; but that will hardly happen till the old notions of famine, fighting, fustian, and rebellion are put out by the spectacle."[89] This exterior crowd suggests to the English viewer that the new Ireland might just be a mirage that quickly fades outside the Exhibition gates.

The *Freeman's Journal* had complimented the crowds lining the streets on opening day, boasting that "not for a moment were that liveliness and gaiety so characteristic of our people, when hope points with a cheering smile to the future, checked or marred by one unkind word or

---

[88] "The Queen's Visit to Ireland," *Illustrated London News*, 10 Sept. 1853*:* 210.
[89] "The Exhibition of 1853 and the Royal Dublin Society." *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Apr. 1853. Quoting the *Daily News*.

ungenerous act,"[90] reiterating the vision of a new, happy, unified populace. The same could not be said of the crowd captured in the *Illustrated London News* illumination illustration. The artist chose a view looking south from Carlisle Bridge where illuminated buildings stand out starkly against the black sky and the bunting emblazoned with harps, stars, and the initials "VA" for the Queen. Under the lamplights, however, and in contrast to the emptiness of the night sky and the simplistic rendering of the buildings, the streets are packed with what the *Freeman's Journal* described as "one mass of human heads and anxious faces."[91] In the center, the artist provides the viewer with a glimpse inside that mass of Irish humanity and it is not an image designed to sway the British reader from any lingering negative opinions he or she might have held of Ireland and its people.

At the highest central point, men sit calmly, but their proper poses and statuesque demeanor are undermined when the viewer recognizes that they are seated on a series of omnibuses unable to move through the crowd. Here is Irish industrial progress in the form of urban transportation ground to a halt only a few blocks from the Exhibition. Moving down the pyramid of bodies reveals men on horseback, one in the middle with his riding crop raised; it is unclear whether he is about to strike his horse or the Irish humanity massing under its hooves. To the left, two gentlemen try unsuccessfully to maneuver their horses through the crowd, while the very center contains a husband and wife stuck in a cab. The driver leans forward angrily to confront the man holding them up while the man in the cab shouts out to another figure on the right of the illustration, where several men on horseback turn to each other in conversation, perhaps having given up on making any progress through the pressing crowd.

Bodies are turned in every direction at ground level; a series of vignettes unfolds and

[90] "The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853: The Inauguration." *Freeman's Journal*, 13 May 1853.
[91] Ibid.

none of them indicates the direction of the Queen's procession or suggest that the crowd is even remotely concerned with her visit. While the procession inside the hall was orderly and attentive to the Queen, filling her with emotion through their supposedly palpable loyalty, outside the crowd is depicted as unimpressed, chaotic, and perhaps even dangerous. On the far left, a small child falls out of the crowd unnoticed; a man in conversation mindlessly steps over him as he falls. To the left, another child, with his back to the viewer, raises his hands in the air, more likely to stop the horse bearing down on him than to cheer for the Queen. A line of women, two of whom seem to be wearing the traditional Irish peasant cloak, pulls the viewer's gaze further towards the center of the picture where small children and a dog play dangerously under the hooves of the horses and the shouts of the men in the cabs. At the very center of the image stands a policeman, the lone figure of law and order amidst the chaos and disorder of the crowd, assisting a gentleman with two fashionable women on his arm. This group offers marked contrast to the less formal dress of most other figures captured in the artist's sketch. The disorder continues across the right side of the street, where more young boys, one of whom is barefoot, seem to play; two young girls, perhaps caught by the artist in the act of theft, reach up to a passing cart while its female occupant looks in the other direction.

Nancy Rose Marshall has suggested that the crowd scene in mid-century British art took on a special cultural significance, supposedly capturing a modern moment *in media res* to make the new, urban environment more readable.[92] The Ireland embodied by the Dublin crowd in the Illumination scene confirms the historical fears of an uncivilized, disorganized populace, rather than affirms the successful shift of Ireland from agriculture to industry or from desperate to self-sufficient. The familiar middle and upper-class figures above the throngs are panicked, trapped,

[92] Nancy Rose Marshall, *City of Gold and Mud: Painting Victorian London* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2012), 47.

and utterly at the will of the crowd, a group rather unlike the happy mixture of classes and nations proclaimed by the Exhibition organizers and the press. The new urban environment is certainly more readable, but not in the calm, congenial manner Dargan had intended, but rather as an extension of previous fears and concerns over Irish disloyalty, violence, and dirt-ridden poverty.

That such a group of mixed classes congregated outside of the Exhibition is consistent with the complaints submitted during the event. Letters to editors bemoaned the lack of free days for the poor,[93] the lack of discounted railway passes for the rural population,[94] and the general lack of laborers and peasants to be seen in the Exhibition Hall.[95] Specifically citing the high standard for international industrial exhibitions set in London in 1851, one writer complained, "not a frieze coat or a hooded cloak was to be seen within the [Dublin] building, and the attendance there wanted entirely that striking popular character of the display in Hyde-park, which, after all, was its chief glory, and the highest evidence of its success."[96] The images from the *Illustrated London News* offered a conflicted answer. The Irish crowd was at once familiar and threatening, in short, still representative of the paradoxical nation it had been for generations. While its industrial success was undeniable, the Exhibition was not, in fact, the immediate "safety valve for despondency," as had originally been promised to its English supporters.[97]

## The Famine: Hidden in Plain Sight

One writer asked readers of the *Times* "to judge for themselves whether, after the long, dark period of famine, rebellion, and crime, the dawn of happier and more prosperous times be

[93] "The Exhibition of 1853 and the Royal Dublin Society," *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Apr. 1853. Quoting the *Advocate*.
[94] "The Royal Progress to Scotland," *Freeman's Journal*, 7 Sept. 1853. Quoting the *Times*.
[95] "Close of the Dublin Industrial Exhibition. From the *Morning Advertiser*," *Illustrated London News*, 5 Nov. 1853.
[96] "The Royal Progress to Scotland." *Freeman's Journal*, 7 Sept. 1853. Quoting the *Times*. The frieze coat and hooded cloak were the standard and familiar garb of peasants from the West and South of Ireland.
[97] "The Exhibition of 1853 and the Royal Dublin Society." *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Apr. 1853. Quoting the *Daily News*.

not at length breaking upon the annals of that country."[98] His question channeled the triumphalist tone of the Exhibition organizers who had hoped to replace the past with this new exhibitionary Irish present. Another writer expressed pleasant surprise at the use of "Irish" as a modifier for "industry."[99] The Illumination crowd, however, suggested the instability of this new vision and these new Irish attributions. Like the artist for the *Illustrated London News*, a writer for the *Illustrated London Magazine* identified an Irish problem-population outside of the Exhibition grounds; but unlike the *Illustrated London News*, the *Illustrated London Magazine* journalist found the disconnect between utopian interior space and chaotic exterior crowd explicitly disturbing. The reporter for the new magazine walked the short distance from the exhibition grounds to the quay and was struck by a profound contrast:

> From a scene of the busiest industry, of feverish and excited labour, a walk of five short minutes placed us in the midst of a crowd of emigrants - young and stalwart men, healthy and handsome women, several children… The tones of nearly all the counties of Ireland could be distinguished in their conversation, and that conversation was calm and collected. Amongst all those hundreds of the proverbially light-hearted Irish, there was no laughter - but, stranger still - there was no tears! One cry only did we hear raised and that was a sudden burst of the heart that could not be repressed - a shout of grief from an old man who had just taken leave of four grand-children and his daughter-in-law. They were on board the vessel that was to bear them to New York, or their graves… Within hearing-distance of the hammers of the Great Exposition of Industry, there was not a single soul in all that vast assembly which entertained a hope of being able to live by labour in his native land!"[100]

Here was the Ireland being denied existence within the walls of the Exhibition, the Famine still ongoing, the "raw materials" of industry in exodus.[101]

Cormac Ó Gráda has stressed in his reflection on the 1995 Famine commemorations that "despite all the activity and the publicity, much about the Great Famine remains hidden, waiting

---

[98] 'Amicus', "The Irish Exhibition. To the Editor of the Times," *The Times*, 20 June 1853.
[99] "The Great Industrial Exhibition," *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Sept. 1853. Quoting the *Morning Post*.
[100] "The Dublin Industrial Exhibition of 1853," *Freeman's Journal*, 16 Sept. 1853. Quoting the first number of the *Illustrated London Magazine*.
[101] Art-Journal, *The Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, iv.

to be discovered and studied."[102] The same might be said of the 1853 Exhibition. The grand, celebratory Exhibition narrative positioned the Famine firmly in the past, far removed from the industrious Ireland of 1853; it obscured any lingering effects from the political struggles of the 1840s; it employed the Irish labor force without explaining the unemployment crisis in the first place. The bold triumphalism of the organizers, in short, concealed a profound crisis of Irish post-Famine political and cultural trauma.

The metaphor for the years during and after the Famine was one of ending darkness and coming light. Ireland was proclaimed to be a nation "whose dark days are over."[103] James Mahony made this the signature text of his three-watercolor series. At the top corner of his second image (Figure 10), he included a medallion of Dargan's head in profile and the saying *An uair is dorcha sé an uair roimh breachadh an lae* (the darkest hour is always before the dawn) (Figure 11). The obvious meaning here, that the Famine is permanently in the past and the Exhibition represents the dawn of the new era for Ireland, has been repeated by various scholars.[104] The concept seems to have emerged from a general folk saying among the Irish in the early 1840s, although as a proverb it probably has much earlier roots.[105] What is striking

---

[102] Cormac Ó Gráda, "Making Irish Famine History in 1995," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 42 (Autumn 1996): 88. On the Famine, see Donnelly, *The Great Irish Potato Famine*; Peter Gray, *Famine, Land and Politics: British Government and Irish Society, 1843-1850* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1999); Cormac Ó Gráda, *Black '47 and Beyond: The Great Irish Famine in History, Economy, and Memory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999). It is notable that these works emerged specifically in conjunction with the resurgent interest in the Famine corresponding to the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the potato blight in Ireland in 1995.

[103] Art-Journal, *The Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, v. The connections between darkness, light, and the Exhibition were also a popular topic with local evangelists who published a variety of pamphlets linking the light-from-darkness of the Exhibition to the similar transition from earth to the Kingdom of God. See "Good News! Or, Free Admission to the Great Exhibition!" (Dublin: William Curry and Company, 1853); "Thoughts on the Dublin Exhibition Building," (1853); Rev. James Milligan, "The Great Exhibition of 1853. Its Utility Defended; and Its Glory Eclipsed! A Sermon" (Dublin: William Carson, 1853).

[104] Cited by Litvack, "Exhibiting Ireland, 1851-3;" Netzer, "Picturing an Exhibition;" Williams, "The 'Temple of Industry'." Notably, none of them has any comment on the origin of the phrase.

[105] Samuel Lover, *Songs and Ballads by Samuel Lover, Including Those Sung in His 'Irish Evenings,' and Hitherto Unpublished*, 3rd ed. (New York: Wiley & Putman, 1847), 114. I have not been able to find an earlier reference. As a preface to one of his own compositions incorporating the phrase, Lover wrote, "there is a beautiful saying amongst the Irish peasantry to inspire hope under adverse circumstances, - 'Remember,' they say, 'that the darkest hour of all, is the hour before day.'"

about the phrase here, however, is Mahony's choice of the Irish language in which to transmit the sentiment when the Irish language was otherwise virtually absent from the Exhibition. The Irish sculpture and paintings in the Fine Arts Hall had English or Anglicised titles. The use of English throughout also fit with Dargan's unifying vision, bridging the gap between the English aristocracy and nationalist groups such as the contentious Young Ireland movement that had, under the leadership of Thomas Davis, vociferously advocated for Irish nationalist sentiment to be composed in English.[106]

Mahony's watercolors were explicitly propagandistic in nature, thus his allusion to the Famine, albeit obliquely and *in praeteritio*, seems out of place. By writing the hopeful phrase in Irish, the language of those most impacted by the Famine, however, he was able to mask such Famine-era sentiment from an English viewership who may well have classified the phrase as part of a quaint, Irish medieval past, rather than as a message loaded with Famine connotations to the contemporary Irish viewer. The Fine Arts Hall that makes up the scene, particularly focusing as it does on the reception of Queen Victoria in that space, omits references to Irish art and history, a similar artistic sleight of hand to the excluded local or Irish features in Mahony's first watercolor of the series. For the Irish viewer, the vernacular message of hope was both a reminder of and a consolation for the present tense of the Famine and Ireland's continuing and incomplete progress away from it. The success of this endeavor would not emerge from the Fine Arts Hall or from the acceptance of the Queen, but from the peasant and emigrant communities who spoke this phrase in Irish to one another. By writing in Irish, Mahony was emphasizing the very self-reliance of the Irish that was the source of such criticism and hostility from the English during and after the Famine.

---

[106] Foster, 311-312. Foster describes the outspoken Davis, co-founder of the *Nation*, as "remembered as the purest Irish patriot of his own or any age."

Similarly hidden in plain sight were Celtic crosses. Several accounts of the Exhibition made telling reference to these "ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland."[107] The *Daily News* even went so far as to declare, "we observe some pitying sentiment expended on the love of the Irish for their antiquities, as evidenced by some of the curiosities in the Exhibition building; but surely there is not necessarily any sedition or political lamentation mixed up with such antiquarian interest."[108] In keeping with this perhaps willfully nonchalant sentiment, Maggie Williams more recently evaluated the crosses throughout the exhibition space - over a dozen either original or cast models - and concluded that they expressed a non-threatening, Celtic past that "were not always signifiers of political nationalism, [but] certainly became signs of Ireland's long and unique cultural history."[109] This acceptance of the neutrality of the crosses is supported by the logic of an Exhibition strategy that sought to offer an innocuous and long-past Irish history as a replacement for looking too closely at the immediate past; however, the crosses, even in 1853, were loaded with cultural, historical, and explicitly sepulchral meaning. These crosses recalled the establishment of Catholic monasticism and the accompanying literary and artistic renaissance in Ireland beginning in the eighth century.[110] Marked by the specific encircling of the arms of the cross, these stone markers towered above grave sites at monastic communities for centuries and came to embody for nineteenth century Ireland a sense of an authentic, pre-Famine as well as pre-Norman Invasion (1170) past.

The *Freeman's Journal* described the Lord-Lieutenant's entrance to the Exhibition as including a view "close to the entrance on either side… [of] two splendid specimens of ancient Irish *sepulchral* crosses, which tell, in the solemn language of the sculptured past, how rarely and

---

[107] "The Great Industrial Exhibition." *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Sept. 1853.
[108] "The Exhibition of 1853 and the Royal Dublin Society," *Freeman's Journal*, 8 Apr. 1853. Quoting the *Daily News*.
[109] Williams, "The 'Temple of Industry,'" 275.
[110] *Irish Art and Architecture: From Prehistory to the Present*, ed. Peter Harbison, Homan Potterton, and Jeanne Sheehy (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 56-66.

how firmly was the religion of Calvary rooted in this country."[111] The *Illustrated London News* illustrated these crosses in its own account of the opening ceremony (Figure 12). On the left of the image is the cross of Tuam, nearly twenty feet tall, while on the right is the cross from Kells. These crosses, and the others like them, represented the eleventh and twelfth century in Ireland, the monastic, Celtic period widely accepted as pre-English and thus, pre-conflict. As antiquities displayed as part of an over-generalized, national medieval history narrative, however, their initial purpose was often overlooked.

The *Illustrated London New*s was critical of their placement, both in their juxtaposition to modern industry at the Fair and in their removal from their original historic sites in the first place. The writer argued that their worth had less to do with their broad cultural value to the Irish than their highly specific local histories, stating, "we should never like to see them removed from the places where they have stood stately and erect for ages amidst the many changes and exciting incidents that those localities gave birth to, and from which the crosses derive no small portion of their interest."[112] Perhaps of bigger concern to the *Illustrated London News* should have been the crosses' significant presence as Irish grave markers towering over this celebration of Anglo-Irish industrial peace.[113] The Tuam cross, in particular, was one of few items in the giant space visible the entire length of the Hall. Not only did it proclaim a unique Irishness of the Exhibition, it undermined the religious neutrality of the ceremony and the Hall as well. Neither Protestant nor Catholic clergy offered a prayer at the opening ceremony, as a gesture of reconciliation, but both stood underneath the unmistakable symbol of early Irish Catholicism.

The contention that the crosses lacked contemporary political value is further undercut by

---

[111] "The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853: The Inauguration." *Freeman's Journal*, 13 May 1853. Emphasis added.
[112] "The Great Industrial Exhibition of Ireland," *Illustrated London News*, 4 June 1853*:* 462.
[113] The cross as a funerary marker took on particular significance in the emigrant communities as well, as in the example of the commemoration of the emigrant dead on Grosse Île in Quebec. In such trans-Atlantic communities, the Celtic cross became doubly commemorative of both death and the specific tragedy of the Famine.

the nature of their acquisition for the Exhibition. The Fine Arts Committee traveled specifically to the West and South to gather antiquities, where they brokered deals with various towns in exchange for the loan of given items. For the two showcase crosses in the main hall, they offered their artistic and historical expertise in both reassembling the long-destroyed crosses and in refurbishing a display space for them upon the close of the Exhibition. In Tuam, they gathered pieces of the cross from a Catholic cathedral, a Protestant churchyard, and a private residence where they had to pry a chunk of it out of the fireplace. The completed national symbol, after six months in Dublin, was sent back and given a place of honor in the Tuam marketplace.[114] In Kells, when the Committee's workmen struggled to remove the half-buried relic, the town rallied to help "in removing this fine old memorial of ancient Irish piety."[115] Moreover, the excavation also unearthed an incomplete cross buried by Cromwell's soldiers.[116] The process not only gathered communities around national symbols, it paved the way for their prominent placement in modern towns and relocated them within a more recent historic framework.

A more recent Irish art form was also on display at the Exhibition and it quite literally grounded the event in the Famine. The 1853 Dublin Exhibition offered the first major, organized display of Irish bog oak carving.[117] Recently raised to the level of fine art by Irish jewelers, bog oak carving had originated as a tourist phenomenon in Killarney earlier in the century when local craftsmen found willing consumers for quickly carved scraps of preserved wood they had dug out of the bogs along with their turf for fuel.[118] In 1853, several artisans displayed a wide variety

---

[114] "The Great Exhibition Building," *Freeman's Journal*, 4 Apr. 1853. Quoting from the *Tuam Herald*.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
[117] For a survey of bog oak carving during this period, see Neville Irons, "Irish Bog Oak Carving," *Irish Arts Review* 4, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 54-63. Also Amy M. Kirschke. "Materialization of Irishness in Nineteenth-Century Bog Oak Souvenirs" (master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003).
[118] "The Great Industrial Exhibition of Ireland," *Illustrated London News*, 4 June 1853. 462.

of models, trinkets, jewelry, and furniture made from this special local material. The *Art-Journal* and the *Irish Industrial Exhibition Catalogue* devoted extensive space to both the history of and products made from bog oak, while the *Illustrated London News* detailed bog oak's parallel uses as fuel and fine art, explaining how the top layer of the bog, the turf "is generally considered as particularly characteristic of Ireland, where it occupies the same position in social economy that coal fills with us."[119] Of all the local industries and arts on display in 1853, the bog oak was the only local craft explicitly associated with the perceived mundane daily life of the Irish peasant.

Further stressing this connection between Irish peasant and bog oak art, as Amy Kirschke has suggested from her recent survey of bog oak, was the predominant symbolism of harps and shamrocks.[120] Every piece of bog oak art at the Exhibition, without exception, incorporated historic or mythic emblems of Ireland into its surface in some way. The objects included "two candelabras, elaborately carved in bog oak, with the Irish wolf dog, shamrock, rose and thistle, and richly ornamented with Irish diamonds… [and] a handsome inkstand, set with malachite, having on the top the Irish harp and wolf dog in silver… intended for Her Majesty the Queen."[121] Several artisans carved replicas of Celtic crosses and monastic round towers. Perhaps the most popular item, however, was Mr. Acheson's small bog oak casket (Figure 13), reproduced in various official and serial publications. The *Art-Journal* described it as "especially an Irish work… made entirely of native materials. The wood is black bog-oak, and is enriched with silver-gilt mountings and national emblems, the jewels being Irish diamonds and amethysts, which are of a large size and have a peculiarly brilliant effect when mounted on the dark bog-

[119] Ibid., 461.
[120] Kirschke. "Materialization of Irishness in Nineteenth-Century Bog Oak Souvenirs," 57. While she surveys a wider range of bog oak souvenirs, her findings align with the evidence from 1853.
[121] "The Great Industrial Exhibition." *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Sept. 1853.

wood."[122] Those emblems included shamrocks in the scrolling trim, shamrock patterning on the sides, and shamrock seals on the corners. A large Irish harp sat on the lid while a small harp functioned as part of the locking mechanism on the front. On either side of the harp, a pair of Irish wolfhounds sat guard.

Much like the crosses, these symbols on the bog oak objects embodied both an ancient Celtic past and an increasingly marketable contemporary value. Barra Boydell has indicated that the 1853 Exhibition marked the first organized display of early Irish harps, the symbol itself having gained specific nationalist popularity from its use on Thomas Davis's newspaper, the *Nation*.[123] I would further contend that the infusion of an explicitly modern Irish art form with such a density of Celtic symbolism was tied to a broader undercurrent of nationalism in these symbols, beginning with Young Ireland's *Nation* newspaper and translating through the 1850s to the resurgence of overt military nationalism in Fenianism at the end of the decade. Thus the presence of these symbols, despite the non-partisan aspirations of the exhibition organizers, may well have been interpreted by some visitors as explicitly connected to a particular political perspective.

The bog oak carving at the Exhibition explicitly referenced the Famine, as it was dug out of the same ground as the infamous potato by the very peasants who had been publicly suffering and dying on the pages of the *Illustrated London News* for years. As such, the carving represents a rare appearance of issues related to the Famine at the exhibition or in visual representation in the early 1850s more generally. Formal artwork dealing with the Famine was relatively rare in the years immediately following it. Of note in 1853 was Robert George Kelly's *An Ejectment in Ireland (A Tear and A Prayer for Ireland)* (Figure 13). When Kelly painted this picture in 1847-

[122] Art-Journal, *The Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*, 47.
[123] Barra Boydell, "The Irish Harp on Glass," *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 12 (1996): 112.

8, his sympathetic rendering of the evicted family aligned with the general pity in England for the Irish that de Nie mapped out in his work on the British press. However, Kelly exhibited the painting in 1853 at the British Institution in London shortly before the opening of the Exhibition in Dublin, at which time the response of the *Illustrated London News* to the painting was typical of general opinion in the early 1850s: the reviewer declared it "vulgar."[124] The woman begging for help and the child sadly cradling her lamb, regardless of their cleanliness and the bright white light of the heavens that shines down upon them, were simply too unpleasant an image for a British audience in the 1850s.

Such an example of Famine-related art was the exception rather than the rule, however, and art historians have long bemoaned the dearth of visual, artistic evidence from the period. Scholars such as Catherine Marshall and John Turpin have advanced the general economic theory that English patrons and the burgeoning Irish middle-class art market were not interested in purchasing art on such a contentious topic.[125] Paula Murphy's recent study on nineteenth century Irish sculpture has reached the same conclusions.[126] The Fine Arts on display at the Dublin Exhibition mostly support this. One piece of sculpture, however, stood in the Fine Arts Hall and has been overlooked by scholars searching for contemporary Famine art in Ireland, perhaps because the piece was also generally overlooked in 1853 and has since been lost.

Among several popular contributions to the exhibition in his native land, Irish sculptor John Lawlor sent *The Emigrant* (Figure 15). The tall, Classically-modeled young woman turns

---

[124] Fintan Cullen and R. F. Foster. *'Conquering England:' Ireland in Victorian London* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2005), 70. Quoting *Illustrated London News*, 26 Feb. 1853.
[125] E. Margaret Crawford, "The Great Irish Famine 1845-9: Image Versus Reality," in *Ireland: Art into History*, ed. Raymond Gillespie and Brian P. Kennedy (Dublin: Town House, 1994), 75-88; Catherine Marshall, "Painting Irish History: The Famine," *History Ireland* 4, no. 3 (Autumn 1996): 46-50; Catherine Marshall, "History and Memorials: Fine Art and the Great Famine in Ireland," in *Visual, Material and Print Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. Ciara Breathnach and Catherine Lawless (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 20-29; John Turpin, "Irish History Painting," *The GPA Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1989/1990): 233-247.
[126] Paula Murphy, *Nineteenth-Century Irish Sculpture: Native Genius Reaffirmed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2010), 69.

shamefully away from the viewer. In one hand, she pulls her insufficient drape around her; its Classical folds impart dignity, while the drop off her shoulder suggests an embarrassing nudity, a topic that was the source of much concern in 1853.[127] In the *Detailed Catalogue*, Sproule went on at some length to explain the problems of nudity in sculpture, ranging from its being dissatisfying the viewer to "simply degrading to the dignity of sculpture."[128] Art historian Kenneth Clark has offered a juxtaposition of the terms "naked" and "nude" in art, suggesting the former conveys shame or embarrassment on the part of the subject while the latter refers "not [to] a huddled defenseless body, but [to] a balanced, prosperous and confident body: the body re-formed."[129] *The Emigrant* seems to fall precisely between these two definitions, embodying both shame and nobility, but challenging the nervousness of the Exhibition Fine Arts Committee with her Irish body stalwart, slightly contrapposto, and re-formed by Lawlor from contemporary peasant girl to Classical heroine.

In her right hand, *The Emigrant* holds a rope, pulley, and buoy, symbols of the ship on which she has sailed away from Ireland. Paula Murphy has suggested that the sculpture did not necessarily refer to the Famine exodus, but I can not believe that this work can be removed from this context.[130] Emigration, specifically linked to the Famine by the end of the 1840s, was a contentious and popular topic. No viewer or reader would have connected this figure to any other period of Irish migration or previous Irish historical moment, thus the Famine, through this sculpture, occupied a physical presence in the Exhibition halls to challenge the utopian vision with a Neoclassical model of noble suffering. Moreover, this representation of *The Emigrant* also strongly resembles the starving Bridget O'Donnell from the *Illustrated London News*.

---

[127] Sproule, ed. *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue,* 423.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Kenneth Clark, *The Naked and the Nude: A Study in Ideal Form* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956; reprint, 1972), 3.
[130] Murphy, *Nineteenth-Century Irish Sculpture*, 69.

Although more Classically rounded and idealized in the curvature of her body and smoothness of her skin than her starving predecessor, *The Emigrant* brings to mind rows of emigrants getting onto famine ships both in the 1840s and on the docks near the Exhibition itself.

The tragedy of the Famine was in the margins of the text and the official images, but Lawlor's *The Emigrant* addressed the pain, the drama, and the human cost directly. Moreover, he displayed copies at the New York Industrial Exhibition and the Royal Academy in London.[131] This *Emigrant* followed the paths of the actual emigrants who, as the *Illustrated London Magazine* had so bleakly pointed out, were still fleeing the country by the ship-full. The Exhibition organizers and international press repeatedly professed a hope that Ireland was on the verge of, or had even begun, an industrial renewal. The Famine and its ensuing decimation of the rural Irish population had no place in that narrative. Lawlor's *The Emigrant* stood as a lone reminder of the reality of ongoing emigration amidst the grand celebratory fiction of the Exhibition. Moreover, by depicting his solitary female emigrant in a Classical style and pose, he historicized the Irish tragedy and raised it from a shameful past to a noble present.

In her assessment of Irish Famine commemorations, Catherine Marshall has argued that the problem with Famine monuments and current attempts to memorialize this great national tragedy lies in their inability to grasp the entirety of history, supplanting the individual experience with a grand narrative. She references the assessment by Irit Rogoff that "traditionally, the task of commemoration has always been perceived as the replacement of an absence with a presence."[132] In the Irish example, the absence of the original visual form of mourning or management or memory is particularly profound in that it was a forced, and at times, intentional absence and erasure.

---

[131] Ibid., 179.
[132] Marshall, "History and Memorials," 25. Quoting Irit Rogoff, "Making Art in Public, Reading the Agreement," in *The Civil Arts Enquiry, Documents 1-6* (Dublin: 2003), 101.

Dargan had hoped that the Exhibition would provide inspiration to his fellow Irishmen and women and offer a material alternative to the death, despair, factionalism, and regionalism that marked Ireland in the preceding decades; that it would be a moment of respite and renewal. For some visitors, the fiction may have resonated as at least partially true. As the Rev. James Milligan proclaimed, "how much more pleasant to the feelings of any benevolent man - any lover of our country - to see hundreds of our countrymen flock to a manufactory, than to see them mournfully dragging along our quays to the emigration vessel! How much happier to hear the din of workmen, than the wailing of the emigrant, bidding a heart-broken adieu to his native shores!"[133] On the other hand, my close analysis of the visual record of the 1853 Exhibition unearths an acknowledgment of the emigration crisis amidst its celebratory elements including visual signposts of the Famine, the Irish Catholic peasantry, poverty, and emigration. Although sometimes small or subtle, evidence from the details in Mahony's artwork, the inconsistencies in the *Illustrated London News* illustrations, and the tangible presence of the Famine experience through art-objects combine to suggest an alternative interpretation of the post-Famine era in mid-century Dublin whereby Dargan was ultimately unable to erase the past; his vision of a new Ireland, free from political, religious, and economic strife, was as fantastic and as a short lived as his six-month Exhibition.

[133] Milligan, "The Great Exhibition of 1853," 7-8.

# CHAPTER 1 FIGURES




Figure 1. "The Dublin Great Industrial Exhibition: The Opening by the Lord Lieutenant." *Illustrated London News*, 4 June 1853, p. 457.



Figure 2. “Bridget O’Donnell and her Children.” *Illustrated London News*, 22 Dec. 1849, p. 404.




Figure 3. “The Village of Tullig.” *Illustrated London News*, 19 Dec. 1849, p. 393.

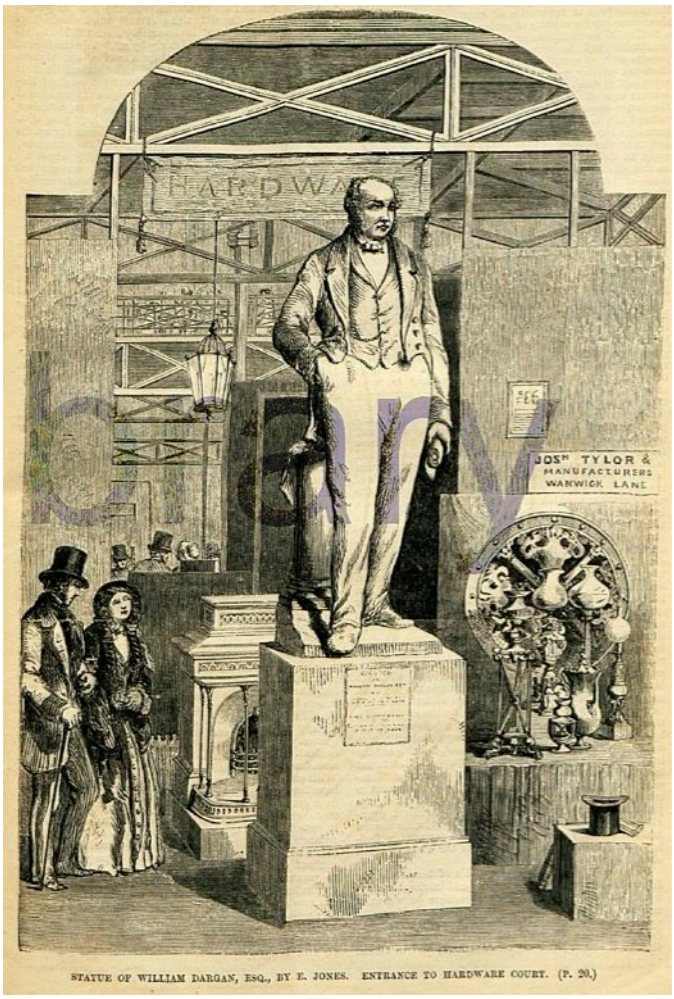


Figure 4. "Statue of William Dargan, Esq." In *The Irish Exhibition Almanack*. London: John Cassell, 1854, p. 7.



Figure 5. Edward King Tenison, "Dublin International Exhibition, 1853." In Roger Taylor, *Impressed By Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007, pl. 44.



Figure 6. James Mahony, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert Opening the 1853 Irish Industrial Exhibition, Dublin, 1853*. Watercolor on paper. 60.1 x 73.3cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.



Figure 7. Phil Henry Delamotte, "The Dublin Exhibition, 1853," collodion negative, 1853. City and County of Swansea, Swansea Museum Collection. In Fintan Cullen, *Ireland on Show: Art Union, and Nationhood*. Aldershot UK: Ashgate, 2012, p. 23.




Figure 8. “Visit of Her Majesty to the Dublin Great Industrial Exhibition.” *Illustrated London News*, 10 Sept. 1853, p. 208.

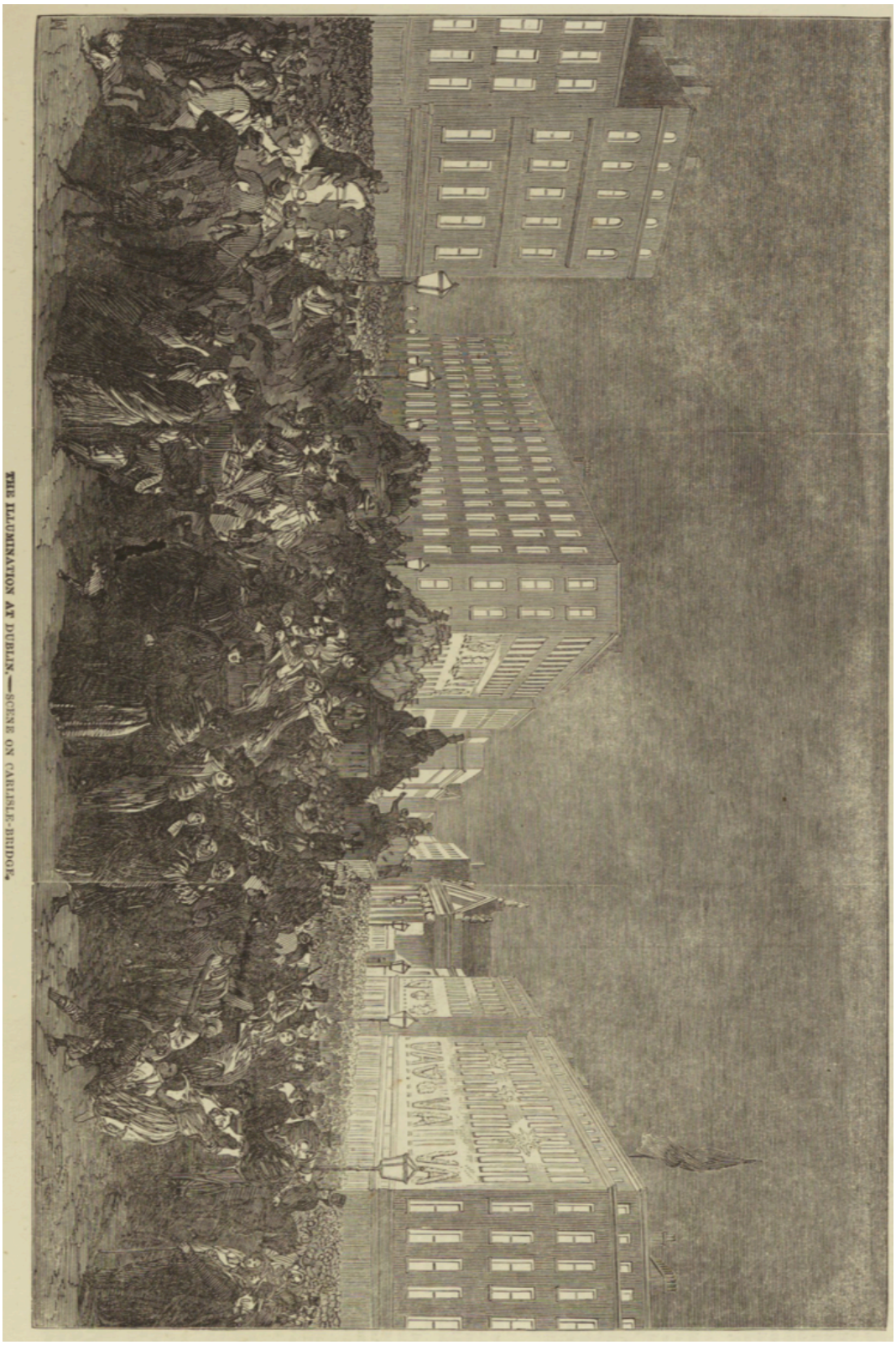


Figure 9. "The Illumination at Dublin – Scene on Carlisle Bridge." *Illustrated London News*, 10 Sept. 1853, p. 209.



Figure 10. James Mahony, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in the Paintings and Sculpture Hall of the 1853 Irish Industrial Exhibition, Dublin*. Watercolor on paper. 62.8 x 81cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.



Figure 11. Close-up of James Mahony, *Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in the Paintings and Sculpture Hall of the 1853 Irish Industrial Exhibition, Dublin*. Watercolor on paper. 62.8 x 81cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

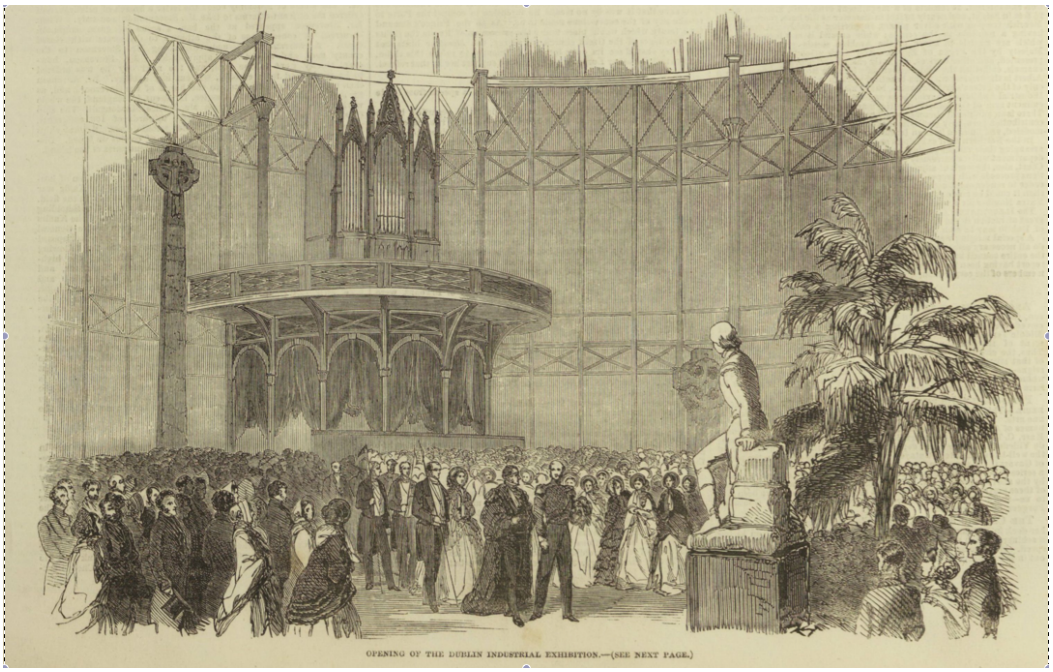


Figure 12. "Opening of the Dublin Great Industrial Exhibition." *Illustrated London News*, 21 May 1853, p. 393.




Figure 13. "Bog-oak Casket." In *The Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*. London: Virtue & Co., 1853, p. 47.



Figure 14. Robert George Kelly, *An Ejectment in Ireland (A Tear and a Prayer for Erin)*. 1847-1848. Oil on canvas, 46 x 57". John J. Burns Library, Boston College.



Figure 15. John Lawlor, *The Emigrant*, engraving. In Silliman and Goodrich, eds., *The World of Science, Art and Industry, illustrated from Examples in the New York Exhibition*. New York, p. 48.

# CHAPTER 2

## THE BLARNEY STONE AT 57TH AND PORTLAND: IRISH FAIRS IN 1890s AMERICA

By the 1890s, exhibitions as an international phenomenon had grown significantly larger and more grandiose than their 1851 beginnings in a single Crystal Palace in London. The Exhibitions in Dublin and New York in 1853 had been the first to add specific Fine Art displays, widening both the appeal and the instructional benefit of the events. The exhibitionary concept quickly spread across the globe. Exhibitions, each grander than the last, were held in Paris in 1855 and 1878, in Sydney, Australia in 1879, Calcutta in 1883, and Barcelona in 1888.[1] Their development followed the paths of imperial trade and conquest and became increasingly focused on showcasing the host-nation as the most successful, progressive, and modern country. The pinnacle of the first few decades of these exhibitions was the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1889. In six months, over thirty million people experienced what was billed as "the most beautiful exhibition the world has ever seen."[2] Its crowning achievement was Eiffel's Tower, a revolutionary, three-hundred meter iron structure designed explicitly as a special, exhibitionary icon representative of both the exhibition in general and the Third Republic in particular. From this point onwards, the physical impression produced through both the exhibition's ground plan and its innovative structures became an increasingly powerful signifier of the event's meanings and goals.

In direct response to the pronounced success and popularity of the Paris event, the United States Congress issued a decree in support of an American world's fair in Chicago to celebrate

[1] The best survey of these exhibitions is John Findling and Kimberly Perry's incredibly thorough historiographical catalogue John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, eds., *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions* (Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2008).

[2] Anthony Swift, "Paris 1889," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2008). Quoting the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

the four-hundredth anniversary of Christopher Columbus' arrival in America.[3] Both because of Chicago's self-proclaimed prominence in this field and because of the profound impact of the Paris plan and its Eiffel Tower, architecture was of special importance for the event. Chicago architects Daniel Burnham and John Root, the latter of whom died before the construction of the fairgrounds, established a massive, highly organized "White City" of Neoclassical inspiration centered around a formal Court of Honor. Various industries, states, and foreign governments were allotted spaces throughout the six-hundred-and-seventy-acre site.[4] The *Illustrated Guide* echoed most other publications in its exalted praise of the end result, claiming "the majesty and beauty of its buildings, the extent and magnitude of the grounds, and the infinitely varied character of its exhibits will make it, not the eighth wonder of the world, but the first, eclipsing the seven that have borne that distinction for so many centuries."[5]

The Chicago World's Fair also famously introduced a new exhibition feature: the Midway Plaisance, a mile-long boulevard of amusements, entertainments, and theatrical extravaganzas extending east from the fairgrounds proper (Figure 1). Here Laplanders mixed with Indian jugglers, German marching bands, and camels from Hagenbeck's Animal Show. According the Board of Directors,

> it was a medley, a Vanity Fair; it was an 'Ethnological Exhibit,' according to the catalogue, run riot; it was geography's nightmare; but over and above everything else one found it a playground, a frolic of nationalities, an enormous whirligig of pleasure… a cauldron into which a giant hand had tossed ingredients of every conceivable kind, sprinkling it all with 'the salt of the earth' and a lot of peppery savages.[6]

Amongst this cornucopia of entertainment and anthropological voyeurism were not one, but two separate Irish villages, less than one hundred meters apart and both dedicated to the

---

[3] Rossiter Johnston, ed. *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition... By Authority of the Board of Directors*, 4 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1897), 11-13.
[4] For a step-by-step catalogue of the origins and early stages of the exhibition, see the four-volume series authorized by the Board of Directors after all reports had been made at the end of the exposition. Ibid.
[5] Paul Hull, *Illustrated Guide to the World's Fair and Chicago* (Philadelphia: Blakely Printing Company, 1893).
[6] Johnston, ed., *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition*, 503.

serious economic and propagandistic task "to appeal through [the participants'] skill and quickness and dexterity to Ireland's friends and to show through these qualities a great work can be done for Ireland… [by] participating in the spoils to be expected as the result of this peaceful contest of competition [on the Midway.]"[7]

This chapter examines these two Irish Midway villages, one erected by Ishbel Gordon, Lady Aberdeen, the Scottish wife of the former Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and founder of the Irish Industries Association and the other by Englishwoman Mrs. Alice Hart, founder of the Donegal Industrial Fund, to illuminate the overlapping and competing use of symbols of Ireland in the American exhibition setting. The interests, needs, and nostalgic responses of American audiences in general and Irish-American diasporic communities in particular were quite different from those of attendees at exhibitions in Ireland or even England. Such perspectives prompted the English organizers at these same American events to highlight rural Irish values and preservation in ways that the Irish organizers in Dublin had not. Notably, the modern industrialization of Ireland was omitted almost entirely from representations in both villages.

My study considers the implications and impressions of certain personal, geographic, and material representations of Ireland in America in 1893 as well as the lasting effects of experiencing these villages on the Irish-American visitors. In particular, Irish-American groups began organizing Irish Fairs in major cities like Chicago and New York in the years immediately following 1893, adopting the modes and models established by the Irish villages at the World's Columbian Exposition to promote their own national causes. Like the 1893 villages, Irish Fairs in 1897 in New York and Chicago fostered nostalgic spaces with the promise of embodying Ireland on the exhibition grounds of an American city where the visitor could experience Ireland as a combination of personal remembrance and the encounter with a new, specific set of objects

[7] Ishbel Aberdeen, "Ireland at the World's Fair," *The North American Review* 157, no. 440 (1893): 20-21; 19.

and images representing Ireland in the exhibition village.

Following from the work of sociologist Fred Davis, I use the term nostalgia here to suggest a construction of "more than a 'mere past,'… [but in fact] a past imbued with special qualities, which, moreover, acquires its significance from the particular way we juxtapose it to certain features of our present lives."[8] The nostalgic response of visitors to the Irish villages at exhibitions in America in the 1890s was built upon the specific choices of objects and individuals displayed as Irish or representative of Ireland. In the words of literary scholar Svetlana Boym, this Irish exhibitionary nostalgia was "prospective" rather than "retrospective," in that "the fantasies of the past, determined by the needs of the present, have a direct impact on the realities of the future."[9] Such concept echoes Timothy Mitchell's definition of the "world-as-exhibition" whereby images, objects and experiences presented to the visitor as authentic within the fairgrounds continued to impact the belief systems of the visitors once they exited the turnstiles.[10]

I approach various features of the villages and their cultural resonance from this "prospective" position. Importantly, the nostalgia of the villages sought to unburden the immigrant communities from the wistful nature of remembering, to shake off what historical theorist Frank Ankersmit has called "the 'bittersweetness' of nostalgic yearning… the feeling of bitterness that always accompanies the nostalgic experience of the past."[11] The Irish exhibitionary nostalgia was not rife with the Irish-American tragedy of "exile," but built upon a promise of continuing Irish traditional values into the modern world of the twentieth century.[12]

---

[8] Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York: Free Press, 1979), 13.
[9] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xvi.
[10] Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 13.
[11] F. R. Ankersmit, *History and Tropology: the Rise and Fall of the Metaphor* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 200. Quoting Davis, 14.
[12] For the most thorough examination of this perspective see Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). Updates to Miller's theory are elaborated

This issue of "exile," so common in Irish literature and scholarship, is almost wholly absent from the language of and representations in the villages thus supporting my contention that the exhibition villages promised, in Davis' words, "more than" what had been emotionally left behind.

The different versions of Ireland constructed on American fairgrounds also allowed the American visitors to participate in affirming the legitimacy of these nostalgic Irish visions. If the fairgoer simply made that donation, purchased that souvenir, or bought that raffle ticket, he or she could personally ensure the longevity of the spinners and artisans, the picturesque ruins and national relics, and even the entire physical island made visible on the large maps in each village. This chapter takes up several symbols contributing to the construction of Ireland and Irishness at these American fairs - the rural craftswoman, the ruin, and the physical island itself - as key visual components in the construction of a particular international vision of Ireland produced through exhibitions on American soil. I will evaluate the ubiquitous Irish village spinner, always a woman, to explore how the representation of this particular craftswoman and her accompanying spinning wheel connected the American exhibition villages to rural self-sufficiency and to the revival of Irish cottage arts. The exhibition spinner was a symbol of both traditional and contemporary Ireland, reminding visitors of a nostalgic rural Irish past as well as of the new craft resurgence in the West. Irish spinning wheels on the fairgrounds were also appropriated by both English and Anglo-Irish women, however, revealing contradictions of use and representation that illuminate the difficulties each village had in promoting one, homogenous vision of Ireland.

Similarly, each of the four Irish fairground spaces included towering representations of a

---

in Kevin "Kenny, "Twenty Years of Irish American Historiography," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28, no. 4 (Summer 2009): 67-75.

famous Irish castle as the focal point of the village and, in each case, provided material, visual, and linguistic slippages between the original and the replica to foster and further emphasize the importance of these objects in defining Ireland for an international audience. In Lady Aberdeen's village and in the 1897 New York village, a replica of Blarney Castle received special attention as it was promised to contain a piece of the actual Blarney Stone from Ireland. No comprehensive study has yet been done on the significance of the ubiquitous Blarney Stone as a marker of Irishness in international settings and this chapter hopes to begin such enquiry by investigating the use of this important symbol and its castle setting at the exhibitions. The castle and its Stone were first introduced to a wide international audience for the first time in 1893 in Chicago and its significance as a cultural and historic touchstone was of particular concern to contemporary commentators and historians. Its continuing usage and importance as a hallmark of Ireland at international exhibitions is similarly important to explore.

Finally, in both of the 1893 Chicago villages, often to the amazement of the organizers, bricks of turf became some of the most popular souvenirs, further propagating a belief amongst both the Americans and the Irish that the Irish had a special connection to their land. As a commercial manifestation of the physical land of Ireland, the New York and Chicago Irish fair organizers took the selling of turf one step further, ostensibly importing dirt from the thirty-two counties of Ireland to fill maps in the center of the exhibition halls. While the large relief map at the top Aberdeen's Blarney Castle in the Irish Industries Village of 1893 was quite popular, it did not compare to the "ould sod" map that apparently generated a profoundly emotional response from New Yorkers and Chicagoans, both Irish and non-Irish, as they stepped onto it in 1897. A metonym for Ireland, the sod map was both a physical and emotional ground for Irish-American nostalgia, empowered by its perceived authenticity amidst the otherwise more

obviously, if pleasantly, contrived fair booths.

This chapter also addresses the economic and socio-political problems of crafting Irish villages at American exhibitions in the 1890s, revealing not only the competing interests of particular Irish groups in America across a broad political and religious spectrum, but also the complicated position of English women identified or identifying with Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century. Lady Aberdeen's village explicitly sought to raise money for her Irish Industries Association, a rural, home-industries group sponsored by Anglo-Irish elites to support the western Irish communities that had never fully recovered from the Famine exoduses and the Land War. The IIA worked with a variety of crafts organizations throughout the island, from convent schools to local guilds, while Mrs. Hart's Donegal Industrial Fund raised funds for similar home industries in the specific Northwest county where she and her husband had traveled when they first visited Ireland a decade earlier.[13] The two women and their groups shared a general interest in rural revival and economic support, but differed in their long-term vision for national impact, Hart seeing her role more locally, as an Englishwomen assisting her Irish sisters in Donegal, while Aberdeen's perspective was national, envisioning herself as intimately connected to Ireland and the Irish people through her husband's political position as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1886. In 1893, concurrent with the Chicago World's Fair, Lord Aberdeen was appointed Governor General of Canada, shifting Lady Aberdeen's vision to a global perspective in keeping with the ideology of the world's fair model.

If in 1893, Irish groups in Chicago were raising money for local Irish causes, in 1897, the same model was in effect. The 1897 New York Irish Fair was sponsored by the Irish Palace

[13] These two groups have been examined in detail by Janice Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts and Industries, 1880-1914* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007); Paul Larmour, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Ireland* (Belfast: Friar's Bush Press, 1992); Paul Larmour, "The Donegal Industrial Fund," *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1990/1991): 128-133; Elaine Cheasley Paterson, "Crafting a National Identity: The Dun Emer Guild, 1902-1908," in *The Irish Revival Reappraised*, ed. Betsey Taylor FitzSimon and James H. Murphy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 106-18.

Building Association, a committee led predominantly by women from a variety of Irish organizations, who aspired to build a non-partisan Irish cultural and political center in New York City.[14] In Chicago, local Irish and Irish-Americans similarly hoped to raise money for a Chicago Irish Memorial Hall to house a number of local organizations both Catholic and Protestant. In this last example, the eventual handling of the event by the Catholic, nationalist, Ancient Order of Hibernians undermined the original, non-partisan goals of the planners. The Chicago Irish [National] Fair in this regard anticipated the Irish Fairs at the turn-of-the-century that became increasingly partisan from the outset.[15]

All four of these constructed Irish villages aspired to homogenize an increasingly diverse Ireland in the supposed neutral space of the American fairground. Each disparate group espoused some version of and vision for a common national cause: independence. Lady Aberdeen and Alice Hart were avowed Home Rulers along the lines of the recently deceased Irish parliamentary hero, Charles Stewart Parnell. They supported Ireland's right to its own parliament in Dublin under the English crown. Both women, however, one being a Scottish Presbyterian and the other an English Protestant, would eventually lose their nationalist viability in the early years of the 1900s when Irish Catholicism would became a key marker of all forms of Irish nationalism. The Irish fairs in New York and Chicago advocated for Irish independence by showcasing both primary and secondary relics from nationalist heroes such as Robert Emmet, oft-quoted leader of a failed Irish rebellion in 1803, and Daniel O'Connell, the Irish Catholic parliamentary hero from the 1840s. The former's grandniece visited Aberdeen's 1893 Irish village on opening day, while Hart declared an Irish Patriots' Day to celebrate her village's

[14] It would be decades before this finally came to fruition. Slow funds as well as the climbing real estate market delayed the construction of any Irish Palace Building and the money was eventually handed over to the American Irish Historical Society for the purchase of their building at 991 5th Ave., New York.
[15] I have found no evidence of avowed "non-partisan" Irish Fairs after 1897. Coast to coast in North America, the Irish Fairs become tied exclusively and explicitly to nationalist or unionist goals and groups after 1897.

collection of Daniel O'Connell's cap, chair, braces, and signature.[16]

Lady Aberdeen referred to constructing her Irish Village in 1893 as the physical act of "planting."[17] She expected her model and its representative features to take root throughout the exhibition experience in America. Along with Hart, she was actively engaged in establishing a particular vision of Ireland globally through the exhibitions, and in America in particular, that "will largely tend to the uplifting of the whole country."[18] The 1897 Irish Fairs reveal the immediate responses of the diaspora communities to these exhibitionary efforts and highlight both the contradictions and continuities of certain symbols in Irish-America along networks created by international display rather than traditional political or social exchange. They suggest that the exhibitionary model relying on a prospective nostalgia for Ireland was adopted enthusiastically and to measurable success by Irish-American groups in their own independent efforts to "uplift… the whole country."

Building a Village

Lady Gregory, folklorist and key figure in the Celtic Revival, recalled "I think it was in 1896 that I suddenly became aware of the change that had come about in Ireland in those first years after Parnell's death [in 1891]. There came a birth of new hope and interests…"[19] Indeed, the end of the nineteenth century was marked by a profound and rapid series of political and cultural developments in Ireland that had far-reaching impacts on Irish immigrant communities around the globe. In the 1880s, Charles Stewart Parnell, MP for Cork City, stood at the center of a wave of land agitation and parliamentary reform. He led not only the Land League, seeking

[16] "An Irish Day at Chicago," *Freeman's Journal*, 25 May 1893. "Irish Patriot's Day," *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, 5 Aug. 1893.
[17] Aberdeen, "Ireland at the World's Fair," 24.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Nicola Gordon Bowe and Elisabeth Cumming, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Dublin & Edinburgh, 1885-1925* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998), 79.

social and political reform for evicted Irish peasants, but also the Irish parliamentary movement for Home Rule, advocating the return of an Irish Parliament to Dublin. Often at odds, but ever negotiating with William Gladstone and the Liberal Party, Parnell's dogged pursuit of Irish self-government was cut short by his infamous relationship with a married woman, Kitty O'Shea, and his sudden death shortly thereafter in 1891.[20]

In the wake of Parnell's demise, Home Rulers, now divided into Parnellite and anti-Parnellite camps, foundered as a political force.[21] However, cultural organizations emerged in the last decade of the century to push nationalist agendas ahead on several literary and social fronts.[22] William Butler Yeats was one of the founders of the Irish Literary Society in 1892 in London, the same year the National Literary Society was established in Dublin. The latter provided the platform for its president, literary scholar and Irish-language-enthusiast Douglas Hyde, to deliver his famous speech, "The Necessity for De-Anglicizing Ireland," a searing indictment of Ireland as a "halfway house…[that] continues to apparently hate the English, and then at the same time continues to imitate them."[23] Calling on all Irishmen and women to return to their Celtic roots, Hyde concluded:

> I would earnestly appeal to everyone, whether Unionist or Nationalist, who wishes to see the Irish nation produce its best - and surely whatever our politics are we all wish that - to set his face against this constant running to England for our books, literature, music, games, fashion and ideas. I appeal to every one whatever his politics - for this is no political matter - to do his best to help the Irish race to develop in future upon Irish lines, even at the risk of encouraging national aspirations, because upon Irish lines alone can the Irish race once more become what it was of yore - one of the most original, artistic,

---

[20] For an excellent survey of the Home Rule issue in Ireland, see Alan O'Day, *Irish Home Rule, 1867-1921* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1998).
[21] Patrick Maume has begun advocating for a reassessment of the political significance of the 1890s in Ireland. Patrick Maume, *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life 1891-1918* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).
[22] On the Gaelic Revival in these years, see particularly Timothy G. McMahon, *Grand Opportunity: The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893-1910* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008).
[23] Douglas Hyde, "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland," in *The Revival of Irish Literature: Addresses by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G., Dr. George Sigerson, and Dr. Douglas Hyde* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894), 119.

literary, and charming peoples of Europe.[24]

A year later, Hyde would help form the Gaelic League, an organization devoted to the re-establishment of the Irish language and a forerunner to multiple Irish cultural revival organizations that would develop throughout the end of the decade and the beginning of new century, including the Irish Literary Theatre in 1897, the Dun Emer craft guild in 1902, and the Abbey Theatre in 1904.[25] Two other revival organizations that also flourished in the 1890s, but have not received the same acknowledgment for their roles in the Celtic revival due to the historicizing Irish nationalist perspective that has labeled them English philanthropic ladies' organizations, were the Donegal Industrial Fund and the Irish Industries Association, the two groups that erected Irish villages in 1893.

Mrs. Alice Hart, founder of the Donegal Industrial Fund, was born in London. Highly educated in both art and medicine, she and her physician husband first visited Ireland in 1883 to better understand the lingering impact of the Famine. Art historian Janice Helland has worked extensively on the Donegal Industrial Fund and has aptly pointed out that despite no pronounced nationalist political stance, the Harts' trip corresponded suspiciously with the investigations into Charles Stewart Parnell and the Phoenix Park murders. Parnell and others associated with the Land League had been falsely accused of the assassination of two British government officials in Phoenix Park in Dublin in 1882 and the trial was ongoing while the Harts were in Ireland. The couple's subsequent life-long commitment to empower the Irish peasantry to throw off the yoke of British imperialism supports Helland's idea that the trip was not only a social, but also a political scouting mission.[26]

---

[24] Ibid., 161.
[25] On Dun Emer, see Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts and Industries, 1880-1914*; Paterson, "Crafting a National Identity."
[26] Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts and Industries, 1880-1914*, 27-28.

That same year, Hart founded the Donegal Industrial Fund "devoted to the furtherance and development of industrial and technical teaching work [in Ireland]."[27] She focused almost exclusively on the northwest county she had first visited, financed the majority of the project herself, and chose which arts she would teach and "bring back" to these peasant communities. She established "Kells" embroidery as the hallmark of the Fund, updating a traditional skill with popular new designs drawn from the equally popular pre-Conquest Irish past.[28]

Lady Aberdeen, on the other hand, was born into English aristocracy in 1857, married the Earl of Aberdeen and Temair, and figured prominently in politics in England, Ireland, and Canada throughout much of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. She was particularly devoted to women's issues, public health, and international exhibitions.[29] When she and her husband found themselves Lord- and Lady-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1886, she quickly began to promote Irish culture through what she perceived as its long-overlooked textile and home industries.[30] Unlike Hart, however, Aberdeen's focus was national. She was particularly concerned with resuscitating Irish materials for modern fashions, such as poplin and lace.[31] Upon her arrival in Dublin in 1886, one of Aberdeen's first responsibilities as wife of the Lord-Lieutenant was to organize a display of Irish fabrics for the 1886 Scottish National Exhibition in Edinburgh, an effort that laid the groundwork for her Irish Industries Association. Along with other socially-conscious members of the aristocracy such as agricultural reformer Sir Horace Plunkett, she and her Association promised: "wherever the nucleus of a small industry exists, our

---

[27] "From Bleak Donegal," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, 16 Aug. 1893.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Aberdeen first coordinated a display for the Scottish National Exhibition in Edinburgh in 1886. She was Chair of the Peace Committee at the 1938 Glasgow Empire Exhibition over fifty years later.
[30] In her autobiography, Aberdeen admits that her and her husband's preexisting sympathies for the Irish and for Home Rule were well-known and underlay the reasons for his appointment by then Liberal Prime Minister Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Lord and Lady Aberdeen and Temair, *'We Twa': Reminiscences of Lord and Lady Aberdeen*, 2 vols. (London and Glasgow: W. Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 1925), 2:179-180.
[31] Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts and Industries, 1880-1914*, 79-81.

object is to develop it and help; wherever there is a hopeful field for a new industry we desire to start it and assist those in charge."[32]

Aberdeen and Hart first met in conjunction with that 1886 exhibition and, although their work occasionally overlapped, it was not until 1892 in the planning of an Irish Department for the Chicago World's Fair that the two came together for a common cause. It is unclear from the minimal and exceedingly polite documentation that remains exactly how this partnership came to be and, more importantly, how it quickly fell apart. Both Hart and Aberdeen, as well as Mr. Peter White, Irish Industries Association manager for the Chicago Exposition until his untimely death just before the opening, issued public statements on the fallout, each blaming the other for irreconcilable differences of opinion.[33] In her autobiography, Aberdeen magnanimously gave credit for the effort of the original Irish village plan to Hart, despite the Irish Industries Association's denial of this specific point in 1892.[34] Hart had accused the Association of not raising enough money for the village, and that Aberdeen et al. were radically changing her original plan. She issued a statement to the press on Nov. 18, 1892 in which she insisted that she had been notified by the Association's solicitors that negotiations between her and the group were suspended due to her unwillingness to modify her original plan and to wait out problems in financing.[35] At the last minute, Hart was able to procure special permission for a second Irish Village on the Midway.[36]

Hart's subsequent "Donegal Irish Village" (Figure 2) was developed explicitly as a

---

[32] *Guide to the Irish Industrial Village* (The Irish Industries Association, 1893).
[33] Papers in Chicago, Ireland, and Glasgow all reported continuously on the story from the end of November 1892 through January 1893.
[34] Aberdeen and Temair, *'We Twa'*, 2:323-4.
[35] Alice Hart, "Mrs. Hart Explains," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, 19 Nov. 1892.
[36] There was confusion in the opening weeks over naming these villages. First, Lady Aberdeen was told to take down her "Irish Village" banners; then Hart was told the same. It was eventually settled that Aberdeen's Village would officially be called "the Irish Industrial Village" and Hart's would be called "The Donegal Irish Village." Based on the continuing confusion in 1893 and over the past century, the titular distinction did not seem to make much of a difference. "News," *Freeman's Journal*, 15 June 1893.

"pseudo Irish village."[37] It was reported in both Chicago and Ireland that the village would also "recall to emigrants to the new country memories of the old, and create an interest in America in an Ireland which is the native country in common of men and women of all shades of politics."[38] Hart erected her circular village in a grove of trees, artistically rendered in a sketch for the New York paper *Irish World* in May of 1893 (Figure 3).[39] The main entry gate was a replica from the fortified town of Drogheda where Oliver Cromwell had famously massacred an entire garrison, while at the far end was a ruinous facsimile of Donegal Castle, seat of the O'Donnell clan. Adjacent to the castle was a medieval round tower of arguable, but significant height.[40] The village centered around a Celtic cross around which were one dozen whitewashed, thatched cottages. In each cottage, spinners, weavers, embroiderers, etc. worked both to show their industry and diligence and to provide items for purchase on-site. In all accounts, Hart, the press, and the official publications of the Exposition stressed that the girls working were truly Irish, but that everything else about the Donegal Industrial Village was an idealization or an imaginary rendering of Ireland.[41]

Instead of a photograph or sketch of the village itself, the trade cards for the Donegal Industrial Fund available on the Midway showed a photograph of the actual Donegal Castle in Ireland (Figure 4). The three-dimensional, worn medieval stonework, the crumbling roof peaks and ivy crawling through the crevices imbue the castle with romantic charm, but that charm did not translate into the stiff, geometric and smooth plaster facades of the castle in the Donegal Village on the Midway (Figure 5) where the bright sunlight highlighted the clean uniformity of the plasterwork in the photograph. Julie Brown's careful study of the emergence of the

[37] "Metropolitan Gossip," *Belfast News-letter*, 27 Feb. 1893.
[38] Ibid.
[39] The *Irish World* discusses only Aberdeen's village, but the circular plan is clearly Hart's. "The Irish Village," *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, 20 May, 1893.
[40] It is listed in various reports anywhere from sixty to one hundred feet tall.
[41] Hart, "Mrs. Hart Explains," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, 19 Nov. 1892.

photograph as a key mode of knowledge at the Columbian Exposition emphasizes both its historical value as well as its educational contributions. Photographs in 1893 legitimized replica structures and then served as souvenirs of those very same replicas, in essence doubling the perceived authority of the photographed image.[42] In the case of Hart's Irish Village, the photographs instead accentuated the difference between the original Donegal Castle and the replica object in Chicago, the title on the trade card notwithstanding. Such difference marks the disjuncture embodied in Hart's nostalgic ground plan. The Donegal village of the exhibitions promoted, in Boym's words, a "restorative nostalgia… [that] gravitates toward collective pictorial symbols and oral culture… [and] ends up restructuring emblems and rituals of home and homeland in an attempt to conquer and spatialize time."[43] By eliding original and reproduced visions of "home" spaces on the fairgrounds, Hart was actively signaling to her visitors that the past was not lost, but actively being rebuilt and promulgated by the exhibition experience.

In a similar restorative move, by late in 1892, Lady Aberdeen had become committed to the idea of building a replica Blarney Castle in Chicago rather than a Donegal Castle.[44] She hired Dublin architect Mr. Laurence McDonnell to design a broad rectangular village plan to contrast with Hart's setting (Figure 6).[45] While the centerpiece of Hart's Irish Village was Donegal Castle, Aberdeen's Irish Industrial Village was anchored both physically and visually to this Blarney Castle. The three-story replica, two-thirds-scale to the original, stood opposite the village gate designed after the doorway to Cormac's Chapel at the Rock of Cashel. This entryway supported the fluidity and incongruity of the Irish spaces within, as the visitor entered

[42] Julie K. Brown, *Contesting Images: Photography at the World's Columbian Exposition* (Tucson & London: University of Arizona Press, 1994), 116.
[43] Boym, 49.
[44] I have found no evidence to explain Aberdeen's clear fixation on Blarney Castle, nor does Helland's thorough study offer any insight into Aberdeen's motivations.
[45] "The Countess of Aberdeen in Cork," *Freeman's Journal*, 25 Feb. 1893.

via Cashel in County Tipperary, emerged in the cloisters of Muckross Abbey in County Kerry to look across an open village green at Blarney Castle in County Cork. The compression of time and space added nostalgic allure to the village experience and allowed the visitor to take in the entire country in a single glance. This multi-county approach echoed in the girls hand-chosen by Aberdeen to work in the seventeen cottages. Numerous publications carried the girls' names by county and by occupation to highlight the diversity of the group. Johanna Doherty, Kate Barry, and Maria Conolly from the famed Munster Dairy School were favorites for their butter-making demonstration,[46] while concerts performed by Miss Josephine Sullivan brought many a visitor to tears.[47]

This diverse vision of Ireland suited Aberdeen's main goals for the project. She responded to its critics: "There has been an idea that it will not represent a real Irish village, but I should say that it will be an ideal Irish village."[48] Such idealization suited the nostalgic impulse of Irish-American communities firmly established in America and willing, or so the exhibition organizers hoped, to support the familiar spaces of their past refigured as present experiences and promising concrete, future successes. Aberdeen, like Hart, envisioned an Ireland unified and self-sufficient in the international marketplace through its independent industrial dedication and efforts. Both women validated their own vision of an ideal Ireland through the careful collection and placement of symbolic objects, spaces, and individuals. That many of these symbols were similar is not surprising.

Several journals and visitors made comparisons between the two villages. Perhaps one of the clearest, particularly regarding the effectiveness of the village features, was in an article on the Midway in *The Cosmopolitan*. After qualifying that "Chicago is not a predominantly Irish

[46] "Ireland at the World's Fair," *Daily News*, 27 May 1893.
[47] "An Irish Day at Chicago," *Freeman's Journal*, 25 May 1893.
[48] "News," *Belfast News-Letter*, 8 Apr. 1892.

town," author Julian Hawthorne explained:

> the two Irish villages are always full enough of visitors. In one of them, besides studying the operations of lace-making, bog-oak carving, and dairy work as carried on by native Irishmen and women in cottages which look exactly like those one sees in the ould sod, you may visit a very fair reproduction of Blarney Castle, and try the virtue of a piece of the genuine Blarney stone. The other is mainly devoted to making you think that you are looking at real Irish castles, market crosses, halls, gardens and cottages; and in place of the rival Blarney stone on the other side of the way, is a practical copy of the Wishing Seat of the Giant's Causeway - though whether they have contrived to import the magic of the original into the reproduction I am not prepared to say.[49]

Hawthorne recognized the varying levels of artifice projected by these villages. Rather than the hyperbole that breathlessly accompanied depictions of the more exotic displays on the Midway, commentators approached the Irish villages in terms of productive value and physical construction. By using words like "native," and "genuine," Hawthorne attributed a certain level of nostalgic "truth" to Aberdeen's village in clear contrast to his explanation that Hart's village only "makes you think you are looking at [something] real."[50]

## At the Wheel

Of the five published watercolors of Aberdeen's Irish village in Charles Graham's *World's Fair in Watercolors*, one shows an evening scene of lovers at the foot of Blarney Castle; another the village square full of tourists; a third image depicts the Muckross Cloister replica; and finally there is a pair of village workers: a man at his loom and a woman at her spinning wheel (Figure 7).[51] She is dressed according to the costume for spinners in the Irish Village as described in the *Freeman's Journal* press release for 1893: "cream and crimson checked linen, with crimson underskirt; soft crimson vest, half-sleeves of crimson, and full linen overskirts.

---

[49] Julian Hawthorne, "Foreign Folk at the Fair," *The Cosmopolitan* xv, no. 5 (1893): 571.
[50] Again, Boym suggests that restorative, prospective nostalgia is concerned with the past as "absolute truth" in comparison to other forms of nostalgia concerned with bringing such truths under suspicion. Boym, xviii.
[51] This watercolor is also reproduced in *The Guide to the Irish Industrial Village* along with a Lace Maker and a scene "In the Dairy."

There are bands of crimson and cream on the sleeves to correspond with the skirt. The crimson and cream make a very picturesque and striking blend, and the arrangement of the flounces and sleeves and vest lend an additional element of beauty to it."[52] Her wheel is substantial and utilitarian, her task monotonous and lonely, but the warm fire in the background and the two potted flowers on the windowsill suggest simple domestic pleasures. Tacked to the wall above her voluminous pile of roving is a curling landscape that, based on its green hills and fields and shining lake, most likely represents Ireland.

Spinning had traditionally been a woman's task in the rural household, but one that quickly disappeared with the introduction of modern industrial textile processes beginning in the 1830s.[53] As the cloth industry, and linen in particular, became increasingly mechanized, there was an accompanying disappearance of the Irish woman at her wheel. Particularly in the North and Southwest, industrial textiles became the hallmark of a modern Ireland while the spinner came to symbolize the counterpoint: the long-lost rural artisan. Moreover, as art historian Claudia Kinmonth has suggested, those women in rural, predominantly western counties who did continue to spin often gathered in communal, social groups to perform their task, a group setting that lent itself to the village display space of the exhibition where all acts of domesticity and rural craft were performance.[54]

The woman in the *Watercolors* is the embodiment of this rural, nostalgic counterpoint and Aberdeen's peasant ideal. As Aberdeen claimed, "there is nothing dirty or uncouth about it… no rags."[55] The girl's youth and beauty are enhanced by the simple, yet important task; she and her cottage are clean and polite. The picture on the wall, suggesting homesickness, reminds

---

[52] "The Irish Village at Chicago," *Freeman's Journal*, 14 Apr. 1893.
[53] Claudia Kinmonth, *Irish Rural Interiors in Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 98; Jane Grey, *Spinning the Threads of Uneven Development: Gender and Industrialization in Ireland during the Long Eighteenth Century* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005), 1.
[54] Kinmonth, 96.
[55] "News," *Belfast News-Letter*, 8 Apr. 1892.

both the viewer and the visitor that the scene is not actually in Ireland. The room affirms the nostalgic space of Ireland in the fairgrounds. The spinner is at once validated as Irish by her task and garb and the reader may well imagine her brogue, yet simultaneously she is identifiable as displaced and Irish-American by nature of her location in Chicago rather than in a rural county in Ireland.

The scene itself is wholly representative of how carefully Aberdeen sought to elide time and space for her American audience to better promote her financial goals. In Aberdeen's words, "it is impossible absolutely to represent a quiet peaceful cottage life in the wilds of Ireland in a place where thousands of visitors pass daily, yet this comes as near the original as circumstances will permit."[56] She is explicitly aiming to represent to the American public a facsimile of an Irish spinner. On the other hand, Aberdeen repeatedly made it clear that "whatever may be the defects in the imitations we have made of inanimate things, the newly imported lads and lasses show their origin plainly enough, with their rosy cheeks - the tint of which some doubting American visitors have been rash enough to hint must be artificial - and their deft hands plying the needle or loom or wheel or carving tools with equal dexterity."[57] Thus Aberdeen, in one sweeping gesture, takes offense at Americans doubting the authenticity of her displays, made manifest through the hard-working Irish girls, yet declares these same girls are part of an incomplete representation of the original. Alone they have no symbolic value, but as a whole, they become a "collective pictorial symbol" of Ireland.[58]

Aberdeen herself contributed to and further complicated this symbol of the spinner. In a photograph first published in Bancroft's *The Book of the Fair* (Figure 8), Aberdeen is dressed from head to toe in Irish textiles with bold Celtic-knot embroidery across her hem and on her

[56] Aberdeen, "Ireland at the World's Fair," 20.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Boym, 49.

shawl. She is not wearing any of the costumes designed by Mr. McCarthy of Henry St., Dublin, for the village colleens and most likely the dress was one of her many commissioned pieces from the Irish Industrial Association girls themselves.[59] Her garments are certainly part of Aberdeen's larger project of encouraging American women to purchase Irish garments.[60] She is not dressed in a costume; she is modeling high fashion.[61]

*The Book of the Fair* describes the wheel itself as "an old spinning wheel to the use of which her ladyship is no stranger."[62] Various news reports as well as Aberdeen's own promotional material explain that the scene captured in the photograph was not an unusual occurrence. She would often host guests in her cottage in the village, a large, two-story thatched building, while sitting at her rustic wheel. Janice Helland has discussed how Aberdeen used her body as an advertisement for Irish garments and textiles, but in the case of the spinning wheel, she was not just displaying Irishness, she was reenacting it.[63] Aberdeen wrote years later in her autobiography: "the Village very much felt like home."[64]

I would argue that by reconfiguring herself as the hard-working rural spinner, she was removing her Englishness so that she might be, in the words of one commentator, praising the Irish Village on its opening day, "more Irish than the Irish themselves."[65] Her advocacy for and self-placement amongst Irish labor, Irish spaces, and Irish culture broadly seemed to mark a material response to Hyde's call to "encourage our women to spin and encourage our men to wear comfortable frieze suits of their own wool… [to] de-Anglicize Ireland to some purpose, foster a native spirit and a growth of native custom which will form the strongest barrier against

---

[59] "The Irish Village at Chicago," *Freeman's Journal*, 14 Apr. 1893.
[60] Aberdeen, "Ireland at the World's Fair," 23.
[61] Aberdeen's Irish Lace Ball in 1907 was the culmination of her efforts to convince more women to source their lace from Ireland, a cause she had taken up in 1886 in Edinburgh. Aberdeen and Temair, *'We Twa'*, 2:182.
[62] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair* (Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893), 837.
[63] Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts and Industries, 1880-1914*, 54.
[64] Aberdeen and Temair, *'We Twa'*, 2:333.
[65] "At Blarney Castle," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, 11 May 1893.

English influence and be in the end the surest guarantee of Irish autonomy."[66] Sitting at her wheel, she was the ultimate response to his critique of "the Irish race… at present in a most anomalous position, imitating England and yet apparently hating it."[67] Aberdeen, Scottish woman and English politician's wife, was imitating Ireland and apparently loving it.

Spinning also figured prominently in Hart's village, often enumerated in the lists of industries observed in her village green and presented with the same blend of traditional Irish girl and general, referential Irish setting that marked Aberdeen's spinners. Both groups, the Donegal Industrial Fund and the Irish Industries Association, utilized the task of spinning and the woman at her wheel as powerful symbols of Ireland and their own village's ability to best represent it on the fairgrounds. The spinner and her wheel validated the Ireland of the exhibition space by bridging Irish and American locations, by compressing time in a prospective nostalgia that drew on immediate exhibition experience of recognizable, past, Irish symbols.

The Irish spinning wheel also appeared on the main exhibition grounds in the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building as a representation of Ireland amidst the massive displays of the industries of Great Britain. *Shepp's Guide* called this "Irish Spinning Wheel" "one of the most unique objects of the Fair"[68] (Figure 9). Cordoned off from the inquisitive exhibition crowds by a rope significantly more substantial that the fine woodworking of the wheel, its delicacy was further emphasized by the large, bold "Ireland" placard in the foreground whose letters were comparable in size to the diameter of the wheel itself. Notably, although the wheel is twice described in this lonely display as Irish, the only other object included on the platform is a small photograph of an identical wheel being used by none other than Queen

---

[66] Hyde, 158.
[67] Ibid., 121.
[68] James W. Shepp and Daniel B. Shepp, *Shepp's World's Fair Photographed* (Chicago: Gothic Bible Publishing, 1893), 118.

Victoria. Thus, while Aberdeen sat at the wheel in her village to reconfigure herself as Irish, the Irish wheel positioned outside the nostalgic Irish village space was subsumed by the British monarchy, taken from a more traditional setting and displayed, instead, like a trophy. It embodied, perhaps, a more common English imagining of Ireland: a quiet, domestic corner of the Empire rather than a troublesome, rebellious neighbor. A certificate on the right explained that this particular wheel had been gifted to Princess May, new wife of the Duke of York, further connecting this specific wheel to the British monarchy, a group of women not known for their humble domesticity.

The wheel itself presented a vision of an unexpected and intriguing version of Irishness. It was carved with abstract Celtic motifs and displayed an Irish harp for the treadle, but its spindle was said to have been a repurposed pike from the 1798 Irish Rebellion when Wolfe Tone led the French to Ireland in a failed uprising.[69] *Shepp's Guide* suggests that the only possible explanation for gifting the British monarchy with such a potent symbol of Irish insurrection was that it referenced Biblical advice to beat swords into plowshares.[70] Particularly in light of the ongoing Home Rule debates, I would argue that such a decision by the Belfast craftsman was less reflective of an olive branch than of the sublimation of the Irish people within the United Kingdom. This small, delicate wheel stood in pronounced contrast to the large, utilitarian wheels of the Irish villages including the wheel at which Aberdeen herself preferred to pose. There is nothing of the humble Irish craftswoman about this display. Although the same generic Irish symbol, outside of the village, the wheel summarily counterbalanced the hard-working and productive, nostalgic Ireland showcased in two different villages on the Midway Plaisance.

[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.

A Bit o' Blarney

Graham's *World's Fair in Watercolors* also depicted a beautiful moonlight scene of Blarney Castle rising above the tree line and a pair of lovers walking in the woods below (Figure 10). Some windows of the Norman castle show hints of red, suggesting it is inhabited while the figures below wear contemporary late-nineteenth century garb. Like the postcard of Aberdeen's Donegal Castle that substituted the original for the Exhibition replica, here the artist gave his viewers a romantic sense of wandering past the original Blarney Castle, despite his immediate reference point of Aberdeen's reconstruction. Like Hart, Aberdeen sought to elide original and representation to foster a restorative and prospective sense of nostalgia and nationalism in the visitors to her village in 1893, mobilizing and redefining structures from the past as potent and positive signifiers for the future through the present experience of the exhibition.

Blarney Castle and its infamous stone have merited surprisingly little historical attention. Celtic objects such as the harp, the thatched cottage, or even bog oak trinkets have been explored as both historical and politically resonant Irish symbols. While there are several useful studies on the harp or bog oak carvings, the Blarney Stone has only recently received critical scholarly consideration in Mark Samuel and Kate Hamlyn's recent publication on Blarney Castle.[71] Considering the history and picturesque commodification of the castle itself, their work still falls quite short in addressing the cultural implications and impact of the actual Blarney Stone beyond Co. Cork, or at most, beyond the firm grip of an Irish tourist fantasy propagated by Bórd Failte in recent decades.[72] Samuel and Hamlyn cite the one of the earliest

[71] Barra Boydell,"The Irish Harp on Glass." *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 12 (1996): 110-14;
Mary Helen Thuente, "The Harp as a Palimpsest of Cultural Memory," in *Memory Ireland, Volume 1: History and Modernity* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 52-65. On bog oak carving, see Neville Irons, "Irish Bog Oak Carving," *Irish Arts Review* 4, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 54-63. Also Amy M. Kirschke, "Materialization of Irishness in Nineteenth-Century Bog Oak Souvenirs" (master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003).
[72] Mark Samuel and Kate Hamlyn, *Blarney Castle: Its History, Development and Purpose* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2007). The book is the offshoot of Samuel's doctoral thesis on Irish tower houses and heavily reflects his

references to the stone from an account by King Louis XVI's Consul of Ireland, Charles Etienne Coquebert de Montbret, who wrote in 1789 of "the large stone that visitors who climb up are made to kiss."[73] By 1835, Francis Mahony, going by the pen name Father Prout, had composed the verse that would reproduced along with a version of the Stone in Aberdeen's Chicago village in 1893:

> There is a stone that whoever kisses,
> Oh! He never misses to grow eloquent.
> Tis he may clamber to a ladies' chamber,
> Or become a member of parliament.
> A clever spouter he'll soon turn out or
> An out-an-outer 'to be let alone'
> Don't hope to hinder him, or bewilder him
> Sure he's a pilgrim from the Blarney Stone.[74]

The original Stone was alternately declared to be at the top of the tower itself or at just the top of the staircase, hollowed out by water, damaged during a siege in the seventeenth century, or damaged by Cromwell.[75] In his account of *The World's Fair as Seen in One Hundred Days*, Henry Davenport Northrup offered an extended discussion of the Blarney Stone that echoes several versions of the Stone's mythology. He described the Stone in Chicago as "light[er] in color than the other [stones in the replica castle]" and being "some of the original stone" sent by Blarney Castle owner Sir George Colthurst to Chicago for this very purpose.[76] In an attempt to further stress the importance of bringing the original stone to Chicago, he explained that tourists in Ireland more often than not "have only kissed a sort of understudy for the famous

---

focused interest in the architecture and planning of the structure itself. Nonetheless, the book provides the first thorough modern history of this legendary Irish location and seeks to undo past assessments of the Castle comprising, in their words, "facts… liberally mixed with speculation and fancy." Much of this mix is propagated by Bórd Failte.

[73] Ibid., 66.

[74] Ibid., 67. This passage would accompany the Blarney Stone in 1897 villages as well.

[75] Ibid., 70. As for the origin of the "gift of the gab," Samuel and Hamlyn suggest it dates to stories of Cormac MacDermot Mor, who talked his way out of surrendering the castle to the English during the Nine Years War at the end of the sixteenth century that culminated with the infamous Flight of the Earls. Ibid., 72.

[76] Henry Davenport Northrup, *The World's Fair as Seen in One Hundred Days* (Philadelphia: Ariel Book Company, 1893), 657.

conversational rock, for the original is in a place where it is difficult to reach that but a few have ever succeeded in kissing it."[77] Thus, according to Northrup's logic, derived from one of the local Irish stories about the actual location of the Stone, Chicago was the one place an American could be sure to kiss the real Blarney Stone! In a final flourish, Northrup also conveyed to his readers the image of the fifteen-mile parade route that Irishmen and women supposedly lined from Blarney Castle to Queenstown harbor to see the Stone off on its Atlantic journey: "Thousands of people watched the departure of the sacred rock and hundreds of them pelted it with hawthorn blossoms and shamrock leaves. The good old song, 'Let Erin Remember the Days of Old" rang out as the train with its gayly bedecked stone rolled away on its way to Queenstown, whence the stone was sent to Chicago."[78]

Significantly, no Irish paper carried such a story as there was no such parade. The story did, however, strengthen the cultural value of the Stone as a touchstone for nostalgic Irishness, a "true" piece of Ireland that had the power to connect a small cluster of cottages to a complete vision of Ireland through the "world-as-exhibition." The Irish press did relate one alternative story of the Blarney Stone and Chicago, however. After months of ongoing speculation and debate as to whether or not Aberdeen had convinced Colthurst to part with some stone from his property, and after the grandly-heralded arrival of the Stone in Chicago, the United States Consul in Queenstown, Henry Kress, traveled out to Blarney Castle "in order that there would be no doubt in his mind" that his compatriots were kissing the right stone.[79] Mr. Kress and his local guide quickly discovered "not even a slice of [the Stone] had been taken… [and] no portion whatever of the castle itself which might have been made to represent the 'stone' had left the

[77] Ibid., 656.
[78] Ibid., 658.
[79] "The Blarney Stone," *Freeman's Journal*, 21 June 1893.

place… [and they] found the 'stone' there all right, safe and sound."[80]

That the American Consul felt compelled to travel in person to prove the fiction of the Blarney Stone in Chicago speaks to the seriousness with which American audiences greeted the "sacred relic." According to Reuters Telegram services, when the so-called Blarney Stone finally arrived in Chicago, "hundreds of politicians [were] flocking there to kiss it."[81] At the front of the queue was Mayor Harrison of Chicago, who was the guest of honor at the Blarney Stone unveiling ceremony on June 17, 1893. He delivered a speech on the American patriotism of Irish immigrants and then kissed "the magic object" to much applause.[82] In contrast to such enthusiasm from American tourists and politicians, a journalist for the *Daily Inter Ocean* thought it worth informing his readers that the Lord Mayor of Dublin would not kiss the Stone when he visited Aberdeen's village on the World's Fair's "Irish Day," September 28, 1893. When asked why he would not kiss it, Lord Mayor Shank replied, "I kissed the Blarney stone before I left home, so that I would be prepared to adequately express the greatness of this country."[83]

More than one American source had already supposed that the Stone was a fake. The souvenir folio *Gems of the Chicago World's Fair*, while ultimately confused as to the number of Irish villages on the Midway, proclaimed the Blarney Castle contained "what was averred to be the genuine Blarney stone hanging right where so many thousands have kissed it, and then gone away to be disappointed."[84] By recognizing that those who have kissed the stone have not received the gift of blarney, the author of the text was implying, remarkably, that such a magical blessing was possible, but on the other hand, that the lack of transference of the gift to kissers in Chicago meant the stone was not the original object. This "genuine" stone was simply "averred

---

[80] Ibid.
[81] "The World's Fair," *Freeman's Journal*, 19 June 1893.
[82] "Mayor on His Knees," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 18 June 1893.
[83] "Frowned on Society," *Daily Inter Ocean*, 29 Sept. 1893.
[84] *Gems of the Chicago World's Fair and Midway Plaisance*.

to be."

Despite the ongoing speculation over the origins and validity of the Chicago Stone, visitors and dignitaries alike actively participated in the ongoing mystery by ignoring the obvious: the repeated admissions by Lady Aberdeen and her husband that "the mystic blarney stone" is little more than "an imitation."[85] As Sir Horace Plunkett told a meeting of the Irish Industries Association in January of 1893, the Chicago Blarney Castle would have everything "except the famous stone, which they had been unable to acquire."[86] The replica stone at the top of the castle was simply the most famous of a list of "reproductions," "facsimiles," and "understudies" brought to the village to legitimize the Irish Industries Association as sufficiently representative of Ireland and Irishness in explicit terms.[87] One journalist even noticed a fake pig in the village and concluded "I suppose it was considered too invidious an effort of realism to introduce the gintleman that pays the rint in the too solid flesh."[88]

Such clear attempts to reveal the representative nature of the Irish village were certainly understood by Irishmen like the Lord Mayor, but ignored as part of the exhibitionary fantasy by Americans like Mayor Harrison. Thus it was with a mixture of shock and incredulous humor that a journalist for the *Chicago Tribune* reported the following March of "the greatest joke on the customs force and the [American] public."[89] According to the report, a local Chicago contractor and an Irishman from Aberdeen's village "one dark night in June they went to the corner of Fifty-seventh street and Portland avenue, Chicago, and there dug up a limestone paving block. This stone they carried to the village and placed it in a case… [Custom Inspector E. W. Matlock later unknowingly] labeled both model and stone and made his returns on the invoice

[85] "At Blarney Castle," *Daily Inter Ocean*, 11 May 1893.
[86] "Irish Industries Association," *Freeman's Journal*, 26 Jan. 1893.
[87] "At Blarney Castle," *Daily Inter Ocean*, 11 May 1893.
[88] "Ireland at the World's Fair," *Daily News*, 27 May 1893.
[89] "Midway's Large Customs Revenue," *Chicago Tribune*, 13 Mar. 1894.

'one stone over estimated value, $5.'"[90] The writer then reveals the punchline: that this sidewalk block "was kissed by at least 25,000 people, a fee of 10 cents each being charged."[91] The authenticity of the experience was not guaranteed by the physical object itself, but by its ability to spatially consolidate the physical, real space of Ireland with the wholly constructed exhibitionary spaces of the Irish villages.

The Sod Map

In 1893, perhaps the most popular Irish souvenirs were pieces of Irish sod called turf. As journalist Marian Shaw recalled, they were considered "pleasant reminders of [the] native land."[92] Turf fires figured prominently in catalogue descriptions of the Irish cottages in both villages.[93] In an isolated report, *Shepp's Guide* even suggested that visitors could walk on the soil of Ireland in at least one of the 1893 villages, claiming "if one wishes to stand on real Irish soil he may have the satisfaction."[94] There is no evidence in any other source or from Hart or Aberdeen that such a "ritual" occurred, although turf blocks were for sale in the respective villages' shops.

Political scientist Stephen Rohs has charted the connections between Irish colleens [spinners], turf piles, and a romantic, nostalgic sense of Ireland in the music of late nineteenth century New York Irish communities.[95] Similarly, historian Kerby Miller's work has highlighted the tendency of Irish-American immigrants to forget the difficulties of life in Ireland, in

---

[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Marian Shaw, *World's Fair Notes: A Woman Journalist Views Chicago's Columbian Exposition* (Pogo Press, 1992), 57.
[93] George Royal Davis and John Ross Key, *Picturesque World's Fair: An Elaborate Collection of Colored Views* (Chicago: W. B. Conkey Company, 1894), 74; Shepp and Shepp, *Shepp's World's Fair Photographed*, 486.
[94] Shepp and Shepp, *Shepp's World's Fair Photographed*, 486. Shepp refers to the event as a "ritual."
[95] Stephen Rohs, *Eccentric Nation: Irish Performance in Nineteenth Century New York City* (Cranbury, NJ: Rosemount Publishing Corp., 2009), 83-91.

particular the endless labor of cutting turf, and to remember instead "the hills and the fields, the bogs and the turf combined with a charming simplicity and hospitality which is not to be equalled anywhere in the world."[96] Miller takes up Sir Horace Plunkett's observations that such "intimate, organic relationships" between the Irishman or woman and Ireland, conjured in this case by romantic nostalgia of the organic substance of the physical land itself, was a hallmark of the Irish immigrant community in America.[97] Thus it is little surprise that Aberdeen, Hart, and their successors at Irish Fairs in New York and Chicago embraced the turf as an essential symbol of national representations.

Musicologist and folklorist Mick Moloney has charted the history of Irish-American *feiseanna* (festivals) back to Gaelic League celebrations in the 1890s that have their roots in the first St. Patrick's Day parade in New York City in 1874.[98] However, while the concept of an explicitly Irish celebration originated in New York City nearly two decades before the Chicago World's Fair, it was not until America had been introduced to the grand international scale of the national display in 1893 that any city organized a concertedly national, Irish village display model for a national gain. From the replica Blarney Castle to the Irish girls at their spinning wheels, from the map to the jig competitions, the precursor to these Irish fairs was certainly the international exhibition village rather than the parade or the traditional Donnybrook-style parish fair.[99]

---

[96] Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 515.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Mick Moloney, "Irish-American Festivals," in *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*, ed. J. J. Lee and Marion R. Casey (New York and London: New York University Press, 2006), 427-8. In his overview of Irish-American festivals, musicologist and folklorist Mick Moloney focused on the emergence of contemporary *feiseanna* and *fleadhanna* and defined these music, dance, and cultural events as "largely secular occasions where Irishness in a multicultural society would be celebrated through the public display of visual symbols of ethnic identity and the presentation of performing arts, particularly music and dance."
[99] Colleen McDannell, "Going to the Ladies' Fair: Irish Catholics in New York City, 1870-1900," in *The New York Irish*, ed. Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy F. Meagher (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). See especially pp. 236-243.

The idea of walking on the physical soil of Ireland may have emerged in 1893, but it did not occur as an actual event until 1897 when a map of Ireland made from the sod of the thirty-two counties became the centerpiece of the New York Irish Fair and firmly joined land, map, and display as the hallmark of Irish exhibitions in America over the ensuing decades.[100] Within the space of just a few years, such maps would become the standard feature at any Irish Exhibition around the world through at least the 1960s.

Maps were particularly successful exhibition displays because of the interest among Irish-Americans in visualizing the entirety of their homeland.[101] The various visual and physical components of the village constructed a lived experience of Irishness, but a map, such as that that placed adjacent to the Blarney Stone in the Irish Industries Village, further validated the metonymic relationship between the village and Ireland by allowing the visitor to observe the exhibitionary village and the entire outline of Ireland simultaneously. The pilgrimage visitors made to the top of Aberdeen's Blarney Castle often had as much to do with seeing the whole island as with kissing the Stone.

The maps at the urban Irish fairs in 1897 made a compelling update to the 1893 Irish village exhibition model. By reconfiguring the map as physical ground space, rather than a vertical tableau, they transformed the Irish-American viewers into performers themselves. Journalist Fintan O'Toole, whose essay "No Place Like Home" was the first to address these Irish Fair maps, has suggested that peoples' experiences on the sod were reflective of "the virtual

[100] Every significant fair I have investigated in the ensuing decades, from San Francisco in 1898 to the New York World's Fair of 1939, has included some version of a map said to have been made from the physical soil of Ireland. The only exception would be the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, but the Irish village constructed there was essentially a reconstruction of Lady Aberdeen's village from 1893.

[101] The maps from 1893 and 1897 addressed throughout this section have been thoroughly detailed in newspaper reports of the exhibitions. Despite assurances in several journals in 1897, for example, that photographers were present and that the reporters were describing scenes also captured by those photographers, I have been unable to find any photographic or other visual reproduction of these maps. My analysis relies on the carefully detailed descriptions provided in the media texts.

reality of the re-created Ireland."[102] I would argue that what was occurring in individuals' encounters on the maps was not virtual at all, but indicative of a new type of nostalgic experience of Ireland through exhibitionary representation and display that began in 1893 and was particularly geared towards the Irish-American groups. As immigrants created new Irish communities in America, so did these exhibition spaces offer a new collective set of symbols that maintained and generated prospective, future-oriented experiences of Irishness.

In March of 1897, the Ladies of the Irish-American County organizations of New York issued an address "To the *American* Public" in several local newspapers. Claiming that "where the ladies lead, men will follow," they announced their intent to hold an exhibition to raise money for "a veritable Palace of Industry and Enlightenment."[103] They decried the fact that the Irish people were "the only race of any prominence [in New York] that are not represented by a hall or headquarters of their own," and they appealed "to our countrymen in particular, and the American people in general to sustain us in a cause so meritorious."[104] They claimed that such a a cause transcended political and religious boundaries and conflicts as it was the desire of all Irish in America to contribute to an event that would "transport the visitor, as far as is possible, into the very vicinity and local surroundings of Ireland's great historical events."[105] Each county organization in the city was allotted a large booth to decorate as they saw fit. At the center of the space, it was decided to physically construct a map of Ireland.[106]

The booths, like the cottages of the 1893 villages, were arranged around a central "village square" performance space and displayed a wide variety of national symbols and artifacts, most

---

[102] Fintan O'Toole, "No Place Like Home," in *The Lie of the Land: Irish Identities* (London and New York: Verso, 1997), 161.
[103] This phrase clearly echoes the language of world's fair organizers.
[104] "The Great Irish Fair," *The Irish American*, 10 May 1897.
[105] "Irish Fair Opens Tonight," *New York Times*, 10 May 1897.
[106] I have found no evidence to suggest who came up with this idea. The only reference I have seen to such an idea is the incorrect reference in *Shepp's Guide* from three years before.

of them replicas and representations that attempted to unify their audience through nostalgic generalities.[107] County organizations sent representatives to Ireland who, in the words of the *New York Times*, "ransacked" the country for artifacts and relics.[108] The resulting collection of over 10,000 items was staggering in its scale, its diversity, and at times its oddity. At the Limerick booth, for example, there was a replica of the county's famed treaty stone.[109] The Dublin Booth maintained a copy of Robert Emmet's grave stone along with flowers reputedly taken from the actual gravesite, while the Wicklow booth was proud of its selection of canes, chairs and umbrellas for sale, donated by Parnell's brother, John.[110] Perhaps the strangest item was the model of an Irish battle ship, painted green for good measure, which the artist explained "was intended… to show what [Ireland] may have after she has joined the sisterhood of republics."[111]

Although some items purported to be more "authentic" than others, as in 1893, Irish Fair replica objects combined with documented relics to restructure collected symbols into a nostalgic representation of Ireland. As a journalist for the *Irish American* suggested, "the heart of the Irishman is always ready and willing to be touched, and nothing so quickly reaches it as a token from home – a something that recalls his youth and the old homestead, or that brings back the tales his father may have told home, of the lives and deeds of the men of his race."[112] Thus it was the connection forged between viewer and object, the personal juxtaposition of past experience and present experience suggested by Davis, that generated the successful Irishness of the American Irish Fair experience.

---

[107] As with the maps, in lieu of visual evidence, I rely here on the significant and through textual descriptions of the booths offered by the local presses.
[108] "Fair for an Irish Palace," *New York Times*, 28 March 1897.
[109] "The Great Irish Fair," *The Irish American*, 10 May 1897.
[110] "The Great Irish Fair," *The Irish American*, 10 May 1897. "The Irish Palace Fair," *The Irish American*, 5 Apr. 1897. "Exhibits for the Irish Fair," *New York Times*, 11 Apr. 1897.
[111] "Pathos and Joy at the Irish Fair," *The New York Journal*, 20 May 1897.
[112] "Our Irish Fair," *The Irish American*, 22 May 1897.

More popular than the Irish objects, however, were the "thousand and one incidents of an interesting character," both heart wrenching and humorous, that unfolded every day on the sod map in the center of the fair "village."[113] On opening night of the fair, May 10, 1897, the first of hundreds of emotional scenes unfolded:

> A square-shouldered little man of about fifty and his wife came out of the crowd and passed through to the soil. Slowly the couple stepped from space to space. Before half the counties had been covered the woman's eyes began to dim, and as they neared the soil of Mayo, a tear dropped on the sod at her feet… Above the band played "The Wearing of the Green." From around and about a thousand eyes looked on, but the couple did not heed them. They were standing again on the soil of their dear old county, and there were so happy in the flood of memories that filled their hearts they cared not for all the whole wide world. Then the old man put his arms around his wife, and drawing her to his breast, kissed her tenderly on the lips. "We were wed on this soil thirty years ago, me darling," he whispered, as his life partner buried her face on his shoulder and sobbed… Then the crowd went wild[114]

Echoing Aberdeen's word choices four years earlier, a reporter for the *New York Journal* described the central sod map was "one of the most beautiful sights that an Irishman in a strange country could possibly look upon. The land of his forefathers… transplanted."[115]

The map was not only full of Irish-Americans imagining themselves briefly home, but also it was the setting of more replica objects, including a copy of the wishing cross of Glendalough and the wishing chair of St. Kevin. The *New York Journal* recorded as many wishes made as people would reveal, from the oft-repeated "I wish I were in Ireland again," to a priest who wished to be in heaven; an actress who wished for the health of her son; and a small boy whose father had spent his family's last dollar to show his six children the land where he and his wife were born.[116] "'Wish, Patsey,' said the father. 'I wish,' said the boy, 'that papa may soon get a

---

[113] "Blarney Stone Kissed by Scores," *New York Journal*, 12 May 1897.
[114] "Doors Open for the Irish Fair," *New York Journal*, 11 May 1897.
[115] "Irish Lassies at the Booths, *New York Journal*, 10 May 1897.
[116] "Celtic Welcome to the Red Men," *New York Journal*, 14 May 1897. "Treasure Stolen from the Fair," *New York Journal*, 15 May 1897. "Singer Kissed Blarney Stone," *New York Journal*, 18 May 1897.

job.'"[117] While Patsey may have been attuned to the real American financial problem of Irish-American unemployment, his father's choice of venue was determined by a sense of hopeful nostalgia, a sharing of past experiences through present exhibitionary spaces that promised a new future.

By the end of the exhibition, over 700,000 people - as many as 25,000 on some days - had been to see the booths, the replicas, the relics, and the map. While papers indicated income of $250,000, the report the Irish Palace Building Association issued in 1907 listed a profit of just over $35,000.[118] On the heels of this popular and financial success, six months later Chicago Irish organizations supported a similar exhibition in their city, touting that "one of the unique features will be a map of Ireland covered with the *genuine* soil of every one of its thirty-two counties."[119] The Chicago fair again focused on the arrangement of county booths containing "some product suggestive of that locality, or historical memoir of it."[120] Like New York and Chicago before, there would be a replica of Blarney Castle and its Stone as well as jaunting car, music, and attractive girls representing each county.

The advertisement of "Real Irish Soil" became central to the Chicago Irish Fair.[121] It was such a source of pride that it was a day late in reaching the Fair ostensibly because it had been delayed by an Irishman at Customs. According to the story related in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, "when the consignees were asked to say that the Irish sod was worth less than a dollar a ton, so much indignation was expressed that all they could do was assess it according to law [at a much higher rate]."[122] When this "dust of Irish heroes and martyrs" finally arrived, it created

---

[117] "Celtic Welcome to the Red Men," *New York Journal*, 14 May 1897.
[118] "Our Irish Fair," *The Irish American,* 14 June 1897. *Report of the Irish Palace Building Association* (New York: 1907), 9-10.
[119] "Irish to Hold a Fair," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 24 Oct. 1897.
[120] Ibid.
[121] "The Irish Fair," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 15 Dec. 1897.
[122] "Erin's Sod in Irish Fair," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8 Dec. 1897

much the same performance space of nostalgic emotion as its New York predecessor.[123] Visitors stole handfuls of it to take home, cried, and brought friends and family to visit. "One old woman… insist[ed] upon standing upon a portion of her loved County Leitrim in her bare feet, and another struck one of the guards who tried to prevent her carrying off a section of County Galway."[124] Unlike its New York predecessor, however, and perhaps more in light of the Chicago World's Fair Midway, the Chicago Irish Fair of 1897 included sideshow acts. Of particular interest was a monkey fortune-teller who was reported to rob visitors by taking their money and not offering a fortune in return.[125] Such acts were reminiscent of the Midway Plaisance hawkers whose distracting games and loud shouts colored visits to those original Irish Villages in Chicago in 1893.

Over the course of two weeks, the Chicago Irish Fair earned $10,500, a significant portion of that coming from the pennies collected to step on the map.[126] It accomplished its immediate goal of raising money for a Robert Emmet Memorial Hall for Chicago Irish groups, but I argue it did so by participating in the exhibitionary experience of constructing a nostalgic Irish village space grounded by ostensibly real Irish sod. It permitted a new definition of Irish-American that included the physical homeland in the new country. By collecting these potent symbols of and material references to Ireland in the exhibition spaces, organizers in both New York and Chicago recognized, in the words of Svetlana Boym, that "nostalgia, for better or worse, never [goes] out of fashion, remaining uncannily contemporary."[127] Exhibitions allowed them to mobilize these touchstones of the past to promote a new, Irish-American future.

---

[123] Ibid.
[124] "Crowds Flock to Irish Fair," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 10 Dec. 1897.
[125] "Watches for Pretty Girls," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 12 Dec. 1897.
[126] "Irish Fair Earns Net $10,500," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 11 Jan. 1898. The map earned $1,178.
[127] Svetlana Boym, "Nostalgia and Its Discontents," *The Hedgehog Review* (Summer 2007): 7.

Unhappy Endings

Lady Aberdeen's Irish Industries Association would reproduce a similar version of her village at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904 and again the Irish International Exhibition in Dublin in 1907. Unlike in Chicago and St. Louis, however, where Irish-American audiences found familiarity and comfort in the pseudo-Irish villages, in Dublin, the increasingly vocal nationalist organizations took offense at the exhibitionary village construct almost immediately. The Gaelic League, Gaelic Athletic Association, and even the Irish Parliamentary Party called upon their membership and constituents to physically "remain away,"[128] and those who did venture inside the high stone walls were often shocked to find it did not meet their expectations of their own country and countrymen. The Neoclassical architecture of the grounds was planned by Anglo-Irish municipal leaders; the Irish village on-site was recognized for its similar origins. Irish politics had been obscured and in many ways subverted by Irish-American nostalgia in the American exhibitionary villages, yet such politics undermined similar spaces in 1907 Dublin where the support of such English figures as Lady Aberdeen converted village spaces into symbols of Anglo-Irishness.

The vision of the Irish village promoted by Lady Aberdeen and accepted by the American and Irish-American audiences rang hollow when actually constructed in Ireland itself. Instead of sharing in a prospective nostalgia, urban Irish nationalist audiences were increasingly intolerant of the Anglo-Irish usurpation and propagation of visions of Ireland or Irishness in any form. One fairgoer, having been reprimanded in English for assuming an Irishwoman in the Irish village could actually speak Irish, wrote to the editor of *The Irish People* "I do not so much blame the poor woman… But what about those who employed her?"[129] Rather than believe the Irish

[128] Eoin Mag-Aodh, "Irish-Irelanders and the International Exhibition," *Sinn Fein*, 10 Aug. 1907.
[129] "An Exhibition Episode," *The Irish People*, 7 September 1907.

Industries Association upheld Irish industries and funneled much-needed money into the actual Irish countryside, many local Irish visitors argued that the village envisioned by Aberdeen represented the worst of what Douglas Hyde had called the "silent inroads" of Englishness into Irish identity.[130] Despite the dedication of Aberdeen and her friends, the Gladstones, to the political expediency of Irish Home Rule, on the fairgrounds, nationalists viewed her as little more than one more English aristocrat claiming ownership over particular activities or organizations in rural Ireland.

In Chicago, Lady Aberdeen had made sure to cover the cost of displays for many of her affiliated rural crafts groups. Her lack of similar economic assistance to exhibitors in 1907 reflected the declining finances of the Irish Industries Association; however, it appeared to Dublin Nationalists that she was unwilling to help all Irish peasants and only interested in those whom she had hand-picked for their devotion to her and to Anglo-Irish goals that were quickly being elided with Unionism and Englishmen and women more broadly. While attempts by the Gaelic League to organize a counter-exhibition in Ireland repeatedly failed, so too did Aberdeen's overall goal of solidifying the importance of the Irish Industries Association in Ireland in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Irish author Sebastian Barry, in his novel *The Secret Scripture*, asks, "How does good history become bad history by and by?"[131] In the case of the Irish exhibitionary villages in 1890s America, the shifting political tides unmade the nostalgic, constructive contributions of the exhibitions. Home Rule had begun to dissolve as a viable political solution at the end of the decade. By the early 1900s, Aberdeen's characteristic determination left her open to increasing hostilities from groups in Ireland considering themselves more "Irish" that this Scottish wife of

[130] Hyde, "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland," 123.
[131] Sebastian Barry, *The Secret Scripture* (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 2008), 119.

the former Lord-Lieutenant. Her resulting erasure from nationalist histories has only recently begun to be rectified.[132] Of Hart, Helland has mapped how the Donegal Industrial Fund group quietly faded from prominence in the late 1890s, ceding authority over various crafts to other groups including the Irish Industries Association before being wholly overwhelmed by Dun Emer in 1902.[133] By the end of the century in America, as well, political influences had widened the divided between Catholic and Protestant, and nationalist and loyalist. The 1897 Chicago Irish Fair was the last explicitly non-partisan national exhibition of Irishness in America.

[132] Helland has actively sought repatriate Aberdeen from the historical perspectives resonating with early twentieth-century anti-British Nationalism, such as that of Jeanne Sheehy, whose *Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830-1930* provided the first overview of this important period in Irish history. Sheehy, like so many, sums up Aberdeen as possessing "that romantic partiality for Ireland to which some English people are prone." Jeanne Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830-1930* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 103.

[133] Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts and Industries, 1880-1914*, 65-66.

# CHAPTER 2 FIGURES

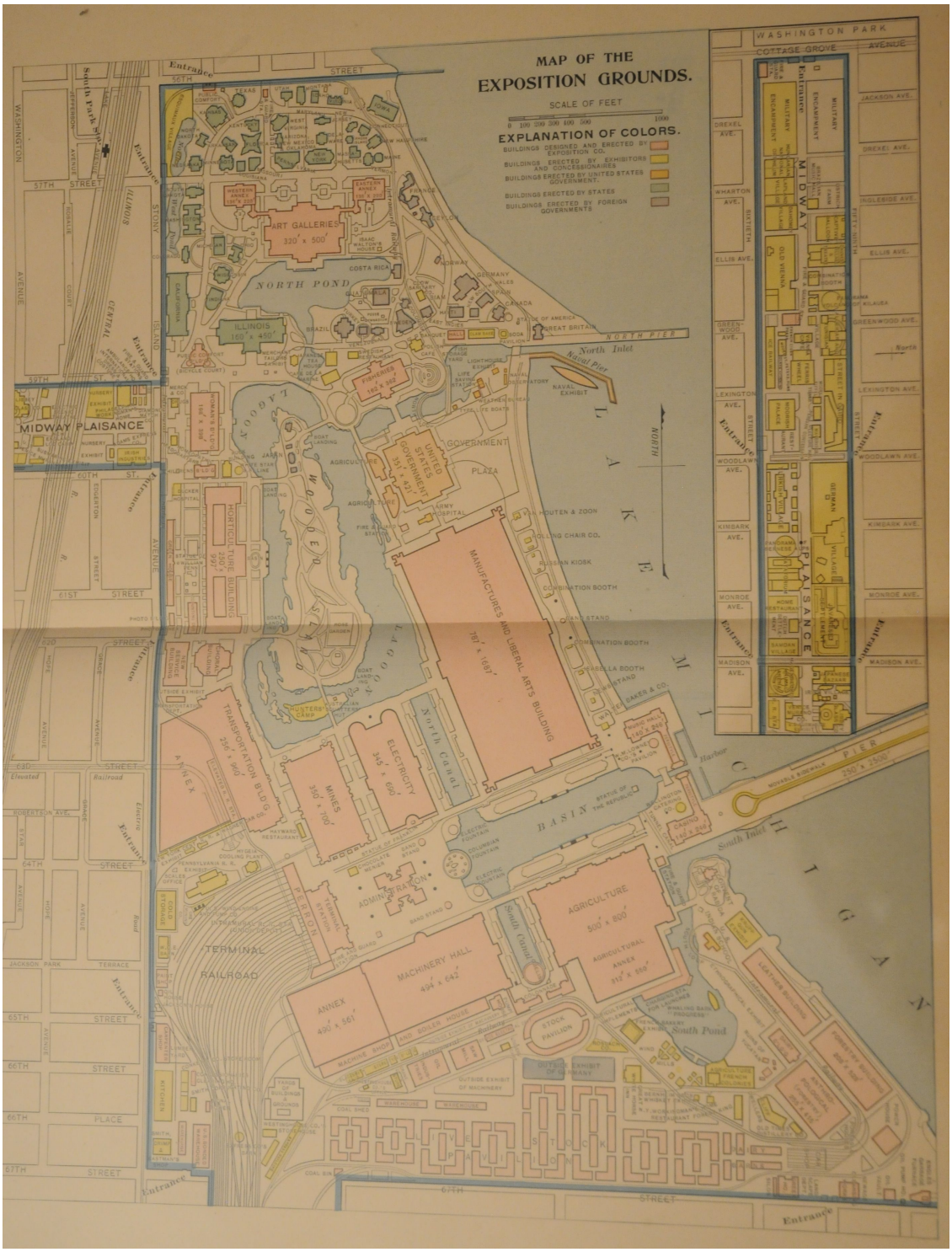


Figure 1. “Map of the Exposition Grounds.” In Rossiter Johnston, ed. *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition... By Authority of the Board of Directors*, 4 vols. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1897.

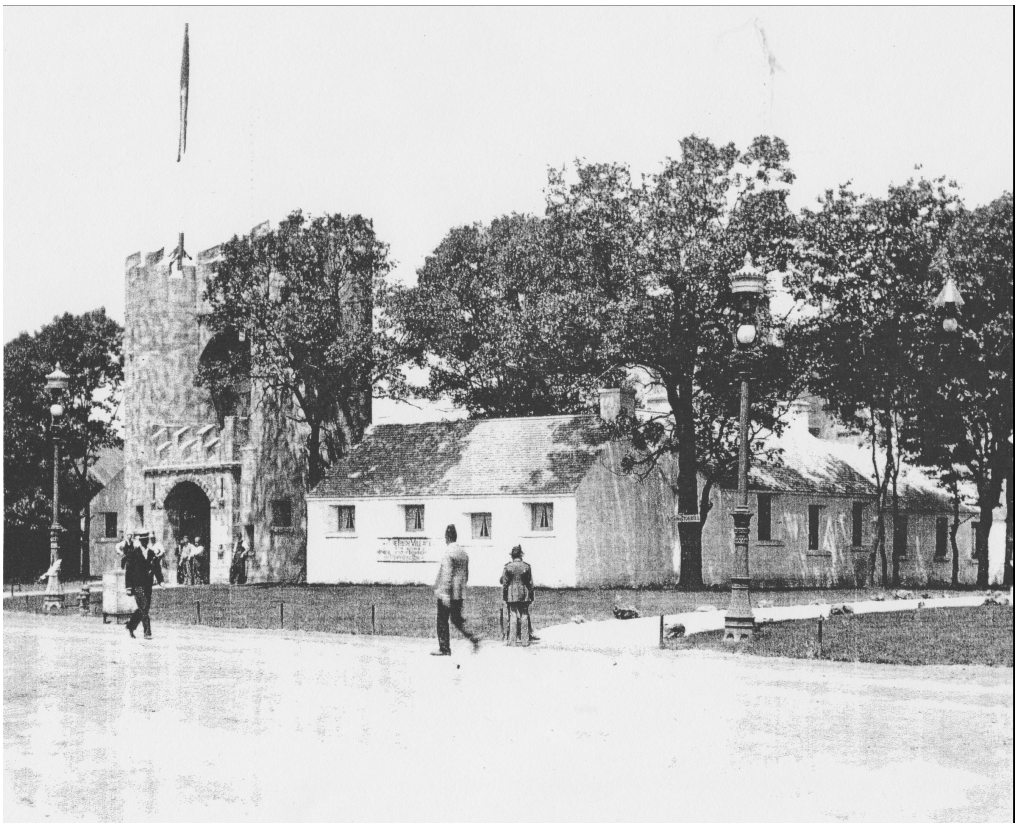

Figure 2. “Donegal Castle. The Irish Village, Midway Plaisance.” C. D. Arnold Photographic Collection. Ryerson & Burnham Libraries, The Art Institute of Chicago.

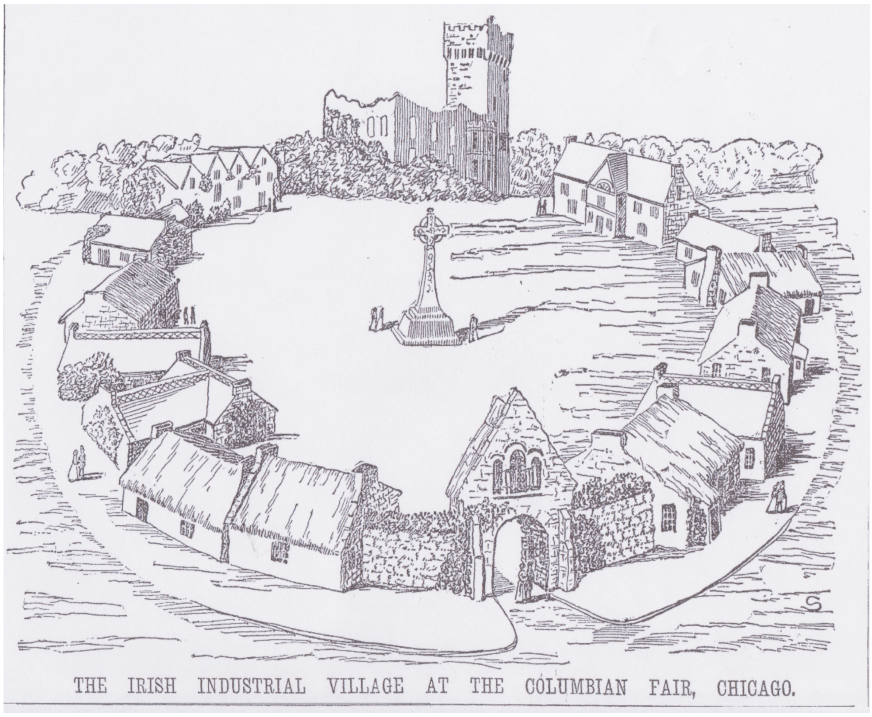


Figure 3. “The Irish Industrial Village at the Columbian Fair, Chicago.” *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*, 20 May, 1893.

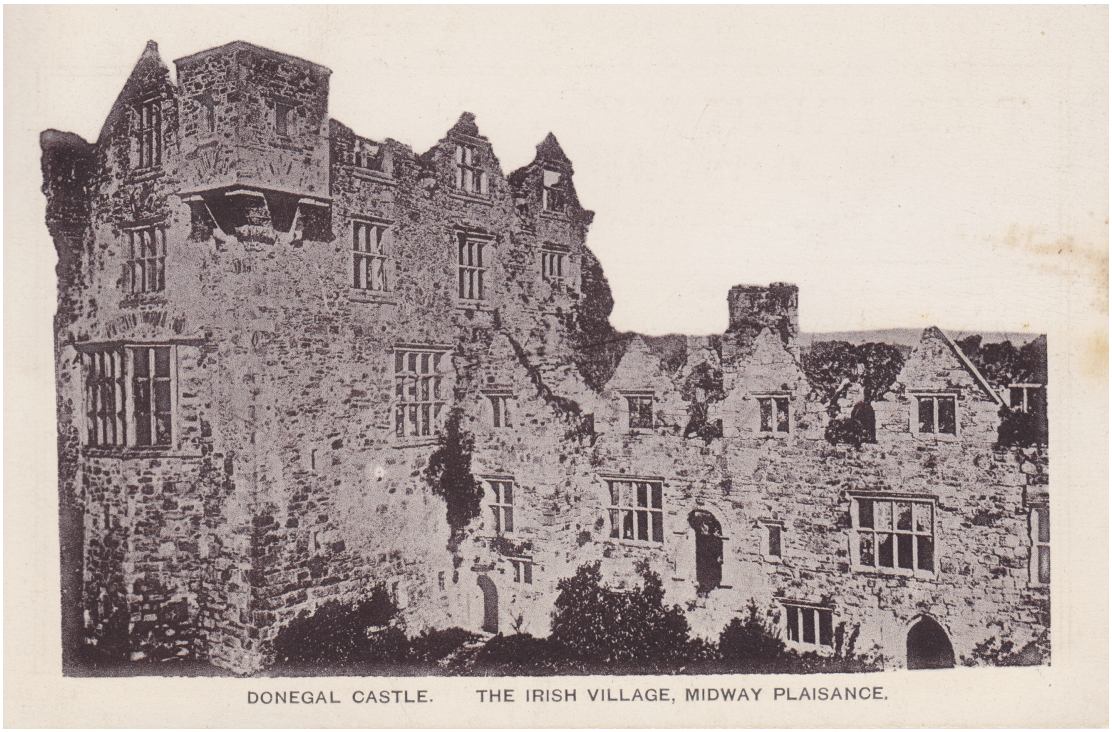


Figure 4. “Donegal Castle. The Irish Village, Midway Plaisance.” Trade card. 3" x 4.5". Private Collection.

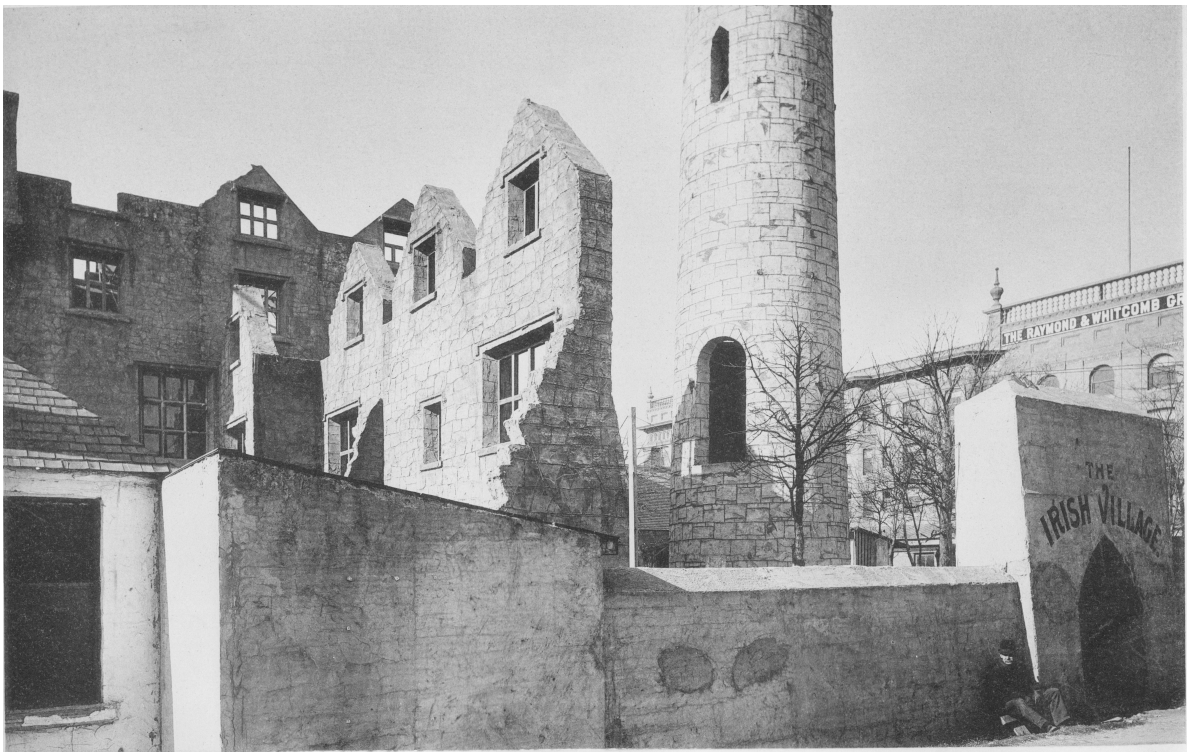


Figure 5. "The Irish Village, World's Columbian Exhibition, Chicago, Illinois." *The American Architect and Building News*, 15 Sept. 1894.

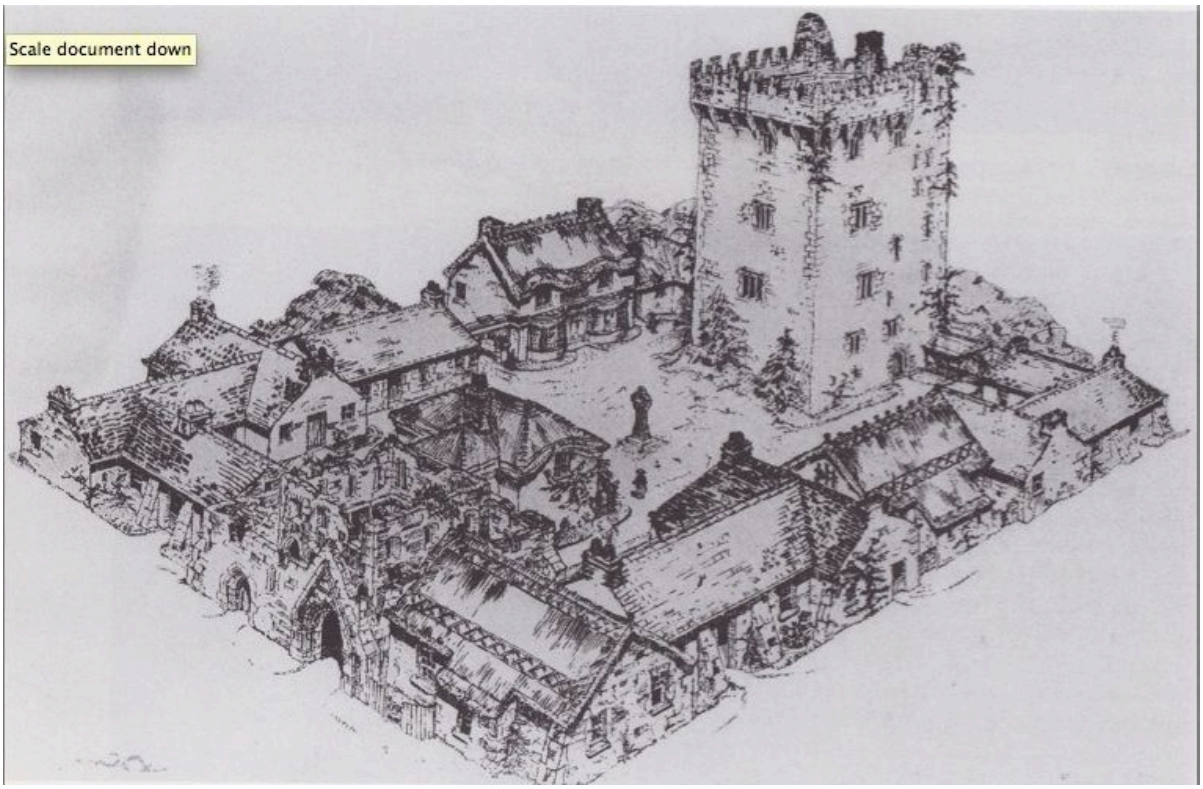


Figure 6. "The Irish Village at Chicago." *Freeman's Journal*, 15 June 1893.



Figure 7. From "Scenes in the Irish Village," 1893. Watercolor. In Charles Graham. *World's Fair in Watercolors*. Springfield, OH: Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick, 1893.



Figure 8. "Lady Aberdeen at her Spinning Wheel," 1893. In Hubert Howe Bancroft. *The Book of the Fair*. Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893.

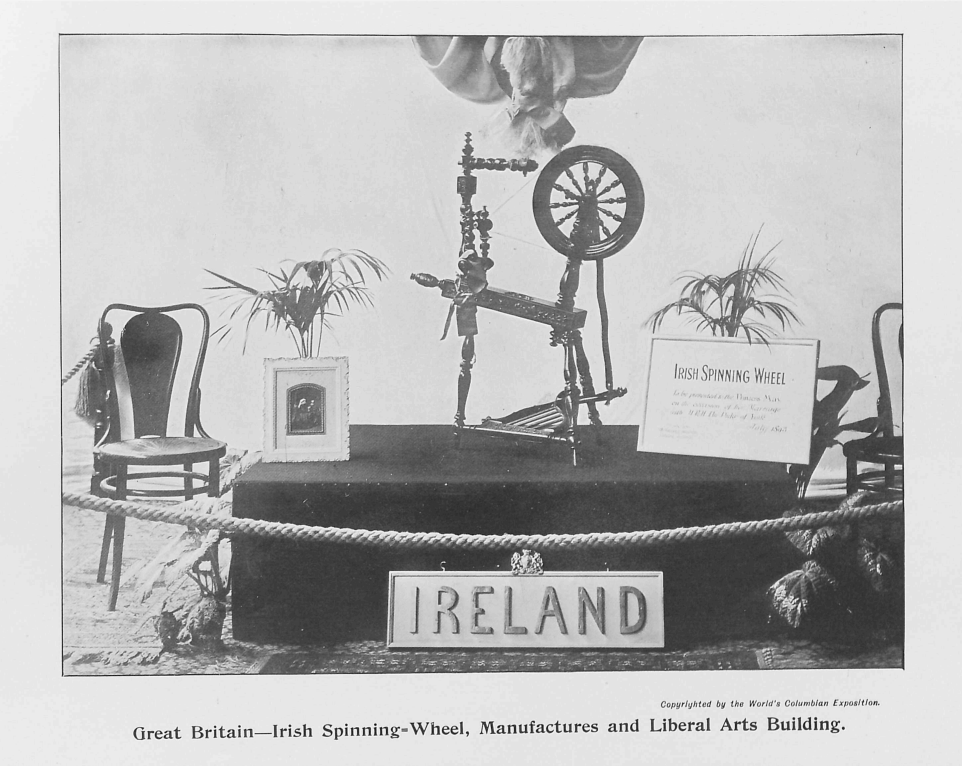


Figure 9. "Great Britain - Irish Spinning Wheel," 1893. Photograph. In James W. Shepp and Daniel B. Shepp. *Shepp's World's Fair Photographed*. Chicago: Gothic Bible Publishing, 1893.




Figure 10. From "Blarney Castle," 1893. Watercolor. In Charles Graham. *World's Fair in Watercolors*. Springfield, OH: Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick, 1893.

# CHAPTER 3

## BALLYMACLINTON, THE CLEANEST, HAPPIEST, HARDEST-WORKING IRISH VILLAGE IN LONDON

In 1907, municipal leaders in Dublin once again chose to support an international exhibition. They followed in the architectural model of Neoclassical grandeur laid out in Chicago in 1893 and repeated at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, rejecting the Art Nouveau influences of the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1900. The centerpiece of this Irish International Exhibition was a massive, cruciform, Neoclassical structure that covered nearly two and a half of the Exhibition's fifty-two acres (Figure 1). A "palace" in both name and physical grandeur, its four 164-foot long axial corridors converged at a central, octagonal atrium topped by a Brunelleschi-inspired dome 80 feet in diameter and 150 feet high.[1] Inside, there were so many exhibits promoting Irish industrial and artistic progress that the 1907 *Visitor's Guide to Dublin* described the experience of standing in the main doorway as overwhelming the visitor with "a Tantalus feeling."[2] According to the *Official Record* of the Exhibition, "no less than 2,751,113" visitors bought tickets to the event over the course of its six months.[3] The overall exhibition, with its miles of carefully-landscaped, wide boulevards, gleaming white architecture, shops, restaurants, and fashionably-dressed visitors, was enthusiastically christened by one writer from the *Irish Times* as the "Irish Champs Elysées."[4]

The Exhibition's espoused goals promised above all to "show the remarkable progress

---

[1] *Irish International Exhibition, 1907* (Dublin: McCall, Stevenson & Orr, Ltd., 1907), 11.
[2] *Visitor's Guide to Dublin and Neighbourhood, together with Supplemental Guide to the Irish International Exhibition* (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker, 1907), vii.
[3] William F. Dennehy, ed. *Record: The Irish International Exhibition 1907* (Dublin: Hely's Limited, 1909), 34.
[4] *The Irish Times*, 12 May 1907: 8.

[Ireland and her people] have made in a few years, and what further development they are capable of."[5] Included amongst mechanical and industrial developments, slightly behind and away from the central axis of the fairgrounds, was Lady Aberdeen's Irish Home Industries building and an adjacent small rural cottage erected by Brown and Son Soap Company of County Tyrone (Figure 2). Brown and Son's "Ballymaclinton Cottage" was a picturesque whitewashed, thatched building, a replica of one of the company's company houses in Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone. Inside, the space was divided into model rooms showing the latest in healthy, clean Irish living (Figure 3) as well as a workroom where male and female employees from the Soapworks in Donaghmore demonstrated the latest manufacturing and packaging techniques (Figure 4). While Aberdeen's displays had become an Irish staple at exhibitions from 1893 onwards, the 1907 exhibition marked a shift from Irish exhibitionary villages coordinated by multi-industrial patronage organizations like the Irish Industries Association to a village sponsored exclusively by a single Irish business. "Ballymaclinton Cottage" would expand to "Ballymaclinton Village" at the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition in London and would arguably become the most influential and referential exhibitionary display of Ireland and Irishness in the twentieth century.

This chapter investigates the complete 1908 Ballymaclinton Village with its eclectic range of replica and generalized Irish architecture, artisans, and materials for sale. Constructed at the very heart of the British Empire, Ballymaclinton in 1908 illustrated and exemplified the tensions and contradictions in the project of defining Irishness in both Ireland and England at the beginning of the twentieth century. Despite using the actual village of Donaghmore as a model, Brown and Son nonetheless produced a complicated and contradictory exhibitionary space. On the one hand, Ballymaclinton was a working model of a real industrial village in County Tyrone;

[5] *Irish International Exhibition, 1907* (Dublin and Belfast: W. & G. Baird, Ltd., 1907), 15.

on the other hand, it was a utopian vision of an Irish industrial future that would not emerge as the ensuing decade brought about full-scale Irish rebellion and the subsequent early stages of independence from England.

The contemporary guide book *A Few Facts Concerning the Franco-British Exhibition* described the village as "one of the most popular attractions of the Exhibition" and suggested that, as "a typical Irish Village with all the ancient features that make such villages so interesting, it transports the visitor at a step from the whirl of London to the heart of Ireland."[6] To achieve such a feat of transportation and transformation of English space into Irish, the company filled its ten-acre exhibition village with over two hundred "villagers," mostly female, who guided visitors, demonstrated soapmaking skills, gave dance and music performances, and lectured on art and literature. As a writer for London's *Daily Mail* highlighted, the visitor would be "welcomed by the pretty girls, with their soft, musical speech, rising and falling like a gentle fine day breeze, in their red hooded cloaks, their neat short-skirted dresses, and their buckled shoes revealing dainty ankles in trim black stockings."[7] Such detailed description of the female welcome hints at a key problem of Ballymaclinton village, namely that many of the symbols, materials, and even individuals Brown and Son mobilized to promote industrial Irishness also carried with them echoes of imperialist bias against Ireland and the Irish. Irish colleens could be viewed as sexualized objects; historic ruins could be understood to represent national decay; and the company's anti-tuberculosis Irish health programs could be perceived as proof to the English public that Ireland was a physically diseased nation.

In this chapter, I examine each of these points of disconnect between the company's intentions and the visitors' experiences of the end result to better illuminate the ways in which

---

[6] *A Few Facts Concerning the Franco-British Exhibition* (London: Hudson & Kearns, Ltd., 1908), 19-20.
[7] "To-day at the White City. What the King and his Guest Will See," *Daily Mail*, 26 May 1908.

many popular symbols of Irishness - like the colleen and the cottage - could contain multiple meanings. I have explored the multivalence of some of these objects in the previous chapter, but where Aberdeen and Hart used these symbols to promote Irish industry through nostalgia in America, Brown and Son hoped to promote Irish industry in London by creating an ostensibly new experience of Ireland that could overwrite English stereotypes and fears of Irish laziness, unruliness, dirtiness, and violence. I would argue the former was reflective and the latter reactive; with the construction of Ballymaclinton Village, Brown and Son aggressively pursued positive economic and social change for Donaghmore specifically and for Ireland more broadly, by emphatically redefining Irish women, Irish products, and Irish productivity as clean, efficient, healthy, and internationally significant.

A close examination the company's particular versions of Ireland and the Irish reveals the complexity of issues involved in promoting such Irish visions and the mixed levels of their acceptance and acceptability at London exhibitions beginning in 1908 and lasting until the last iteration of Ballymaclinton at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924. The central issue of Ballymaclinton was health and cleanliness, personal as well as national, from the physical soap product to various marketing schemes, from the fair-skinned colleens to the rustic farm animals. What was at stake for Brown and Son was convincing the fairgoer that such Irish purity of space, object, and person was a legitimate display of Irishness, not overcompensation for the lack of such sanitary conditions in Ireland.

Historians such as Paul Greenhalgh and Annie Coombes have offered analyses of the colleens and the problematic physical and cultural spaces they inhabited.[8] Both have argued that

[8] Annie Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994); Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

visitors instinctively made comparisons between the Irish girls and the dark-skinned female "villagers" working in nearby "villages" from Africa.[9] Coombes in particular has mapped out how the juxtaposition of Irish colleens and Senegalese women highlighted the dirty exoticism of the Africans; she suggests that pronounced attention to the whiteness and purity of the colleens underscored the blackness of the neighboring village. I argue, however, for an interpretation that complicates this model. Brown and Son may have expected the girls and their ostensibly pure white skin to mediate concerns about Ireland's potential threat to the Empire through their friendliness, gentleness, and cleanliness; however, such productive whiteness also reaffirmed English fears of a violent, dirty Ireland that needed to go to incredible lengths of personal scrubbing and aggressive health initiatives to eradicate their inherent darkness and diseased nature. This was, after all, an Irish village "population" historically associated with dirt and struggling at the turn of the century with tuberculosis; Ireland was the so-called land of the "white plague."[10]

The Village was the only substantial, explicitly Irish display area at any international exhibition in England before the start of the Irish independence process in 1921. Its profuse visual record of postcards, lantern slides, newspaper publications, and even scientific journals offers an opportunity to explore the tensions between Irish and English, between modern and traditional, and between clean and diseased, that would figure prominently into the dialogue of Irish nationhood well into the twentieth century. Through various replications at subsequent exhibitions, the village would also have long-lasting international impact on perceptions of Ireland both within and outside of the intra-national conflict between England and Ireland.

---

[9] Coombes, *Reinventing Africa*, 212; Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 107.
[10] "Tying His Hands. Mr. Russell Refutes a Libel on the Country," *Irish Independent*, 2 Sept. 1908.

From Company Town to Fairgrounds

The idea for a Franco-British Exhibition had originated with the signing of the Entente Cordiale between Britain and France in 1904, an agreement to recognize and settle each nation's colonial expansion; the exhibition was the opportunity for the two imperial powers to display their successes and conquests in direct and condensed form. From the beginning, it was a joint effort, proposed by the French consul in London, coordinated by a Committee composed of both French and English officials, and supported both financially and socially by King Edward VII and President Fallieres.[11] Even the production and construction were unified efforts: the successful entrepreneur and showman Imre Kiralfy, who had earned fame in London for his exhibitions at Earl's Court in the 1890s, was joined by the French architect Marius Toudoire.

Building from the models and aspirations of previous exhibitions in England, America, and France and drawing particular inspiration from the sensationalism of Kiralfy's Earl's Court exhibitions, the international team developed a symmetrical plan that stretched out over 140 acres in West London (Figure 5). The fairgrounds followed the axial exhibition layout that had been standardized in Paris in 1889. Arts pavilions flanked gardens and fountains leading to a central Court of Honour. To the East and West of the central plaza were the Olympic Stadium and the manufacturing halls.[12] Finally, at the very back of the exhibition, a semi-circular Colonial Avenue celebrated the reason for the event: the furthest reaches and greatest conquests of the respective empires.

The unity of plan was realized through the consistent architectural styling of the major pavilions and halls. Toudoire insisted that the Franco-British Congress Hall and the Court of

[11] For a brief overview, see Donald R. Knight, *The Exhibitions: Great White City, Shepherd's Bush London* (London: Barnard & Westwood, Ltd., 1978; reprint, Print Mania, 2008). Also Jane Kimber, "London 1908," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2008), 198-202.
[12] The Franco-British Exhibition was timed to coincide with the Olympics in London in 1908.

Honour fully reflect the influence of the colonies, creating a hybrid style dubbed "Indo-European" by the guidebooks (Figure 6). He overloaded the pavilions and walkways with ornamental details suggesting minarets and mosques and incorporated Eastern architectural features such as the pointed, onion-shaped domes, intricately carved porches and railings, and ogival arches around the broad courtyard. The *Official Souvenir* pointed to the direct correspondence between the Court of Honour and the Taj Mahal.[13] This choice of architectural design suggested not only the far reaches of imperial influence, but also preserved the Entente Cordiale by precluding any possible disagreements over which nation's architectural heritage should dominate the exhibition grounds.

Ballymaclinton Village was constructed at the furthest corner of the fairgrounds (Figure 7). While the other national pavilions and palaces were predominantly state-run, Ballymaclinton was exclusively a one-business vision.[14] The week before the first exhibition at the Shepherd's Bush site in London opened on May 14, 1908, the *Times* proclaimed: "The Irish village of Ballymaclinton will, *undoubtedly*, be one of the most frequented spots in the whole exhibition, though it lies at the far end of the grounds."[15] The *Daily Mail* called it "one of the most interesting features of the exhibition."[16] It was even included as a stop on the Royal Tour on May 26.[17] The village promised to be "complete in every aspect, containing realistic reproductions of many historic buildings," according to the *Popular Guide to the Franco-British*

[13] *Franco-British Exhibition Official Souvenir* (London: Hudson & Kearns, Ltd., 1908).
[14] I have been unable to find any record of a specific national invitation being offered to the administration in Dublin, but I do not know why Ireland would have been excluded from the invite list when other countries ranging from dominion to territory were explicitly invited. Similarly, any record of invitation specific to Brown and Son has not survived.
[15] "The Franco-British Exhibition," *The Times*, 9 May 1908.
[16] "Irish Village in London. Notable Feature of the Exhibition. Blarney Stone at Shepherd's Bush," *Daily Mail*, 18 Apr. 1908.
[17] It was originally scheduled for a twenty-minute stop, but rain and mud caused the Royal party to do little more than ride past the gate.

*Exhibition*.[18]

Chief among its attractions were the Round Tower of Old Kilcullen, the High Cross of Donaghmore, the Blarney Stone, a fisherman's cottage, the industrial cottages, the Sanatorium, the Village Hall, vegetarian restaurant, and post office. "Paddy's Pig" and a herd of Kerry cows also merited frequent mention.[19] In 1909, when Kiralfy reopened the grounds as the Imperial International Exhibition, the Browns added a haunted "Banshee Cottage" and other specific amusement attractions as well as a poultry farm to make Ballymaclinton "an even greater 'draw' than last year."[20] By the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition, Kiralfy's third exhibition at London's so-called "White City," the features of the Ballymaclinton Village had become so "famous"[21] that the *Official Guide*, the *Official Report,* and the *Daily Programme* all notably described the village in economic rather than architectural terms, emphasizing "the various village handicrafts for which Ireland is famous,"[22] instead of the buildings in which those handicrafts were demonstrated or sold. What the village looked like had become an understood fact of the White City exhibition space. The continuity of the village speaks to a certain level of success for the Brown and Son model both financially and in public perception and reception.

Despite the accumulation of positive publicity, however, in the original White City exhibition of 1908, the aforementioned *Times* reviewer also touched upon the first major complication for Brown and Son's noble village plan. The Ballymaclinton Cottage had been criticized for its placement in an "obscure corner"[23] of the Irish International Exhibition in 1907,

---

[18] *Popular Guide to the Franco-British Exhibition* (London: 1908). The *Official Guide to the Franco-British Exhibition* (London: 1908) contained almost identical wording.
[19] A variety of lists can be found in the *Official Guide to the Franco-British Exhibition*; *Franco-British Exhibition Illustrated Review* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1908); *Guide and Souvenir to Ballymaclinton* (London: 1908), and various press reports.
[20] "The White City of 1909. Another Exhibition Opened," *Irish Independent*, 21 May 1909.
[21] "The White City. Close of the Japanese Exhibition," *Freeman's Journal*, 2 Nov. 1910.
[22] "Japan-British Exhibition Daily Programme" (London: 1910).
[23] "An Exhibition Episode," *The Irish People*, 7 Sept. 1907.

yet the Ballymaclinton Village at the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition was in an even more obscure area. Moreover, as the Royal Tour of the fairgrounds brought into stark view, one only reached the Irish Village after passing through the magnificent Court of Honour, the Court of Arts, the Palace of British Applied Art, the Palace of French Applied Arts, the Olympic Stadium, and the Canadian and Australian Pavilions. The Irish Village stood adjacent to the Indian, Ceylonese, and Algerian colonial villages at the very back of the fairgrounds.[24] Getting to the Irish Village was not for the leisurely day-tripper; even the Royal visitors did not have time to walk around.[25]

Paul Greenhalgh has succinctly stated, "to juxtapose a Machine Hall with a native village was to provide the clearest possible illustration of power relations in the world."[26] Even the *Times* pointed out on the day after the Royal visit that "a more complete change in environment and atmosphere could hardly be conceived than the change from the Australian Court to the Irish Village."[27] Thus the physical planning of the exhibition grounds resulted in the Irish village being hidden behind massive pavilions, its ninety-foot round tower vainly reaching into the sky for visibility.[28] A photograph from the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition (Figure 8) gives a clear sense of scale: only when photographed behind the one-story buildings of the Japanese village

[24] The layout of the Franco-British Exhibition grounds and the subsequent Shepherd's Bush exhibitions mirrored what had become standardized by 1893: the more important Pavilions were centered around the main axis of the fair and the colonial villages spread out along the edges of the ground at the furthest point from center. At Shepherd's Bush, Ballymaclinton was among these colonial villages, rather than among the national Pavilions.
[25] The Royal party was originally scheduled for a twenty-minute stop, but rain and mud slowed the parade and caused the Royal party to do little more than ride past the gate. Ithell records an anecdote regarding this visit. Having been unable to give special Irish bouquets to Queen Alexandra and Princess Victoria, Lady Garvagh, Marchioness of Donegal, "with typical Irish zeal, gathered a little party including Lord and Lady Hill and with three colleens, marched after the Royal party." She talked their way into the Royal Pavilion where the colleens were able to share a private audience with the royal women and finally give their tokens of appreciation. Ithell, *A Story of the Ballymaclinton Village*, 12.
[26] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 107.
[27] "The Irish Village," *The Times*, 27 May 1908.
[28] Ithell, *A Story of the Ballymaclinton Village*.

did the outlines of Ballymaclinton become visible.[29] Such planning supports the interpretation of the village by scholars like Greenhalgh and Coombes as physically reifying British imperial domination over Ireland by making it invisible within the Empire.[30] On the other hand, the example of the tiny, remote Ballymaclinton cottage in 1907 and Browns' decision to continue the village for several years on the exact same plot on the White City grounds suggests that the location was not as profound a concern for the business. Brown and Son was, after all, offering their vision of an industrious, successful Ireland for sale; they measured success first and foremost in admission receipts.

Brown and Son Soapworks was owned and managed by twin brothers David and Robert Brown, Presbyterians, tea-totallers, and social reformers. Their reforms began at home in Donaghmore where, at the beginning of the century, they constructed large, open, four-room cottages for all of their workers on which the Browns paid the rates and the employees paid a nominal rent of 2 shillings a week.[31] Each home also included plots for vegetable and rose gardens. It was hoped that such town-planning would give the Donaghmore residents an opportunity for clean and healthy living space, as well as pride of home-ownership.[32] To echo historian Hardy Green's categorizations of American company towns, the Browns aimed to create for their workers a "utopia," heavily paternalistic though it may have been.[33] While such paternalism could foster devotion or, in the infamous instance of the American town of Pullman,

---

[29] The tower would have been visible across all the colonial villages, none of which had any feature of such a scale as to block the tower; however, most, if not all, of the surrounding Pavilions would have been tall enough to do so.
[30] Barbara O'Connor echoes their analysis in her article Barbara O'Connor, "'Colleens and Comely Maidens': Representing and Performing Irish Femininity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Ireland in Focus: Film, Photography, and Popular Culture*, ed. Eóin Flannery and Michael Griffin (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009).
[31] "Ballymaclinton: The Model Irish Village," *Westmeath Examiner*, 1 Aug. 1908.
[32] Patricia Bogue, interviewed by the author, Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, 10 Feb. 2010. Ms. Bogue is the long-time curator of the Donaghmore Heritage Center, Co. Tyrone.
[33] Hardy Green, *The Company Town: The Industrial Edens and Satanic Mills That Shaped the American Economy* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 4-5.

foment chaos, housing schemes often strengthened "a bond between the employer and employee."[34] In the Irish instance, however, as historian Tom Hunt has suggested in his study of Portlaw, Co Wexford, another late-nineteenth century Irish factory town, rural industrial villages like Donaghmore "represented the ultimate in potentially vulnerable socio-economic entities."[35] Maintaining such satisfied soap manufactory workers was particularly significant in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Ireland when rural industry was in decline and emigration and industrialization were drawing many young men and women from the farms and small villages to the cities and beyond. The long-term survival of the village and the soapworks were certainly priorities for the attentive Brown brothers.

In the continuing interest of the health of their employees, the Brown twins were also intimately involved in Lady Aberdeen's anti-consumption campaign in Ireland.[36] In 1907, Lady Aberdeen had launched her Women's National Health Association of Ireland "to promote health by means of educative campaigns… combating and preventing disease in every form, especially tuberculosis, and at promoting measures for the care of mothers and infants, and for the welfare and happiness of people of all ages."[37] Like her Irish Industries Association, the WNHA was largely philanthropic, appealing to Anglo-Irish and British upper classes to support the sick and destitute in rural Ireland. However, tuberculosis was a legitimate and serious problem in for the Irish, accounting for nearly sixteen percent of all deaths in Ireland by 1904.[38] In 1908,

---

[34] John S. Garner, ed. *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 9. In 1894, over three thousand workers in the company town of Pullman, IL went on strike against unfair wages and increasing rents on their company homes.

[35] Tom Hunt, "Portlaw, County Waterford, 1870-1901: The Decline of an Industrial Village," in *Irish Villages: Studies in Local History*, ed. Karina Holton and Brian Ó Dálaigh (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 165.

[36] For more on Lady Aberdeen's work on behalf of Irish industry in the nineteenth century, see chapter two of this dissertation. Also Janice Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts and Industries, 1880-1914* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007).

[37] Lord and Lady Aberdeen and Temair, *'We Twa': Reminiscences of Lord and Lady Aberdeen*, 2 vols. (London and Glasgow: W. Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 1925), 2:277.

[38] Greta Jones, "The Campaign against Tuberculosis in Ireland, 1899-1914," in *Medicine, Disease, and the State in Ireland, 1650-1940*, ed. Greta Jones and Elizabeth Malcolm (Cork: Cork University Press, 1999), 159-60.

Aberdeen's campaign was gaining strength as well as international recognition through a series of national touring exhibits in Ireland and, in the summer of 1908, the debate on the Tuberculosis Prevention in Ireland Bill in Parliament.[39] Robert Brown was the honorary secretary of the Co. Tyrone branch of the WNHA from its founding, responsible for bringing education, nurses, and health care to rural districts around Donaghmore.[40] It was a commitment that meshed seamlessly with the social improvements to which the Browns were already engaged for their employees.

It was through this combined sense of shrewd business acumen and social activism that the Browns, in their first major foray into the world of international exhibitions, contributed their model cottage to Lady Aberdeen's Irish Home Industries section in Dublin in 1907.[41] The Browns, as nationalists who supported Irish self-government within the British Empire, avoided engaging in political conflict by focusing exclusively on introducing their successful housing and soap-manufacturing scheme to a larger audience. They were eager to promote both their "McClinton's" soaps,[42] a brand they had recently acquired, as well as their newly launched Colleen Soap line.[43]

Brown and Son were also the only workshop to coordinately participate both in the main international exhibition and the explicitly nationalist, small rival exhibition across town, billed

---

[39] "Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign. Lady Aberdeen Speaks," *Irish Independent*, 16 July 1908.
[40] "Ballymaclinton: The Model Irish Village," *Westmeath Examiner*, 1 Aug. 1908.
[41] For more on the 1907 event, see John Turpin, "Ireland's Progress: The Dublin Exhibition of 1907," *Eire-Ireland* (1982): 31-38. More recently, a hobbyist account has been compiled Brian Siggins, *The Great White Fair: The 1907 Exhibition* (Dublin: The History Press, 2007). See also Caroline Rose Malloy, "O Tempora! O Mores! Issues of National Representation at the 1907 Irish International Exhibition" (master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2007).
[42] The village name, Ballymaclinton, comes from this soap line.
[43] George R. Ithell, *A Story of the Ballymaclinton Village 1908-1910: Postal History's New Chapter* (Ashford, Middlesex, UK: published by the author, 1982). The Browns purchased McClinton's brand in 1895. Patricia Bogue, "The Brown Family of Donaghmore and the Soap and Candle Works," (Donaghmore: published by the author, 2009). Colleen Soap debuted in 1906. The original marketing idea of the fair Irish girl in front of a gently rolling, green Irish landscape had been intended to appeal to Irish emigrants in growing Brown and Son's markets, such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa.

explicitly as "A Genuine Irish Industries Exhibition."[44] Such broad acceptance speaks to the perceived veracity of their dedication to non-partisan commercial interaction.

In 1908, the Browns increased their commitment to both the anti-tuberculosis cause and the international exhibition project and decided to invest over £30,000 in a much larger display at the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition.[45] Increasing concern about the spread of tuberculosis in Ireland, which was widely publicized as responsible for one in every six deaths in Ireland that year, led them to believe that such a large investment would be beneficial to the company on both economic and moral grounds.[46] They hoped to make a significant inroad into the English soap market as well as provide a larger, more visible platform for anti-tuberculosis education. The Browns also decided to charge an admission to the village from which all profits would go to the anti-consumption campaign of the WNHA. As it was highly unusual to charge admission for individual national or corporate displays at exhibitions, the Browns' decision confirms the brothers saw a clear connection between public philanthropy and their personal commercial success.

This admission charge also created an immediate conflict between the intentions of the Browns and the perceptions of the fairgoers. Official Franco-British Exhibition palaces dedicated to arts, manufacturing, or even to other nations such as Canada and New Zealand had

---

[44] E.R. Mac ua Dier, "A Genuine Irish Industries Exhibition (at 28 Clare Street)," *Irish Peasant*, 13 July 1907. The exhibition occurred July 13-14, 1907 and displayed and sold products almost identical to those displayed in the Home Industries section of the main fair: brushes, soaps, hats, rugs, etc. It was the project of the Dun Emer Guild in Dublin. Dun Emer had been founded in 1902 by Evelyn Gleeson in conjunction with Lily and Elizabeth Yeats, whose nationalist family ties extended to their father, the artist John Yeats, and their brothers, the writer W.B. Yeats and the artist Jack B.Yeats. For more information on Dun Emer, see Elaine Cheasley Paterson, "Crafting a National Identity: the Dun Emer Guild, 1902-8," in *The Irish Revival Reappraised*, ed. Betsy Taylor FitzSimon and James H. Murphy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004).

[45] "Letter to the Editor," *Irish Independent*, 17 Apr. 1909. In their collaboration with Lady Aberdeen, they also provided space in their 1908 village for her Irish Industries Association and built before-and-after cottage spaces to house her traveling anti-tuberculosis exhibits. The IIA had already been planning "to display a considerable quantity of Irish industries at a comparatively small expense" at the exhibition well before joining up with the Ballymaclinton plan. "Help for Irish Industries," *Irish Independent*, 5 Feb. 1908.

[46] "Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign. Lady Aberdeen Speaks," *Irish Independent*, 16 July 1908.

no admission charge; one could also enter restaurants and tea rooms for free just to admire the architecture or enjoy the ambiance. Ballymaclinton on the other hand cost an additional 6p. over the price of fair admission to enter; the village's Blarney Stone required another 1p. to kiss.[47] The Browns' hopes to raise money for the anti-tuberculosis campaign ironically furthered the associations between Ireland and the exhibition sideshows and amusements, those parts of the fair that were expected to carry an additional cost above the £1 general admission and that were also the only section of the fairgrounds further beyond the Irish Village.[48] It was not inaccurate that the *Official Guide to the Imperial International Exhibition* included Ballymaclinton on "the pleasure side" of the exhibition, in direct contrast to the "international commercial sections."[49] That the money would go to a good cause was remarked upon by almost every commentator and guidebook; that the only other features of the exhibition for which there was a charge were the Indian theatre, colonial "native" villages, and the amusement park, would not have been lost on any visitor either.[50]

Brown and Son suffered a net loss of over £2,000 by the end of the 1908 exhibition season. Perhaps recognizing the correlation in visitors' minds between extra cost and entertainment value, for the 1909 Imperial Exhibition, Ballymaclinton was expanded to include actual amusement rides. The addition of such features as the haunted "Banshee" Cottage would have done little to disabuse the London visitor of the notion that Ireland was an amusing colonial sideshow rather than a great industrial nation on display in miniature at the fairgrounds. The differences between one photograph and its ensuing postcard reproduction from 1909 suggest the unease with which this conflation of sideshow and legitimate industrial nation may have plagued

[47] "Our London Letter. Doings on the Other Side," *Irish Independent*, 23 June 1908. The Blarney Stone detail derives from Aberdeen's influence and her previous Irish village constructions.
[48] Knight, *The Exhibitions: Great White City, Shepherd's Bush London*, 4.
[49] *Imperial International Exhibition Official Guide* (London: Bemrose & Sons, Ltd., 1909), 24.
[50] At least two of the "native" villages - the Senegalese and Algerian - were actually fully incorporated sideshows, registered businesses with the British government. The Irish Village was not incorporated as such.

the Browns and their village managers, Henry Wilson and Samuel Gallagher.

The original photograph (Figure 9) shows several of the famous Ballymaclinton colleens posing by a sign in front of a cottage while several other "villagers" chat by the cottage door in the background.[51] The sign announces: "Ballymaclinton. Irish Village. Admission 3p." and lists the various attractions within.[52] While all the attractions listed were notably free after general admission to the village, the new "Banshee House" merited top billing after the generic "Irish Cottage." In the replicated postcard inaccurately captioned "Ballymaclinton at the Crystal Palace" (Figure 10), the sign has been erased completely.[53] The only hint of its presence is the oddly-perfect ninety-degree angle of the seated colleen on the far right. The sign is the only feature modified from the original, suggesting the information was intentionally removed from circulation. As the other attractions listed were consistent from one exhibition to the next, the disappearance of the physical signpost for the village speaks perhaps to an awareness that such signage marred the respectability of the village scene the Browns were trying so hard to establish.[54]

"Taking a Short Trip to Ireland"

The more successful and impactful of Ballymaclinton's features may be measured by the degrees to which visitors perceived authenticity in the replica structures, imported inhabitants, and scripted performances in the village. After all, the brothers were attempting to replicate their

[51] This photograph is from the scrapbook of Norah Gallagher, daughter of the Browns' village manager, Samuel Gallagher. She is most likely the small girl in the picture.
[52] "Irish Village at Shepherd's Bush," *Freeman's Journal*, 1 Sept. 1908. Admission had been reduced to half-price towards the end of the Franco-British Exhibition.
[53] The photograph is certainly from 1909 and this postcard is clearly a reproduction of it. However, Ballymaclinton did not move to the Crystal Palace site until the 1911 Coronation Exhibition. That village was a completely different, specifically interior space, as revealed in a variety of other images circulated at the time. I do not know why this image entered circulation thusly mislabeled. It is undated, but could not have been printed until 1911.
[54] This postcard is part of a series by Valentine's, but the postcards of Ballymaclinton were sold in the Ballymaclinton Post Office and supervised by the Browns and their managers.

own practices, buildings, and historical landscape in the alternate symbolic universe of an exhibition. One particular visitor wrote home that he was at Ballymaclinton, "Taking a short trip to Ireland!"[55] (Figure 11) On the front of his postcard, the title indicates to the recipient that it depicts the "Entrance to Irish Village (Ballymaclinton)" (Figure 12). Without its subtitle, "Franco-British Exhibition, London," this picture could be construed to represent the entrance to an actual Irish village. The only buildings visible from the perspective of the viewer standing before the massive sixteenth-century gateway with its looming portcullis are white-washed and thatched cottages, a few old stone buildings, a round tower, and, tucked in beneath it, the ruins of an abbey chapel, so many of the expected components of a stereotypical Irish country village. Only the lamppost, practically hidden in the photo by the imposing verticality of the gateway, and the couple strolling across the foreground, well-dressed as they exit the village, belie the exhibition setting. Similarly, on the reverse, the words "Taking a short trip to Ireland!" erase the greater exhibition and the fact that the entire "trip" takes place on London soil. Even the postmark validates "Ballymaclinton." This compression of original, fictional, and exhibitionary villages in which the Browns, the fairgoer, and the postcard recipient all participated configured the idealized industrial village of Ballymaclinton, the actual company town of Donaghmore, and the entire island of Ireland as synonymous.

A commentator in the *Westminster Gazette* wrote most clearly of the effect that the Browns were hoping the village would have when he reported, "one enters with a sort of reluctance, and from a sense of duty, because the profits are to be devoted to the extirpation of tuberculosis in Ireland; and suddenly one find's oneself absorbed in one's surroundings… everything here is genuinely Irish, from the colleens to the McKinley Cottage."[56] Similarly, a

[55] Postcard, 1908. Private collection.
[56] "The Franco-British Exhibition. Ballymaclinton," *The Westminster Gazette*, 20 Aug. 1908. One of the features of

writer for *Black & White* suggested, "one of the most popular of the numerous attractions in the Franco-British Exhibition will probably be "The Irish Village," which is a *realistic, yet picturesque* representation of rural life in the Province of Ulster."[57] The *Irish Builder* published a sketch of the village (Figure 13) that further illustrated this ostensible balance of realism and idealism. The birds-eye view allows the viewer to take in the entirety of the exhibition village. Moreover, from this angle, the artist has added gently rolling fields behind the neat and clean row of bright white workers' cottages, bridging the distance between the exhibition and Ireland, between the original town of Ballymaclinton, which in fact never existed, and its supposed replica, Ballymaclinton in London. The sketch, repeated in various news media, in fact provides a surprisingly accurate map of the exhibition village layout, but it is rendered in such a way as to suggest it would double as a map in Ireland as well.[58]

The village itself, as detailed in the above postcard, was fronted by a massive medieval gateway. To the left, the long stone building was the working village dairy that also doubled as a restaurant. Along the right of the entrance were model cottages, demonstration areas for various cottage industries such as carpet-weaving, embroidery, and linen manufacture, and a concert hall. The large fortress-like structure anchoring the East end of the village contained an Irish art gallery. At the heart of the village were the primitive Celtic symbols of Irishness: the round tower, the medieval church ruin, and the high cross. While this last was a replica of the actual cross in Donaghmore, the tower and ruin along with the aforementioned Blarney Stone were exclusive to exhibitionary village of Ballymaclinton; these material details existed within the Brown's vision explicitly because, as one reporter from the *Daily Mail* proclaimed, "of course

---

the villages was a reproduction of the family homestead of recently assassinated American President William McKinley.

[57] "Franco-British Exhibition," *Black & White*, 15 Feb. 1908. Emphasis added.

[58] It is notable that even Donaghmore was not located in this sort of idyllic rural space. The actual factory town was much more densely populated and thoroughly integrated with the Soapworks, thus the illustration doubly obscures the village's origins.

there will be a blarney stone, an ancient Irish cross, and a holy well - what Irish village could exist without these attractions?"[59]

The Browns wanted Ballymaclinton to appear as realistic as possible: the cottages to house the colleens were built to the exact specifications of the Donaghmore workers' cottages; the roofs were thatched by the Donaghmore thatcher, William Thornberry; the gardens were planted by the Brown's gardener, James Sloan, who planted roses in Ballymaclinton taken from the Browns' own family garden in Donaghmore.[60] The cadre of colleens was hired exclusively from the area immediately surrounding Donaghmore, with the notable exception of "one French girl of Irish extraction."[61] In subsequent years, according to Patricia Bogue, curator of the Donaghmore Heritage Center, the girls came less and less frequently from Ireland for both financial and logistical reasons; however, advertisements for hiring, reports from 1909, as well as a lack of notable complaint over the inauthenticity of the villagers in subsequent years suggest that the majority of the colleens were still from Ireland, or were at least very recent emigrants to England.[62] All reports of the village stressed the authority such attention to detail vested in the village experience. From the villagers to the ancient stones, "everything [was] thoroughly Irish."[63]

Such perception of a pure Irishness, however, was fully manipulated by the Browns to

---

[59] "Irish Village in London," *Daily Mail*, 18 May 1908.
[60] Bogue, "The Brown Family of Donaghmore and the Soap and Candle Works."
[61] "Ballymaclinton and Its Critics," *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Aug. 1908. This was part of a long response to various criticisms of Ballymaclinton that David Brown sent to both the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Irish Independent*. Photographs of this particular girl, Rhea leBas, appear in Norah Gallagher's album.
[62] "Ballymaclinton Again," *Irish Independent*, 18 May 1909 states that the girls came from County Sligo as well as Dublin and Belfast. This is substantiated by a report on 22 July 1909, of a miniature railway amusement accident in which several Irish "villagers" were injured, all of whom came from these areas. In their letter to the editors of the *Freeman's Journal* and *Irish Independent* in April of 1909, the Browns took the opportunity to inquire for "more such helpers, not that those we had would not gladly return to us, or that we expect to get any better, but we think it only right that others should have a chance of seeing a little of the world." "Ballymaclinton and Its Critics," *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Aug. 1908.
[63] *Imperial International Exhibition Official Guide*. Such claim is echoed in the official publications of the Franco-British, Japan-British, and Coronation Exhibitions as well.

their greatest financial advantage. One surprisingly popular character at Ballymaclinton was "Paddy's pig." The *Official Guide to the Franco-British Exhibition* informed visitors of "a Farmyard [that] contains the traditional pig of Paddy, as well as the other usual inhabitants."[64] The *Irish Independent* bemoaned the presence of "the inevitable pig."[65] Bernard Weaver, in the *English Illustrated Review*, also referenced the pig explicitly as a marker of the true Irishness of Ballymaclinton, relaying to his readers that "even the cows in the field and the pigs in the styes [sic] were brought over from the Emerald Isle."[66] Pride in the Irish pig manifested in the popular circulation of pig souvenirs. For the visitor of distinguished means, Beleek even sold labeled pigs (Figure 14) to help remember the experience of Ballymaclinton.

Such enduring focus on the pig was not always to the benefit of Ballymaclinton and the Browns' Irish industrial and medical causes, however, as pigs could also clearly associate the village with ignorance and filth, a stereotype quickly mobilized by one writer for the *Daily Mail*. He described the opening day of the Franco-British Exhibition: "There was one important feature of the great show which was perfectly complete yesterday. That was the Irish village, to which the ankle-deep mud gave a realistic touch that will be lacking when the weather improves."[67] This insistence that the mud and muck were the natural state of Ireland continued the stereotypes of the previous century and undermined the industrial civility proposed through Ballymaclinton.[68]

One particular postcard in circulation throughout the years of the White City exhibitions did little to counter impressions linking the Irish, pigs, and dirt through the exhibition site of Ballymaclinton. "In the Farmyard, Ballymaclinton" (Figure 15) shows three colleens and one

---

[64] *Official Guide to the Franco-British Exhibition*.
[65] "An Exhibition 'Sweet Auburn'," *Irish Independent*, 15 Apr. 1908.
[66] "Franco-British Exhibition," *English Illustrated Magazine* 39 (1908): 546.
[67] "The White City. Pushing the Work of Completion," *Daily Mail*, 25 Apr. 1908.
[68] Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 17. de Nie addresses the increase in such associations particularly at the turn of the century.

*bhoy* in the Piggery, itself marked by a large directional sign painted on the side of a nearby cottage. One of the colleens stands among the pigs in full costume, suggesting that in the same clothes in which the colleens ate and worked, they also tended to the pigs. The other three look on, one posed to point towards the pigs, one smiling with her hands on her hips, and the third, the *bhoy*, seeming to be merely an onlooker. While the Piggery may look clean and is well-signed, that sign itself indicates to both the exhibition visitor and postcard viewer that these pigs could be carrying the very disease the village was supposed to be eradicating. In an attempt to encourage the purchase of vegetable-based McClinton's soaps, the Piggery wall proclaims, "The Manager of the Beef Trust says Tuberculosis & diseased pigs are not [used for] food but are made into soap." No average viewer of this scene nor any recipient of this postcard would have associated these pigs with cleanliness and such an integral connection with dirt and disease fit very specifically within the colonial framework of dirtiness, nativism, and backwardness explicitly propagated by the other villages at the exhibitions.[69]

In response to such negative interpretations, Ballymaclinton manager Henry Wilson was quick to reprimand his English readership in the *Franco-British Exhibition Illustrated Review* that "Paddy's pig is here, in an Irish farmyard, that pig which God gave us as a serious item, mind you, not as a special comic subject for the benefit of foolish Saxon papers."[70] Furthermore, Henry Wilson's own daughter countered any perception of Irish associations with dirt, pigs, and filth at Ballymaclinton when she revealed how the actual pigs were acquired. Wilson, being a tea-totaller, had mistaken a local English farmer's offer of "sloe-gin" for a non-alcoholic beverage:

Mr. Wilson recalled many years later… 'I felt like a car with its radius rods broken. I

[69] See, specifically, Coombes' very thorough account of the African villages in Coombes, *Reinventing Africa,* 85-97; 187-207.
[70] Dumas, *Franco-British Exhibition Illustrated Review*, 288.

> knew where I had to go but didn't know how to get there. As for pigs, I never saw so many in my life. Pointing to somewhere in the middle of my vision and hoping that my uncertainty did not show too much, I told the farmer - I'll take that litter'…[71]

Not only were the pigs quite haphazardly chosen for the village, they were purchased within driving distance of the Shepherd's Bush exhibition grounds, in Uxbridge - the pigs were English.[72] Thus Ballymaclinton upended English impressions of Irish dirt and disease by supplying the site with pigs from England. On the other hand, such action also undermined the Brown's avowed authentic Irishness by hiring English substitutes for the ubiquitous farm animals and passing them off as Irish.

Dirt, Disease, and the Performed Whiteness of the Ballymaclinton Colleens

From the highly publicized admission charge written on large placards throughout the village, to the Piggery with its sign promising no remnants of diseased pigs in McClinton's soaps, to the series of health lectures Lady Aberdeen organized in the Village Hall, consumption and its eradication was often more clearly equated with Ballymaclinton than was the soap itself.[73] Robert Brown went so far as to declare that "had there been no consumption there would have been no Ballymaclinton."[74] Furthermore, in his assessment of the Franco-British Exhibition, Brown admitted that village would reopen for the 1909 Imperial Exhibition both to recoup costs and to guarantee the proposed profit for the anti-tuberculosis campaign.[75] By 1910, the stated goal of the village was, first and foremost, "to represent a healthy type of village life."[76]

---

[71] Ithell, *A Story of the Ballymaclinton Village*.
[72] Ibid.
[73] "Items of Interest. The Irish Village in London," *Irish Independent*, 6 June 1908.
[74] Brown, "Ballymaclinton and Its Critics," *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Aug. 1908.
[75] "Letter to the Editor," *Irish Independent*, 17 Apr. 1909.
[76] *Japan-British Exhibition Official Guide* (London: 1910); *Official Report of the Japan-British Exhibition* (London: 1910).

Lady Aberdeen, ever patriotic to both England and Ireland, opened the Ballymaclinton Village Sanatorium in 1908 with the exhortation that "tuberculosis and emigration were… a terrible drain on the country, and if they were to go on they could only look upon the Irish as a dying race. It was the duty, therefore, of all to join in stamping out the disease."[77] With her speech, she positioned the anti-consumption campaign in Ireland as one of imperial, patriotic importance for Englishmen and women wishing to preserve a species on the verge of extinction. On the other hand, her call to halt and reverse the extinction of the Irish race echoed the forceful Irish nationalism of Douglas Hyde.[78]

The anti-tuberculosis exhibit consisted of two cottage rooms. The first (Figure 16) demonstrated an unhealthy cottage space in which diseases like tuberculosis could fester and kill. There were no windows to allow air to flow; the floor was covered in all manner of waste, the washbasin was unclean, the bed unkempt, and clothes strewn about in disorder. It was dark and stifling, its heat certainly exacerbated by the London summer. The second room (Figure 17) provided a model of a healthy cottage, open and uncluttered to allow for healthy airflow. A large, bright window allowed light to fill the room. Clean, paneled walls stood out against a neat, austere, well-made bed. The washbasin, clean this time, was adjacent to a dresser with mirror, allowing the cottager to keep visual track of his or her own appearance and health. Along with the healthy room was an accompanying price list for the furniture in the sanitary arrangement and at least one visitor thought that *£5* 5s for the room was a bargain.[79] There was also a section of the Sanatorium where Irish nurses demonstrated techniques the Irish did and could implement for staying healthy. The entire space was designed after the traveling anti-

[77] "Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign," *Irish Independent*, 16 July 1908. Her early work against consumption was addressed in chapter two of this dissertation.
[78] Douglas Hyde, "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland," in *The Revival of Irish Literature: Addresses by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G., Dr. George Sigerson, and Dr. Douglas Hyde* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894), 115-161.
[79] "Franco-British Exhibition," *English Illustrated Magazine* 39 (1908): 549.

consumption campaign that, in the previous year, had travelled throughout Ireland, reaching, they claimed, 800,000 people.[80] Furthermore, in response to complaints from rural doctors that such facilities were too costly, Lady Aberdeen stressed that the model healthy cottages and sanatoria were affordable and designed to be built by Irish workers from Irish materials, simultaneously reducing costs, increasing availability, and supporting Irish commercial growth.[81]

In 1908, the *British Journal of Tuberculosis* declared, "the promoters of the attractive Irish village at the Franco-British Exhibition are to be congratulated on the splendid educational and philanthropic service they are rendering… not only… in Ireland, but throughout the Empire and beyond."[82] They praised the Browns, specifically, "for the able and energetic way in which at Ballymaclinton, the charming Irish village of the Franco-British Exhibition in London, an object-lesson has been provided concerning what is being done to secure the elimination of tuberculosis from Ireland."[83] This action was all the more noteworthy due to ongoing debates in Ireland over the value of tuberculosis vaccination. As literary scholar Susan Harris has explored, Irish nationalists just one year earlier openly suspected organizations like the WNHA were in fact coercive British agencies out to "poison the Irish race."[84]

Historian Philippa Levine has demonstrated ties between medicine and imperial power, mapping connections between science and colonialism through the example of venereal disease legislation. She concluded that "the pursuit of science and medicine, the final word in modern rationality," contrasted forcefully with "colonial backwardness," the reluctance to embrace the

[80] "The Franco-British Exhibition. Ballymaclinton," *Westminster Gazette*, 20 Aug. 1908.
[81] "Miniature Sanatorium Opened in London," *Freeman's Journal*, 16 July 1908.
[82] "The Tuberculosis Exhibit at Ballymaclinton in the Franco-British Exhibition," *British Journal of Tuberculosis* 2 (1908): 309.
[83] "Ireland's Campaign against Consumption," *British Journal of Tuberculosis* 2 (1908): 235.
[84] Susan Harris, *Gender and Modern Irish Drama* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 103.

techniques and values of western medicine.[85] It was in the context of such "colonial backwardness" that the English public could interpret the resistance of farmers and doctors in Ireland to Lady Aberdeen's efforts.[86] The *Times* went so far as to suggest tuberculosis was a disease "to which the Irish race seemed specially predisposed."[87] In fact, the village's obsession with the anti-consumption campaign in Ireland only further confirmed for the international visitor that the Irish, like so many other indigenous colonial races, were innately dirty and diseased.[88] In Ballymaclinton, science implemented for national renewal was easily viewed as an alibi of colonialism that "legitimiz[ed] processes of inferiorization, exclusion, subordination and inequality."[89] If such sanitary conditions needed to be stressed, promoted, and taught, then it was not inconceivable for the British visitor to believe that the unhealthy room was, presumably, the actual condition of the rural Irish, not the healthy cottage.

This process was ostensibly contradicted, however, by the inherent nationalism of the Browns and the condition of the actual model cottages from Donaghmore. Unlike Lady Aberdeen's sanitary cottage spaces, which were based on theories of hygiene and fictional squalor, the cottages erected by the Browns for their own commercial purposes were considered "real," "modern," and "up-to-date."[90] The writer for the *Westminster Gazette* may have rightly questioned "what village in the sister country was ever so spick and span?" but he nonetheless identified the cottages as "real in the more absolute sense."[91]

---

[85] Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race & Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 9.
[86] "Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign," *Irish Independent*, 16 July 1908. The farmers protested the health requirements being proposed for their dairies.
[87] "Franco-British Exhibition," *The Times*, 19 May 1908.
[88] Coombes, *Reinventing Africa*, 213.
[89] Annie Coombes and Avtar Brah, "Introduction: The Conundrum of 'Mixing'," in *Hybridity and Its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture*, ed. Avtar Brah and Annie Coombes (New York: Routledge, 2000), 6.
[90] "The Franco-British Exhibition. Ballymaclinton," *Westminster Gazette*, 20 Aug. 1908; "To Fight Consumption in Ireland," *The Morning Leader*, 13 May 1908.
[91] "The Franco-British Exhibition. Ballymaclinton," *Westminster Gazette*, 20 Aug. 1908.

Perhaps most essential to this spectre of realism and most caught up in the conflict between intention and perception in the fairgrounds were the village colleens who lived, worked, and played in the model cottages, village green, restaurant, and art gallery. They were simultaneously inhabitants and performers, sleeping in the cottages at night and enacting various routines and celebrations throughout each day. To better explain the connection between performance and social construction, anthropologist Edward Shifflein has offered a definition of performance as "the creation of presence… [acts], whether ritual or dramatic, [that] create and make present realities vivid enough to beguile, amuse or terrify. And through these presences, they alter moods, social relations, bodily dispositions and states of mind."[92] He stresses that the importance of the relationship fostered between performer and audience is "not only about the achievement in bringing such a performance off successfully, but also about the accomplishment of the work it was meant to do."[93]

In the case of Ballymaclinton, the colleens' performances created an exhibitionary reality to sell soap and propagate a new vision of Ireland as inviting, safe, healthy, and clean. It was incumbent upon them to provide for the fairgoers, in the words of art historian Annie Coombes and sociologist Avtar Brah, a "'lived experience' [that] can prove transformative rather than simply constraining."[94] Rather than reify preconceptions of the Irish as lazy and dirty, the Browns hoped the girls would transform English opinion and sympathies towards Irish health generally, and Irish soap specifically. As David Brown claimed at the close of the first Shepherd's Bush season, the nearly two hundred colleens and fifty *bhoys* who had inhabited and worked in the village for the six-month season "had been a credit to Ireland, and he hoped they

[92] Edward L. Shifflein, "Problematizing Performance," in *Ritual, Performance, Media*, ed. Felicia Hughes-Freeland (New York: Routledge, 1997), 194.
[93] Ibid., 198.
[94] Coombes and Brah, "Introduction: The Conundrum of 'Mixing'," 6.

would, upon their return, be in a like manner a credit to Ballymaclinton."[95] The project was conceived as nothing less than a lived experience for both the girls and the visitors.

The colleens were unquestionably the highlight of the exhibition village and no mention of Ballymaclinton in the newspapers or guidebooks failed to compliment them. They had been hand-picked by the managers of the village for their skills at soap-making or home industry, their youth and beauty, and their ability to resemble the packaging of a bar of Colleen Soap (Figure 18). The exhibition colleen, then, was immediately intertwined with the commercial image of a red-hooded, dark-haired, fair-skinned girl, an image itself responding to exilic nostalgia in emigrant nations. The girls were "merry,"[96] "dainty,"[97] "garbed in pretty red cloaks and green skirts,"[98] and "dressed throughout in Irish linen, except their Balbriggan stockings, and when crossing the grounds in their bright Kerry cloaks present quite a picturesque appearance."[99]

Robert Brown suggested that any liberties taken by his company in creating and maintaining this costumed image of the Irish colleen via a proscribed village garb were adopted only because "it is surely better to have Irish linen than the cheap finery (the cast off clothes of English swells, or the rubbish turned out by Whitechapel sweaters), which is so much worn in Ireland."[100] In contrast to the usual moderate nationalist sentiment of the Browns, this conceived hierarchy of Irish-over-English clothing echoes quite clearly the more extreme Irish-Ireland

---

[95] "The 'Irish Village,' Closing Scene at the Exhibition," *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Nov. 1908. The number of colleens varies even in official accounts from 150 to 200. It is also notable that the Anglicized term "boys" was never used for the men of the village. The Irish term *bhoy* was consistently used in both press and official accounts on the rare occasions men were mentioned at all in relation to the village.
[96] "Japan-British Exhibition Daily Programme" (1910).
[97] *Franco-British Exhibition Official Guide* (London: 1908).
[98] "Mass at Franco-British Exhibition," *Irish Independent*, 18 June 1908.
[99] "Ballymaclinton: The Model Irish Village," *Westmeath Examiner*, 1 Aug. 1908. "Galway" and "Kerry" were inconsistently used to describe the cloaks; in either case, no attempt was made to associate the cloaks with the county from which the colleens supposedly hailed: Tyrone. Instead, all documentation references these two rural counties from the West of Ireland idealized for their authentic Irishness and rustic simplicity.
[100] "Ballymaclinton and Its Critics," *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Aug. 1908.

nationalism of Douglas Hyde.[101] Of the many "silent inroads"[102] against which Douglas Hyde railed in his 1892 speech, "The Necessity for De-Anglicizing Ireland," he specifically called upon the Irish to, "as far as we have any influence, set our faces against this aping of English dress."[103] The Browns would certainly have been aware of Hyde's particular focus on undoing English influence in Ireland by re-constituting Irish clothing, language, and song, all features made prominent by the colleens in Ballymaclinton. Thus there can be little doubt that a more fervent Irish nationalist position was at least partially influential on this aspect of the Browns' Irish vision. The picturesque nostalgia of the costume on the soap labels became embodied with contemporary political power when materially produced on the physical bodies of the Ballymaclinton colleens. By dressing the girls in garb considered stereotypically Irish by the English visitor, yet in having all of that costume made in Ireland, the Ballymaclinton managers converted symbols of rural passivity into markers of politically engaged, nationalist choices.

Visitors to the village could watch the girls working at performances of lace-making or weaving, story-telling, or even dancing. Some girls offered classes in their craft or informal lessons in Gaelic.[104] The *Irish Independent* reported that their lessons were so popular that some of the lace-makers became full time teachers, instructing "ladies from all parts of England, many of them being peeresses."[105] While they were occasionally referred to as shy, more often than not, stories emerged of their wit and wisdom.[106] The village *Guide* was not alone in declaring a

---

[101] Irish-Irelander was the self-proclaimed identification of members of Sinn Féin and the Gaelic League to distinguish themselves from others, mainly Anglo-Irish elites, who claimed to be Irish, but whose claim to authenticity was at odds with Nationalist conceptions of Irish Home Rule and governmental systems independent of England.
[102] Douglas Hyde, 123.
[103] Ibid., 158.
[104] "Ballymaclinton: The Model Irish Village," *Westmeath Examiner*, 1 Aug. 1908.
[105] "The Exhibition Closes. Success of the Irish Village," *Irish Independent*, 2 Nov. 1908.
[106] "Ballymaclinton: The Model Irish Village," *Westmeath Examiner*, 1 Aug. 1908. The *Guide to the Ballymaclinton* includes a story of one girl who, when asked where the pigs were, explained, "they have not yet come over, Sur [sic]… perhaps you could stay." *Guide and Souvenir to Ballymaclinton*, 16.

"wittier, prettier, and more modest set of girls never left Ireland."[107] It explained that the "typical Colleen" had "soft blue eyes and dark wavy tresses, dressed in the picturesque cloak of the Galway peasants."[108]

The *Daily Mail* admired "the pretty girls, with their soft, musical speech, rising and falling like a gentle fine day breeze, in their red hooded cloaks, their neat short-skirted dresses, and their buckled shoes revealing dainty ankles in trim black stockings."[109] Such praise, however, also revealed the more intrusive gaze of the English observer. The *Daily Mail*'s description necessitated close examination of the colleens' ankles and stockings, an overly-intimate public viewing. This was not "the pathetic gaze" to which art historian Kristina Huneault has attributed English modes of viewing English "sweated labour" in the early twentieth century, but a sexualized gaze more often associated with exotic colonial women.[110] Huneault has suggested that by directing a "pathetic gaze" towards the laboring, specifically English poor, the middle- and upper-class British audiences drew upon personal feelings of sympathy and empathy to bridge "the insurmountable gap" between their own experience of leisure and their visual exposure to lower class hard labor, particularly at exhibitions.[111] When gazing upon Irish labor, however, the language of contemporary periodicals and journals reveals an acutely voyeuristic gaze that expanded the visual experience and perception of difference between the English observer and the Irish worker. One critic of such perceived sexualization of the colleens accused the Browns of reducing the Irish girls to "the same status at the London

---

[107] *Guide and Souvenir to Ballymaclinton*, 10.
[108] Ibid.
[109] "To-Day at the White City," *Daily Mail*, 26 May 1908.
[110] Kristina Huneault, *Difficult Subjects: Working Women and Visual Culture, Britain 1880-1914* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2002), 140. Huneault draws from literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin's idea of pathos as a mode of understanding that seeks to break down the distance between the viewer and the worker.
[111] Ibid., 139, 143.

Exhibition as the Somalis, the Ashautees, or the Hottentots,"[112] the writer himself verbalizing the visual connection between the African village inhabitants and the Irish village inhabitants that he feared fairgoers were making as they walked along the Colonial Avenue. Reports in Ireland did not help that "the most exotic thrill in the Exhibition at Shepherd's Bush is Ballymaclinton… the Village Senegalais is not so strange."[113]

In historian Richard Dyer's pioneering the study of "whiteness" in Western/European society, he begins from the simple premise of its "invisibility."[114] He has argued that whiteness is always the unnoticeable center point of racialization, the *sine qua non* of imperial racial hierarchies. As demonstrated by the Colleen Soap label, the whiteness of the colleen was quite explicitly essential to the brand. The colleens' whiteness, however, was far from invisible; their whiteness arguably became the most visible component of Irish identity at Ballymaclinton through the explicit connection of the Irish colleens to Colleen Soap. The colleens made, sold, promoted, and even washed with soap that would, according to the advertisements, give the purchaser the same pure, white skin as the fair colleens.[115] The advertising model established by the Browns in 1906 with the launch of Colleen Soap was embodied by the lived experience of the colleens in the exhibitions, and continued through print and material advertisements during the nineteen-teens and nineteen twenties, lasting even beyond the 1924 British Empire Exhibition to the 1938 Scottish National Exhibition in Glasgow.[116]

---

[112] "The Ballymac Slander Village in London," *Southern Star*, 5 Sept. 1908.
[113] James "Douglas, "Ballymaclinton. Irish Exiles at Shepherd's Bush." *Southern Star*, 30 May 1908. Annie Coombes has addressed the problems inherent in these colleens and argued that the predominance of female villagers collectively described as "girls" worked to diffuse colonial male threats of violence against the Empire. She ultimately concluded that the proximity of the Irish village to the African villages highlights differences rather than the similarities. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa*, 207.
[114] Richard Dyer, *White* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 4.
[115] Almost all of the Valentine postcard series contained the following on the reverse: "The Irish colleens use this soap, note their beautiful complexions."
[116] This emphasis on the pure, white beauty of Irish colleens is clear in sales booklets from 1917, advertisements in publications such as *Punch* and *Nash's Pall Mall*, and the company ledger from 1939.

Similarly, literary scholar Anne McClintock has theorized that the problem encountered by English soap manufacturers at the turn of the twentieth century was "how to represent [a product of] domesticity without representing [white] women at work."[117] According to her study, this drive to hide or make invisible the whiteness of imperial domesticity manifested in soap advertisements that emphasized the cleansing of black or dark-skinned natives. The consumption of soap, as a symbol of bodily and spiritual salvation, could also restore national confidence in times of imperial crisis.[118] Historian Thomas Richards has argued that Pears' soap quite literally became "The Formula of British Conquest,"[119] as advertisements connecting soap to the imperial exploration of Africa by Lord Stanley repeatedly emphasized the conquest, acculturation, and obvious whitening of indigenous groups through washing with English soap. Thus by locating unclean domestic spaces in the colonies, soap manufacturers could promote the ultimate efficacy of their product while simultaneously retaining the privacy of the imperial domestic center. Cleanliness was not then just a physical state, but an imperial subject's moral duty.[120]

In the case of Brown and Son, however, this problem was explicitly resolved by the body of the white Irish woman. She stood at the border between colonial native and domestic heart of the Empire; her defining feature was her whiteness. The resulting advertising campaign was unlike that of other contemporary manufacturers.[121] Instead of focusing on black figures that could become white through the power of Brown and Son soaps, the company over-emphasized

---

[117] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 216.
[118] Ibid., 211.
[119] Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 121.
[120] Virginia Smith, *Clean: A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 225; 63.
[121] McClintock highlights the ten major soap manufacturers in England at the turn of the twentieth century and maps their advertising into four "fetishes": soap, white clothing/aprons, mirrors, and monkeys.

the whiteness of its Irish colleens. Insomuch as whiteness was equated with purity and perfection, Colleen Soap lifted up the Irish colleen to the status of ultra-pure and inherently white, more white than even the English woman. The commercial success of the entire venture rested on convincing the English female visitor to Ballymaclinton that she wanted her skin to be as fair and white and pure as that of the Irish colleens. While other soap manufacturers at the exhibition handed out "N——r in the Bath" souvenirs – a box in which one put in a figure of an African man and it came out white on the other side – Brown and Son offered their own race as a whiteness worth aspiring to, or at least worth paying a few shillings for.[122] In this regard, the advertising model of McClinton's soaps stood as a potential insult to English purity and superiority, suggesting that England was not yet pure or clean or white enough. Such implication upended the "invisible whiteness" of the English race as the most perfect.

To prove the success of Colleen Soap in person, the colleens actually had to use it; purity needed to be actively performed in the exhibition space. If, as Anne McClintock has indicated, public washing in soap advertisements converted personal progress into public spectacle, such acts would break open the domestic space in ways that would have been inappropriate for the respectable Englishwoman.[123] The internationally-circulated postcard "Colleens Washing" (Figure 19) captures a scene that occurred every day in Ballymaclinton. The net hooked up by the door of the cottage indicates that the building outside of which the girls do their washing is the fisherman's cottage during the rest of the day; the large, promotional sign was actually brought out and taken away afterward, stressing the performative nature of this private act. In the scheduled "show," the colleens, each fully dressed but barefoot, performed private, domestic

[122] "Primrose Cottage," *The Daily Mail Special Exhibition Number*, Aug.-Oct. 1908. The Primrose Cottage was the project of John Knight, Ltd., and, as holders of the Royal Warrant for Soapmaker to the King, would have been the major competition on the grounds for Brown and Son.
[123] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 214.

acts associated with preparation for being seen while in full view of an audience of fairgoers. They not only washed with Colleen Soap, but also brushed their teeth with McClinton's tooth powder and helped wash each other's hair with McClinton's shampoo. Furthermore, this private scene made public, this seemingly-spontaneous act carefully performed in the exhibition space, was photographed and circulated as a postcard, making the localized exhibitionary act one of physical international visibility. The spectacle of public washing firmly positioned the colleens as dirty. Rather than prove the visible whiteness of the colleens, it proved their invisible darkness.

The circulation of these colleens via postcards adds another layer of complexity to the girls' central role in Brown and Son's representation of Ireland and Irishness at Ballymaclinton. Anthropologist Deborah Poole has suggested that one of the hallmarks of a modern visual economy, a term she uses to explain the organized transmission of knowledge across national and cultural boundaries via visual and visualized objects and people, was the "continual production and circulation of interchangeable or serialized image objects and visual experiences."[124] Her close analysis of early Peruvian cartes-de-visite addresses the commodification and collection of colonial figures as well as the use of such "calling cards" by colonial figures themselves.[125] Such duality of purpose echoes the multiple interpretations of the colleens through the reproduction of both their persons and their performances in photographs and postcards.

Two sets of formal images exist of these colleens. The first is a series of postcards comprised of dozens of vignettes and individual portraits that were published by Valentine's postcard company and sold as souvenirs in the Ballymaclinton post office. The second is a

[124] Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 9.
[125] Poole, 107-141.

group of undated portraits taken in a studio in front of a backdrop painted to resemble the exhibition village.[126] These latter photographs are undated, but were most likely taken in 1908 and 1909, the two most popular years of the exhibition village. They were preserved by Norah Gallagher, daughter of Ballymaclinton manager Samuel Gallagher, who dressed as a colleen, herself, at the Franco-British Exhibition at the young age of three (Figure 20). Like the older colleens, she wore a heavy, red wool cloak, Balbriggan stockings, and a simple white linen shift; moreover, she is positioned in this snapshot in front of the window of the Ballymaclinton post office in which postcards of the hired village colleens are clearly displayed for sale.[127] These postcards configured the Irish colleens not only as industrious, skilled workers, but also as consumable goods.

In his study on "the politics of photography," literary scholar Spurgeon Thompson has suggested that English visitors to Ireland hoped to capture on film "pure Irishness," essentially a moment frozen in time for the purpose of collection and possession.[128] Rather than grapple with political or social tensions, tourists used snapshots to mediate the complex problems inherent in early twentieth-century Anglo-Irish relations. He echoes Seamus Deane's assessment that "if the Celts stay quaint, they will also stay put."[129] The colleen postcards confirmed this model of capturing Irishness as something frozen in time and powerless rather than representative of something new, independent and industrious. None of the images suggests modern industrial models, cutting-edge architectural designs, or advanced hygienic practices. Instead, the

---

[126] Ithell, *A Story of the Ballymaclinton Village*. Ithell claims that Mr. Wilson's family has an album containing the names and photographs of just under one hundred girls and no men. Norah Gallagher's album includes photographs of over two dozen colleens, and just under one dozen men, although only five men are photographed with the same isolated objectivity as all of the girls.

[127] Norah is pictured here with Napper Tandy, said to have been the world's smallest pony.

[128] Spurgeon Thompson, "The Politics of Photography: Travel Writing and the Irish Countryside, 1900-1914," in *Images, Icons and the Nationalist Imagination*, ed. Lawrence McBride (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 129.

[129] Seamus Deane, "Irish Poetry and Nationalism," in *Two Decades of Irish Writing: A Critical Survey*, ed. D. Dunn (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1975), 8. Quoted in Thompson, "The Politics of Photography," 129.

collectors and recipients of the cards could view image after image of women, women and donkeys, women working at cottage industries, women superstitiously reading fortunes in tea leaves, and women lounging in a picturesquely ruined town square. Notably, there are few men in any of the postcards.[130]

"Main Street and Ancient Church, Ballymaclinton" (Figure 21) is typical of the group scenes in the postcard series. Pairs of women and donkeys wander in no particular direction through the village streets. They dispassionately engage the camera while a group of presumably English visitors watches from the doorway of one of the laborer's cottages. The ubiquitous Irish round tower and the medieval church, picturesquely ruined, contrast sharply and charmingly with the whitewashed, thatched cottage. The sign on the building on the left margin of the image reads "Irish Industries Association," but these colleens are not engaged in any industry, cottage or otherwise, thus reifying imperial stereotypes of the Irish as lazy and listless.[131] They exist in this scene for no other purpose than the observance by and consumption of the English visitor and, by extension, the postcard recipient.

Dancing scenes were also popular subjects. By many accounts, the colleens were natural entertainers, "their dancing and their singing of Irish songs invariably draw[ing] large and admiring crowds."[132] "Dancing on Village Green, Ballymaclinton" (Figure 22) captures one of these moments with the colleens in the foreground in the middle of a dance while crowds of both fairgoers and other Ballymaclinton villagers line the fence, lounge in the field in the background, and stand up in the horse-drawn jitney to get a better view of the performance. On the one hand, the four colleens on the dancing platform and the colleen who accompanies them on her box

[130] One older Irish male figure appears in the same pose in multiple postcards representing multiple exhibition years, clearly having been cut from one original photograph and physically pasted onto others year after year. I have not noticed any female figures reused in such a way.
[131] On stereotypes in print, see Perry L. Curtis Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, revised ed. (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 129.
[132] "The Irish Village at Franco-British Exhibition," *Irish Independent*, 25 May 1908.

accordion are enacting a typical jig or reel, a dance specific to Irish culture and celebration. Friends and family gathered around speak to the casual, usual nature of such performance in Irish spaces. On the other hand, the gathering of English fairgoers on the outside of the fence lines reaffirms the voyeuristic nature of the spectacle. This native art form was experienced by the fairgoer in a way similar to observations of dance routines in other villages: from a safe distance. The postcard captures the supposedly spontaneous moment of village life, but in so doing encourages the viewer to observe this performance from a safe distance as well.[133]

The postcard series also included a number of individual scenes. These were not portraits of the women *per se*, but staged representations of women in character in the village. They differ significantly from the series of personal, studio photographs in which the *cailini* posed for friends and family, sharing copies among themselves like calling cards. Harriett Lowe's picture (Figure 23) is a typical example of these personal shots. She sits in front of a studio backdrop in her colleen garb and smiles at the camera. She looks like the Colleen on the soap labels and she appears confident, calm, and comfortable. She shared this picture with young Norah Gallagher, even signing it for her. In contrast, the women in the portrait postcards were formally posed for consumption and often echoed the illicit intimacy suggested by the textual descriptions of the girls' ankles, cheeks, and even undergarments.[134]

The "Ballymaclinton Colleen" at home (Figure 24) and the "Ballymaclinton Colleen" at the Carpets and Lace building (Figure 25) preserved in circulation colleens who seem far less natural in the situations and poses into which they have been placed than the pleasant Harriet Lowe. The first girl leans suggestively against an open fence that demarcates a private

[133] It is just such an anthropological, scientific distance that Poole suggests is encouraged when the cartes-de-visite are taken out of Andean society and circulated in the ethnological collections of European society. Poole, 132-133.
[134] According to the *Guide and Souvenir to Ballymaclinton*: "[The colleens'] underwear has been provided by the Irish Linen Mesh Co. This material is the most hygienic underclothing in the world, as it absorbs the perspiration and passes it through, so preventing chills."

exhibition space. As she is without her characteristic red cloak, one may assume she is welcoming to the viewer into her home. Her position, with one hand upon the fence, almost gesturing towards the viewer, and the other concealed behind her, possibly on her hip, suggests the openness not only of her home, but of her whole body, already partially unrobed; her glance is bold, persistent, and even hard. Similarly, the second colleen stands at the door of a cottage that sells carpets and laces. She has paused at the door, looking back to the viewer with an impatient, inviting glance. One hand on the door expresses her imminent entrance, as does the hand already untying the hood of her cloak. While carpets are for sale within, the colleen disrobing for the viewer is certainly available as well. The message of this postcard is one of possession, not of a product, but of the girl.

While such an interpretation stands against the Browns' avowed propriety of the Irish girls, David Brown himself having publicly complimented his employees on creating "no whisper of scandal"[135] in their six months at the Franco-British Exhibition, it nonetheless corresponds with the sexualization of other colonial women in exhibitionary postcards. Historian Robert Rydell has echoed anthropologist Raymond Corbey in suggesting that being on display, both physically in the villages and virtually in the postcards, stripped the exhibited women of their identity, casting them, instead, as generic sexual objects waiting to be possessed.[136] Historian Joanna de Groot has similarly argued that "depictions of glamorous, comic or threatening figures of colonial people… in plays, cartoons, pantomime, music hall and other forms of entertainment brought a whole cast of imperial characters for purchase and consumption in the mainstream of British culture."[137] So, too, did the exhibition bring these

[135] "Topics of the Day. Opinions of Our Readers. Ballymaclinton," *Irish Independent*, 17 Apr. 1909.
[136] Rydell, "Souvenirs of Imperialism," 56. Quoting Raymond Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930," *Cultural Anthropology* 8 (1993): 362.
[137] Joanna de Groot, "Metropolitan Desires and Colonial Connections: Reflections on Consumption and Empire," in

figures to life before the eyes of the visitor and the postcard recipient; the Irish colleen was a member of that cast of colonial, consumable characters, souvenirs for purchase like any bar of soap or lace collar.

Lasting Impressions

Ballymaclinton closed at the White City after the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition.[138] Despite losses in its first years, the village claimed over fifteen gold medals and was the site of fourteen engagements and even one wedding.[139] It was reported that there were 1,395,583 visitors to the village in the first year alone,[140] that nearly 4,000,000 postcards were sent from the post office,[141] and almost £20,000 of Irish goods were sold.[142] Many accounts claimed, like the *Freeman's Journal*, that "Ballymaclinton had succeeded in doing what statesmen and politicians had failed to accomplish, namely, the union of Ireland and England, a true union of hearts."[143] By accommodating multiple versions of Irishness balanced on the line between colony and imperial center, the Browns' project facilitated "a striking instance of Irish enterprise admirably carried out."[144]

After the White City, Brown and Son continued to promote their business through the successful Colleen Soap brand. An advertisement in *The Graphic* in January of 1914 was typical of the campaign. Headed "Make Your Complexion Like the Colleen's" (Figure 26), this advertisement showed two women, intimately leaning their heads against each other. On the

---

*At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 176.

[138] As discussed above, Ballymaclinton as a commercial venue moved to the Crystal Palace site for the 1911 Coronation Exhibition, but in a very different form.

[139] "The White City, Close of the Japanese Exhibition," *Freeman's Journal*, 2 Nov. 1910.

[140] "To Fight Consumption in Ireland," *Irish Independent*, 19 Oct. 1908.

[141] "Items of Interest. The Irish Village," *Irish Independent*, 28 Oct. 1908.

[142] "Topics of the Day," *Irish Independent*, 17 Apr. 1909.

[143] Ibid.

[144] "To-day at the White City," *Daily Mail*, 26 May 1908.

right is the recognizable Colleen, with her curly red hair, her sturdy red Kerry cloak, and linen kerchief. Previously a symbol of a typical Irish colleen, after the White City exhibitions, she was a representation of the physical Ballymaclinton colleens. The woman on the left, however, blonde with her hair pulled back in a pale blue ribbon to match the blue collar of her modern dress, is ostensibly an English woman who has followed the advice of the peeresses and poets who recommend Colleen's soap at the bottom of the page. As a result, the Englishwoman's skin is as pale and lovely as that of her Irish sister. The advertisement promises "the soft natural bloom and delicacy of colouring that has made the Colleen's complexion the envy of all the world."[145] It has also served, in this example, to pacify the contentious politics of Anglo-Irish relations in the run-up to the Great War. Here, female personifications of the nations physically touch each other in a sign of harmony and friendship, a far cry from the growing Irish Nationalist panic in the South of Ireland and Loyalist panic in the North.[146] This commercial vision also underscored the importance of a continued intimate relationship between the soap company and its English market.

An advertisement later that year titled "Ireland and the Empire" (Figure 27) further stressed the lengths to which Brown and Son would go to assure its English clients of the support of Ireland for British concerns. While the company's real focus was on their specific Colleen and her soap, by 1914, the symbol of the colleen with her snowy white complexion was certainly synonymous with Ireland. The McClinton's Colleen-as-Ireland has, in this advertisement, armed herself with a sword as she stands before a British flag. Technically an advertisement for men's shaving soap, she explicitly proclaims "Ireland stands shoulder to shoulder with Great Britain,

---

[145] "Make Your Complexion Like the Colleen's," *The Graphic*, 3 Jan. 1914.

[146] The issue of conscription into the British army exacerbated tensions between England and Irish nationalists who were already calling for independence from England and, coordinately, independence from England's military concerns.

ready and willing to bear her full share of the hardships of the war."[147] This is a clear rejection of nationalist opposition to participating in World War I for England. As the original Ballymaclinton village was intended to cement Anglo-Irish relationships on the fairgrounds, the Browns hoped that the resonant images from the village would continue to affirm their strong relationship with the English market while still maintaining their inherent Irishness.

During the inter-exhibition years from 1911 to 1924, price booklets from the company demonstrated the lasting currency of the specific imagery from Ballymaclinton. The 1917 Price List included the cost of a souvenir box of Colleen Soap that reproduced the postcard image of colleens washing on its lid. The souvenir box could be obtained by submitting wrappers from three travel/visitor-size bars of Colleen Soap. For the same trade value, one could also order a souvenir box of Sheila soap, emblazoned with a replica postcard of a single colleen[148] (Figure 28). The appropriation of souvenir postcards as packaging for soaps nearly a decade later indicate that such specific representations of Irishness still carried cultural and economic value throughout Brown and Son's market.[149] Such serial images were still an important part of the Ballymaclinton "visual economy."[150]

Brown and Son's 1908 exhibition village project promoted complex relationships between the performers and their exhibitionary audience as well as between this synecdochal representation of Ireland and the larger exhibition, predicated as it was, on the notion of representing the entirety of the British Empire. The company never did reap the economic and regional successes they had anticipated from the live-advertising campaign of the village and Ballymaclinton also fed into both English stereotypes of the Irish as well as hard-line Irish

[147] "Ireland and the Empire," *The Graphic*, 26 Sept. 1914.
[148] "Sheila," like "colleen," was an Anglicization of a Celtic word for woman, *síghle.*
[149] While the struggle for independence caused a strain in Brown and Son's trade relations in Dublin, their records indicate that business was nonetheless still growing in Australia, Canada, South Africa, and England throughout the 1920s. Records of David Brown & Son, D1742/1E, Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast.
[150] Poole, 8.

nationalist stereotypes of the Anglo-Irish. Nonetheless, this was the representation of Ireland most viewed at English exhibitions for nearly two decades and that would continue to sell soap for the Browns decades after that.[151] Ballymaclinton contained a range of symbols of Irishness whose complex meanings and interpretations were challenged and expanded upon by both the organizers and visitors. In its final iteration, Ballymaclinton at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition at Wembley would continue to mobilize and reconfigure issues of Irish health, cleanliness, industriousness, and peacefulness through the cottage, the colleen, and the ubiquitous bar of Colleen Soap.

[151] Brown and Son were the primary exhibitor of "Ireland" via an "Irish Village" or "Irish Cottage" at every exhibition in England and Scotland from 1908 to 1925. Their products continued to use the Colleen and Sheila images from 1908 until at least the 1950s.

# CHAPTER 3 FIGURES




Figure 1. “Irish International Exhibition.” 1907. Postcard, 3” x 5”. Private collection.




Figure 2. "Old Irish Cottage Exhibition, Dublin, 1907." 1907. Postcard, 3" x 5". Private collection.

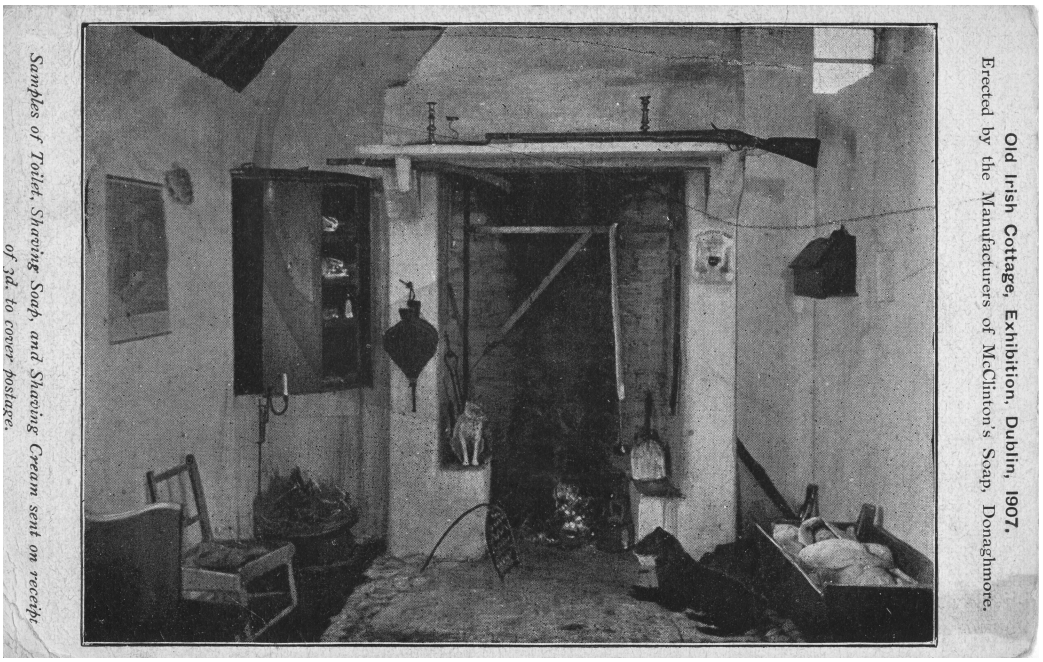


Figure 3. "Old Irish Cottage Exhibition, Dublin, 1907." 1907. Postcard, 3" x 5". Private collection.




Figure 4. "Making McClinton's Soap at the Old Irish Cottage, Exhibition, Dublin, 1907." 1907. Postcard, 3" x 5". Private collection.

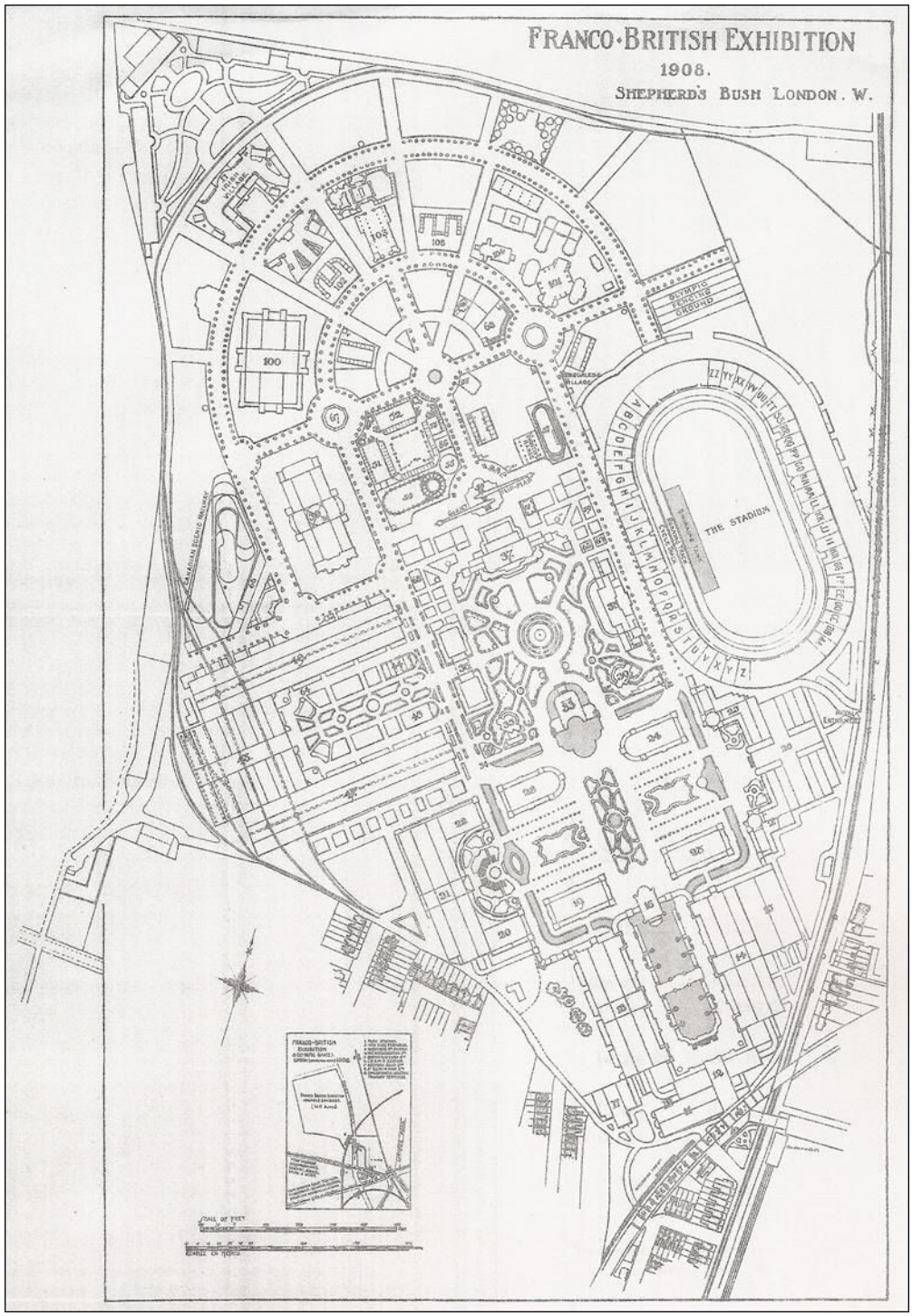


Figure 5. Map of the Franco-British Exhibition, 1908. In Donald R. Knight. *The Exhibitions: Great White City, Shepherd's Bush London*. London: Barnard & Westwood,Ltd., 1978.




Figure 6. “Franco-British Exhibition, London - The Congress Hall." 1908. Postcard, 3" 5". Private collection.

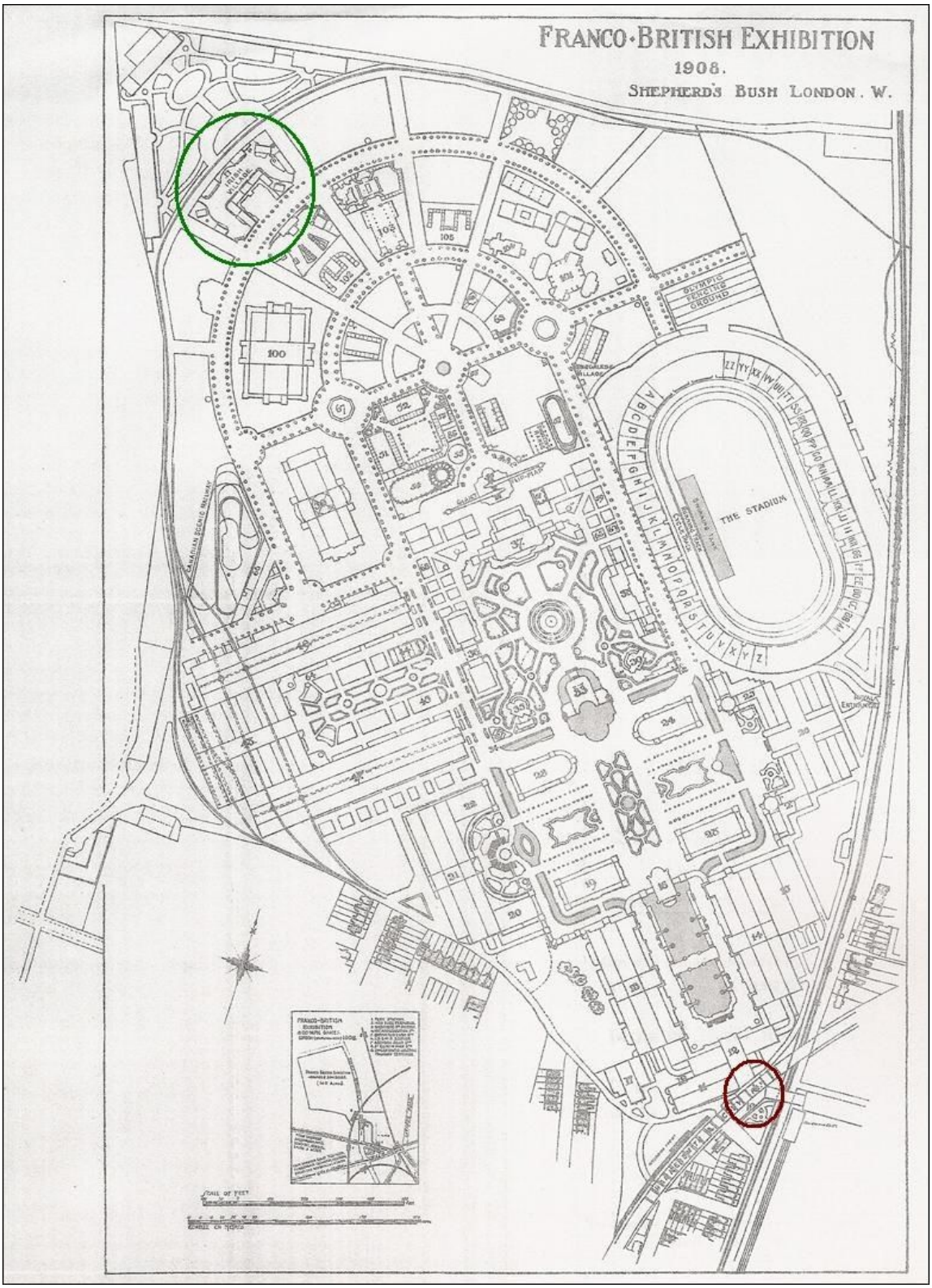


Figure 7. Map of the Franco-British Exhibition, 1908 with circles superimposed by this author to highlight the distance from the Main Entrance (red) to the Irish Village (green). In Donald R. Knight. *The Exhibitions: Great White City, Shepherd's Bush London*. London: Barnard & Westwood, Ltd., 1978.



Figure 8. Japan-British Exhibition. Japanese Village. 1910. Photograph. National Archives, Kew, London.




Figure 9. Imperial International Exhibition. Ballymaclinton. 1909. Photograph. Donaghmore Historical Society, County Tyrone, Northern Ireland.

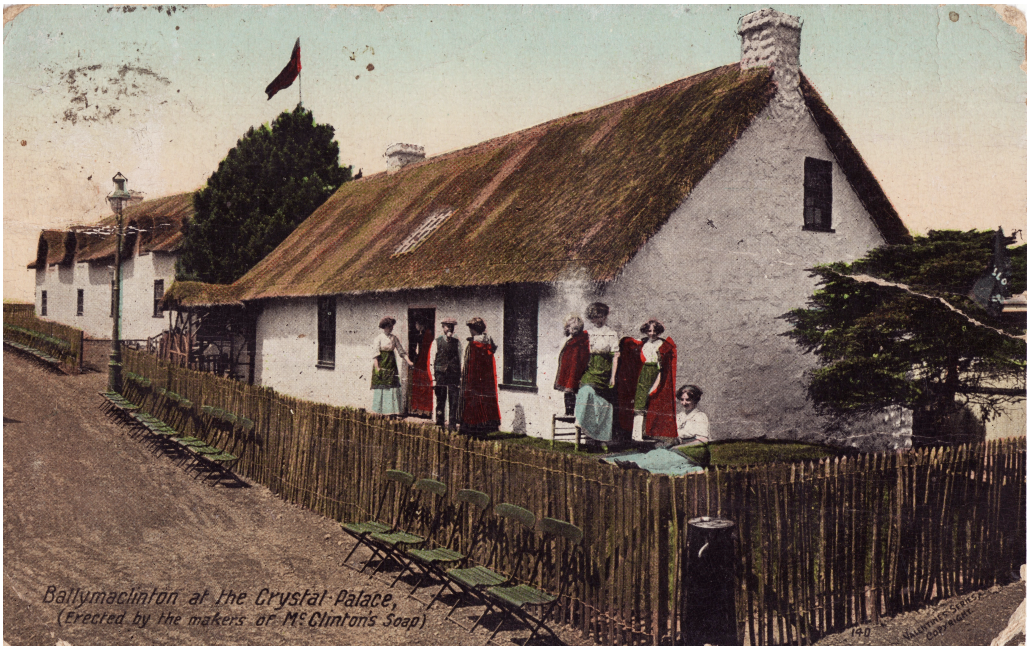


Figure 10. "Ballymaclinton at the Crystal Palace." 1909/1911. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection.




Figure 11. "Entrance to Irish Village (Ballymaclinton) Franco-British Exhibition, London, 1908." Reverse. 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private collection.




Figure 12. "Entrance to Irish Village (Ballymaclinton) Franco-British Exhibition, London, 1908." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private collection.

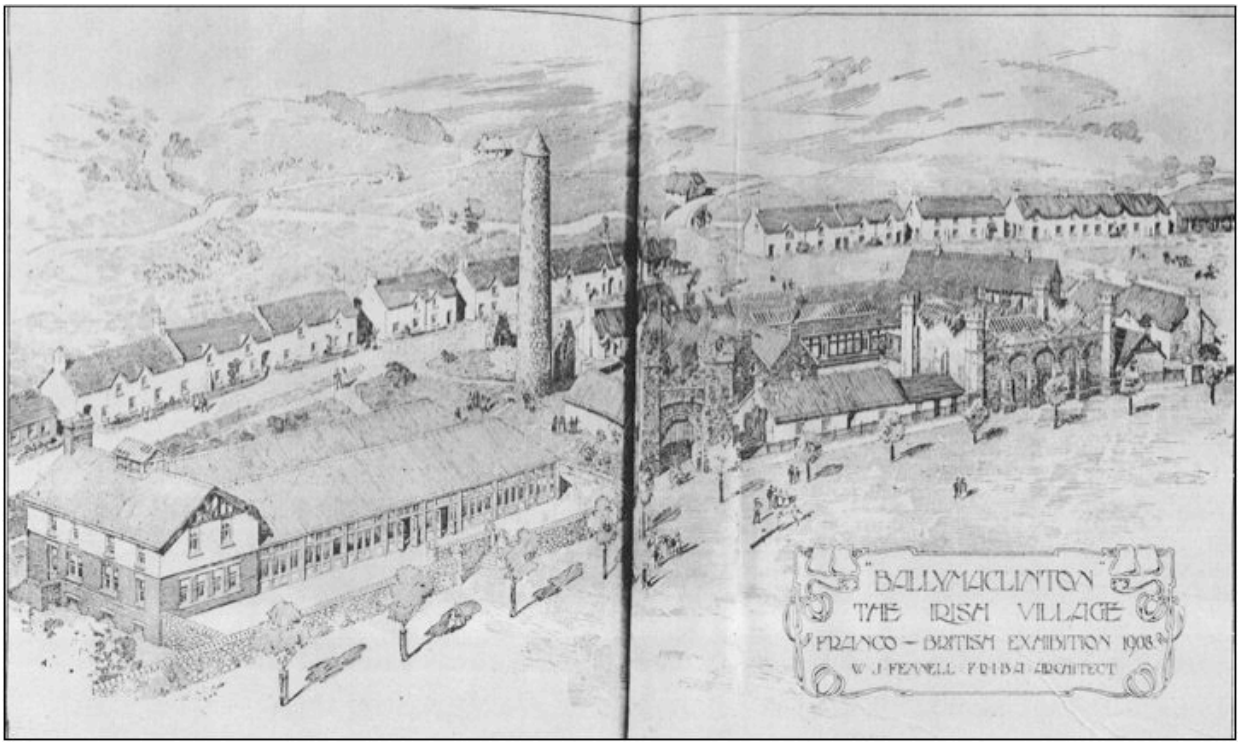


Figure 13. Pencil Drawing. *The Irish Builder*, October 31, 1908. Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast.




Figure 14. Beleek, Ballymaclinton pigs. Irish Historical Textiles. http://irishhistoricaltextiles.com/2012/03/26/the-junior-spinning-champion-of-ireland-and-the-entente-cordiale/




Figure 15. "In the Farmyard, Ballymaclinton." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection.




Figure 16. Unhealthy Bedroom Exhibited at the Tuberculosis Exhibit in the Irish Village of the Franco-British Exhibition. In *The British Journal of Tuberculosis* 2 (1908), p. 311.

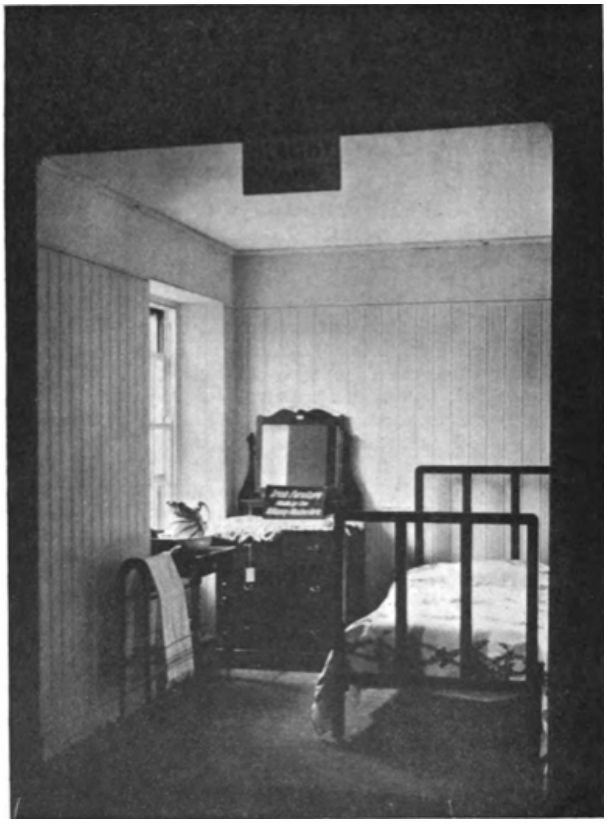

Figure 17. Healthy Bedroom Exhibited at the Tuberculosis Exhibit in the Irish Village of the Franco-British Exhibition. In *The British Journal of Tuberculosis* 2 (1908), p. 310.




Figure 18. Colleen Soap box c. 1910. Donaghmore Historical Society, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland.




Figure 19. "Colleens Washing, Ballymaclinton." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection.



Figure 20. Norah Gallagher and Napper Tandy, Franco-British Exhibition, 1908. Photograph. Donaghmore Historical Society, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland.




Figure 21. "Main Street and Ancient Church, Ballymaclinton." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection.




Figure 22. “Dancing on Village Green, Ballymaclinton." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection.



Figure 23. Harriett Lowe. 1908. Photograph. Donaghmore Historical Society, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland.



Figure 24. "A Ballymaclinton Colleen." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection.



Figure 25. "A Ballymaclinton Colleen." 1908. Postcard. 3" x 5". Private Collection.



Figure 26. "Make Your Complexion Like the Colleen's." In *The Graphic*, 3 Jan. 1914.



Figure 27. "Ireland and the Empire." In *The Graphic*, 26 Sept. 1914.



Figure 28. "Sheila Soap," in *Brown & Son Price List*. Belfast: William Strain & Sons, 1917.

# CHAPTER 4

## FIRST IMPRESSIONS:

## ULSTER AT THE BRITISH EMPIRE EXHIBITION, 1924

In 1893, Lady Aberdeen hung a large, three-dimensional map of Ireland at the most popular spot in her Irish Village at the Chicago World's Fair. In 1897, New York and Chicago Irish wept on a map at the Irish Fairs said to be made from the turf of all thirty-two counties. From 1908-1911, Brown and Son Soapworks sold Irish turf souvenirs in Ballymaclinton at London's White City Exhibitions in Shepherd's Bush.[1] This connection between the Irish people, the physical land of Ireland, and exhibition spaces took a new turn in 1924 at the British Empire Exhibition in Wembley, London. There, fairgoers inevitably found their way to the main intersection inside the massive Palace of Industry to stand before the vast model of Belfast Harbour (Figure 1). According to the advance description in the Belfast paper *The Northern Whig*:

> The fairway will be filled with real water, and some idea of the size of the model may be grasped from the fact that the tank will have a base of 300 feet. Every day during the exhibition there will take place the launch of a model of one of the mammoth liners built by Harland & Wolff. It is to be no toy affair. The model will be fifty feet long on the water line, and the launch will be complete in every detail - slips, tugs, sirens, flags, all will be there as though Wembley were the Queen's Island. Another interesting feature of the exhibit will be the departure of the cross-channel steamers, the five vessels being shown clearing into the fairway, while the shipping companies will demonstrate the loading and unloading of goods and merchandise in the harbour. The railway companies will also do their part by showing how traffic is dealt with entering and leaving the city.[2]

The completeness of the model, down to the timing of the ships from the docks and the flow of real water through the channels, continued the pattern of the expression of a national

---

[1] See chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation.

[2] "Ulster at Wembley. Queen's Island Launches to Take Place Daily. Pictures of the Province for Empire Visitors." *The Northern Whig*, 12 Dec. 1923.

Irish identity at international exhibitions through the visual display and material experience of the Irish landscape.[3] Rather than showcase the entire island, however, the organizers of this Ulster Pavilion chose to highlight that aspect of the Irish landscape they felt most set them apart from the rest of Ireland, only recently having been cordoned off by the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1922. The Belfast Harbour model represented the most industrial, successful, and international section of this new country called Ulster. As various Irish parties had chosen to do in past exhibitions, they physically grounded the exhibition space with a map.

This chapter addresses the Ulster Pavilion at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition to explore both the continuity of the Irish landscape broadly in representing Ireland such exhibition spaces as well as the ways in which the Ulster organizers mobilized certain symbols and locations to create and promote a specifically Northern version of Ireland in the post-war world. Such a vision was difficult to express, however, as Ulster was caught between affirming a clear Irish identity in opposition to the South, notably absent from the 1924 event, and promoting a stable British identity in light of previous years of rebellion in Ireland. The organizing committee hoped that "Northern Ireland now possessing certain powers of autonomy, by participating in the Exhibition is identifying herself with the Empire as one of its parts… she is showing to the World that… she is an integral part of the United Kingdom, and that her industries, institutions and social life are inseparably bound up with those of Great Britain."[4] This attempt to find and define the careful balance between being both Irish and British marks all aspects of the Ulster display, from the design and location of the pavilion to the arts and industries on display inside to the Harbour Model that anchored the entire space.

---

[3] Harbour Commissioner records suggest discussion of ensuring the "real water" was from Belfast Harbour, but there is no indication that this ever manifested on-site at Wembley. Records of the Harbour Commissioners, British Empire Exhibition Volume 1, HA/1/A/7/8, Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast (hereafter Harbour Records BEE, PRONI)

[4] Ministry of Commerce memorandum, July 1923, Harbour Records BEE, HA/1/A/7/8, PRONI.

The problems inherent in establishing and clarifying any sort of Northern visual identity were not new in 1924. In the hundreds of years since Oliver Cromwell's Ulster Plantation scheme relocated English soldiers into the north of Ireland, tensions between Catholic and Protestant and between local Irish and transplanted Anglo-Irish had been a consistent concern. Through the nineteenth century, as the southern and western provinces became increasingly agitated over land rights, religious freedoms, and political independence, the so-called Protestant Ascendancy in the northeast counties grew equally concerned with the threat of being cut off from England, which many there still considered their ancestral homeland. With Home Rule agitation increasing in Dublin in the early twentieth century, Ulster Unionists had elected Edward Carson to head their parliamentary party. Along with James Craig, Carson led the party in the face of antagonistic Southern militarism, the final passing of Home Rule in the British Parliament, and the onslaught of World War I. Fearing that Home Rule from Dublin would be forced upon Ulster, in September of 1912 Carson was one of over 500,000 Ulstermen and women to sign the Ulster Covenant, swearing to protect Ulster by force if necessary.[5]

Historian Jonathan Bardon has succinctly described this Ireland, increasingly divided between North and South in the years spanning World War I, as the seat of "a cult of violence."[6] From the 1916 Rising through the War for Independence and the ensuing Civil War, the island was rocked by political, social, and economic instability, to say nothing of a series of identity crises; factions dissolved and regrouped, alliances were made and broken, and treaties written too slowly to solve all the problems. In December of 1920, the Government of Ireland Act

[5] For further explanation of nearly three hundred years of Ulster history, see Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster*, new updated ed. (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 2001); Thomas Bartlett, *Ireland, a History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010); R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600 - 1972* (London: The Penguin Press, 1988).
[6] Bardon, 466.

created an ostensibly temporary partition of the six northern counties in Ulster.[7] The Act was both reactionary and conciliatory. On the one hand, it was the British Parliament's response to the abstention of the nationalist Sinn Féin MPs from the House of Commons, their establishment of the Dáil, an independent legislature in Dublin, and their declaration of independence in 1919; on the other, it accommodated the desires of Ulster Unionists to maintain a majority rule on the island, in only six counties if need be. The Act established a Council that would work towards the unification of what was now a two-government system, complete with two legislative branches and two executive figures, but the internecine violence that followed made such compromise between the two parliaments all but impossible.

Escalating attacks and reprisals between Catholics and Protestants and between British military police and Irish Republicans were finally halted by the Anglo-Irish Truce in the summer of 1921 that led to negotiations on an Anglo-Irish Treaty throughout the end of the year. While the Treaty essentially provided Dominion status to the entire island, the Northern Parliament had the option to vote itself out of the arrangement and promptly did so. In the remaining twenty-six counties, the possibility of permanent Partition on the island as well as the oath of fealty to the Crown required by the Treaty broke the country into violent pro- and anti-Treatyite factions. An ensuing Civil War wound down fitfully by April of 1923, leaving the Free State President Douglas Hyde to oversee the massive economic and social recovery of a still-dissatisfied, twenty-six county nation, while in Ulster, Unionists waited for Lloyd George's Boundary Commission to sort out the details of official Partition. Carson stepped down from leadership of the party in 1921, so it was James Craig who decided to "wait and see" how much of Ulster

[7] Ulster, the province, contained nine counties; Ulster the partitioned state, included only six: Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, and Tyrone.

would remain unified with England.[8]

Concurrent with, yet in many ways quite apart from this violence, chaos, and nation-building in Ireland in the 1920s, the Prince of Wales and the English Department of Overseas Trade were concerned with repairing the damage done to imperial confidence by the Great War. A pre-war idea for an Empire Exhibition received renewed support in 1920 and planning began in earnest in 1921, simultaneous with the negotiations for the Anglo-Irish Treaty. Despite any official confirmation of new national boundaries, Ulster Prime Minister Craig and others in Belfast felt compelled by the political expediency of fledgling nationhood to show Ulster at the upcoming exhibition and to develop and promote symbols of their new country. The haste of their plan is evidenced by the fact that Craig and his ministers could not even agree on a name for the display: "Ulster," the name of the Province that had been cut up by Partition, or "Northern Ireland," a generic geographic restriction that lacked the distinctiveness desired to display the new state as one of England's "daughter-states [who] have grown into sister-nations."[9]

King George V, in his famous speech at the opening ceremonies on April 23, 1924, declared that the British Empire Exhibition would serve as "a graphic illustration of free and tolerant co-operation which has inspired peoples of different races to unite."[10] The exhibition would especially challenge Northern Ireland. The unity of Ulster with the Empire was based on its division from the rest of its own island. Conceiving of and enacting such a vision forced Northern Ireland to grapple with the divisions and fissures in an already fraught inter-Irish relationship. It would also challenge Northern Ireland to overcome, or at least overlook, the

---

[8] For more on the tumultuous 1920s in Ireland, see Bardon; Bartlett; David Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands, 1912 - 1939* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006); Thomas Hennessey, *A History of Northern Ireland, 1920 - 1996* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
[9] *Handbook of General Information* (London: The British Empire Exhibition, 1924).
[10] "The King's Speech," *Irish Independent*, 24 Apr. 1924.

boundaries that already existed, both geographic and social, between the six counties of Ulster and England, to whom the Province-cum-State had so adamantly pledged its loyalty. On the other hand, the exhibition offered the Northern Government the exceptional opportunity to visualize their loyalty to the Empire on English soil. The 1924 British Empire Exhibition's claim to be "a Family Party" could not have been further from the truth as far as Ireland, North or South, was concerned.[11]

Attention to the actions of Northern Ireland to promote an independent Irish visual identity based on a shared landscape with the South, yet separate political and social ideologies represented by and on those spaces invites new interpretations and understanding of the conflict between the North and the South in the years after Partition. Historian Robert Rydell has discussed the ways in which a host nation such as England manipulated the world-view of its citizens through the specific symbols mapped out on exhibition grounds and displays. The actions of Northern Ireland in 1924, perhaps because the ministers of the Government saw themselves as so flawlessly "hand in hand with Great Britain,"[12] acted in very much the same way.[13] They expected to change the way England and the Commonwealth understood Ireland; they planned to reintroduce the island as a whole, physically and culturally, as synonymous with Ulster.

Few scholars have addressed the significance of the Wembley exhibition in interwar England and fewer still have noticed the significance of the exhibition to the nation-building efforts going on in Northern Ireland at the time. Art historian Joseph McBrinn, for one, has highlighted the importance of the murals in the Ulster Pavilion in connecting Northern Ireland to

---

[11] *The British Empire Exhibition 1924 Official Guide* (London: Fleetway Press Ltd., 1924), 10.
[12] Sir James Craig, *Ulster Pavilion* (London: 1924).
[13] Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 1-8.

England through a particular craft. According to McBrinn, the massive images of industries like linen production and shipbuilding balanced local strengths with imperial economics in a medium highly regarded by the English public for its style and by exhibition planners for its narrative simplicity.[14] Similarly, historian James Loughlin has mapped out the significance of Northern Ireland's participation at the exhibition vis-à-vis political events in Ireland at the time, namely the royal visit of the duke and duchess of York and the concurrent Boundary Commission.[15] By stressing the explicit Britishness of the Ulster Pavilion, Loughlin suggested it was part of a larger plan of "imaginative consolidation of the northern statelet"[16] within the Empire.

I argue that the central component of such imaginative construction of the nation was the physical landscape of Ireland. The *Official Guide* to the exhibition proclaimed, "territories usually separated by seas and mountains, by language, custom, and age, will find themselves neighbors at Wembley."[17] For the Northern Government, the key task was proving through the exhibition space that, regardless of the physical continuities of landscape, of shared mountains, fields, rivers, or of insular trade routes and family bonds between North and South and despite historical appearances, Northern Ireland was wholly devoted to the Empire and was a worthwhile neighbor. My exploration of the strategies of mapping, topography, and physical landscape that the Northern exhibition organizers invested in the 1924 Ulster Pavilion illuminates the nuances and complications of expressing and physically mapping out a new national spirit in such a public space as an international exhibition.

This chapter begins with the negotiations to establish any Irish presence at the British

---

[14] Joseph McBrinn, "The Crafts in Twentieth-Century Ulster: From Partition to the Festival of Britain, 1922 - 1951," *Ulster Folklife* 51 (2005): 72-73.
[15] James Loughlin, *The British Monarchy and Ireland: 1800 to the Present* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 336-38; Loughlin, "Creating 'a Social and Geographical Fact': Regional Identity and the Ulster Question 1880s - 1920s," *Past and Present*, no. 195 (2007): 192-93.
[16] Loughlin, "Creating 'a Social and Geographical Fact'," 190.
[17] *The British Empire Exhibition 1924 Official Guide*, 10.

Empire Exhibition at all. As a result of ongoing problems with both England and the North, the Free State Government declined the Empire's invitation to appear in any form in 1924, leaving Ulster the opportunity to lay claim to all things Irish on the imperial exhibition stage.[18] The correct location, naming, and decoration of the lone Irish display would become of paramount importance to Craig and his commissioners in Belfast and London. They needed to imagine and materialize the perfect exhibitionary space for Ulster-as-Ireland.

Within that space, the particular displays included such industries as linen and rope-making, a showcase of artworks by Ulster-born artists and by prominent artists residing in and painting Ulster, and the massive map of Belfast Harbour. I chart the theme of land and mapping that runs throughout these sections, revealing the focus on Irish land as the most important hallmark of Irishness and indivisible from Ulster. Such emphasis reveals complicated juxtapositions, as in the case of artwork by Ulster-born artists such as Paul Henry, Charles Lamb, and John Lavery, who did not fit neatly into the rhetorical and visual redefinition of Ulster/Irish space as confirming the North's "undying devotion to the Sovereign, to Great Britain, and to the Empire."[19] Also in 1924, the legacy of past Irish displays at exhibitions haunted the Ulster Pavilion in the form of Brown and Son Soapworks and their Colleen Cottage. This remnant of Ballymaclinton was at once a village locale created by and fashioned after an Ulster industrial town, but at the same time it drew from a broad, pre-Partition sense of Ireland. In 1908, Ballymaclinton synecdochally represented the entire island; in 1924, it was redeployed to represent County Tyrone only. Finally, I consider the grand Harbour Model to evaluate the continuing impulse by Irish organizers, North and South, to physically construct maps and

[18] A few businesses such as Jameson's Whiskey did have booths in some of the main exhibition palaces and some Irish artists, such as John Lavery, did exhibit work in the Palace of Arts, however, in these instances, the displays were not explicitly organized as national.
[19] Sir James Craig, "Christmas Message to Ulster," *The Times*, 24 Dec. 1924.

models of island spaces within exhibition grounds.

In his introduction to *The Arts in Ulster*, a survey published in conjunction with a slightly later imperial exhibition, the 1951 Festival of Empire, Ulster writer and radio broadcaster Sam Hanna Bell reflected on what he called the "troubled surface" of Ulster after Partition, "those tensions and loyalties and swift angers that agitate us," suggesting that even after two decades, "we have little to show beyond personal fantasies."[20] The British Empire Exhibition exposed the personal fantasies of the first generation of politicians, manufacturers, artists, and entrepreneurs from Ulster after Partition. They hoped that participating in the Wembley Exhibition would be the final step to prove they belonged completely to that "Family Party of the British Empire."[21] For no country was the promotional slogan of the Empire Exhibition more true than Ulster: "To see the world to-day is thus to see a world entirely different from that of a generation ago. That world will be displayed in microcosm at Wembley Park in 1924."[22] Ulster envisioned and created its own piece of that exhibitionary world through the material presentation of the Irish land as both Ireland generally, and Ulster specifically; by encouraging visitors to see scenic Ireland and loyal Ulster as one and the same.

## The Free State's Polite Refusal

In the summer of 1920, the Prince of Wales and several prominent Londoners including the Lord Mayor revisited plans for the Empire Exhibition that had first been proposed in 1902, then again in 1910, after which they had been sidelined by the war.[23] With the establishment of a

[20] Sam Hanna Bell, "A Banderol," in *The Arts in Ulster*, ed. Sam Hanna Bell, Nesca A. Robb, and John Hewitt (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1951), 17. The text was compiled by writers and artists from Ulster in conjunction with the 1951 Festival of Britain. Notably, only one other major exhibition took place in England between 1924 and 1951, the 1938 Glasgow Empire Exhibition that will be addressed in chapter 5 of this dissertation.
[21] *The British Empire Exhibition 1924 Official Guide*, 10.
[22] *British Empire Exhibition* promotional booklet. (Glasgow, 1924).
[23] See Alexander C. T. Geppert, "Wembley 1924-1925," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, ed. John

national Guarantee Fund backed by Parliament and the formation of a Committee overseen by Col. Henry Cole of the Department of Overseas Trade, plans moved forward quickly for a 1923 British Empire Exhibition to be held at Imre Kiralfy's famous and successful Shepherd's Bush exhibition site. This location was seen as crucial, both for its cultural significance as the site of the last major, prewar exhibition, and for its convenient size of over one hundred acres. As Col. Cole and others repeatedly argued, "there is only one really suitable site in London, namely, the White City."[24]

Unfortunately, the site had also appealed to the War Department and they had rented it for munitions storage during the Great War. By 1920, when the British Empire Exhibition Committee began negotiations to purchase it, Imre Kiralfy, the entrepreneur and showman who had successfully organized the White City Exhibitions from 1908 to 1914, had already initiated a massive lawsuit against the Government for damages he claimed were caused by the War Department to his property over the previous several years.[25] Correspondence from both the Treasury and War Departments not only reveals the urgency of the Exhibition proponents in securing the site, but also the frustration of all involved in having to negotiate with the "wily Italian."[26]

Communications from Col. Cole by late August suggest that Cole was increasingly more interested in making Kiralfy as miserable as the exhibition planners than he was in actually attaining the White City grounds.[27] Kiralfy proved immovable, if not outright hostile, to both the

---

E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2008), 230-236; Donald R. Knight and Alan D. Sabey, *The Lion Roars at Wembley* (London: Barnard & Westwood Ltd., 1984).

[24] F. G. Kellaway to Austin Chamberlain, 14 Aug. 1920. T161/62, National Archives, Kew, London.

[25] British Treasury records indicate that Kiralfy filed a claim for £1,420,000. The case was settled for just over £286,000. T161/151, National Archives, Kew, London.

[26] Sir Howard Frank to Sir George Barstow, 15 March 1921, T161/62, National Archives, Kew, London.

[27] Col. Henry Cole, "Memorandum on the Proposal to Lease and Eventually Acquire the White City Property at Shepherd's Bush," ed. Department of Overseas Trade (London: 1920).

Government and the Committee's negotiations and was thus single-handedly responsible both for inspiring the Empire Exhibition project and for delaying it by an entire year to 1924. In what historian Alexander Geppert has suggested was a concerted plan to replicate the city in the suburbs, the organizers finally chose Wembley, a park space in North London with easy access by rail.[28] They broke ground on January 10, 1922, a mere three days after the Dáil in Dublin ratified the Anglo-Irish Treaty.[29]

The Plan of the Exhibition (Figure 2) mapped out the monumentality of the Empire and its survival and renewal in the 1920s to create what art historian Paul Greenhalgh has called the "imperialist dreamland."[30] This vast imperial undertaking in the wake of the Great War spread out over 216 acres, including forty-seven acres of amusements. Unlike most previous exhibitions, the entrance was perpendicular to the main avenue to accommodate the massive, stocky palaces anchored by the show-stopping Empire Stadium.[31] The Exhibition's symbol of the roaring lion, icon of sovereignty and power, was designed in an Egyptian style in keeping with the Egyptology craze sweeping England in the 1920s.[32] As one broadsheet declared, "Mr. Herrick's lion successfully conveys that feeling of strength, Empire and achievement which are the inspiration behind the British Empire Exhibition."[33] The huge size of each major pavilion and palace on the fairgrounds matched the grandeur of the Stadium and affirmed the exhibition's

---

[28] Alexander C. T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-De-Siècle Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 143-144. Geppert overlooks their desperation to make the project happen. There was already over £100,000 guaranteed by this point.
[29] Knight and Sabey, *The Lion Roars at Wembley*.
[30] Paul Greenhalgh, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions from London to Shanghai, 1951-2010* (Berkshire, UK: Papadakis, 2011), 101.
[31] Geppert, "Wembley 1924-1925," 232.
[32] Howard Carter discovered the tomb of King Tutankhamen in 1922. Howard Carter, *The Discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamen* (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd, 1923; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977).
[33] *British Empire Exhibition*, Promotional Broadsheet No. 16. Glasgow, 1924. British Library N.Tab.2022/10. Geppert gives examples of some criticisms of the lion as "Assyrian" and "un-English," but affirms that overall the traditional associations of the lion with strength, power, and regality predominated. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities*, 152.

position as "one of the great stepping stones in the Empire's history."[34] The organizing committees stressed the value of national industrial achievement, but in total, almost as much land was provided to the other nations within the Empire for their regional displays as to the promotion of English industry.

Towards the end of 1922, the General Committee sent out invitations for participation to the fifty-eight dominions, colonies, and territories. As the event was designed, first and foremost, "to take stock of the resources, actual and potential, of the Empire as a whole… to promote national well-being… [and] bring the peoples of the Empire to a better knowledge of how to meet their reciprocal wants and aspirations,"[35] such international participation was essential to its success. For the Southern Irish Free State however, participation in an "empire exhibition" while fighting a Civil War launched over disagreements about whether or not to participate in that very Empire, only added fuel to the nationalist fire. W. T. Cosgrave was sworn in as President of the Executive Committee shortly after the invitation was received, but internal documentation from the Ministries of Agriculture, External Affairs, and Industry and Commerce suggests that it was largely ignored until the end of August 1923.[36] The Ministry of Finance finally rejected the invitation for financial "and other reasons,"[37] but it was this financial argument that would become the Free State's repeated excuse over the next several years.[38]

Sir Travers Clarke, an Ulsterman himself and Managing Director of the Exhibition, tried twice more to gain the participation of the Free State Government: in December of 1923, with

---

[34] *British Empire Exhibition*, Promotional Broadsheet No. 4. Glasgow, 1924. British Library N.Tab.2022/10.
[35] "Wonderful Day at Wembley. Opening of the Exhibition," *Irish Independent*, 24 Apr. 1924.
[36] While I have not found record of the exact date of the Dáil invitation, the Northern Ireland Parliament had received their invitation by 15 Nov. 1922 and it is most likely that there was a mass-mailing from the Exhibition Committee. Cosgrave became President of the Executive Committee on 6 Dec. 1922. See also Ministry of Agriculture Records, AGF/92/3/438, National Archive of Ireland (hereafter Agr. Records, NAI).
[37] E. J. O'Riordan to the Ministry of Agriculture, 21 Sept. 1923, Agr. Records, AGF/92/3/438, NAI.
[38] Historian Dermot Keogh indicates that the civil war had cost the Free State nearly £50 million, thus while an easy excuse for non-participation, it was not entirely incorrect. Dermot Keogh, *Twentieth Century Ireland*, revised ed. (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1990), 18.

the offer of a small pavilion, and again in January of 1924, with the promise of a fortnight's cheap rental in the planned Civic Hall.[39] In direct response to the former, Ronald McNeill, Free State High Commissioner in London, quickly pointed out:

> It is obvious that the space offered is much too small to admit of there being conveyed to visitors any adequate idea of the Free State, its resources and products… the site offered is between the spaces assigned to Newfoundland and the Fiji Islands respectively. This in itself suggests that an exhibit in the location and of the size available would be calculated to detract rather than otherwise from the dignity of the State.[40]

By early 1924, however, the Free State Government had begun to feel pressure from both business interests and the Irish press who felt that the excellent trade opportunities concomitant with the exhibition were being ignored for the sake of making a political statement. Mr. Eliassoff, Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, reiterated the fears of the Free State merchants and industries in a letter to the Ministry of Agriculture stating, "there is much need for effectively advertising good Irish produce here [at the Exhibition], and if no effect is made to use this means of advertisement there will not only be loss by default but loss by antagonism. Our political enemies and our trade competitors will not miss the opportunity of damaging our trade in its best market."[41] He also explicitly cited pressure from the Dublin press who, as the exhibition approached, were increasingly vocal that "the loss of this advertisement opportunity is deplored by persons interested in our trade development."[42] On the other hand, echoing Free State fears of being marginalized or taken advantage of by the British Government, Campbell was quick to point out that "credit could not be done to this country by exhibiting in the proposed [Civic] hall… It would reduce the State to the rank of a city, and would emphasize the fact that we are not in the chief buildings. We are offered the hall at a time when few visitors, especially

---

[39] M. H. Eliassoff to the Ministry of External Affairs, 7 Dec. 1923; Sir Travers Clarke to Mr. McNeill, 18 Jan. 1924. Both in Agr. Records, AGF/92/3/438, NAI.
[40] M. H. Eliassoff to the Ministry of Agriculture, 19 Jan. 1924, Agr. Records, AGF/92/3/438, NAI.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

overseas visitors, will be there… it is the very worst time of the year for butter, cheese, fruit, jam, honey, fowl and cereals."[43]

Some private companies such as Jacob & Co. biscuit-makers and Jameson & Son distillery did choose to participate on their own,[44] but by February 2, 1924, the various branches of the Free State Government had decided once and for all against any official State participation.[45] In his formal address to the British Empire Exhibition in the *Times*, Cosgrave blamed lack of participation on "the problems inseparable from the establishment of a new State,"[46] elaborating again on the financial issue. As the Free State was still officially a Dominion, Cosgrave carefully counterbalanced his rejection with support of the overall project, claiming "the Exhibition is, however, of the greatest interest to the Irish people, and we had hoped to have been able to have an Irish section… and much regret that we found it impossible to do so."[47] However, even Clarke had hinted at the superficial and politic nature of this financial response when he offered the Civic Hall space, prefacing his offer with the polite consideration "that the financial situation has been so far improved in the Free State that your Government would have been glad to participate in the Exhibition had time allowed."[48]

## "The Empire's Shopwindow Ulster's Opportunity"[49]

While the tradesmen of the Free State saw non-participation in the Wembley Exhibition as a missed opportunity, the Government of Northern Ireland and its industrial allies immediately

---

[43] Mr. Campbell to Mr. Meyrick, 26 Jan. 1924, Agr. Records, AGF/92/3/438, NAI.
[44] A writer for the *Freeman's Journal* makes the entertaining point that the Irish presence was also felt by the patronymies of many other regions of the Commonwealth. For example, the two men in charge of the Canadian Pavilion are a Mr. Cosgrave and Mr. Collins! "Ireland at Wembley," *Freeman's Journal*, 30 May 1924.
[45] Agr. Records, AGF/92/3/438, NAI.
[46] "Meaning of the Exhibition. Messages from the Prime Ministers of the Empire," *The Times*, 23 Apr. 1924.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Sir Travers Clarke to Mr. McNeill, 18 Jan. 1924, Agr. Records, AGF/92/3/438, NAI.
[49] "The Empire's Shopwindow Ulster's Opportunity," *The Ulster Bulletin* 1, no. 5 (1923). Record of the Ulster Association for Peace and Honour, MIC519, PRONI (hereafter UAPH).

recognized the value of the exhibition to a fledging state like itself. The British Empire Exhibition offered the perfect opportunity to prove Northern Ireland's loyalty to the Empire. The Ulster organizers recognized that their display could function as an international platform for demonstrating the profound differences between the Northern loyalists and the Southern Republican separatists. In the absence of any coordinated national Free State exhibit, they could even control the symbols and icons deemed "Irish" and apply the term only to themselves, thereby undoing, in the words of Prime Minister Craig, "the effect of malicious misrepresentation [of Ulster] both at home and abroad."[50]

Design historian Ciarán Swan has suggested that crucial to the politics of Partition in the North and in the Free State was the invisibility of the border.[51] While he focused on its erasure in early Free State stamps and insignia, the anxiety over the breakdown of political, social, and historical identity was profound on both sides of the line. Through exhibition displays, Craig and the other members of the Northern parliament hoped to erase centuries of stereotypes, to undo the conflation of "violence" and "Irish" as it applied to the North, and to dissociate themselves from the broad Ireland of the imperial imaginary: "a decaying and fading Ireland…with smouldering towns, half empty villages, and shut up mansions through whose windows the sunlight has not shone its rays for generations; an Ireland dominated by secret societies… an Ireland where people are ever looking backward instead of forward."[52]

While such language echoed that of British publications like the *Illustrated London News* from the middle of the nineteenth century, Craig planned to do all this while insisting that the

---

[50] Sir James Craig, "Opening Remarks," *The Ulster Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (1922), UAPH, MIC519, PRONI.
[51] Ciarán Swan, "Vanishing Borders: The Politics of Political Partition in the Free State 1922-1949," in *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity, 1922-1992*, ed. Linda King and Elaine Sisson (Cork: Cork University Press, 2011), 133-147.
[52] "A Voice from the Past," *The Ulster Bulletin* 1, no. 3 (1923), UAPH, MIC519, PRONI. Quoting from *The Manchester Guardian*, 1913. Craig et al. hoped to shift the identification of violence and decay exclusively with the South.

positive visions of Ireland as lush, green, and fertile, still applied to the North. He encouraged exhibition spaces that would embody the motto coined by Clarke in his article promoting the British Empire Exhibition in *The Ulster Bulletin*: "Ulster is the synonym for progress."[53] Thanks to Cosgrave and the Dáil, such progress need not be proven by comparing and contrasting the two parts of the newly-partitioned island, but simply by omitting reference to the presence of the other, twenty-six-county Ireland altogether and subsuming all positive, romantic, and even nostalgic imagery and language under the heading "Ulster." In the words of Mr. J. H. Webb of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce, the Exhibition would "have a very great bearing on the future prosperity of the Province. The Exhibition would give very great publicity… in such a manner as to make clear to the visitors from all parts of the world that Northern Ireland was a "live" country."[54]

In December of 1922, members of the Northern parliament and the Ulster business community held a meeting to investigate their options for participation at Wembley. They declared their stated goals for participation would be: "First, to concentrate interest on Northern Ireland and to make clear that it was a part of the Empire. Secondly, to attract buyers for Northern Ireland products."[55] It was decided that the Government would finance up to £10,000 to ensure unity of display and purpose.[56] In the words of Sir Cecil Litchfield, eventual Chair of Northern Ireland's Committee for the exhibition, Northern Ireland was committed:

> to establish firmly throughout the Empire the fact that, notwithstanding all the political upheavals in Ireland, Ulster is still an integral part of the United Kingdom; that her industries, her institutions and her social life are based on *British* principles, and to couple with that impression the further impression that, subject always to our

[53] Sir Travers Clarke, "The Empire's Shopwindow Ulster's Opportunity," *The Ulster Bulletin* 1, no. 5 (1923), UAPH, MIC519, PRONI.
[54] Minutes of British Empire Exhibition Meeting, 19 Dec. 1922, Northern Ireland Cabinet Records, British Empire Exhibition, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI (hereafter NI BEE Records).
[55] Ibid.
[56] The sum of £10,000 plus an additional £2,000 for contingencies was approved on 27 Mar. 1923, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.

> unquestioned loyalty to the Crown and devotion to the Empire, we have in Ulster certain inherent characteristics, both in industry and otherwise.[57]

By enabling the Government rather than an industrial or regional group to control the project, the Northern organizers believed they could best display these British principles – loyalty to the crown, industrial aptitude, and Protestantism, among others - as well as Ulster's other "inherent characteristics" including rolling green hills, quaint cottages, and picturesque ruins. They would do so by carefully mapping out and labeling the Irish space on the fairgrounds and by gathering images and artifacts of broadly Irish land and landscape in this space under the explicit, loyal label "Ulster."

1924 marked the first international exhibition at which Ireland or any subdivision of the island occupied a "Pavilion." The title "Pavilion" in exhibitionary parlance conferred national credibility and respect, financial confidence, and, most importantly, acceptance among the independent and important countries on display.[58] By promoting Ulster to the status of Pavilion, the organizers of the British Empire Exhibition were explicitly granting the Northern Ireland Government greater status than previous Irish representations at exhibitions. At past fairs, Ireland and Irish businesses were either subsections of Great Britain's displays, or not displayed according their national affiliation at all. In some cases, significantly the Irish villages in Chicago and at Shepherd's Bush, the major Irish presence was in the amusement area or colonial section, placement clearly connected to the marginalization or trivialization of Ireland at these events.[59] Considering that the Northern Ireland organizers were openly comparing their prospects at Wembley to the Irish display at the White City Exhibitions, namely Ballymaclinton Village,

---

[57] Sir Cecil Litchfield, note, 5 June 1923, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[58] Whether or not the Free State would have been given a Pavilion is a moot point. Without the Free State presence, Ulster, by default, trumped the status of past Irish exhibitionary displays all by itself.
[59] See chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation for more on the Chicago displays and the Shepherd's Bush Exhibitions, respectively.

the honor of being a "Pavilion" would not have been lost on the committee.[60]

This "promotion" to Pavilion status was handled with the utmost caution. As R. J. McKeown, Parliamentary Secretary to Ministry of Commerce, explained:

> for Ulster to have a very large pavilion and to include all her exhibits in that pavilion would, I think, be a fatal mistake; many of the exhibits would look absurdly small, and there would be the danger that the Ulster Pavilion might not be visited by those who would naturally go to the main Exhibits. On the other hand, it would, I think, be equally fatal for us not to have a hall or something of that nature to depict to some extent our limited autonomy.[61]

At all times, the desire to exhibit the intrinsic Britishness of Ulster and to rise above the disruptive Southern Irish population was tempered by deference to the Empire. There was a fine line between being seen and being too visible.[62] Even plans for a single, celebratory "Ulster Day" were considered "unadvisable."[63]

Having been granted the freedom to plan for a "Pavilion," the Northern Committee then struggled to give it a name. Business interests in particular stressed the trade benefits in using the recognizable term "Ireland" and argued that "Northern Ireland Pavilion" had both historical resonance and commercial potential. Significantly, the linen manufacturers had no intention of selling anything other than "Irish Linen" at the exhibition.[64] Mr. Henry Wilson of Belfast Ropeworks agreed with the linen industry, indicating further that, "in view of the fact that Southern Ireland was not participating in the Exhibition it would be advisable in all cases to use the title 'Northern Ireland' instead of 'Ulster' in order to take advantage of the universal trade use of the title 'Irish" as applied to various products.'[65] The business groups were eager to maximize the conflation of the old, thirty-two county Ireland with the new, six-county Northern

---

[60] Minutes of British Empire Exhibition Meeting, 19 Dec. 1922, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[61] R. J. McKeown to H. M. Pollock, 15 Nov 1922, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[62] Joseph McBrinn has suggested that another motivation behind Ulster's participation was to be noticed by England in the first place. McBrinn, "The Crafts in Twentieth-Century Ulster," 72.
[63] W. D. Scott to Col. W. B. Spender, 31 July 1924, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[64] Sir Cecil Litchfield to C. H. Blackmore, 7 Aug 1923, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[65] Minutes of British Empire Exhibition Meeting, 19 Dec. 1922, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.

Ireland via the marketable and recognizable term "Irish" of past exhibitions, regardless of the term's cultural or political connotations in 1924.

On the other hand, Litchfield and several other governmental Committee members preferred "the more distinctive title" of "Ulster Pavilion."[66] The final decision was left to Craig who was adamant that the building be titled with the word "Ulster."[67] His sensitivity to the word "Ireland" was not surprising in light of his scathing critique of the South and Sinn Féin in *The Ulster Bulletin* only a few months previously. He directly blamed their "malignant assiduity and intent" for the very decline in domestic and foreign trade that he hoped his country's participation in the Exhibition would improve.[68] However, Craig would also encourage the inclusion of artwork depicting the scenic hills and figures of County Connemara on the west coast, suggesting his view of Ulster as the true Ireland transcended the six-county boundaries.[69]

Location, Location, Location

The politics of location were perhaps an even more sensitive issue for the fledgling Northern government than the politics of naming. Having only recently gained some semblance of independence from the perceived disloyal parties in the South, the Ulster exhibition committee was particularly aware of the importance of the physical location of their pavilion in relation to their physical and political relationship to England.[70] A preoccupation among the various

[66] Sir Cecil Litchfield to Col. W. B. Spender, 12th March 1923, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[67] Col. W. B. Spender to Sir Cecil Litchfield, 13 March 1923, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[68] Craig, "Opening Remarks." *Ulster Bulletin* 1, no. 1 (1922). The very fact that such a debate over naming occurred highlights the youth of the new state, still trying to settle on an international identification while at the same time trying to trade on past associations and labels. It also suggests a tension between the new government and the long-standing business of Ulster.
[69] While he did not specifically request such imagery, his tight control over and inclusion among almost all decisions made throughout the run of the exhibition suggest that had he wanted a tighter definition of Ulster, he would have been able to insist upon it.
[70] For a perspective on loyalty or lack thereof, see Thomas Hennessey, *A History of Northern Ireland, 1920-1996* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 10.

cabinet offices over the possibility of looking hostile is perhaps the most dominant feature of all the planning records for the event. While Craig's concern over the name of the pavilion seemed to reflect insular tensions, paranoia over the location of the "Ulster Pavilion" seemed to be rooted in a British suspicion, whether real or imagined by the Northern Government, that at any moment Ulster might choose to relinquish the boundaries it voted for in December of 1922 and join the disruptive and disloyal Southern dominion.[71] At the first meeting to consider participating in the exhibition, Litchfield had been very clear that "it must be Northern Ireland's policy to maintain identity with the United Kingdom."[72]

Originally Ulster had been offered a structure within or very near the British Government section in the Palace of Industry (Figure 3), but when the Exhibition Association decided to scrap plans for an Agriculture Pavilion in lieu of a British Government Pavilion, the alternatives presented to Ulster caused a panic in Belfast. The adjacent space that the Department of Overseas Trade offered the Ulster Government in June of 1923 had the advantages of roadway access and proximity to a bandstand.[73] Litchfield, however, suspected that the confluence of buildings in that space, particularly the addition of pavilions from the City and the Port of London would "overshadow" Ulster's frontage, putting the nation on par with the major cities, rather than the major nations of the Commonwealth.[74] On the other hand, he wrote to the Committee of "the opportunity of flying the Union Jack above our own Pavilion… to show by our proximity to the British Pavilion that the three great Imperial Forces are ours as much as any

[71] Northern Ireland opted out of the Treaty on 7 Dec. 1922 and then refused to participate in the mandated Boundary Commission in 1924. England eventually appointed a representative to the Commission on the North's behalf. As a result of the confusion and delays by Ulster, the physical boundaries changed little from the original 1919 "temporary" split.
[72] Minutes of British Empire Exhibition Meeting, 19 Dec. 1922, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[73] Litchfield, note, 5 June 1923, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[74] Ibid.

other part of the United Kingdom."[75] This sentiment of possessing full ownership over the military forces of the Empire speaks clearly to the unease and insecurity with which the North still struggled at home.

Sir Travers Clarke, on the other hand, was explicit in his opposition to the plan.[76] As Litchfield recounted:

> Without hesitation, [Clarke] condemned the proposition of a separate Ulster Pavilion alongside the British Pavilion. His reasons were mainly political. He thought that at this period it would be bad policy on our part to range ourselves alongside the fighting forces and so implicitly strike a note of defiance. He reminded me of our policy which is, as I have already stated, to preserve our complete identity with Great Britain, and he pointed out that if we had a separate Ulster Pavilion we would be putting ourselves in the position of being accused of an anxiety to translate ourselves into a small Dominion and to sever ourselves from the United Kingdom. On the other hand, he did not hesitate to recommend us to go in to the Palace of Industries and there give an Exhibit not only of our industries but also to demonstrate in a practical manner what can not be questioned[,] the unassailable fact that we are a part of the United Kingdom just as much as Scotland or Yorkshire or any other part of the Empire.[77]

Clarke's vehement response speaks to the ever-present tension between the aspirations for, and political realities of, the exhibitions. Ulster was expected to "symbolize… by its position the unity of Ulster with Great Britain and its solidarity with the Empire as a whole… [to demonstrate] the Empire holds no more loyal citizens than the Ulster people, and their attachment to the Imperial idea assures any enterprise organized for the welfare of the Empire of their wholehearted support."[78] Yet no amount of effusive language could reduce the threat of Irish descent into chaos and the stereotypical propensity for violence against each other and, more importantly, against England.[79] The reiteration of solidarity with Scotland and Yorkshire

---

[75] Ibid.
[76] Ironically, Clarke was the Exhibition official who had offered the Civic Hall scheme that was perceived as so insulting to the Free State.
[77] Litchfield, note, 5 June 1923, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[78] "Meaning of the Exhibition," *The Times*, 23 Apr. 1924.
[79] On stereotyping the Irish in the British social consciousness, see Perry L. Curtis Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, revised ed. (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (Madison, WI: University of

suggests both Clarke's rejection of status for Ulster akin to Canada or Australia, as well as his conflation of Scotland and Yorkshire as merely regions within Great Britain known for a particular heritage and identity. His inclusion of Yorkshire mediated any perceived aspirations to greater statehood than had already been granted to the North in 1919. Such reference also relocated Ulster as a tangential space to England, or even a physical county within the island, rather than a land separated by the Irish Sea like so many other distant, foreign places "separated by seas and mountains, by language, custom, and age."[80]

The Committee took Clarke's advice and decided to continue with the original plan to erect the Ulster Pavilion as an independent structure within the Palace of Industry. Such location would integrate Ulster into the larger industrial project of the exhibition in a way that offered offense to neither the Northern Ireland trades nor the British Government. As the Prince of Wales remarked in his formal letter of appreciation in November, 1924, "it was a happy idea that the Ulster Pavilion was situated not in a separate building, but in the Palace of Industry of the United Kingdom."[81] Moreover, of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, Ulster was the only one to merit both a pavilion and an independent listing in the *Official Guide*.[82]

In the Pavilion building itself, Litchfield et al. had little to fear regarding their constructed loyalist identity. Lawrence Weaver, the Director General of the Exhibition, and Col. Cole of the Department of Overseas Trade followed the standard international exhibition model of uniformity in both architectural and botanic style throughout the fairgrounds. As a panoramic view of the grounds reveals (Figure 4), they packed nearly 220 acres with massive Beaux-Arts pavilions, palaces, restaurants, and carefully landscaped what little room was left between. From

---

Wisconsin Press, 2004).
[80] *The British Empire Exhibition 1924 Official Guide*, 10.
[81] Edward P. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to W. D. Scott, 17 Nov. 1924, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[82] *The British Empire Exhibition Official Guide* (London: Fleetway Press, 1924).

this perspective, the viewer could observe every key feature of the exhibition, looking from the above the Garden in the North down the Main Avenue all the way to the Stadium. On the left in the foreground is the mammoth Palace of Engineering opposite the only-slightly smaller Palace of Industry that housed the Ulster Pavilion. At the time of their construction, they were the two largest buildings in the world.[83]

The Chief Engineer, Owen Williams, was responsible not only for overseeing the design and construction of the overall plan, but also for drafting architects to design spaces in keeping with the overarching themes of unity, modernity, industry, and prosperity. One of those architects was Clough Williams-Ellis, a Welshman whose rising fame belied his disenchantment with postwar architectural ideals in London.[84] He was, however, committed to the construction of a "New Britain." His passion was for town and country planning, and as such, he was in fact an excellent match for the Exhibition.[85] Of the several structures his firm worked on at Wembley, he was assigned the design of the Ulster Pavilion.[86] I would argue he was likewise well-matched to the Ulster Pavilion as his passion for designing new architecture for new urban spaces and attitudes fit well with the Committee's need to express a new Ulster/Ireland through physical design and spatial expression.

The challenge Williams-Ellis faced with the Ulster design was in using the exhibition-wide ferro-concrete material to blend a national structure seamlessly into the massive industrial steel frame of the Palace of Industry in such a way as to suggest homogenous imperial modernity

---

[83] Geppert, "Wembley 1924-1925," 233.
[84] Clough Williams-Ellis, *Architect Errant: The Autobiography of Clough Williams-Ellis* (Portmeirion, Wales: Portmeirion Ltd., 1991), 136.
[85] Jonah Jones, *Clough Williams-Ellis: The Architect of Portmeirion* (Bridgend, Wales: seren, 1996), 68.
[86] Neither Williams-Ellis' autobiography nor the records from the Northern Government indicate the exact way in which he came to design the Ulster Pavilion. Haslam's catalogue does, however, indicate he designed for a haphazard collection of buildings and display stalls. Richard Haslam, *Clough Williams-Ellis* (London: Academy Group Ltd., 1996), 54-55.

whole still including something distinctive of Ulster.[87] He later wrote passionately of his chosen profession that "undoubtedly one of the pleasures of Architecture, from the professional point of view, is its element of luck… Every unfamiliar envelope in the letter tray may mean a whole new set of contacts in some new part of the country… every post is potentially exciting, the possible demands on one's ingenuity almost unlimited…"[88] In the Ulster Pavilion, he applied his admittedly "eccentric" ingenuity to the task of harmonizing the overall Beaux-Arts-by-way-of-Cairo style of the major exhibition buildings with the Art Deco curves he intended to use to blend the building into the modern frame of the Palace, all while still maintaining a sense of Ulster's individualism. His sketch plan (Figure 5) demonstrates the prominent positioning of the Ulster Pavilion with its multiple access points of equal grandeur. Located on the main avenue of the building, its nearly 7,000 sq. ft. included large bays for the linen, rope, distillery, railway, shipping and other industries, as well as a significant space for the arts. The ornately scrolling Baroque details in the archways, doors, and windows (Figure 6) lent prestige to the Pavilion, giving the visitor the impression that it was a substantial, free-standing building and linking it more clearly with the other Dominion and Colony Pavilions on the fairgrounds. On the other hand, William-Ellis was able to incorporate massive wood beams and pillars at the corners to mimic the style of Belfast Harbour, the large model of which, as noted, served as the cornerstone of the Pavilion (Figure 7). He employed a plain, exhibition-standard font to decorate the building with the names of the six counties of Ulster with their respective heraldic shields.

A major point of conflict arose, however, between the Ulster Committee and Williams-Ellis over the flag to be flown at the Pavilion. While a color scheme of yellow, red, and green had been chosen by the Committee to decorate the interior, Litchfield was quite shocked to be

[87] On the importance of ferro-concrete, see Knight and Sabey, *The Lion Roars at Wembley*.
[88] Clough Williams-Ellis, *The Architect* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1929), 151.

contacted with a request for a pattern for "the Flag of Northern Ireland."[89] He initially responded that the only flag Ulster would fly would be the Union Jack, but Williams-Ellis' office insisted that Ulster needed its own flag to "achieve some distinctive effect."[90] The urgency with which Litchfield relayed this exchange to Col. Spender illuminates his frustration at both the architect's insistence on visually modifying a symbol of Ulster solidarity with the Crown and perhaps his own embarrassment at not knowing of any flag to discuss, regardless.[91] In a clear example of how real nation-building and the exhibitionary construction of national displays connected outside the exhibition walls, Litchfield admitted, "this was the first occasion in which I had heard of such a [national] flag."[92] A few days later, the Ulster artist John Vinycomb provided a design based on the architect's suggestion to use the Canadian flag as a model, with its red ensign, the Union Jack in the upper left corner, and a shield depicting the five provinces of Canada in the lower right; Vinycomb simply replaced the Canadian shield with the ancient symbol long-associated with the Province of Ulster, an upright hand called the Red Hand of Ulster. Litchfield was not pleased.[93]

The flag argument quickly reached the Northern Cabinet where the Minister of Commerce was "of opinion that it would be advantageous for the Pavilion to have a special flag, in order to draw public attention to the fact that this portion of the Exhibition represented Northern Ireland."[94] He supported the Vinycomb design. The Minister of Labour, on the other hand, thought "our position was different to that of an Overseas Dominion and that we should emphasize our union in the United Kingdom by flying the Union Jack without any special

---

[89] Sir Cecil Litchfield to Col. W. B. Spender, 6 Feb. 1924, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Litchfield was, himself, not an Ulsterman. His ignorance of a flag may result from his English roots; however, the ensuing debate in the Cabinet indicates that there was, in fact, no standardized flag for the Northern Ireland.
[92] Sir Cecil Litchfield to Col. W. B. Spender, 6 Feb. 1924, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Cabinet Issue 10, 15 Feb. 1924, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.

symbol." Just as Clarke had qualified Ulster's parity with Scotland and Yorkshire in deciding on a suitable, non-offensive location for the Pavilion as a whole, the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce reminded the Cabinet that both Scotland and Wales always displayed special flags although they were part of the Union. Their example suggested that a regional flag would not offer significant offense to England, nor indicate revolution in any concrete way. In the end, it was decided to hang both the Union Jack and a new version of the Ulster Flag, with a red cross on a yellow ensign overlaid by the Red Hand of Ulster.[95]

Historian Keith Jeffery has suggested that the final decision to hang both flags revealed the still-competing interests of Unionist and Loyalist among the Ulster parliamentarians.[96] While this may be true, Jeffery overlooks the significance of the flags to the exhibition project. Flags were fundamental to the visual mapping and identification of all nations, buildings, even some individual industries at the exhibitions. More than a symbol of a particular national ideal, exhibition flags served as coordinated guideposts. The Ulster Government's disregard for this exhibitionary feature, although understandable in terms of their own general youth as a state, suggests a general misunderstanding of the significance and power of exhibition structures and exhibitionary spaces.

## Seeing Green: Irish Landscapes

After the struggle to choose the perfect Ulster flag and despite the absence of the Free

---

[95] Ibid. The Red Hand motif dates back to at least the fourteenth century where an open, upright right hand was used as the insignia for the O'Neill clan. It was also suggested by United Irishman John Mitchel for inclusion on an early version of the tricolour in 1848. G. A. Hayes-McCoy, *A History of Irish Flags from Earliest Times* (Dublin: Academy Press, 1979), 62; 145-146.

[96] Keith Jeffery, *An Irish Empire?: Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 174-175. Jeffery also interprets exhibition participation in general as part of business-interest power-play after Partition. While some of the earlier power struggles over naming and location suggest the influence of the industries, Craig's control of the entire Pavilion mechanism, from naming, to approving displays, suggests that all parties did defer to the Government in the end.

State from the exhibition, it was ironically the Free State tricolour, not the Ulster flag that was flown during the opening ceremonies of the Exhibition in May of 1924.[97] Regardless of its absence from the Exhibition, it seems the Free State, having negotiated Dominion status, was given a higher symbolic footing in the imperial pageantry of the Opening than the regional state of Ulster. Furthermore, it was the Irish Guards and Fusilliers, not the Royal Ulster Rifles Band, who were invited to participate in the Opening Ceremonies.[98] This prompted the correspondent from Dublin's nationalist paper *Freeman's Journal* to comment that "the official management of the Exhibition seems to have gone strangely out of its way to show its desire that [Free State] Ireland is not to be excluded from all the benefits that the occasion [of the Opening Ceremonies]."[99]

Upon further exploration of the grounds, this same visitor was surprised to find that even in the Ulster Pavilion itself, "it was thoroughly encouraging to find… that those who are responsible for it are as proud as any other Irishman living could be of the fact that they belong to Ireland."[100] Notwithstanding the many broad symbolic references to Ulster's loyalty to the Crown and its focus on industrial exceptionalism through such showpieces as the harbor model and the linen displays, many visitors' actual experiences at the Ulster Pavilion drew from an all-island-encompassing vision of Ireland. Even members of the Belfast Parliament recognized that it was not so easy to create a purely Ulster Pavilion with no hint of pre-Partition "Irishness" about it. A Mr. Grant, upon consideration that purely Ulster industries were not appearing as adequately representative of the new six-county state as originally intended, joked that perhaps

[97] "The King's Speech," *Irish Independent*, 24 Apr. 1924.
[98] "Ireland at Wembley," *Freeman's Journal*, 30 May 1924.
[99] "London Letter," *Freeman's Journal*, 24 Apr. 1924.
[100] Ibid.

"at the opening of the Exhibition the Red Hand of Ulster was actually painted green."[101]

There was no contest, however, about the centerpiece of the Pavilion: the Belfast Harbour model. The Belfast Harbour Commissioners were one of the first groups approached by Litchfield in early 1923 to foster Ulster support for the exhibition. Recognizing the importance of the harbor trades, shipbuilding companies, railways, and transportation networks centered on the port to the financial success of the North as well as the pride of the Harbour Commissioners in controlling such economic force, Litchfield suggested,

> both the City of Belfast itself and Belfast Harbour should be suitably represented in the Ulster Pavilion, and… such a representation could be most suitably achieved by having a flat model map of Belfast and Belfast Lough with model ships running in and out of the Lough. The Ministry is satisfied that such a model could be satisfactorily manufactured and that many attractive lighting and other effects could be obtained. The Ministry have, therefore, provisionally reserved the corner site, marked in red (Figure 8) on the accompanying plan, for the accommodation of a model of this sort."[102]

Thus the planning of the exhibition space immediately reflected the significance of Irish spaces, the most economically important industries being allotted the most valuable footprint in the Pavilion. Whether or not visitors entered the Ulster Pavilion, they would not pass by the fully-working, brightly-illuminated engineering marvel of Belfast Harbour without taking notice.

The model (Figure 9) cost £1,100 and took eight men over five months to complete.[103] It was based on close details provided by aerial photographs of the harbor as well as photographs and specific engineering details provided by the shipping and rail companies. When Captain Wilson, model coordinator for the British Empire Exhibition, tried to physically remove part of it, having built it to the wrong scale, representatives for the Harbour Commissioners declared the idea "preposterous" and refused to allow their harbor to be "mutilated."[104] In fact, were the exact

---

[101] "Items of Interest," *Irish Independent*, 30 May 1924.
[102] Litchfield to Belfast Harbour Commissioners 14 Aug., 1923, Harbour Records BEE, HA/1/A/7/8, PRONI.
[103] Harbour Records BEE, HA/1/A/7/8, PRONI.
[104] Memorandum. 17 Jan. 1924, Harbour Records BEE, HA/1/A/7/8, PRONI.

specifications not able to be represented, the General Manager of Harbour Commissions himself threatened Litchfield that "unless something can be designed which would more accurately represent the actual conditions, my Commissioners feel it would be better that work on the model should be altogether abandoned."[105]

Such close attachment to the accurate representation of the harbor through "bicycle chains" and "pivot wheels" reveals the importance of this space not only to Belfast economically but to the appropriate representation of Ulster at the exhibition.[106] As the Harbour Commissioners declared in their publicity release for the exhibition, "The Port of Belfast stands in the front rank of British Ports and is the chief seaport of Ireland. It owes its pre-eminence to the great natural advantages of it situation, supplemented by the commercial enterprise of its people and the progressive policy of its Harbour Commissioners who have spared neither effort nor expense in providing an up-to-date and efficient Port."[107] The space embodied the new spirit of industrial Ireland represented wholly in 1924 by Ulster. Its bright colors and carefully timed ships sailing in and out of the slips were designed to draw in the crowds, including Queen Mary (Figure 10) who looked out over the harbor, observed the rolling Belfast hills in the distance, and witnessed Ireland working harmoniously as part of her Empire.

Painting the Entire Landscape

While the importance of the Belfast Harbour companies and their connected trades were undoubtedly representative of industrial Ulster, other features of the Pavilion relied less explicitly on the spaces and industries that set Ulster apart from the Free State and instead

[105] Mr. Watkins to Sir Cecil Litchfield, 22 Jan. 1924. PRONI HA/1/A/7/8
[106] Harbour Records BEE, HA/1/A/7/8, PRONI.
[107] "Port of Belfast - Ulster's Great Seaport," Press release, 4 Apr. 1924, Harbour Records BEE, HA/1/A/7/8, PRONI.

encouraged visitors to revisit familiar Irish spaces, vistas, and crafts and to newly discover those familiar details not only as "Ireland," but also more specifically as "Ulster." Along the back wall of the Pavilion, several hundred square feet were devoted to "knitting together the energies of those who are trying to promote Ulster Art."[108] The project was the brainchild of Ulster artist and collector, John Bedell Stanford McIlwaine. Writing from Dublin, where he bemoaned the slow business in art sales in that city, McIlwaine had suggested to Craig in July of 1923 that "Ulster should have an art section at the British Exhibition next year, if it was an Irish section so much the better."[109] Here, McIlwaine was mirroring much of the Northern Ireland effort, simultaneously distancing the North from the South by discussing the explicitly Ulster display, and yet conflating Ulster with the Free State by expanding his category of display to include all things Irish. The resulting exhibition of paintings, sculpture and applied arts further illuminated ways in which the Ulster planners were blurring the lines between Ireland broadly and Ulster specifically to promote national recognition and to lay claim to some of the more traditional signifiers of "Irish" like the green fields, the cottages, and the colleens.

The foreword to the Ulster Pavilion's Fine & Applied Art catalogue read:

> Within her [Ulster's] boundaries, there flourishes a school of artistic thought which has produced many of Britain's most prominent artists. Amongst the present generation of Ulster artists may be counted a number whose genius has already been recognized throughout the Empire. Ulster affords to the landscape painter numberless scenes which for natural charm cannot be rivalled in the United Kingdom.[110]

The aim of McIlwaine's project was to delineate a concerted School of Ulster art tied somehow to the physical land of the six-counties, but in so doing, he encountered the problem of a new nation whose home-born artists had spent much of their careers without a sense of this identity. Many of the artists in the collection lived and worked in England or the Free State and some

---

[108] Sir Cecil Litchfield to C. H. Blackmore, 7 Aug. 1923, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[109] John Bedell Stanford McIlwaine to Sir James Craig, 30 July 1923, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[110] *Ulster Pavilion Fine & Applied Art* (Belfast: 1924).

would go on to espouse profoundly anti-Unionist political positions or align their work with Free State national projects rather than Northern initiatives. Rather than express a conflict of interest in 1924, the appearance of works by painters such as Charles Lamb and Paul Henry, considered by art critic Thomas Bodkin to be among twelve key artists of the Southern Irish "modern school,"[111] only further confirms the openness of even staunch Unionists like Craig to incorporating all aspects of the Irish landscape into the new definition of Ulster. Without competing exhibition from the Free State, there were no limits to the visions of Ireland the Ulster organizers could incorporate as their own.

The works in the Ulster Pavilion collection ranged from the local landscapes of Ulster to familiar paintings and sculptures by Ulster-born artists. One of William Humbert Craig's County Antrim landscapes, *Scaly Point, Cushenden* (Private Collection), hung near a still life of Ulster flowers in a silver pot by Hans Iten titled *A County Down Cottage Bouquet* (Figure 11).[112] Sculptor Sophia Rosamund Praeger contributed a copy of her popular *The Philosopher*, depicting a small child, seated with head bowed in contemplation (Figure 12).[113] The well-known landscape artist Paul Henry sent *The Village on the Hill* while his wife Grace offered her hazy portrait, *Girl in White* (Figure 13), painted ca. 1910 in the early years of her marriage while she and Paul were living in Paris and she was drawing inspiration from the work of James McNeil Whistler.[114] Also on the walls was a painting by Ulster-born John Lavery, who displayed his

---

[111] *Twelve Irish Artists*, intro. by Thomas Bodkin (Dublin: Waddington Publications, 1940), 5-7. Quoted in S. B. Kennedy, *Irish Art and Modernism, 1880-1950* (Belfast; The Institute of Irish Studies at The Queen's University Belfast, 1991), 150.

[112] Iten is rare amongst these artists, being born in Switzerland and not moving to Ulster until the age of 30. John Hewitt, "Painting and Sculpture in Ulster," in *The Arts in Ulster: A Symposium*, Sam Hanna Bell, Nesca A. Robb, & John Hewitt, eds. (London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1951), 87.

[113] Hewitt, 93. Praeger's sculptures of children were so popular that she called her Belfast studio "the doll factory" to reflect the number of reproductions she was producing to meet demand. Catherine Gaynor, "An Ulster Sculptor, Sophia Rosamund Praeger (1867-1954)," *Irish Arts Review* (2000): 36-37.

[114] S. B. Kennedy, *Paul Henry, with a Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings, Illustrations* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007), 19-20.

work not only in the Ulster Pavilion, but also in the Palace of British Art and in the Queen's Doll House exhibit. There was, finally, a smaller collection of applied arts ranging from leather-tooling to embroidery to metal-smithing.

Landscapes of the six counties of Ulster were the most common subject matter in the paintings. Scenes from across the six counties supported the claims connecting the land of Ulster to a specific loyalist Ulster identity as elucidated by the catalogue. It is thus not surprising that the Pavilion included a landscape from famed Ulsterman Paul Henry, whose paintings of Ballintoy, Co. Antrim would be circulated by the Ulster Tourist Development Association by the end of the decade.[115] The painting hung in the Ulster Pavilion, however, was most likely not of Ballintoy. Henry offered the Committee an oil painting titled "The Village on the Hill." While the painting itself has been lost, or at best remains unidentified, the circumstances of Henry's economic and personal state of mind in the early 1920s strongly suggest that it was a painting not of Ulster, but of County Connemara in the West of Ireland.[116] By the 1920s, Henry had earned a successful reputation throughout Ireland and Europe for his highly atmospheric paintings of the Irish countryside, its hardy peasants, rolling hills, grey-crested waves, and thatched cottages. He first visited Connemara and Achill Island in 1910 and he returned frequently in the 1920s, at least in part to escape the stress of his failing marriage. In his private shows in both Dublin and Belfast in 1923 and 1924, he was exhibiting works almost exclusively from this area.[117]

Art historian S. B. Kennedy has suggested that "The Village on the Hill" might be the same as, or at least very similar to, "Connemara Hills," painted at roughly the same time (Figure

---

[115] Ibid., 226.
[116] Ibid. I have not been able to trace the provenance of this painting, but I do think an educated guess may be made in this case. Henry's Ulster paintings were most frequently labeled by specific location. Also, in 1923 and 1924, he seems to have been painting primarily in Connemara. His coordinate works are of the West at this time. There is nothing to indicate that he went out of his way to travel to Antrim specifically for this Exhibition.
[117] Ibid. Furthermore, an examination of the catalogue of Henry's work indicates that he was often very specific in titling his work outside of Connemara, but often left his Connemara work with whimsical and vague headings.

14). Like "The Bog at Evening" that Henry had displayed in Belfast in 1923, the "Connemara Hills" painting shows the heavy, rolling clouds massing over the western patchwork landscape that so defined his style and perspective. The massive, over-proportioned purple mountains that fill almost all of the canvas suggest the harsh isolation of rural life in Ireland. While no figures are present, the dark brown turf piles at the end of the bright white cottages remind the viewer that life survives in these harsh conditions. The grey hillocks embody the stony landscape for which Connemara was famous, while the glimpse of patchwork fields hint at a boundless emptiness stretching out into the unseen distance.

Henry recounted in his autobiography that "painting in the West of Ireland was my life's work… I wanted if I could get into my work the very soul of Ireland."[118] Paintings like "Connemara Hills" and quite likely "The Village on the Hill" were part of this spiritual, Irish national project. Significantly, in his autobiography published in 1951 well after Partition and the 1924 Ulster Arts display, Henry does not reveal a sense of separation between the six and twenty-six counties. If, as he often claimed, Achill and Connemara were the soul of Ireland, Henry's work supported the Ulster Pavilion's conflation of "Irish art" as "Ulster art," bound by the six counties but also expansive enough to include a spiritual and conceivably patriotic zeal for the West. He may have been born within the recently-established boundaries of Ulster, but his most famous landscapes, most likely including the one he displayed in 1924, did not originate in that area. As he explained in his autobiography, "the intensity of the emotion I got from a purely Irish landscape always puzzled and disturbed me. The chord of the inner music sounded a more resonant note in the West of Ireland than in any other part of the country. I have heard its music, muted but still sounding, but getting fainter the farther I got from Achill."[119] For Henry

[118] Paul Henry, *An Irish Portrait: The Autobiography of Paul Henry RHA* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1951), 96.
[119] Henry, *An Irish Portrait*, 111-12.

and other Irish landscape artists in the early twentieth century, the spirit of Ireland was notably in the land rather than in the people who lived there or the objects it produced.

Similarly, Ulster-born Charles Lamb exhibited two works in 1924, *The Broth of a Boy* and *Hearing the News* (Figure 15). If Paul Henry was in Achill looking for the "very soul of Ireland," Lamb went nearby to Carraroe in County Connemara in search of a "national essence."[120] Lamb had earned a scholarship to the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art in 1917, the year after the Easter Rising, and developed nationalist sympathies that he continued to foster in the early 1920s by traveling to and eventually settling in Carraroe. He became known for his Irish "types," what art historian Hilary O'Kelly has described as Lamb's "heroic peasants."[121] They originated as costumed fellow-students and models in Dublin dressed to generally reference particular figures from rural areas of Ulster such as the "Lough Neagh Fisherman," but eventually his scenes incorporated a range of characters and caricatures of his neighbors in Carraroe.[122] Through his sympathetic and legible style, he was among a school of post-world-war painters in Ireland contributing to what the Reverend Hannay had called in 1911, the "cult of the Irish peasant."[123]

Pointing to the "staged theatricality" of Lamb's peasant scenes, William Laffan is one of many art historians who have connected his "slightly obscure, emblematic" views to the peasant vignettes in the plays of Synge.[124] As Lamb was interested in visual types and emotional modalities, the accuracy of the representation of specific peasants in a specific location was less important to his perspective than the overall allegorical impression such scenes had upon his

---

[120] Kenneth McConkey, *A Free Spirit: Irish Art 1860-1960* (London: Pyms Gallery, 1990), 63. Quoting Lamb from "Charles Lamb, a Memoir by Arthur Power," in *Charles Lamb, R.H.A., 1893-1964* (Dublin: Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, 1956), n.p.
[121] *Irish Art 1770-1995: History and Society* (Cork: Crawford Municipal Art Gallery, 1995), 46
[122] *A Time and a Place: Two Centuries of Irish Social Life* (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 2006), 37.
[123] McConkey, *A Free Spirit*, 64. Quoting George A. Birmingham, *The Lighter Side of Irish Life* (Edinburgh: 1911), 139-140.
[124] *A Time and a Place*, 36. McConkey and Arnold have also highlighted similarities.

international viewership. In this vein, *Hearing the News*, a typical Lamb scene depicting a group of peasants standing and sitting at a rural crossroads, is both a suitable and sympathetic representation for the exhibition venue.[125] Staged in the style of grand manner portraiture, thereby embodying his peasants with a sense of nobility and grandeur, Lamb arranged his four peasant figures at the very front of his picture. A hint of low horizon line with a green field and the edge of a thatched cottage on a lakeshore hide behind the large main figures and under the massive clouded sky. Unlike Henry's atmospheric choices for rolling hills and cumulus clouds, Lamb's attention here is to his peasants. The female, tightly wrapped in her heavy red shawl and her face lit by the setting sunlight, listens along with two male companions as a third reads the newspaper aloud. This latter figure kneels at her feet, looking up perhaps to make sure he has the group's attention or to gauge their response.

Such interaction was common in the rural countryside of both England and Ireland where literacy rates were still low, but here Lamb mobilizes this mundane scene to express perhaps the urban viewer's interest in the Irish rural peasants engaging the modern world as represented by the newspaper.[126] Their inherent nobility is conveyed through his composition; their desire to learn and improve and participate in the broader world is embodied in the news. Hung in the Ulster Pavilion, it would have translated the western peasant into a representation of all Irishmen and women who sought to join and support the Empire. As Sir Travers Clarke had written in a broadsheet titled "A Joyous Pageant of the British Empire"

> the aim of the British Empire Exhibition is, in the first place, of course, to be entertaining; to be a really interesting, joyous pageant of the British Empire. It must be entertaining or it will fail in its purpose. A sermon in an empty church may be a good

[125] *Hearing the News* was originally shown at the Society of Dublin Painters' Autumn show in 1922. The Society had been founded in 1920 by Paul Henry, Grace, Letitia Hamilton, and Jack Yeats among others to provide a venue for the support and showing of avant-garde work in Dublin. Mainie Jellett and Charles Lamb joined shortly thereafter. S. B. Kennedy, *Irish Art and Modernism*, 20.

[126] Notably, the news they may have been hearing may have been related to the recently signed Treaty. In 1924, viewers in Ulster and London may have hoped the peasants were listening happily to news of Partition.

> sermon, but it is largely a wasted sermon. We want to fill our great Exhibition day by day, in the hope that those who come in the first instance merely curious will come the next time interested, and finally come as Empire enthusiasts.[127]

Lamb's peasant types were perfect Irish examples of such "enthusiasts," a new audience for imperial spectacle, who showed a willingness to learn and to listen, but did not express any rebellious or reactionary tendencies.

Also displaying work that broadened the definition of Ulster Irishness beyond the boundaries of the six counties was John Lavery. Born in Co. Tyrone, having studied art in France, married an American, and settled in London, he, of all the artists listed in the catalogue, resisted any imposition of geographical boundaries, thereby imbuing this "Ulster Art" collection with a particular international breadth suitable for an international exhibition. On the other hand, Lavery was an Irish Catholic with nationalist sympathies. His inclusion in the Ulster catalogue was perhaps honorific or perhaps it was an effort by the organizers to associate themselves with this Irish artist already popular and accepted by the English art world.

While Lavery did not comment on this exhibition specifically in his autobiography, he did reflect on his wife's encouragement of his "undeveloped sense of patriotism"[128] during the Treaty years, shedding some light on his own view of his unique position: "When Hazel asked me why I did not do something for my country I replied, 'I cannot see that I can do anything without mixing myself with religion or politics, and I have no time to differ with people.' 'Don't differ,' she replied. 'Just agree with them all, as you do anyway.' So it struck me that I might be some use in making my studio neutral ground where both sides might meet."[129] Thus, as an artist who tried to agree with everyone, he showed a massive nine by ten foot painting of a

---

[127] Sir Travers Clarke, "'A Joyous Pageant of the British Empire.' Objects of the Coming Great Exhibition at Wembley" (London: British Empire Exhibition News Service publication, 1923).
[128] John Lavery, *The Life of a Painter* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., Ltd., 1940), 216.
[129] Ibid.

woman - his sister - on horseback, entitled *The Amazon* (Ulster Museum, Belfast) in the Palace of British Art; to the Queen's Dollhouse display, he contributed two small portraits; and to the Ulster Pavilion, he offered *Daylight Raid*, also called *The Studio Window, 7 July 1917* (Figure 16).

*Daylight Raid* is a haunting image from the Great War, capturing the moment on that date that twenty-one German planes bombed London.[130] Hazel, Lavery's American wife, stands mesmerized with her back towards the viewer. She grips the couch and leans on it, frozen, it seems, as the planes fly by outside. The painting is completely out of scale, Hazel being far too small for the furniture, the window, and even the light fixture. In so playing with the perspective, Lavery highlighted the insignificance of the individual in the massive, life-altering circumstances of the war. The light streams in from the window that takes up more than half of the image. The rest of the room falls quickly into darkness like London during the raids.

This painting invites a range of interpretations when considered as part of the North's exhibitionary visual project. On the one hand, Hazel's awkward, weak pose embodies a sense of isolation and fear. Such enervation might remind viewers of the dangers and burden of being part of the Empire, dependent upon the political problems of a larger nation with the power to send its sons to war. Such fear of leaving the house was also a hallmark of Ireland during the recent Civil War, thus the painting speaks to the profound domestic worries of nationalists and unionists alike. On the other hand, in commemorating a solemn, patriotic moment in London during the War, the painting evinces a solidarity between the two countries in the face of conflict, German, Republican, or otherwise.[131]

There is also a level of historical irony in the figure of Hazel as part of a representative

[130] Kenneth McConkey, *Sir John Lavery: A Painter and His World* (Edinburgh: Atelier Books Ltd., 2010), 136.
[131] Interestingly, in his autobiography, Lavery repeatedly speaks of his "German sympathies." Lavery, 138; 153.

Ulster loyalist art project, in light of Lavery's continual use of her in his more explicitly nationalist works. Within two years of the opening of the British Empire Exhibition, Lavery would paint Hazel again, this time as "Cathleen ní Houlihan," the iconic, mythic incarnation of Ireland popularized by W. B. Yeats (Figure 17). The painting was commissioned by the Free State Note Committee for replication on all the currency of the Free State and shows Hazel posed against a hazy, atmospheric landscape of the rolling green hills of Ireland above a tranquil lake. She is dressed in green with a dark green shawl over her head and sheleans on the iconic Irish symbol of the harp. Kenneth McConkey's effusive claim that "the 'Note' head was the most significant contribution to [the modern symbolic of Ireland] and the most important representation of Erin ever produced," may not be too far from the truth.[132] Thus Lavery's contribution to the collection of Ulster artists painting Ulster art unintentionally included the woman who would quite literally become the face of the Free State for nearly fifty years.

Ulster poet and art critic John Hewitt was much more cautious than John McIlwaine in 1924 when he composed "the first survey of painting and sculpture as practised in Ulster"[133] on the occasion of the Festival of Empire Exhibition in London in 1951, the post-World War II equivalent of the 1924 British Empire Exhibition. Hewitt apologized to his readers for the late development of fine art in Ulster due to centuries of foreign rule and the coordinate lack of familiarity his readers would have with the nineteenth and twentieth century artists who were the focus of his analysis.[134] He concluded, "in the schools of the Province there is definite promise for the future; but so far no common denominators have become sufficiently remarkable to allow

[132] Ibid., 176.
[133] Hewitt, 71. Hewitt's essay, along with that mentioned above by Sam Hanna Bell, was part of a reflection on "The Arts in Ulster" gathered for the 1951 Festival of Empire.
[134] Hewitt, 72-76.

us to claim that we have as yet any distinctive Ulster School."[135] In 1924, McIlwaine, Craig, et al. were attempting to map out what such a school could look like and, in the short years since the Treaty, artists like Lamb and Henry were not yet firmly entrenched in the creation of what art historian Brian P. Kennedy has called the visual foundation of an Irish "a corporate identity" in the decades after independence.[136] Instead, their Western scenes, like Lavery's London view, could envision the broad scope of Irish Ulster envisioned at the British Empire Exhibition.

One Last Visit to Ballymaclinton

As early as 1888, a small Irish exhibition at Olympia in London had displayed an Irish village alongside more educational, historical, and industrial displays (Figure 18). In a photograph from the National Archives in London, the villagers of this early Irish exhibitionary village were arrayed across the center of their replica town square, as marked by the giant stone cross. Features such as the thatched cottage, the Norman tower, and the Celtic cross were repurposed at subsequent exhibitions over nearly half a century along with certain Irish exhibitionary characters or types, particularly female. This village was, in fact, an early version of Alice Hart's Donegal Industrial Village, thus it was a fictitious village space reconstructed in London to represent Ireland as a whole, while more specifically representing a space in Ulster.[137]

By 1924, the English visitor to an exhibition may well have experienced Ireland embodied as a rural village in an exhibition repeatedly over thirty years and anticipated these markers of Irishness: the pleasant colleens, the lack of modern industry, and the dirt. Such visions of Ireland should have been the antithesis of the Northern Irish exhibition project that

[135] Hewitt, 95.
[136] Brian P. Kennedy, "The Irish Free State 1922-49: A Visual Perspective," in *Ireland Art into History*, ed. Brian P. Kennedy and Raymond Gillespie (Dublin: Town House, 1994), 150. Kennedy also includes in his list Séan Keating and Maurice MacGonigal whose works will be discussed in chapter 5 of this dissertation.
[137] Janice Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts and Industries, 1880-1914: Marketing Craft, Making Fashion* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007), 50-57.

went to such great lengths to display Ulster as a new and improved version of Ireland where industry trumped leisure, progress triumphed over decay, and order replaced discord. Picturesque, sweeping landscapes were quite different from the gritty, dirty village spaces themselves. The Ulster organizers, however, did not seem to recognize any conflict with the continuing use of this standardized exhibitionary Irish village motif. Among the companies displaying their wares in the much-lauded Ulster Pavilion was Brown and Son Soapworks, also known as McClinton's Soap, of Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, the same firm that had created the Ballymaclinton village in 1908 and that erected in the amusement section of the 1924 British Empire Exhibition a Ballymaclinton "Colleen Cottage," complete with comely colleens, dusty floors, and quaint soap-making demonstrations.[138]

Wembley, 1924 marked the first time the Browns were able to promote their soap in a national pavilion rather than in a colonial village in the amusement park, yet by 1924, selling Colleen Soap had become inextricably linked with the red wool cloak, Balbriggan stockings, linen dress, and green kerchief of Ballymaclinton, their ahistorical, generically Irish, exhibitionary village. Much smaller in scale than the original Ballymaclinton, the 1924 McClinton's Colleen Cottage nonetheless invoked all those past markers of earlier Irish exhibitionary Irelands: the colleens, the costumes, the ruins, and the dusty home industry.

Norah Gallagher, who had participated in the first Ballymaclinton village at the age of three, returned to work as one of the colleens in 1924 (Figure 19). Her photo album contains the scene of "the old Irish round tower near the Amusements Fair which has been erected beside McClinton's important soap exhibit, which is housed in a reproduction of an Irish cottage, the inside of which contains a practical demonstration of the process of soap manufacture."[139]

---

[138] On the features of Ballymaclinton, see chapter 3 of this dissertation.
[139] "London Letter," *Freeman's Journal*, 24 Apr. 1924.

Norah, on the left, and two friends stand in front of the open doorway the Colleen Cottage, whose large green sign reads simply: "See the Colleens Make the Soap." The girls are in the standard Ballymaclinton costume, with their deep green skirts, linen blouses, and heavy Kerry cloaks. The cottage itself is unassuming, with white-washed stone walls and a traditional thatched roof. Inside, however, was no longer a model living space, but an exclusive demonstration area and souvenir space, where the visitor to the amusement grounds could watch Irish girls at work. Although ostensibly an Ulster exhibit peopled by Ulster girls, at least one Irish paper recognized that the "soap is made and sold by attractive and well-spoken girls, mostly recruited from the convents of Sligo."[140]

At the 1924 event, however, Brown and Son did make two slight changes to their earlier White City village constructions that suggest their attention to the new idea of a specific version of Ireland rooted in Ulster. Architecturally, while the Colleen Cottage exhibit included the ruins of a round tower, that iconic ancient Irish landmark from the monastic tenth century, this mini-Ballymaclinton lacked the town cross that had figured prominently in the previous incarnations of Ballymaclinton and had been one of the few features of the imagined exhibition village actually based in reality. At the center of the actual village of Donaghmore in County Tyrone, across from much of the housing the Browns proudly supplied for their workers, stood a giant, ancient stone high cross (Figure 20). Depicting scenes from the life and crucifixion of Jesus Christ, the cross was the physical and spiritual center of the village.[141] Its absence in 1924 suggests its reference to Catholic, and thus Free State, Ireland may have been too explicit. The Round Tower, although from the monastic, Celtic past, was inherently more architectural than

[140] "Ireland at Wembley," *Freeman's Journal*, 30 May 1924. Sligo is a Southern county on the west coast. The efforts of Brown and Son to recruit workers for the exhibitions from across Ireland in the previous decade support the likelihood that the company had done so again, physically reaching out across the new border to hire "Irish" girls for Ulster.

[141] It still stands at the village crossroads in Donaghmore across from the old workers' homes, now apartments.

religious as well as related explicitly to a pre-conquest history, while the cross was innately religious and still at the center of national problems across both the north and the south of Ireland.

Brown and Son also tried to evoke Ulster through the linguistic description of the colleen, if not through her costume or regional brogue. The 1924 Colleen Cottage souvenir (Figure 21), with the internationally-recognizable McClinton's Colleen on the cover, marked the first time that any Ballymaclinton village space was labeled by a specific location in Ireland. The poem on the opening page begins: "In a quaint little village way down in Tyrone/ There lived a sweet Colleen named Molly Malone…"[142] On the other hand, the extended description of the typical colleen in the booklet echoed earlier exhibitionary descriptions. It reads, "No country in the world can boast of more bewitching or more heart-stirring girls than the land of the Colleen… There is a dewy softness in the Irish air which is believed to have played an important part in the development of the Colleen's exquisite complexion, an absence of harshness and of extremes that constitutes the 'mildness' which is so characteristic of the Irish climate."[143] Such mildness and soft skin seemed a stark contrast to Ulster's emphasis on the industrial sector and more reminiscent of the wilds of Kerry and Galway from which their coats stylistically originated. Thus the 1924 Ballymaclinton colleen bridged the industrial prowess of Ulster, represented by the successful soap industry, with the romantic, pleasant nature of the traditional stereotype of the Irish colleen.

The disparate nature of the two Brown and Son displays - the one in the national Pavilion being scientific in nature and the one in the amusement section being "demonstrational"[144] - led

---

[142] "Souvenir from the Colleen Cottage, British Empire Exhibition, Wembley" (1924).
[143] Ibid.
[144] Sir Cecil Litchfield to W. E. Williams, 14 July 1923. In his letter to W. E. Williams, Harbour Commissioner, Litchfield explicitly refers to the upcoming event as a "National Demonstrational Exhibition." Notes in the

the visitor from the *Freeman's Journal* to explicitly recommend stopping by the professional McClinton's display in the Ulster Pavilion, while the reporter from the *Irish Independent* sent its readers to the amusement park to see "the picturesque Irish cottage, which forms the exhibit of Messrs. McClintons, Ltd., the well-known makers of Colleen soap… Pretty Irish girls, chosen for their clear Irish complexions and wearing *National* dress, will explain and display the processes by which Colleen soap is made, and this *typical Irish exhibit* bids fair to prove quite as attractive as its famous [1908] predecessor."[145] The writer was clearly not referencing Ulster in particular, but an idyllic, iconic, Irish national identity growing from Celtic roots in the West and South, a broad definition of Ireland that Ulster organizers were hoping to earn for themselves through their displays in 1924.

A Second Opportunity: the 1925 British Empire Exhibition

At the end of 1924, Craig informed the Prince of Wales that "Ulster was proud and happy to take her stand within the British Palace of Industry, thus emphasizing her essential unity, industrially and constitutionally, with Great Britain and contributing her quota to the greatest Empire display which the world has ever seen."[146] While there may have been improvements in morale and political relationships, only the linen industry could claim economic success from what had ostensibly been promoted as a broad, Ulster economic improvement project. Ulster was not alone in its losses, however. The British Empire Exhibition had been designed only for one year's run, but upon calculating the losses at over £1,500,000, the British Exhibition Association quickly planned an encore.[147] Not surprisingly, the Ulster Government was among

---

associated Cabinet records from 1923 affirm this early title. Harbour Records BEE, HA/1/A/7/8, PRONI.
[145] "Irish Girls at Wembley," *Freeman's Journal*, 3 May 1924. Emphasis added.
[146] W. D. Scott to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, 22 Nov. 1924, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[147] Knight and Sabey, 134.

the first groups to support the reopening of the exhibition grounds for a second event in 1925.[148]

The *Times* proclaimed its support of Northern Ireland's renewed participation, claiming "it once again testifies to the readiness and determination of Northern Ireland to bear her part in the development of the Empire."[149] Against this sort of critique, it is not surprising that the issue of Free State participation was revisited by the Dáil as well as by the House of Commons in London. After Burma announced it would not return for the second year, the Burmese building (Figure 22) was offered to the Free State, as "it occupies a very prominent position, and last year was packed from the opening until the close."[150] That the Burmese Pavilion was one of the most highly-stylized pavilions, modeled after a famous temple in Mandalay and replete with a series of pagoda-style towers topped with golden bells, oriental-scrollwork trim, and guarded by a giant pair of Burmese dog sculptures, seems to have been less of a concern.[151] One might even go so far as to suggest that the offer of the Burmese Pavilion was intentionally designed to be an unacceptable or even offensive offer in the same way that Clarke's offer of the Civic Hall in 1924 was designed to antagonize rather than assist.

Nonetheless, in the Official Report of the Dáil's discussion on the matter, Major Cooper, an advocate for participation, did stress that "we may be able to pick up a second-hand palace cheap."[152] Coordinately, the Department of Agriculture issued letters of inquiry to over seventy major industries throughout the Free State, but by February 4, 1925, they had received only four positive responses.[153] Despite some mild interest shown by firms such as the Wexford Co-operative Creamery, Eason & Son Booksellers, and Lamb Brothers, neither the government nor

---

[148] "Conclusions of Second Meeting on the Reopening of the British Empire Exhibition" (London: 1924). By September of 1924, thirty-nine of forty-six major exhibitors had voiced their support for a second exhibition.
[149] "Ulster Parliament to Be Dissolved," *The Times*, 11 Mar. 1925.
[150] "The Free State and Wembley," *Irish Times*, 10 Mar. 1925.
[151] For a brief description of the Pavilion see Knight and Sabey, 47.
[152] Dáil, Official Report: Questions. Oral Answers. Representation at the Wembley Exhibition, 2 Mar. 1925, Agr. Records, AGF/92/3/438, NAI.
[153] Dáil, Roinn Na Talmhiaochta, Agr. Records, 4 Feb. 1925, AGF/92/3/438, NAI.

the manufacturing interests were willing to participate in the 1925 reincarnation at Wembley.[154]

In his official message on the occasion of Empire Day at the 1925 Empire Exhibition, Cosgrave was not quite as politic as he had been in 1924. Instead of easy excuses and carefully worded compliments, he drove home the reality that "in the three years since the Treaty was signed we have had to repair the ravages of several years of strife and to restore respect for authority, which had been well-nigh shattered. We now look forward to a period of reconstruction."[155] Other than voice his interest in continuing to be a trade partner in the Commonwealth, he said nothing that could be construed as relevant to the opening of the exhibition, nor was he in any way congratulatory on the coincident celebration of Empire Day.

Craig, on the other hand, was even more effusive than usual, speaking to "that spirit of pride of race which is the heritage of every Britisher. Here in Ulster, whose sons and daughters have for centuries played their part at home and overseas in designing and moulding the great Imperial structure of which every Briton is proud, the lamp of patriotism burns brightly, and it is the desire of her people to keep its flame ever clear and undimmed." While Cosgrave stressed recovery from civil war and economic decline, implying the hardship of an oppressed people, Craig stressed that Ulster, "this loyal part of Ireland… will salute the Union Jack as the emblem of Empire and of Ulster, beneath which her sons have rendered willing sacrifice and loyal service, and to which her people are devoted with an attachment unsurpassed in any other part of his Majesty's wide Dominions."[156] His choice of militaristic language, paired with his effusive declarations of loyalty, stressed the increasing separation between the two parts of Ireland that would finally become irreparable and official at the end of year with the conclusion and

---

[154] In this second round, at least, it seems the reasons for not participating were legitimately more economic than in 1924.

[155] "An Empire Anniversary. Cooperation in Defence and Development. Messages from the Prime Ministers of the Empire," *The Times*, 23 May 1925.

[156] Ibid.

codification of the results of the Boundary Commission.

In his foreword to the updated Ulster Pavilion booklet for 1925, Craig wrote:

> Once again the Ulster Pavilion is situated within the Palace of Industry, thereby re-emphasizing the fact that Ulster is still a part of the United Kingdom. The visitor to the Ulster Pavilion will always find a hearty welcome, and an examination of the various exhibits will show in what measure Ulster, as an integral part of the Empire, contributes year by year to the volume of Empire trade… both at home and overseas the products of our Province will be recognized as bearing that hall mark of thoroughness which, now as always, has been a distinctive characteristic alike of our people and of our industries.[157]

Double the size of the 1924 space and including the largest linen display ever shown at an exhibition, the Ulster Pavilion of 1925 did finally break even.[158] Whether it had a significant impact on the political and cultural boundaries between North and South, or between the North and England is more difficult to quantify. What is clear from an examination the Northern Government's efforts in constructing a paragon of Ulster loyalty at the Exhibition is that, like all exhibitionary models, it aspired to greater real-world applications than it achieved.

Richard Haslam has suggested in his catalogue of Clough Williams-Ellis' architectural drawings that they hold special significance in that they represent "the moment when ideas first become manifest but are still short of resolution."[159] Such a description equally applies to the efforts of the Northern Ireland Government and organizers in coordinating the first Irish Pavilion at an international exhibition. Barely a nation, with a parliament in its infancy and its physical boundaries insecure, both in reality and on paper, the new Northern Irish state used the Wembley exhibition as a proving ground for new national image building. If the exhibition was, as the *Irish Independent* described, "a living picture of the history of the Empire and of its present

---

[157] Copy of the foreword contained in W. D. Scott to C. H. Blackmore, 18 Apr. 1925, NI BEE Records, CAB 9f/14/1, PRONI.
[158] "New Wembley," *The Times*, 9 May 1925.
[159] Haslam, 9.

structure,"[160] the national vision of Northern Ireland certainly illuminated a country in the process of becoming itself through the essential components of Irish land and landscape.

[160] "Wonderful Day at Wembley," *Irish Independent*, 24 Apr. 1924.

# CHAPTER 4 FIGURES




Figure 1. "Harbour Model." Photograph from the Album of M. J. Watkins, General Manager of the Belfast Harbour Commission. Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast.

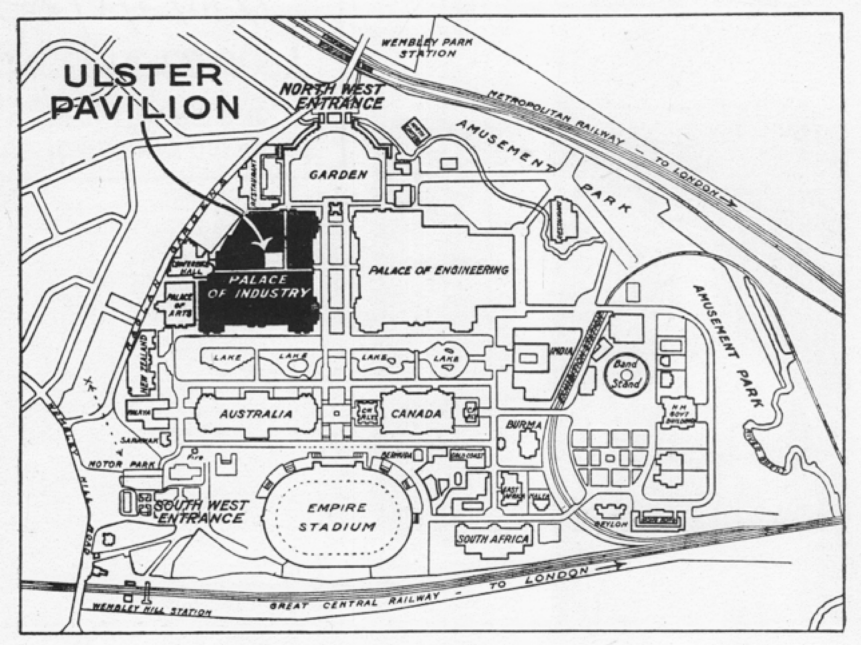


Figure 2. Map of the British Empire Exhibition. *The British Empire Exhibition Official Guide*. 1924. London: Fleetway Press Ltd., 1924.

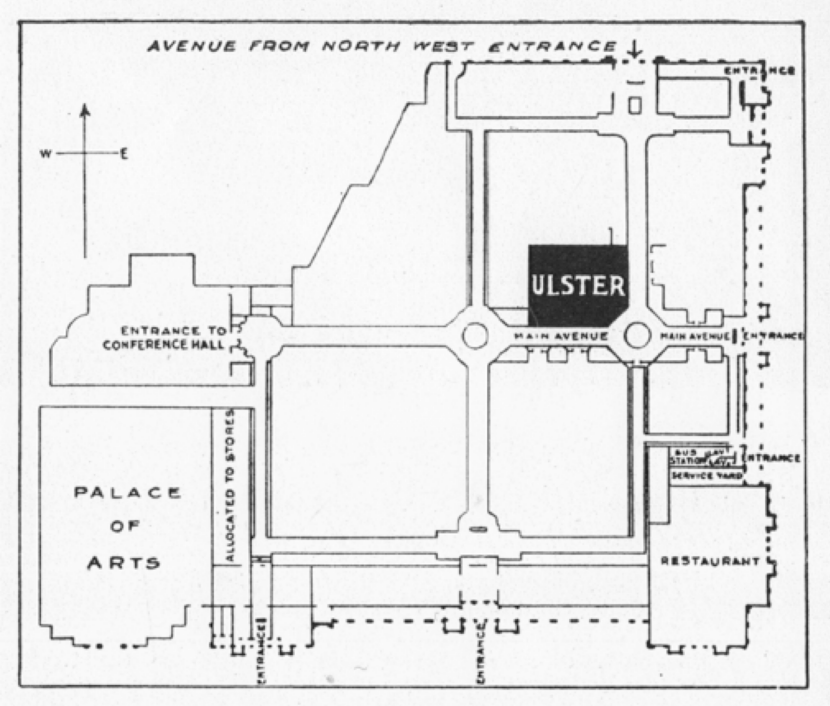


Figure 3. Map published in The Ulster Pavilion "Location Plan" pamphlet released by the Ministry of Commerce, 1924. Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast.

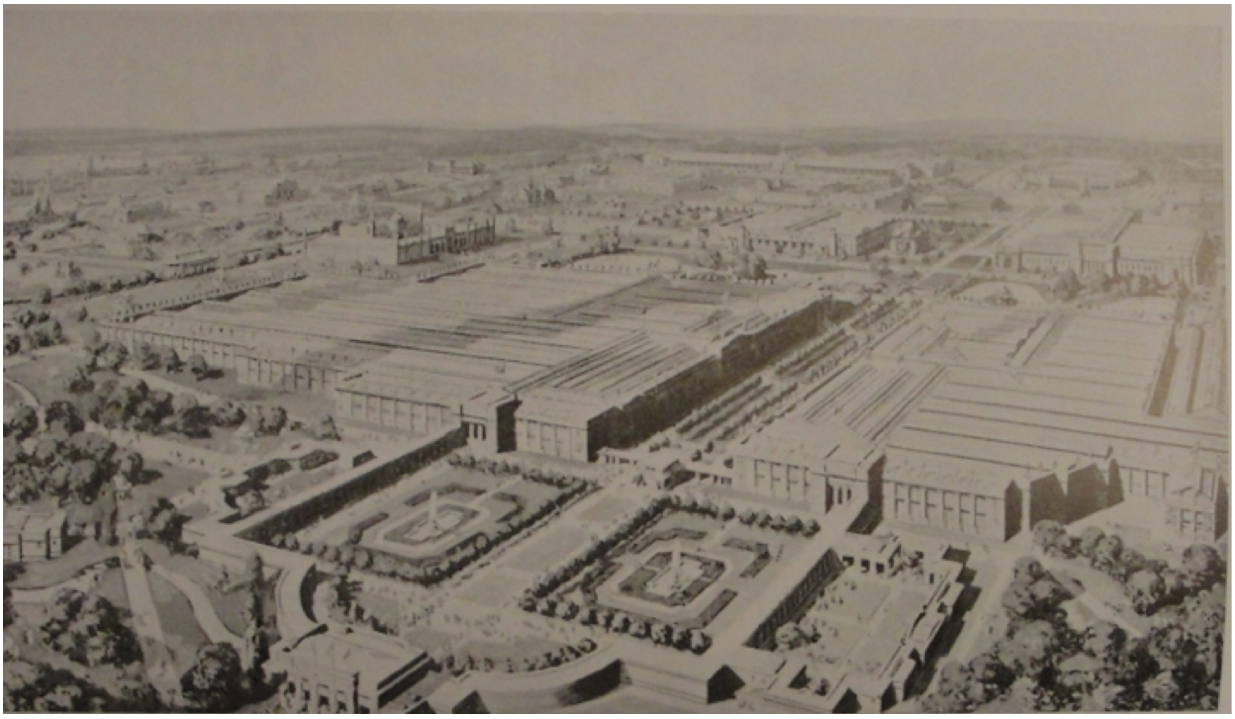

Figure 4. Panoramic View of the British Empire Exhibition. In *Metro-Land: British Empire Exhibition Number*. 1924.

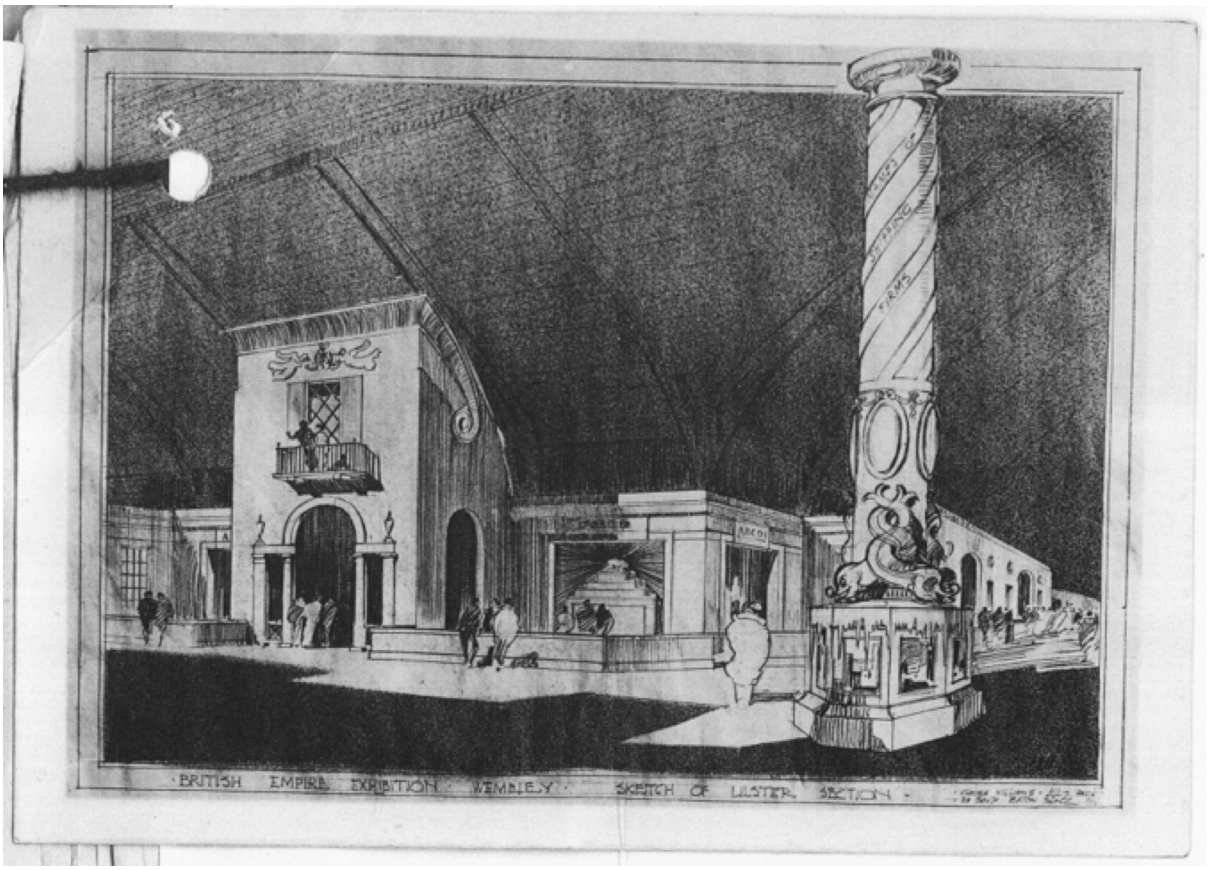


Figure 5. Clough Williams-Ellis, Sketch Design for the Ulster Section, 1924. Print, 230 x 275cm. The Royal Institute of British Architects, London.

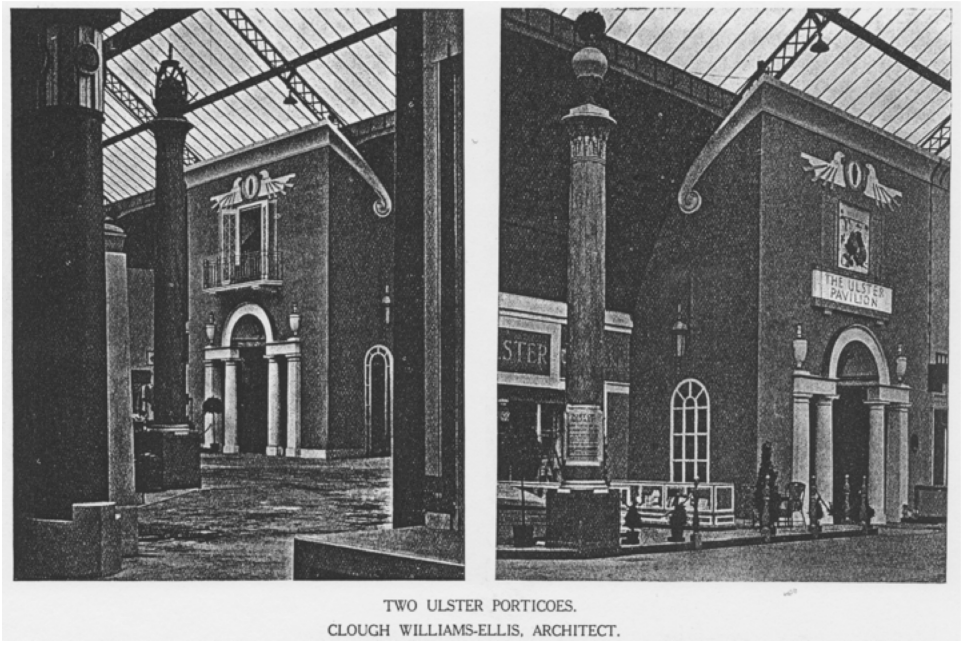


Figure 6. Clough Williams-Ellis, "Two Ulster Porticoes." 1924.




Figure 7. " Ulster Pavilion." Photograph from the Album of M. J. Watkins, General Manager of the Belfast Harbour Commission. Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast.

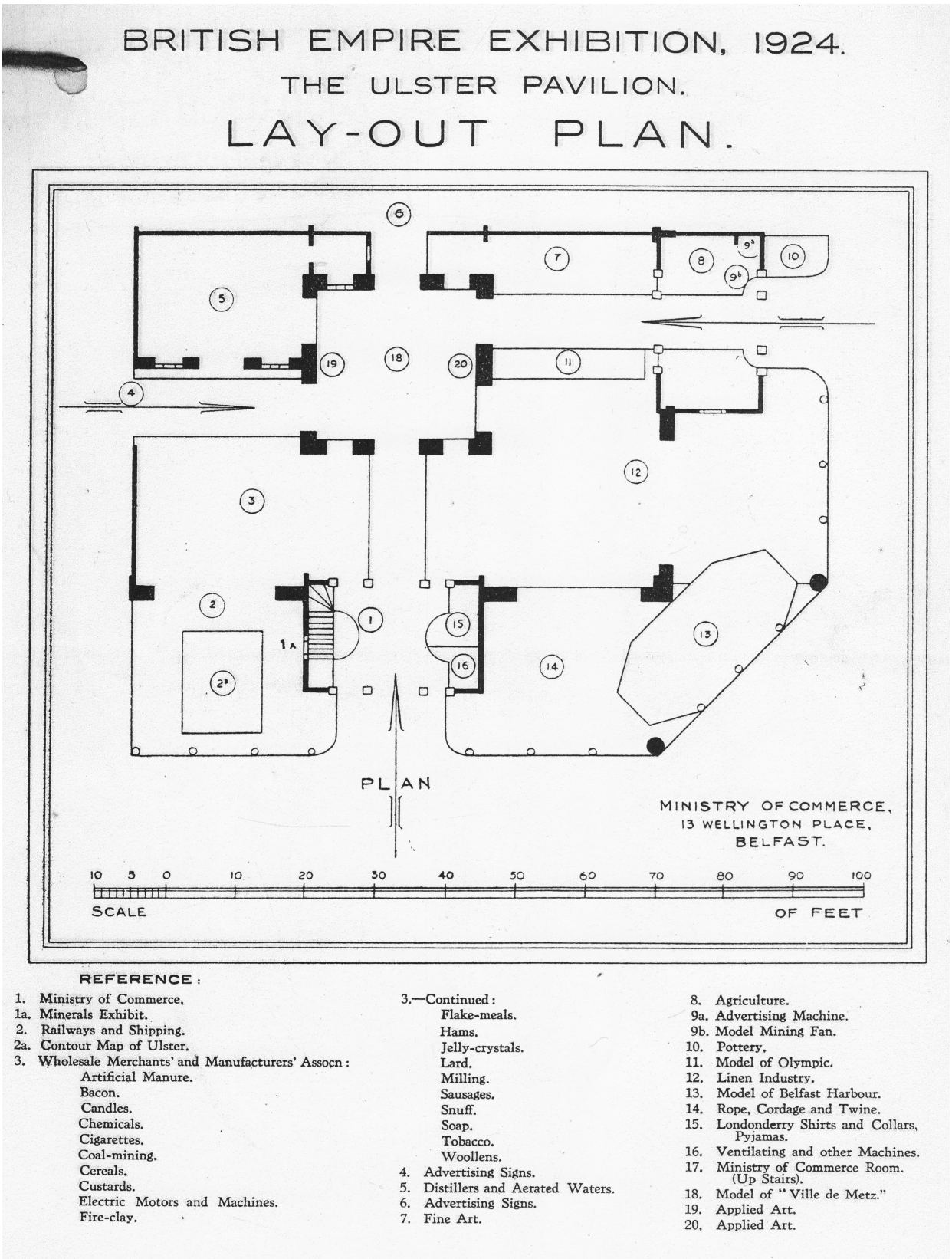


Figure 8. Ulster Pavilion Plan, showing the Harbour Model (13) on the lower right corner.

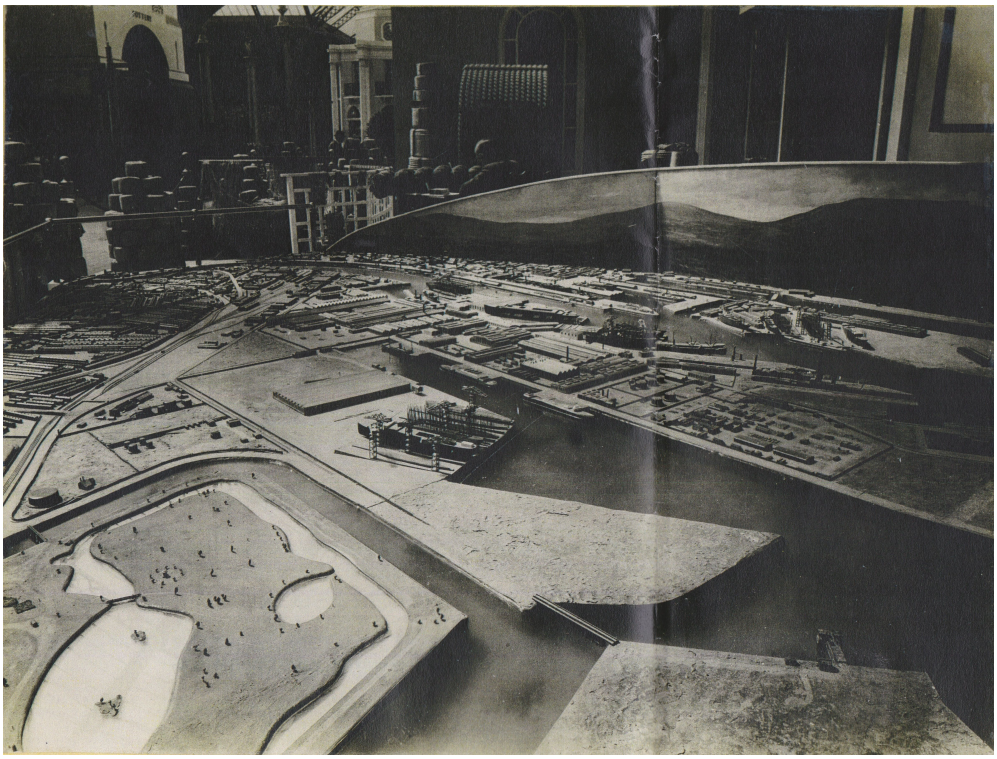

Figure 9. “ Harbour Model.” Photograph from the Album of M. J. Watkins, General Manager of the Belfast Harbour Commission. Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast.



Figure 10. “ Harbour Model.” Photograph from the Album of M. J. Watkins, General Manager of the Belfast Harbour Commission. Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast.



Figure 11. Hans Iten, *A County Down Bouquet*, n.d. Oil on canvas, 129.03 x 166.37 cm. Ulster Museum, Belfast.



Figure 12. Rosamund Praeger, *The Philosopher*, original ca. 1913, copy ca. 1920-22. Marble, 43.2 x 16.3 x 22.5 cm. Ulster Museum, Belfast.



Figure 13. Grace Henry, *Girl in White*, ca. 1910. Oil on canvas, 61 x 51 cm. Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, Dublin.



Figure 14. Paul Henry, *Connemara Hills*, ca. 1924. Oil on board, 10”x 12”. Private Collection.




Figure 15. Charles Lamb, *Hearing the News*, 1920-21. Oil on canvas, 63.3 x 53.3cm. Private collection.



Figure 16. John Lavery, *The Studio Window, 7 July 1917*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 141.5 x 89.9cm. Ulster Museum, Belfast.



Figure 17. John Lavery, *Cathleen ní Houlihan*, 1928. 13 x 15.5cm. Central Bank of Ireland, Dublin.



Figure 18. Main street view with "peasantry," Irish Village, Irish Exhibition, Olympia, London. 1888. Photograph. National Archives, Kew, London.




Figure 19. Colleen Cottage, 1924. Photograph. Norah Gallagher's Scrapbook, Donaghmore Historical Society, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland.




Figure 20. Donaghmore High Cross. 2010. Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland.




Figure 21. Colleen Cottage souvenir booklet. 1924. Donaghmore Historical Society, Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland.




Figure 22. The Burmese Pavilion, British Empire Exhibition, Wembley. Postcard, 3 x 5". Private Collection.

# CHAPTER 5

## SOLVING A PROBLEM: ÉIRE/IRELAND AT THE EXHIBITIONS, 1938-1939

In 1939, the southern Irish Free State finally embraced the opportunity to design a Free State Irish national pavilion for a World's Fair. Although the organizers of New York's World's Fair also provided space for an Irish display in the Hall of Nations Pavilion, the Free State would have a free-standing building of its own. For such a momentous international undertaking, the Ministry of the Interior turned to Michael Scott, a promising Irish architect who was best know for his work on several county hospitals and renovations to both the Gate and Abbey Theatres in Ireland.[1] Years later, he recalled the challenges of 1939 to fellow artist and art critic Dorothy Walker, explaining that he felt tasked by the Government to "solv[e] the problem of modernism and nationalism at the same time."[2]

After several sleepless nights, he had "a terrible thought…a shamrock."[3] His solution for the Free State's first wholly independent exhibition pavilion was a massive, two-storey glass building in the shape of a shamrock (Figure 1). This building, seamlessly blending a traditional organic symbol with modern materials and a modern perspective - it could only be understood as a shamrock when viewed from an airplane - became not only a triumph for Scott, but also for the Free State. That such a balance between nation and modernity, between Free State Irish national identity and international perspective was problematic for Irish politicians, businesses, and artists in 1939 is at the center of this chapter. At international exhibitions in the late 1930s, this resolution manifested in works like Scott's, carefully blending past visual and material symbols for Ireland with present global, economic, and artistic aspirations.

---

[1] Dorothy Walker, *Michael Scott, Architect: In (Casual) Conversation with Dorothy Walker* (Kinsale: Gandon
[2] Walker, *Michael Scott*, 96.
[3] Ibid.

Writer Seán Ó'Faoláin referred to the "green curtain" behind which the Free State hid in its formative years of the 1920s and early 1930s.[4] In the two decades between the Anglo-Irish Treaty and World War II, Free State politicians took careful, measured steps to slowly develop the appropriate images, icons, and signifiers for a new nation. As art historian John Turpin has pointed out, this was a country with no official independence day, no national commemorative monuments until 1935, and no clear sense of self, conflicted as so many were over the ongoing Partition discussions.[5] As late as 1936, Taoiseach (Prime Minister) EamonDeValera was rejecting even the heraldic shields of the four provinces as being too Norman for a Free State symbol, including that of Leinster, with its gold harp on a green field.[6] The Free State in the 1920s and 1930s was "free" in name only until the 1937 Constitution, and even, then still maintained lingering ties to the British Crown until the Republic of Ireland Act in 1949.[7]

This "green curtain" held the Free State back from participation in a variety of global political issues and cultural developments including international exhibitions. Although the Government committed to a small display at the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago, it was not until the end of the decade that Ireland, formally Éire, participated fully and enthusiastically in any international exhibition. At the British Empire Exhibition in Glasgow in 1938 and the subsequent 1939 New York World's Fair, the Irish Government finally began the task of pulling back the curtain to begin building and showcasing a new national vision for an

---

[4] Quoted in Brian P. Kennedy, "The Irish Free State 1922-49: A Visual Perspective," in *Ireland Art into History*, ed. Brian P. Kennedy and Raymond Gillespie (Dublin: Town House, 1994), 152.

[5] John Turpin, "Official Sculpture in Post-Revolutionary Ireland, North and South, in the 1920s and 1930s," *Sculpture Journal* XIII (2005): 32.

[6] Kennedy, "The Irish Free State 1922-49," 141. Quoting Dr. George Furlong, director of the National Gallery of Ireland, 1935-50. DeValera decided to use the shields only in 1937 after, in Furlong's words, "the new Constitution had laid claim to the four green fields."

[7] Ireland was named An Soarstát, or the Free State, from the Treaty in 1921 through 1937. With the signing of the Constitution, the country was declared Éire, or Ireland, and it officially became the Republic of Ireland in 1949. I predominantly use "Ireland" throughout this chapter as even the various Government ministries were unsure which to use in 1938 and 1939. It was ultimately an annoyance to architect Michael Scott who had planned his Shamrock Pavilion in 1939 around the term "Éire," but was told at the last minute to hang the title "Ireland" on the building instead. Walker, *Michael Scott*, 96.

international audience. These exhibitions were an opportunity to introduce the world economically, commercially, artistically, and culturally to the new twenty-six county Ireland. The Irish Government funded an Éire Pavilion in Glasgow and two pavilions in New York, contributing in full to the exhibitions' "vivid tableaux of modern life."[8] Such participation required a new visual language of Ireland through the redefinition of past tropes of Irishness and the introduction of new symbols for the new nation. Traditional symbols were inadequate in the modern world, but as Scott suggested, such imagery maintained important cultural significance in the construction of a new modern Irish identity.

Such redefinition was already taking place internally in Ireland. Cosgrave had turned over the Government in 1932 to EamonDeValera who led the Dáil to implement a variety of stringent cultural laws on issues ranging from health policy to banned books.[9] His advocacy for these reforms derived from strict Catholic doctrine, perhaps, as historian Thomas Bartlett has suggested, because DeValera found the established codes and symbols of Catholicism a much more manageable legislating structure than an amorphous concept of Irishness.[10] He was, however, also quite invested in forward-thinking international policy and development. Before the 1937 Constitution was ratified, DeValera removed the Oath of Fealty as well as deference to the Crown from the existing 1925 contract. He actively fought to modify the Treaty to return all ports and harbors to Ireland and he engaged the international community in such new and creative ways as supporting Ireland's participation in the its first international exhibitions since the Treaty: 1938 Glasgow Empire Exhibition and the 1939 New York World's Fair.

---

[8] G. F. Maine, ed. *Scotland's Welcome 1938* (London and Glasgow: Wm. Collins Sons and Co. Ltd., 1938).
[9] DeValera, largely due to his American birthplace, had been the only signatory on the 1916 Proclamation not executed by the British Government in the aftermath of the Easter Rising. In 1918, he had been elected President of the first Dáil, but joined the Anti-Treatyite side of the Civil War, leading to his eventual imprisonment. Upon release, he and his Fianna Fáil party rose to power where he proceeded to continue the conservative social and cultural policies of his predecessor, adding religious restrictions to an already strenuous list of social responsibilities, and, importantly, drafting the 1937 Constitution.
[10] Thomas Bartlett, *Ireland, a History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 428.

On the one hand, Irish artists and architects commissioned for the 1938 and 1939 events had at their disposal the a traditional Irish exhibition script that coordinated with DeValera's conservative nationalism: cottages were a national treasure, the preservation of rural industries was a national concern, and the renewal of the Irish language was at the top of DeValera's list of cultural reforms. On the other hand, Ireland's participation at these exhibitions also highlighted the rejection of traditional tropes. The colleen, the donkey, and the jaunting cart were each components of the earlier visions of exhibitionary Irishness that were explicitly eliminated by the Free State planning committees in 1938 and 1939. They decided instead to project a vision of the new Ireland through modern art and architecture. When a small Scottish corporation opened a miniature "Irish village" on the New York World's Fair Midway in 1939, the angry response by the Irish Consul in New York was swift and efficient in closing the production down.

This chapter explores the varying artistic, architectural, and material attempts to project a new vision of Ireland to these international exhibition audiences. I consider both the Glasgow Empire Exhibition and the New York World's Fair in tandem, as they existed coordinate with one another. Despite regulations established by the Bureau International des Expositions in 1928 prohibiting back-to-back exhibitions, these rules were not yet strictly enforced in the 1930s.[11] The New York organizers specifically visited Glasgow and used it as the model in developing their own plans for 1939.[12] Several exhibits from Glasgow even received specific invitations to the New York World's Fair based on their popularity in 1938.[13] The two events espoused similar goals, included similar national, technological, and artistic displays, and promoted a similar world-view of cooperation and optimism in the face of imminent war. Moreover,

[11] See "Bureau Internationale Des Expositions Web Site," BIE, http://www.bie-paris.org/ These rules also prohibited the Glasgow exhibition from officially being called an "international exhibition."
[12] Maurice Mermey, Report, 30 July 1938, New York World's Fair Incorporated Records 1939/1940, Box 768, New York Public Library (hereafter NYWF 39/40, NYPL).
[13] Of particular note, the model of the Scottish An Clachan Village was feted with a formal welcoming ceremony when it arrived on the boat from Glasgow. "Model Clachan," *Glasgow Evening Citizen*, 3 Aug. 1938.

countries prepared for both exhibitions simultaneously. For example, while not officially invited to participate at the New York World's Fair until 1938, Dublin entered into informal discussions with New York regarding an Irish presence at the Fair as early as 1935.[14] Ireland's participation at both events stressed the new nation's desire to confidently insert itself into the global community.

Ireland's first attempt at national display at the 1938 Glasgow Empire Exhibition was constrained by the architectural planning of the exhibition. While Scott had complete control over the design for his Shamrock Pavilion in 1939, the Irish architectural firm of Jones and Hart was limited by Glasgow architect Thomas Tait's revolutionary exhibition vision. As a result, the Irish organizers relied on the interior features of the pavilion to best express the nation. I begin this chapter with an examination of the massive 800-square-foot mural that dominated the space. For the project, the Irish Ministry of Commerce commissioned Irish modernist painter Mainie Jellett who interpreted traditional Irish scenes of farming, fishing, and spinning through abstract and modern artistic shapes and forms (Figure 2). Due to her limited popularity in Ireland at the time, her controversial modernist style, and her advocacy for upending traditional artistic schooling in Ireland, close attention to her role in crafting a 360-degree vision of Ireland in Glasgow illuminates the nuances of Irish national image-making in these early years and the creative ways in which traditional scenes could be manipulated and repurposed for modern spaces and modern audiences.

Similarly, Michael Scott's International-Style Ireland Pavilion in 1939 New York, with its seemingly endless, undulating glass walls arranged to suit a surprising aerial perspective nonetheless structurally derived from a traditional symbol of and feature of the Irish landscape. Inside the Scott Pavilion in 1939, acclaimed artist and President of Dublin's National College of

[14] NYWF 39/40 Box 314/11, NYPL.

Art Seán Keating presented a *Shannon Basin* mural (Figure 3) that ran the length of shamrock "stem" and more greatly resembled his earlier social realist work than his contemporary style. These artistic experiments in "solving the problem" by combining traditional motifs with modern forms and styles also strikingly counterbalanced the replicas of medieval metalwork and dioramas of rural industries filling the pavilion bays and halls.[15]

I also address a central feature in both the pavilions and the pavilion murals that embodied a further complication of Irish modernity and traditionalism: the Shannon Hydro-electric plant. The Shannon plan had been developed by young engineer Thomas McLaughlin who brought over the German hydroelectric construction group Siemens to build a massive plant across several miles of the Shannon River. Costing nearly £5.2 million and taking four years to complete, by the signing of the Constitution in 1937, it was supplying eighty-seven percent of Irish electrical demand.[16] It was the first great, technological success of Éire and one of DeValera's favorite early achievements. I suggest that its central role in the exhibition displays undercuts the emphasis placed on tradition in these spaces by the inclusion of cottages, farmers, and spinning wheels. In contrast to a national dialogue of traditional values, the so-called Shannon Scheme dominated the international exhibition vision of Ireland.

This chapter also highlights yet another series of maps of Ireland: one designed by Jellett in 1938 and a pair designed by Keating and Scott in 1939.[17] Of the latter group, Scott seemed to be channeling the emotions of immigrant groups from 1897 and recalling the aspirations of the Ulster Harbour Commissioners in 1924 when he drafted the large feature to lie before the entrance of his Pavilion. He created a fountain and tableau of the thirty-two counties of Ireland

[15] Clair Wills, *That Neutral Island: A Cultural History of Ireland During the Second World War* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 20-21. Wills calls the 1939 efforts, in sum, the ultimate Irish "cliché."
[16] Andy Bielenberg, "Keating, Siemens & the Shannon Scheme," *History Ireland* 5, no. 3 (Autumn 1997).
[17] On previous maps of Ireland at international exhibitions, see chapters 2 and 4 of this dissertation.

and insisted on using Irish soil with the waters of the River Shannon flowing through the display (Figure 4). This map and the others painted by the interior artists reveal a continuing fascination with the physical spaces of Ireland in these exhibitionary settings. In Jellett's case, her map continued to describe Ireland by its island borders, showing all thirty-two counties as one nation, while Keating's map quite deftly excluded the North in a way that was both politically charged and yet arguably a result of the physical space allotted for his mural.

In trying to explain the enduring appeal of the international exhibition phenomenon, the *Illustrated London News* called the 1938 Exhibition "a proper sphere of violent contrasts."[18] The problem voiced by Scott could not, of course, be solved easily by an abstract mural in Glasgow or a map flowing with Irish water in New York. Despite the similarity of purpose between the two exhibitions and the Irish pavilions therein, variations in audience and imperial contexts certainly impacted the emphases placed on several Irish features. This chapter concludes with an examination of the particular response of Irish organizers to a replica village in New York in 1939, a response triggered explicitly by audience responses to a legacy of Irish exhibitionary displays. The village construct, called "Giant's Causeway" after the geological feature in County Antrim, played upon the nostalgic responses of the Irish-American community in New York to previous exhibition constructions. The conflict between the Irish Government and the Universal Aquatic Entertainments Company that erected the village was less an issue of national representation generally than a clash of exhibitionary visions. The government planners were emphatically presenting a modern redefinition of Ireland; the Giant's Causeway was explicitly revisiting past tropes, from the Blarney Stone to the rural Irish colleen.

This chapter investigates the methods and artistic and architectural styles employed by exhibition organizers and designers to best promote a new vision of Ireland in the first years of

[18] *Illustrated London News, Special Edition*, 7 May 1938.

Constitutional independence. It illuminates the intersections and the often profound differences between the traditional narrative of Irish national development and DeValera's espoused conservatism and the experimental forms of modernism and modern technology that proliferated in Irish pavilions in Glasgow and New York. I suggest that Ireland's role and representation at these exhibitions derives from a clear sense of international culture and commerce and that such exhibitionary displays did not always explicitly contradict, and often worked in tandem with, insular political and cultural aspirations for national development.

Glasgow, Jellett, and "the Modern Movement"

In 1938, Glasgow hosted the second British Empire Exhibition, the first major international exhibition held on British soil in over a decade. It covered over 140 acres, included over one hundred Pavilions, and was visited by nearly fifteen million people over the course of six months. Thomas Tait, lead architect, radically decided to eschew the traditional exhibitionary buildings with their Neoclassical, shining white facades. According to the Exhibition Manager, Captain Sydney Graham, Tait needed no more than a walk-through of the allotted site in Bellahouston Park to envision the entire fairgrounds,[19] declaring later his immediate idea that "we cannot try to erect modern buildings in the old mediaeval style of architecture where there are certain structural features which necessitate modern treatment and modern requirements with big spacing, which the old mediaeval architecture would not allow us to carry out."[20] Instead, Tait mapped out dozens of modern palaces and insisted they be painted in a rainbow of pastel colors (Figure 5). At the center, he erected Glasgow's response to the Eiffel Tower of 1889: the 300-foot Tower of Empire, quickly nicknamed Tait's Tower. Of the

[19] Capt. Sydney S. Graham. *Report to the Administrative Committee by the General Manager.* (Glasgow: Empire Exhibition, Scotland, 1938), 37.
[20] Quoted in "The Empire Exhibition. Lay-out of Park and Design of Buildings" *Glasgow Herald,* n.d. Feb. 1938, Glasgow City Archives, TD 315/7, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

end result, the "Special Glasgow Exhibition Issue" of the *Architectural Review* in July of 1938 informed its readers that the exhibition "represents a whole-hearted acceptance of the spectacular as well as of the functional possibilities of the modern idiom. Thanks to Mr. Tait we can henceforward forget about the need to be modern in the sense of not being period-revival, and set about being modern in a more positive way."[21] Tait himself saw this planning a bit more pragmatically: "Doctors are beginning to appreciate the psychological effect of colour and to understand that light, gay colours promote a feeling of gaiety. The Empire Exhibition colour scheme will result in a holiday spirit being immediately noticeable amongst visitors."[22]

Tait's particular blend of modern style and innovative color palette in the temporary setting of the international exhibitions proved an encouragement for other architects and national organizing committees to be equally experimental. As the reporter for the *Architectural Review* reiterated, in 1938, "architecture refreshes itself when it may be said to be at play, and has in the past periodically renewed its vitality through a sequence of great exhibitions…. But we must remember also the prestige value of exhibition architecture and display. A country's exhibit at an Empire or International Exhibition is that country in miniature."[23]

Such perception of the role of the national pavilion in the exhibition space was certainly a concern for the Irish Free State Government participating in its first major exhibition. The Irish decision to construct a pavilion in Glasgow was the result of months of debate balancing national ideals and financial constraints with the benefits of trade relationships and international exposure, to say nothing of the fact that it meant participating in an officially titled "Empire Exhibition" at a time when Ireland was tacitly rejecting membership in that very conglomeration. While little documentation remains regarding the final impetus for participation, once committed

---

[21] *Architectural Review*, *Special Glasgow Exhibition Issue,* July 1938. Quoted in Graham, Appendix.
[22] *Bellahouston News*, no. 5 (Glasgow: John Horn Ltd. for Empire Exhibition, Scotland - 1938, 1938), 1.
[23] *Architectural Review*, *Special Glasgow Exhibition Issue,* July 1938. Quoted in Graham, Appendix.

to the project, the Irish Ministry of Commerce and Industry hired the architectural firm of Alfred Jones & Stephen Kelly for construction of the pavilion and controversial artist Mainie Jellett to decorate the interior.[24] The design of the pavilion (Figure 6) was tightly controlled by Tait and the Glasgow organizers who firmly believed that visual impact of the fairgrounds would be their most important contribution to the nation and the Empire. Jones and Kelly's broad, white International-style building matched the other dominion constructions, particularly Australia; only the orange and green coloring of the windows, doors, and marquee marked the building as "Ireland." It was, in many ways, an architectural blank slate, prompting one visitor to the exhibition to remark: "if a number of pavilions - for example, the Australian [and the matching Irish] - have misunderstood the new idiom and taken it as a precast formula of blank spaces with curved corners, their designers and their visitors have at least been started on a new line of thought."[25]

On the interior, however, that "new line of thought" was thoroughly expressed in the work of Mainie Jellett, a Dublin-born Protestant whose early work Irish critics like the influential nationalist George Russell had called the product of "artistic malaria."[26] By late 1937, in a review of the very show at which she premiered the designs for her Glasgow murals, one critic was at least honest enough to admit, "Mainie H. Jellett is not everyone's artist."[27] Although Jellett's minimalist and abstract geometric style had gained limited acceptance in Ireland by 1938, her murals in Glasgow stood for the infusion and promotion of new art forms and styles in

[24] The Ministry of Industry and Commerce Records for 1938 Glasgow Empire Exhibition at the National Archive of Ireland contain two documents, neither of which actually relate to the 1938 Glasgow Empire Exhibition. The Jellett Collection at the National Irish Visual Arts Library, Dublin (hereafter NIVAL) also lacks copies of specific communication.
[25] Walter Landauer. "Glasgow Steps Ahead." *Art and Industry* 25, no. 145 (July 1938): 11-16.
[26] *Irish Statesman*, n.d. Oct. 1923. Jellett Collection, NIVAL. Russell is perhaps better known by his pseudonym Æ.
[27] *Irish Press,* 8 Nov. 1937.

Ireland at the end of the 1930s.[28] In the words of her contemporary, writer Stephen Rynne, "he who denies art to Miss Jellett denies his own times."[29]

While there is no record of the exact communication between Seán Lemass, then Minister of Industry and Commerce, and Jellett, one may infer from the Government documents that do exist, from Jellett's final product, as well as from an interview with the architect Michael Scott regarding the directions he received for the New York World's Fair in 1939, that the Free State committee was most interested in presenting a vision of Ireland to the international audience that was non-religious, non-British, and preoccupied with Government public policy for modernisation, specifically the improvement of agricultural labor conditions, air travel, and the Shannon Hydro-electric scheme.[30] Jellett's difficult job was to create a series of images expressing these goals and to coordinate with the displays in the fourteen bays of the interior of the 6,000-square-foot pavilion. As advertisements for Ireland in official Empire Exhibition publications proclaimed, the pavilion would offer "a presentation of the developments which have made the Ireland of today an example of what can be achieved in a decade and a half under a native Government… to give the visitor as vividly and forcibly as possible some idea of the progress made within recent years in industry, culture and social development."[31]

In keeping with this spirit of progress and modernity, Jellett designed a pair of ten by eighty foot murals along the second story of the Pavilion (Figure 7). The scenes blended, scroll-like, from one to the next creating a sense of the continuity across these various vignettes in

---

[28] On Jellett, see in particular Bruce Arnold, *Mainie Jellett and the Modern Movement in Ireland* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991); S. B. Kennedy, *Irish Art and Modernism 1880 - 1950* (Dublin: The Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, 1991), 48-49; *Mainie Jellett: The Artist's Vision, Lectures and Essay on Art*, ed. Eileen MacCarvill (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press Limited, 1958). For a more critical interpretation, see Fintan Cullen, *Visual Politics: The Representation of Ireland 1750 - 1930* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1997), 162-74.
[29] Quoted in Kennedy, *Irish Art and Modernism*, 48.
[30] On Scott, see Walker, *Michael Scott*, 95-102.
[31] *Empire Exhibition Official Guide* (Glasgow: 1938), 32; 142.

keeping with the Free State's emphasis on national unity.[32] Agriculture led to fishing from curraghs; the water from one boat scene blended into the sea shore where sunbathers watched the steamboats go by. Weavers and spinners sat somewhat incongruously next to the Shannon Electrical Plant where musical instruments and speakers reminded the viewer of the recently-established Radio Éireann. Further around the room, horses grazed, emphasizing the importance and popularity of horse breeding in Ireland. The other scenes included dockworkers unloading barrels of fish at the quay, farmers making hay, women bleaching wool, turf cutters, and mountain sheep. A correspondent for the *Irish Times* in Glasgow raved that he was "greatly impressed with those beautiful frescoes by Miss Mainie Jellett, which run the whole length of the Pavilion [and] show various aspects of national life."[33] A review in *Modern Motoring* complimented her work as having "the greatest effect" of any feature of the Pavilion.[34]

Jellett had studied painting at the Metropolitan School of Art in Dublin, with Walter Sickert in London, and then André Lhote in Paris where she began to develop a passion, in her words, "to use natural forms as a starting point towards the creation of form for its own sake; to use colour with the knowledge of its great potential force, and to produce work based on a knowledge of rhythmical form and organic colour."[35] Afterwards she studied with Frenchman Albert Gleizes who years later recalled his surprise at the appearance of an Irish girl on his doorstep looking for lessons in Cubism. Gleizes advocated stripping all artistic inspiration down

---

[32] Art historian Riann Coulter has suggested the style might have derived from Jellett's encounter with scrolls at the 1935 Chinese Exhibition, but it may also just have been a necessary result of the challenges such an abstract artist with a preference for discrete forms faced in developing artwork for a space better suited to pictorial tableaux. Riann Coulter, "Translating Modernism: Mainie Jellett, Ireland and the Search for a Modernist Language " *Apollo*, no. 535 (2006). See also "Translating Modernism: Mainie Jellett, Ireland and the Search for a Modernist Language." (master's thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2000).

[33] "Scotland Calling!" *Irish Times*, 27 May 1938.

[34] *Modern Motoring*, n.d. June 1938. Jellett Collection, NIVAL. Other sources have specified that the map was on the ceiling. I can not confirm that there was a map on the ceiling, but the photograph maintained by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), Edinburgh reveals there certainly was a large map opposite the entrance.

[35] Mainie Jellett, "My Voyage of Discovery," in *Mainie Jellett*, ed. Eileen MacCarvill, 47.

to essential, non-representational shapes that the artist could "translate" from the mind onto the two-dimensional space of the canvas and then "rotate," layer, modulate to capture the essence of form.[36] After working with Gleizes, a period Jellett later recalled as the final "revolution"[37] in her artistic development, she returned to Ireland to explicitly to bring these skills to Ireland and to teach the first generation of Irish modernists.

As an educator, Jellett may have seen in the Glasgow commission in 1938 the opportunity to prove what she had argued in a 1935 radio debate with Dermod O'Brien, then president of the Royal Hibernian Academy. According to the *Irish Times* report on the program, "the modern movement, [Jellett] said, did not consider that it had forsaken tradition; it considered that tradition was the expression of the fundamental truth in art, but that this truth was reinterpreted afresh according to the spirit of the age."[38] As she explained a few years later in her 1943 treatise, "My Voyage of Discovery,"

> 'The Modern Movement'… is producing an art representative of the present period. I do not say it is great art because I do not consider the present period is capable of producing great art. A time when one civilisation is in its death throes and a new civilisation is struggling for birth is not a period to produce great art, but it is a period in which new foundations can be placed and everlasting truths re-expressed in forms adapted to the present time. That, I feel, 'the Modern Movement' in art is doing, and has done.[39]

Such description of her art and her motivations closely echoes the broad language of international exhibitions themselves and Ireland's role in 1938 more specifically. As the *Empire Exhibition Official Guide* expressed, the Glasgow exhibition represented "the most ambitious venture in national publicity which [Ireland] has undertaken in the fifteen years of its existence… Irish architects designed the pavilion and Irish painters decorated its walls. The staff in

---

[36] On Gleizes' theory of translation and rotation, see Albert Gleizes "Homage to Mainie Jellett," in *Mainie Jellett*, ed. MacCarvill, 40.
[37] Jellett, "My Voyage of Discovery," 47-48.
[38] *Irish Times*, 2 Oct. 1935. Reporting on the talk "The Academic Tradition and the Modern Movement in Painting," Jellett Collection, NIVAL.
[39] Jellett, "My Voyage of Discovery," 49-50.

attendance will all be Irish. In short, everything has been done to ensure that visitors, on entering the pavilion, will be presented with an accurate picture of Ireland."[40] This pavilion and its included images, objects, charts, and guides offered a new vision of Ireland in the present, contentious early years of national development by capturing old symbols in new, abstract forms and by embracing new technologies and cultural progress without explicitly abandoning rural tropes and pre-Norman, Celtic foundations. Works like Jellett's mural presented these "reinterpretations" in the six months of the Glasgow Empire Exhibitions as a form of national truth.[41]

Like many of her contemporaries on the Continent, Jellett believed that drawing inspiration from non-European, pre-Renaissance artworks, particularly the geometric forms she saw in Chinese, Indian, and especially Celtic art, encouraged the modern artist to work unfettered from the figurative influences of work since the Renaissance. As art historian Susan Hiller has explained, artists like Jellett engaged geometric forms to create "not images that reflect (and thereby perpetually recreate) the category of the 'primitive,' but… images that reflect *upon* such fantasies."[42] Jellett's long-time friend and companion Evie Hone offered an explanation of both Jellett's style and their mutual approach to primitive forms in art, explaining,

> The paintings of the early Christian era, Celtic, Byzantine, Chinese, 11th and 12th Century Gothic Art… [prioritized] a direction to the spirit to contemplate the Divine Author of the rhythm of form of all created life by a composition of form and colour, by a circular movement symbolic of eternity, by a sublimity of form, by simplicity and severity of colour… [This] seems clear when we regard certain of Miss Jellett's paintings… While, however, Miss Jellett's paintings are expressions of the new age, and not of the 11th century, they are constructed on the same lines as were the early paintings; they have a rhythm, a form, a life of their own, apart from natural objects; the anecdote, if any, is subordinate to the general construction of the whole. The appeal is to the spirit, not to the senses.[43]

---

[40] *Empire Exhibition Official Guide*, 141.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Susan Hiller, ed. *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspective on Art* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 3.
[43] Evie Hone, "Mainie Jellett - Cubist Paintings," in *Mainie Jellett*, ed. MacCarvill, 112-113. Originally published

As early as 1931, Jellett had begun grounding her increasingly figurative work not only in the primitive, geometric figurative work of ancient cultures, but also particularly in her specific national past, asserting that, "the ideals of the Cubist resemble the old Celtic ideas in art, which, in turn, coincide with the early ideals of eastern art, both Chinese and Indian."[44] She drew particular inspiration from an extended visit to the International Exhibition of Chinese Art at the Royal Academy in London in late 1935 where the *Commemorative Catalogue* for the Chinese Exhibition echoed much of what Jellett already believed, especially that "the painter, like the poet… relates the chosen forms to one another by bringing them into a rhythmical accord; but he is not preoccupied with the representation of objects as such, still less with the complete realisation of a scene. The Chinese preference is for flowing rhythms, for sinuous lines like the movement of stream."[45]

At the Royal Academy exhibition, Jellett would have drawn inspiration from works like Chang Feng's *Winter Landscape* (Figure 8), with its bold linear strokes for trees and curved horizontal forms that could be waves or mountains. The buildings emerge as if from the geometry of the landscape itself, at one with the setting, while a pair of economically inked men crosses a bridge in the foreground. So, too, would she have seen Hsieh Shih Ch'en's *Landscape* (Figure 9), the small fishing boats and misty mountains of which she may well have recalled when she began to conceptualize the Glasgow murals in 1937.

These influences, from French Cubism to Chinese line and Celtic form and rhythm, impacted many of her Glasgow panels, including "Agriculture" (Figure 10). For this theme, so

---

in 1929.

[44] *The Daily Express*, 19 Oct. 1931. Jellett Collection, NIVAL.

[45] *The Chinese Exhibition: A Commemorative Catalogue* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1935). I make no claim to what the Chinese artists actually intended, just what the British (and Irish) viewer believed the Chinese artist intended.

intrinsic to nationalizing an Irish rural identity, Jellett focused on the fundamental unit of the Irish family and applied her trademark variations of line, form, rhythm, and color to the traditional rural motif. In her scene, a farmer stands at the center of his agricultural life accompanied by, in decreasing height and dominance, his wife, their sturdy cow, a few chickens, and the fruits of their hard labor. While children are not present in the scene, the abundance of the grains growing behind the couple as well as the overflow of the harvest at their feet speaks to the fertility not only of the farmer and his wife, but also of the nation as a whole.

The gouache original of this vignette indicates how essentially geometric Jellett was in her composition of this foundational Irish image of the rural family. In fact, her geometric conception of space in art is so profound that one might say it overwhelms any specific Irishness about the picture; there is no particularly significant crop, clothing item, or landscape detail that would confirm these figures as Irish or in Ireland. The tiered rectangular building in the background provides a harmonious foundation for the concretely shaped family vignette, but it has no specific locational value; it has more in common with the blocky International-style shape of Jones and Kelly's Pavilion than any farm building in Ireland. Its rectangles are echoed by the angles of the farmer himself and strengthened by the sharp, bold verticals of the wheat into which the woman and cow seem to merge; or, if one acknowledges Jellett's insistence on subject being secondary to natural form, perhaps this sketch shows the process by which Jellett drew out her figures from their non-representational geometric origins on the page. The farmer and his wife are not "in front of" the natural harmony of the scene, they are quite literally a part of it.

The mapped chart for transferring this design from the page to the ten-foot pavilion wall (Figure 11) further affirms the formal precision of Jellett's style. As Jellett transferred the plan to the wall in Glasgow (Figure 12), the primitive abstraction of her forms emerged as the

dominant feature. Scaled larger than life, the agricultural figures are quickly reduced to geometric, non-representational forms. It is only by close investigation that the figure of the farmer emerges at all from the translated and rotated spheres, rectangles, and colors of the background. Jellett's notes called for a heavy use of yellow for the foreground, but blues and greys for the figures.[46] This contrast would have helped make the figures more readable against the bright hues of the setting, but it also would have been in keeping with the harmonies of abstract form and color that she so emphatically espoused.

Unlike Jellett's "Agriculture" panel that changed little from 1937 to 1938, her original design for "Spinning and Weaving" began as a vignette of one man and two women engaged in the traditional labors of the wool industry (Figure 13), but ended as a tribute to the instruments of labor rather than to the laborers themselves (Figure 14). The basic geometric forms of the loom and spinning wheel deeply appealed to Jellett's artistic devotion to rhythm and form, which she saw as fundamental to modern art and modern life. As she explained in one of her many lectures on modern art in Ireland, "in the rush and movement of modern life… strong rhythmic forms [of geometric shapes] can be clearly seen and quickly grasped."[47] Such basic shapes not only echoed primitive geometric forms, but also appealed to a modern way of viewing. The wheel in the mural maintains the central focus in both the figural and non-figural versions, but it is reduced in the latter version to its most basic form: a circle. Similarly embodying Jellett's concept of the primitive form, the loom evolves to mirror the gentle curves of buildings in Chinese landscapes, while the decorative details on the lower right of the image suggest the bold, calligraphic lines of the Chinese waves and hills with which Jellett had become so familiar in 1935.

---

[46] Jellett Collection, NIVAL.
[47] Mainie Jellett, "What is Called Abstract Art, in *Mainie Jellett*, ed. MacCarvill, 59.

Ireland at the Glasgow Empire Exhibition looked to the past, embraced the present, and projected Ireland into an international, multi-national future through Jellett's artwork. At the end of the exhibition, it was expected that Jellett's murals would be sent to New York for the upcoming World's Fair.[48] Their success had been roundly proclaimed and Ireland was planning an even bigger showing in 1939.[49] The mural panels, forty in all, were never reused, however. They were put up for sale by the Department of Commerce and Industry in January of 1939, suggesting that the Government had no use for international, abstract Irish murals, even if they had just represented Ireland to the entire British Empire gathered in Glasgow.[50]

Shortly after the sale was advertised, a small discussion ensued in the pages of the *Irish Independent* regarding whether the panels should be sold off or maintained by the State and mounted on local buildings or in schools for both historical and artistic education.[51] The initial discussant argued that "paintings such as these should be made available to the provinces in particular, where instruction in art and the chance to see contemporary work is not possible, as it is in Dublin… and should be, in any event, available for the pleasure and instruction if the citizens who paid for them."[52] This attitude echoes political scientist Timothy Mitchell's conception of the "world-as-exhibition:" that such Free State exhibition work, international in both inspiration and location, could be and often was integrated back into an Irish context in the 1930s.[53] That the Government chose not to do so in this case may have been a result of the fact that exhibitionary attention had already shifted by early 1939 from Glasgow to New York and

[48] "Mainie Jellett," *Irish Times,* 1938. Jellett Collection, NIVAL.
[49] The provenance for the gouache originals at the National Gallery of Ireland even suggests that they, too, were sent to New York, although there is no evidence from the actual Fair to support this.
[50] Advertisements for the sale were posted in the *Irish Press* on Jan. 2 and Jan. 3, 1939.
[51] Gertrude Gaffney, *Irish Independent*, 1939.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 13.

from Jellett to Michael Scott and Seán Keating.[54]

New York, Shamrocks, and the Shannon Scheme

During the six months that Jellett's murals hung in Jones and Kelly's 1938 "modern, even futuristic"[55] Ireland Pavilion in Glasgow, the Irish Department of Commerce and Industry was turning over control of Ireland's participation in the New York World's Fair to Leo T. McCauley, Commissioner General for Ireland in New York. The theme of the New York Fair was the "World of Tomorrow" and the Irish Government, recognizing that this "World of Tomorrow" involved the tens of millions of immigrants in America, officially committed to participate early in 1938.[56] In a consideration of the historical issue of the "Irish Question," historian Kerby Miller has suggested it could be, rather than a question, simply a description for "the adjustment of Irish society, culture, and identity to the necessities and opportunities of the modern world."[57] His study has examined how "emigration afforded one possible response, Irish nationalism another, and Irish-American nationalism bridged the potential gap between the two… emigration and nationalism epitomized the ofttimes tortuous Irish efforts to resolve the

[54] It is unclear how many - if any - of the mural panels were sold, but murals by Jellett appeared once more in the Irish press in 1945. Nearly one hundred miles south of Dublin, outside of Gorey, County Wexford, the Irish Countrywomen's Association took over Ramsfort House and converted it into "the first attempt at a summer college run by a rural organization for themselves and by themselves." The reporter, in describing the changes the ICA was making to the house highlighted the replacement of Gobelin tapestries with "Mainie Jellett's murals." As Jellett did not complete any other mural projects between 1938 and 1945, it may be that the ICA had acquired some of the 1938 panels and used them to inspire and instruct the women of County Wexford. Anna Kelly, "Back at School - and They Like It," *Irish Press*, 1945.

[55] "A Guide to the Empire Exhibition," *"The Scotsman" Trade Review*, 29 Apr. 1938.

[56] This commitment was momentarily withdrawn during the summer in connection with political priorities in Ireland and DeValera's seeming indecision about the event. It may well be that, his American origins notwithstanding, he did not personally view the Fair as worth the economic and cultural commitment so soon on the heels of the Constitution and the Glasgow Exhibition.

[57] Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3. Miller refers historical catchphrase for the "political conflict between English colonialism and Irish and Irish-American nationalism" and suggests that such attention to the politics excludes or overlooks a variety of other social and cultural interventions into this complex relationship.

tensions between tradition and modernity."[58] I argue that the Irish exhibition displays in 1939 offered yet another response by Irish communities both in Ireland and America to the newness of Irish identity in a modern global network.

Previous histories of the Irish displays in 1939 have focused on a heavy-handed nativism and a conservative traditionalism that eschewed a modern, forward-looking vision for an adamant insistence that Ireland's greatness came from the past.[59] Against such a framework, Michael Scott's grand pavilion was an exception instead of a bold representation of a shift in Irish artistic and architectural sensibilities. I contend that his widely-acclaimed Shamrock Building was not an Irish anomaly; rather, it was part of a growing Irish openness to international art and architecture and essential to the new vision of Ireland being imagined and explored at the fairgrounds in both Glasgow and New York. As art historian John Turpin has stressed, 1939 marked the beginning of Art Deco architecture in Dublin with the construction of the Art Deco-styled Department of Industry and Commerce on Kildare Street designed by J. R. Boyd-Barrett.[60] Within five years Scott would build his tour de force bus station, Busáras, in downtown Dublin.[61]

The New York World's Fair was a highly anticipated and widely publicized international event. When American actors the Four Franks visited the Glasgow exhibition in 1938, it was said that they stopped traffic not because of their star power or their expensive vehicles, but because of the registration plates on their cars promoting the "World's Fair New York 1939."[62] Running from April 30 to October 31, 1939, the Fair reopened for a second season in 1940

---

[58] Ibid.
[59] See Kennedy, "The Irish Free State 1922-49"; Paul Larmour, *Free State Architecture: Modern Movement Architecture in Ireland, 1922-1949* (Kinsale: Gandon Editions, 2009); Éimear O'Connor, *Seán Keating in Focus* (Limerick: The Hunt Museum, 2009); Sean Rothery, *Ireland and the New Architecture, 1900 - 1940* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1991).
[60] Turpin, "Official Sculpture in Post-Revolutionary Ireland," 34.
[61] Ibid.
[62] *Glasgow Daily Express*, 25 Aug. 1938. Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library.

despite the encroaching world war that impacted one nation after another across the fairgrounds.[63] Its initial operating costs were $155 million to create a modernist fantasy world on 1,216 acres in Queens. The fairgrounds, laid out along the standard exhibition radial axes from a center, focal point, were anchored by the Trylon and Perisphere (Figure 15). It was rumored that these futuristic, geometric buildings, the former a giant, narrow tower and the latter a massive sphere housing a futuristic ride called Democracity, were inspired by the water towers of the American Midwest.[64] The rest of the fairgrounds followed a Beaux-Arts style, while modernist inspiration was encouraged for the corporate, state, and foreign pavilions. The widely-proclaimed favorite was Norman Bel Geddes' Futurama for General Motors that, like Democracity, was an interactive experience of a city imagined for the 1960s. The overall emphasis of the event was on the imaginary, on the future, on telecommunication and energy technologies, and on urban planning.[65]

Nearly one third of the Fair's two hundred buildings were devoted to foreign nations. In contrast to Tait's tight-fisted grasp on the Glasgow landscape, it was considered particularly important to the overall futuristic plan in New York that "in the International Zone, foreign nations… express[ed] their individuality in buildings suggestive of their contributions to the world of tomorrow."[66] As early as the Fall of 1937, Irish newspapers were reporting on the deal between Ireland and New York for "one of the largest space allotments reserved for any one

[63] Newspapers ran weekly stories updating how representatives of different countries were being impacted by the events in Europe.
[64] Robert Rydell and Laura Burd Schiavo, "Reflections on Modernism and World's Fairs: An Interview with Richard Guy Wilson," in *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s*, ed. Robert Rydell and Laura Burd Schiavo (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 198. Paul Sayers suggests an alternate theory: that the inspiration for the landmarks came from a hairpin and ball of putty. Paul Sayers, "New York 1939-1940," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, 302.
[65] General descriptions of this exhibition can be found in Paul Greenhalgh, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions from London to Shanghai, 1951-2010* (Berkshire, UK: Papadakis, 2011); Robert Rydell and Laura Burd Schiavo, *Designing Tomorrow*; Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century of Progress Exhibitions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Sayers, "New York 1939-1940." as well as contemporary newspaper accounts.
[66] Thomas Linn, "Utility Is Keynote of Building Design," *New York Times*, 7 May 1939.

exhibitor."[67] By the summer of 1938, an Irish visual theme had emerged of "Glass, Water, and Soil." Papers on both sides of the Atlantic covered stories of an Éire Building that would have two hundred and fifty feet of continuous glass, a massive cultural mural, and a map made from the real land and water of Ireland.[68] The writer for the *Irish Independent* was more skeptical than most when he described the building plan as having "turned our defects into advantages… [by] having no distinctive style of architecture."[69]

Such narrow view of national architectural style was in keeping with the opinion of the architect who had been commissioned by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to build the 1939 Pavilion. Michael Scott openly agreed that "there is no Irish architecture after the twelfth century,"[70] thus he was challenged to design something new and yet still nationally relevant in an international setting. In later interviews, Scott recalled the features most important to both the 1939 organizers as well as himself, stressing to architectural historian Nicholas Sheaff, "it was essential to build something which would make a direct appeal to the 25 million Irish Americans."[71] To Dorothy Walker, he related how Freddie Boland, Assistant Secretary of Industry and Commerce, had specifically communicated that the building could reflect no influence that was not Irish.[72] Sarcastically, Scott recalled that he threatened to design "a couple of round towers and the Rock of Cashel,"[73] implying that previous, pre-Independence Irish exhibition models were no longer appropriate.

After considering at length the shape of the prehistoric Irish structure of the beehive tomb (Figure 16), he eventually turned to the shape of that ultimate symbol of Ireland, the shamrock,

---

[67] *Irish Echo*, 25 Sept. 1937.
[68] The *Irish Independent* ran this information on 18 July 1939.
[69] "An Artistic Pavilion. Eire at World's Fair," *Irish Independent*, 20 July 1938.
[70] Walker, *Michael Scott*, 95.
[71] Nicholas Sheaff, "The Shamrock Building," *Irish Arts Review* 1, (Spring, 1984): 27.
[72] One wonders if this may have been a response to some of the more critical opinions of Jellett's art.
[73] Walker, *Michael Scott,* 95.

to solve his problem[74] (Figure 17). Following the tenets of the International Style, the dominant features of Scott's design were the massive glass walls that revealed a spacious, uninterrupted interior. The simplified exterior allowed both the design of the interior mural wall to shine through as well as the overall shape of the structure to take precedence. Sheaff has suggested that the "shamrock form gave curving, organic outlines and a touch of cosy familiarity to an uncompromising design of steel and glass"[75] and that, "like the best modern art of the period, its merits are to a large degree timeless."[76] Scott, however, saw the pavilion from quite the opposite perspective, as timely, modern, and wholly representative of Ireland in 1939.

Scott's Shamrock Building, originally called the Éire Pavilion but eventually adorned with the title "Ireland," cost over $100,000. Although the building was constructed by an American firm, records indicate that Scott's hand was in every detail, from the final curvature of the staircase to the shade of illuminated paint under the rivers on the exterior map-pool, to the demolition plans.[77] The Ministry planned for the Pavilion to house representations of Irish "Trade and Promotion" with displays in the shamrock-leaf bays exhibiting industries such as distilling, church ornaments, horse-breeding, and crafts in static visual exhibits.

In addition, the Irish Government also reserved space for a second, interior Pavilion in the Hall of Nations, "designed to express the Culture of Ireland with a general character of Dignity and Restraint."[78] This smaller space would explicitly showcase "Culture and History" from "The Bronze Age" to "The Dawn of Liberty in Ireland and America."[79] The focal point of the Cultural and Historical Pavilion was a marble pillar embedded with detritus from the Irish

---

[74] Ibid., 96.
[75] Sheaff, "The Shamrock Building," 27.
[76] Ibid., 28. Scott confessed that the his favorite result of the shamrock shape was hearing the bus drivers shout "Shamrock Building" every time they drove past. Ibid., 27.
[77] NYWF 39/40, Box 1630, NYPL.
[78] L. H. Bucknell to Leo McCauley, 20 July 1938, NYWF 39/40, Box 314/11, NYPL.
[79] The details of the two Pavilions are contained the Memorandum on Ireland's Participation, NYWF 39/40 Box 314, NYPL.

independence struggle and decorated with a picture of Patrick Pearse and the words of the 1916 Proclamation, indicating that both authentic and replica political and cultural relics were still powerful symbols of Ireland, despite the nation's emphasis on modernity and progress in the international exhibition setting.[80] In explanation for the double presence of Ireland at the Fair, the *Irish Press* announced, "the Irish Pavilions were the first big attempt at national propaganda made by this country which other countries had been doing for many years."[81]

DeValera declared Ireland's goals and interests in the Fair to both the Irish and American people in a widely-publicized radio broadcast on Jan. 9, 1939. In a decision that would later prove problematic in DeValera's relationship with major trades in Ireland, he announced "our aim [will] not be an advertisement of goods we desire to sell… rather will our aim be to give you who have taken such a practical interest in our struggle for freedom an idea of how the freedom which has been won has fructified in the development of our national life, in our political institutions, in our national economy, and in our social services."[82] In short, as Prime Minister James Craig had done in 1924, DeValera promised a demonstrational rather than commercial undertaking.[83] This exhibit, however, premised freedom and the birth of a new nation over past loss and the troubled decades of the beginning of the century. It was a message that would have appealed to the immigrant communities in New York as well as the nationalist majority in Ireland.

At the opening of the Irish Pavilions, in a ceremony notably held without DeValera and at the Hall of Nations rather than at the Scott Pavilion, Sean Kelly, Deputy Chief of Ireland,

---

[80] In a particularly uninformed moment, Queen Elizabeth, during her brief, five-minute tour of the Cultural and Historical Pavilion, asked for an explanation of only one item: the pillar. "Royal Guests Visit the Irish Exhibit," *New York Times*, 11 June 1939.
[81] "Mr. Sean Moylan Home Today," *Irish Press*, 6 June 1939.
[82] "DeValera Greets Fair in Broadcast," *New York Times*, 9 Jan. 1939. DeValera had trouble convincing Irish businesses to support a second year of the Fair after they realized that they would make no money from the event.
[83] On the Ulster Pavilion at the 1924 British Empire Exhibition, see chapter 4 of this dissertation.

repeated the stress on Irish participation linked to freedom and the American example, and positioned Ireland squarely in the future vis-à-vis its past merits:

> [the New York World's Fair] offered the opportunity to show, by our presence here, that Ireland was prepared to take its place in the World of Tomorrow and play its part with the other nations of the Earth in making that world a better world. By contributing to it everything we had to give, whether the fruits of our ancient civilization, our love of liberty, our will to live our own life in co-operation with all friendly peoples, our work and our plans - not yet fully realised, but already far advanced - to make our country a better place to live in, a more healthy, comfortable and enlightened home for the generations that are following us.[84]

Upon no one was this influence more literal on that opening day than on fellow speaker Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, whom the *New York Times* nicknamed Fion O'LaGuardia as he reiterated, "in a hint of a brogue… 'Ireland's greatest contribution to humanity is the one thing for centuries she could not enjoy herself… the love of liberty and the courage to fight for it.'"[85] World's Fair President Grover Whalen also played to the crowd that had spilled out of the Hall of Nations and was listening via radio by claiming to have "special interest in the Irish Pavilions at the New York World's Fair. After all… if I had my own ancestry to pick all over again, I'd insist that it be the same as it is now."[86] He touched on the international scope of Irish influence and potential, in keeping with both the Fair's goals and Ireland's own professed interest in participation, tying the histories, industries, and social programs displayed within the Pavilions to Ireland's "economic integrity and her friendship with the nations of the world."[87] O'Kelly concluded by recognizing the Exhibition in general and the Irish efforts in particular as "the unprecedented fusion of a most practical power of accomplishment with the dream vision of an artist."[88]

---

[84] Seán O'Kelly, Speech, 13 May 1939, NYWF 39/40 Box 2129/25, NYPL.
[85] "Ireland Expresses Pride in Fair Role as Twin Exhibits Are Dedicated in Rain," *New York Times*, 14 May 1939.
[86] Grover Whalen, Speech, 13 May 1939, NYWF 39/40 Box 2129/25, NYPL.
[87] Ibid.
[88] O'Kelly, Speech, 13 May 1939, NYWF 39/40 Box 2129/25, NYPL.

That dream vision was embodied in Scott's Pavilion. The shamrock was quintessentially Irish and physically delineated the rest of the plan. Its full grandeur and genius could only be appreciated from above, specifically by airplane, not coincidentally one of the two major technologies being promoted by Ireland in New York. In describing the overall effect, the *Worcester Evening News* declared that those "who have not seen the Emerald Isle will have a heart-throb when they visit the New York World's Fair next year."[89]

Tucked in at the crook of this beacon of modern architectural vision that quite intentionally radiated light - by reflecting the sun during the day and by means of carefully concealed lighting at night - was a map of Ireland (Figure 18). Composed of dirt from Ireland and with water pulled directly from the Shannon River flowing through its mock rivers, the concept directly hearkened back to the turf maps of earlier Irish Fairs, particularly in New York and Chicago in 1897.[90] According to the official 1939 Press Release,

> A small area outside the pavilion is likely to become a shrine for the many Irish-Americans in this country who have not seen the old country for years. An island, several feet in dimension, will be an exact duplicate in relief of Ireland, with the lakes and rivers filled with water brought from such famous spots as the River Shannon and the Lakes of Killarney. The soil itself will be brought from the fields in the countries [sic] of Eire. Here will be a bit of the "ould sod" in all reality.[91]

While visitors could not walk on Scott's map as they had in 1897, it still acted as a touchstone for Irish emigrants to see, hear, and smell the dirt of Ireland and the waters of the River Shannon. In the shadow of a massive, modern glass structure, past material and visual experiences of Ireland merged with a new modern aesthetic and a new modern cultural initiative.

Scott stressed the importance of the water in particular to his map. Such a perspective marked a profound shift away from earlier connections between the Irish people and the physical

---

[89] *Worcester Evening News*, 15 Sept. 1938.
[90] Approval for the importation of soil and water for the map was gained by McCauley on 24 June 1938. NYWF 39/40 Box 314/11, NYPL.
[91] Press Release No. 427. NYPL NYWF 39/40 Box 695/13.

dirt of their home counties, but was perhaps a conscious effort to align the timelessness of the Irish landscape embodied in the map with DeValera's progressive Irish policy regarding the Shannon River in modern Ireland: the Shannon Scheme. To any visitor standing before the twenty-foot map and gazing down the length of the "stem" of Scott's Shamrock Pavilion, water as the connection between Ireland and technology could not be clearer (Figure 19). He or she would have looked up from the pool and been met with a mural of the hydroelectric scheme that harnessed the power of the very waters flowing at their fingertips for modern technology and to power the Ireland of the future.

The idea for the mural was Scott's, but the subject and the artist were determined by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. They selected Seán Keating who, like Jellett, advocated the development of a national school of Irish art, although he differed substantially on how it might be created or identified and how it might be taught. As recently as 1932, Keating had broadcast "Art in Ireland," a critique of Irish art as being too British "*de haut de bas* [sic]."[92] Demanding the need for a new national art school, he argued,

> if the labels were removed [in the Dublin Municipal Gallery], I defy anyone, no matter how expert, to distinguish the Irish painters from the British by any internal evidence of a common tradition or national culture. Yet we have in Ireland at the moment a number of young Irishmen of talent and individual character - actually painting Irish things in Ireland. Here is all the material for an Irish School, if the individuals were sufficiently self-conscious and cohesive to be aware of it, and if they were given the necessary encouragement.[93]

Keating's goal was to establish a school whereby such teaching of the Irish idiom would be a priority, despite admitting to being unsure as to what form that Irish idiom might take.[94] At the most fundamental level, he hoped to instill in his students a sense of national pride in their art.

---

[92] Seán Keating, "Art in Ireland [Broadcast 23 April 1932]," in *Seán Keating in Context: Responses to Culture and Politics in Post-Civil War Ireland*, ed. Éimear O'Connor (Dublin: Carysfort Press Ltd, 2009), 108.
[93] *Seán Keating in Context,* ed. O'Connor, 109-10.
[94] Ibid., 108-10.

He was certain, however, that it would not include modernism, reprimanding a student caught reading Cézanne that "you are either on one side or the other."[95] In 1936, Keating was elected president of the newly-establish National College of Art. Along with fellow artist Maurice MacGonigal, Keating was finally able to develop that School of Irish Art for which he had so frequently and so passionately advocated.[96] The National College would become the institutional and academic framework for the arts program in line with DeValera's conservative policies; it would eventually stand in direct contrast to the development of modernism in Ireland led by Mainie Jellett and formally organized by the 1943 Irish Exhibition of Living Art.[97]

While Jellett had included the Shannon Scheme abstractly in only one of her many panels in 1938, Keating made it the focal point of his eighty by thirty-five foot mural in 1939 (Figure 20). Keating's national credibility had been established in the 1920s when he painted a number of scenes of the Ardnacrusha construction site, so it was fitting that he illuminated this national project for the Exhibition.[98] Art historian Éimear O'Connor has suggested that Keating's Shannon Scheme work reflected his own interest in the machinery and landscape of a modern

---

[95] John Turpin, "The National College of Art under Keating & MacGonigal," *The GPA Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1988): 208. Turpin not only provides a solid history of the College, but he also investigates the two teachers based on interviews with several of their former students.

[96] Maurice MacGonigal had been selected to contribute the mural for 1939 Irish Cultural and Historical Pavilion in the Hall of Nations, but Keating merited the larger commission. MacGonigal's mural, *Famous Irishmen in American History*, was a fairly straightforward, thirty-eight foot tall painting showing, simply, famous Irish-American men. A block sketch of the painting remains depicting a female America on a throne surrounded by nearly thirty men reaching up to her. MacGonigal's future American bride sat as the model for America. Katharine Crouan, *Maurice MacGonigal, R.H.A. 1900 - 1979: An Irish Palette* (Dublin: The Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, 1991), 21-22. Customs records indicate that there was a key, but, not having found it, I have only been able to determine that the painting included Commodore Barry and a Mathew Carey, whose biography was published with excessive praise in the *Irish Independent* on 23 May 1939.

[97] Brian O'Doherty, "The Irish Imagination 1959-1971," in *The Irish Imagination 1959 - 1971* (Dublin: Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, in Association with Rosc '71, 1971), 10. As an artist, O'Doherty is better known as Patrick Ireland.

[98] Keating's paintings, as well as two photographic collections maintained by the ESB, serve as the only visual record of the construction of this landmark Free State energy venture. On the photographs, see Bielenberg, "Keating, Siemens & the Shannon Scheme"; Sorcha O'Brien, "Images of Ardnacrusha: Photography, Electrical Technology, and Modernity in the Irish Free State," in *Ireland in Focus: Film, Photography, and Popular Culture*, ed. Eóin Flannery and Michael Griffin (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 71-85.

future more than an interest in the human efforts of its construction.[99] His 1929 painting *Night's Candles are Burnt Out* (Figure 21) bears witness to this theory, as the figures allegorically represented Irish national institutions and types rather than those involved in the clearing of the land or the construction of the dam in the background. He claimed the painting expressed his vision of "the transition of Ireland from a country of ancient stagnation to a state of freedom and progress."[100] From the caricature of the dead stage Irishman hanging from the scaffolding on the left to the businessman and rebel in the center of the picture representing the powerful political forces in 1920s Ireland, Keating incorporated key aspects of the new, independent Ireland in his various figures. Significantly, the only characters interested in the massive technological marvel of the Shannon Scheme in the background are the family on the upper right, modeled on Keating's own; they are the average Irishman and Irishwoman whose future is brighter, both metaphorically and literally, with the dawn of easily-accessible electricity in Ireland.[101]

Keating's explicit combination of patriotism, realist style, and technological innovation conveyed to the 1939 organizers that he could produce a similarly powerful image for the World's Fair. His intimate, personal interest in the ESB took on fantastic scale and proportions when he expanded his vision to fill nearly 3,000 sq. ft. in the Shamrock Pavilion. When completed, it dominated the entire building. While biased, Sean Moylan, Secretary to the Minister for Industry and Commerce, was not alone in declaring that there was "no mural in the Fair to equal [Keating's.]"[102] Behind the protective green blinds that had been hung with Scott's begrudging approval along his two hundred and fifty foot glass "stem," the only other objects in the entire hallway (Figure 22) were twelve relatively diminutive paintings by Irish artists, a

[99] O'Connor, *Seán Keating in Focus*, 18.
[100] Quoted in O'Connor, *Seán Keating in Focus*, 20.
[101] The Shannon Scheme was a good first step, but as late as the 1980s, some parts of the West of Ireland still had not been connected to the electric power grid.
[102] "Mr. Sean Moylan Home Today," *Irish Press*, 6 June 1939.

Tourist Board desk, and a small model bus.[103]

Keating painted his massive tribute to Irish modernization with bold, heavy strokes and solid earth tones. He divided the mural into three sections, with the farmer, a few cottages, and a massive horse projecting off the wall to the lower left, the sprawling mass of the Ardnacrusha power plant, from the Shannon up through to the dam, and finally the power plant itself in the upper right hand side of the painting. In the lower right foreground, a crowd of Irish men and women mill in small groups and across various planes, on one of which is an Aer Lingus airplane appropriately christened *Éire*. The background that takes up nearly two-thirds of the wall is a giant map of Ireland reaching abstractly across the Atlantic to North America. Noticeably, the section of the Irish map containing the six counties of Ulster has been mostly cut off by the angle of the design.

The minimal attention given to rural industry was in keeping with Keating's fascination with modernity and technological advancement. The horse may have reminded the viewer of the potency of the Irish farm industry in the present, but it was the last section of the mural the visitor encountered as he or she walked through the Pavilion. Instead, one was greeted immediately by the airplane and the massive, blocky, steaming power plant. Like the engineers in their white jumpsuits, the hooded countrywomen, the equestrians with their hounds, and the old men, one of whom looks up at the plant and the other back across his bicycle to the waters harnessed below, visitors could pause and stand and stare up at the wonders of modern technology unfolding in Ireland. They could marvel at the beautiful plane and admire the prowess of a farming nation now dominated by modern electrical power. The mural was, above

[103] The painters in the stem gallery were John Lavery, Seán Keating, Jack Yeats, Leo Whelan, Harry Kernoff, Beatrice Elvery Lady Glenavy, Letitia Hamilton, Frances Kelly, Mainie Jellett, and J. P. Hanlon. Keating's *The Tipperary Hurler* (c. 1925) is visible in Figure 22 as the first painting in the display. Jellett's contribution was *Achill Horses* (1939).

all, inclusive, evoking Ireland in a massive panoramic scale and inviting the fairgoers not only to engage with references to a nostalgic past, but also to embrace the potential of Ireland's industrial future.

At an Irish art exhibition many years later, Irish artist and art critic Brian O'Doherty mused, "Ireland, where the past always had a big future;"[104] Keating's mural certainly embodied such an observation. Like Jellett, he drew from past precedents without mimicry, but rather for formal, stylistic inspiration; the same considerations were made by Scott for the Pavilion. In his 1932 "Talk on Art," Keating issued a call for a new sense of Irish art that excluded or at least subverted recent Anglo-Irish and British influences, proclaiming, "out of the rocks and sky and the native language, and the noble forms and proportions of the people's faces all the rest will come…. We are not going to build a national culture out of the debris of the ascendancy."[105] Similarly, Jellett had avowed, "if we keep our heads buried like ostriches buried in the sand, and imagine in so doing we are guarding our own nationality and racial characteristics from profanation by outsiders, we will find ourselves continuing to live, or more truly, to die under the influence of a so-called tradition adopted by us from England, a tradition which England herself is now trying to cast off."[106] Despite conflicting theoretical approaches, both muralists embraced the need to balance the distant past with a modern present in a way that best embodied the Irish future. Their projects, like Scott's, aligned with DeValera's efforts to physically, materially, and psychologically reject the previous centuries of British rule.[107] However, on the fairgrounds, these artists and architects also embraced some aspects of this national past in bold experimentation with artistic styles and technological innovations to design a new, modern

[104] O'Doherty, "The Irish Imagination 1959-1971," 20.
[105] *Seán Keating in Context*, ed. O'Connor, 112.
[106] Jellett, "A Word on Irish Art," in *Mainie Jellett*, ed. Eileen MacCarvill, 105.
[107] John Turpin, "Official Sculpture in Post-Revolutionary Ireland," 32.

vision of Ireland in the context of the international exhibition.

Traditional Exploitation

At several exhibitions before Independence, Ireland had been evoked and embodied by objects, places, and people representative of an imagined idyllic rural past, but in 1938 and 1939, the Irish Pavilions in Glasgow and New York rejected these forms of nostalgic representation; the pavilions were not staffed predominantly by women, there were no craftswomen on display, and there was no accompanying national Irish Village on the grounds.[108] Mainie Jellett expressed the general artistic view of the international community regarding Ireland, that "complacent coloured [images] of cottages and Irish scenery do not constitute a national art."[109] The Glasgow and New York Pavilions were staffed by green-clad interpreters, equally male and female, who spoke English.[110] Improvements in rural industries and conditions were expressed through technical maps and photomontages. Donkeys did not mingle with airplane models; no craftsmen or women distracted from interpretive bays on hospital care and education. For Ireland, modernity at the exhibitions was often expressed and achieved by omission. Such rural, idyllic imagery was precisely what Commissioner McCauley and, by extension, DeValera, were trying to erase and revise with the Shamrock pavilion, its modern artwork, and the new social improvements displayed on the walls. Even the map/pool, echoing as it did the earlier Irish Fair turf maps, emphasized hydroelectricity rather than the "ould sod."

Indicating that such markers of Irishness had become expected by the exhibition

[108] The Northern Irish Linen display in the British Pavilion did, however, keep a woman on a pedestal at a spinning wheel as the first part of a demonstration on how linen was made. A photograph of one of these old women at her wheel was used as the cover of the Irish Linen brochure in both 1939 and 1940.
[109] Mainie Jellett, "The R.H.A. and Youth," *Commentary* (May 1942): 5. Quoted in Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch, "'Twelve Irish Artists:' A School of Irish Painting?" *New Hibernia Review* 6, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 133. Jellett is specifically speaking to the differences between Modernism, as a multi0national movement including Ireland, and the Royal Hibernian Academy's increasing insularity.
[110] "Double Irish Show Turns Clock Back," *New York Times*, 14 May 1939.

audience, however, several visitors wrote to various New York World's Fair Departments to bemoan of the lack of colleens, Blarney Stone, and other remnants of Irish exhibitionary pasts. A reporter from the *Irish Press* complained of hearing more Irish spoken by Irish-American New Yorkers than by the Irish themselves.[111] An old fiddler's request to perform was ignored.[112] In perhaps the clearest and most tragicomic example of the new Ireland's rejection of traditional exhibitionary symbols, a Mrs. Elizabeth Ward, resident of New York City, wrote that in 1906, she was "known throughout the world as '*The* Irish Colleen.'"[113] She offered to volunteer her services to the Irish Pavilion: "since Ireland plays not a small part in the world affairs… I wonder if it might be possible for me to represent the Irish Colleen (a title I can rightfully claim). Or perhaps, it would be permissible for me to sell the very Irish Colleen post cards [of myself] that once were familiar in various countries of the world."[114] She was amazingly not the only "colleen" to volunteer.[115]

Such requests and letters were met with polite indifference or good humor, or ignored altogether. Great offense was taken, however, on behalf of Eamon DeValera when Fair organizers offered the use of "a real Irish jaunting car and an Irish horse" for his State visit.[116] The response from McCauley to the Fair committee was swift and direct. As relayed in an internal memo a few days after the offer, "Mr. McCauley indicated no enthusiasm whatsoever about transporting Mr. DeValera in a jaunting car. In fact he feels very strongly [against] the subject."[117] McCauley's strenuous rejection of such symbols in light of DeValera's own

---

[111] "Mr. Sean Moylan Home Today," *Irish Press*, 6 June 1939.
[112] Charles Anderson to Grover Whalen, 10 Sept. 1939, NYWF 39/40, Box 695/14, NYPL.
[113] Mrs. Elizabeth Ward to E. F. Roosevelt, 22 Dec. 1938, NYWF 39/40, Box 1495/2, NYPL. Emphasis added. She lists publication of her photograph in both the *London Magazine* and *Cork Weekly Examiner*.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ms. Beatrice Street to Grover Whalen(?), 26 Mar. 1940, NYWF 39/40, Box 1495/2, NYPL. Ms. Street volunteered both herself and her sister to amend the dearth of colleens she perceived from 1939.
[116] John P. Hogan, Memo, 17 Mar. 1939. NYWF 39/40, Box 695/13, NYPL.
[117] J. A. Reilly, Memo, 21 Mar. 1939, NYWF 39/40, Box 1495/2, NYPL.

conservative policies in Ireland underscores my contention that the Ireland of the 1938 and 1939 exhibitions was envisioned and experienced as an explicitly modern space; various components of the pavilions may have referenced traditional forms and figures, but the overall impression was intended to be aspirational and forward-thinking. In particular, while Irish immigrant groups were openly courted by the organizers in both Glasgow and New York, Irish planners aimed to mobilize the groups' excitement and support for Ireland's new independent potential and new political position rather than mire themselves in nostalgic recollections through vintage objects and images.

The most significant example of this organized rejection of the unvarnished Irish past on the fairgrounds arose in the form of a controversial amusement space at the 1939 World's Fair. Despite promises made by Fair authorities that no national villages or displays would be accepted into the Midway without the explicit consent of the nation represented, a pair of Scotsmen successfully submitted a proposal for "a spectacle depicting the Giant Causeway off the northeastern portion of Ireland."[118] In no less than one thousand square feet, the Universal Aquatic Entertainments Company promised mythological giants, breaking waves, geologic replicas with mythic powers, as well as "a large variety of fancy goods bearing the Shamrock emblem."[119] The "Giant's Causeway" amusement opened on May 12, 1939, but within a week, George Smith of the Exhibits and Concessions Department was declaring it to "be one of the first of our 'lone ducks to fall by the wayside.'"[120] At the top of Smith's list of problems was the company's refusal to hire "some good looking Irish Colleens."[121]

---

[118] Rowland Bardell to Messrs. Dick and Rennie of the Universal Aquatic Entertainments Co., 19 Jan. 1939, NYWF 39/40, Box 1557, NYPL. While Giant's Causeway as a physical landmark is officially in County Antrim in Northern Ireland, such distinction was never delineated by the exhibit which treated Ireland as a homogenous entity. Such conflation perhaps added insult to injury where McCauley was concerned.
[119] Ibid.
[120] George Smith, Report on Giant's Causeway, 18 May 1939, NYWF 39/40, Box 1557, NYPL.
[121] Ibid.

The *New York Times* described Giant's Causeway as "a walk-through in a vast gloomy cave peopled by mythical Irish giants and containing a 'Blarney Stone.'"[122] Perhaps the best description was that of Leon Loeb, sent by George Smith at the end of May to evaluate the attraction for "reconstitution." While regretting that nothing could "change the Giant's Causeway into a hotcha French nightclub," Loeb offered a series of improvements "to enhance [the exhibit's] natural [Irish] authenticity."[123] He began by suggesting a simple change of exterior lettering from blue to the national shade of green. Other improvements included better lighting and sound to improve the sense of being on the coast, converting the souvenir area more clearly into a village, and adding more entertainers.

Several of Loeb's specific suggestions, however, highlighted the stereotypes of the past that were considered dangerously counterproductive to the actual spaces occupied by Ireland on the Fairgrounds proper. Loeb proposed hiring Irish dancers: "the 'little' people of the Irish countryside… [who] dance very much *as we have always known they would dance*, gayly, lightly, and obviously *completely oblivious to the world* that is growing up around them."[124] He insisted on a Blarney Stone replica where "a dancer or acrobat, preferably female, [should] demonstrate to the audience how one goes about kissing of the Blarney Stone."[125] Of greatest problem to the larger Irish national project would have been his suggestion for the ballyhoo [entrance]:

> [What] might prove highly successful, would be an attempt by an Irish clown to inveigle a recalcitrant donkey into the Village. This particular act, if done right, can be very amusing. I should say that the clown would have no success with the mule, until the cast of lively dancing girls come on the bally stand, at which time, the mule acting like his brother man, would quite obviously make a dash inside."[126]

---

[122] "'Glamour Colony' to Be Seen at Fair," *New York Times*, 6 Apr. 1939.
[123] Leon Loeb to George Smith, 27 May 1939, NYWF 39/40, Box 1557, NYPL.
[124] Ibid. Emphasis added.
[125] The Blarney Stone is famously kissed by laying on one's back and hanging one's head off the edge to kiss the projected stone.
[126] Leon Loeb to George Smith, 27 May 1939, NYWF 39/40, Box 1557, NYPL.

Loeb employed the imperial language of child-like innocence, clownish ignorance, and female sexuality to explain how one might *improve* a representation of Ireland. His vignettes echo the scenes captured in the Ballymaclinton postcards. Loeb declared that this "Irish mise en scene is well known to all of us."[127]

When Commissioner McCauley complained that a sideshow Irish Village complete with Blarney Stone had been built on the Midway, the Department of Exhibits and Concessions defended its decision to allow it because "the word "Ireland" does not enter into the project."[128] Their argument relied on competing interpretations of the word versus the symbols of Ireland in an exhibition setting, with the Concessions Department claiming an exhibit would only be Irish if it was so labeled, but McCauley recognizing the power of certain images to represent a particular vision of Ireland, especially at an international exhibition. McCauley eventually visited the "Giant's Causeway' himself, having received a "Today at the Fair" flyer on May 16, 1939 with Giant's Causeway at top billing in the Amusement section. The advertisement read: "A treat of a Lifetime - A Trip Thru Old Ireland! See and Visit the Never-to-be-Forgotton Giant's Causeway & Blarney Castle. Faithful Replicas of Ireland's most famous sites, together with a Complete and Authentic Old Irish Village."[129]

McCauley's seething response was issued, unlike most of the communication between his office and the Department of Foreign Exhibits, on official Irish Consulate letterhead, unmistakably flagging the serious nature of his complaint. He relayed the Irish Government's concern regarding "an Irish Village or similar exhibit with objectionable features."[130] While he

---

[127] Ibid.
[128] Maurice Mermey to E. F. Roosevelt, 20 Apr. 1939, NYWF 39/40, Box 1495/1, NYPL.
[129] *Today at the Fair* (New York: New York World's Fair, 1939), 7. Submitted as an attachment to the letter, McCauley to E. F. Roosevelt, 17 May 1939, NYWF 39/40, Box 1495/1, NYPL.
[130] McCauley to E. F. Roosevelt, 17 May 1939, NYWF 39/40, Box 1495/1, NYPL.

rejected the use of the term "Ireland," he allowed that the use of the term and imagery of Giant's Causeway was of no concern due to the realities of Partition.[131] However, the use of the Blarney Stone in the southern county of Cork, the sale of "Paddy" jugs, and the labeling of the growling fifty-foot giant at the entrance as Irish hero Fionn MacCumhal were greatly offensive. Regarding the latter, he revealed both his anger at the display, as well as the national subtext of hard-fought independence, in complaining, "I asked the promoters whether if they had a Greek exhibit they would portray Achilles in this fashion. They answered that they would not, but that the Greeks of those days were more advanced than the Irish. This is the typical opinion of an Englishman and a Scotsman, springing from a complete ignorance of Irish cultural history."[132] He demanded that these features be removed or the Fair would risk Ireland's complete and immediate withdrawal from the event as well as a formal report to the United States State Department.[133]

Giant's Causeway closed by mid-June due to the financial and exhibitionary ineptitude of its Scottish organizers, well before McCauley's modifications were implemented.[134] It had been perceived as a threat to Ireland's exhibitionary display because it undermined Ireland's "World of Tomorrow" by bringing past exhibitionary versions to light in full caricature.[135] The theatrical lighting and sound effects, emphasis on myth and superstition, and sale of trinkets and crafts

---

[131] Giant's Causeway is a geologic formation in Co. Antrim, Northern Ireland.
[132] McCauley to E. F. Roosevelt, 17 May 1939, NYWF 39/40, Box 1495/1, NYPL.
[133] Conway to E. F. Roosevelt, 8 June 1939, NYWF 39/40, Box 1495/1, NYPL. McCauley's fears seem to have been well-founded, as complaints were still being received in June that Fair commissionaires were directing visitors looking for the Irish exhibits to the Amusement section rather than to either of the two Irish Pavilions.
[134] In one significant aspect, however, Giant's Causeway was a greater success and fulfilled more of Ireland's hopes for the future than the two official Pavilions combined. According to Rowland Bardell, in the few short weeks that the Giant's Causeway was open, people paid money to enter and to take home souvenirs. Admission was set at 20¢, but was eventually cut in half. Ranging from stone crosses to brooches, cufflinks to marble ashtrays, the list retained by US Customs shows hundreds of souvenirs were sold. Unfortunately for Giant's Causeway, this list was drawn up to account for the $1,484.12 in unpaid duties owed by Universal Aquatics Entertainment, Ltd. NYWF 39/40, Box 1557; Box 2206, NYPL.
[135] The only other "Amusement" investigated for breach of national dignity was the Cuban Village, which merited a visit from the Cuban Secretary of Agriculture after accusation of "scandalous" dancing. "To Investigate Dances," *New York Times*, 13 May 1939.

were tied the legacy of English rule that the Irish Government had spent the previous fifteen years trying to undo. Despite DeValera's enthusiastic embrace to the tenets of rural traditionalism in Ireland, organizers in New York expressly avoided such values becoming international clichés; such imagery was reserved for insular politics while modern industry and modernist art were displayed for the international audiences. In 1938, Glasgow's *Daily Record and Mail* had proclaimed, "Ireland abandons the boast of being the island of distressful romance and tells of the serious business of life in its green fields."[136] Giant's Causeway in 1939 threatened to undermine such "serious business."

Four Green Fields

Art historian Romy Golan, in a study of French art on either side of World War II, has suggested that the 1930s, 40s, and 50s were a time of retrenchment and reassurance provided by a return to the landscape, to naturalism, organicisim, and regionalism in which modernism was not an anomaly, but an essential and contributive component.[137] Similarly, Brian O'Doherty has suggested Irish modernism in the 1930s did not disappear with the start of the War, but instead percolated, inspired, and resulted in the groundbreaking Irish Exhibition of Living Art in 1943.[138] This idea of a brief flourishing of Irish modernism at the end of the decade, followed by a lull in its impact, is echoed in the treatment of the various artworks and architecture exhibited for and by Ireland at the 1938 Glasgow Exhibition and the 1939 World's Fair.

As discussed above, the 1938 Jellett murals were most likely sold off in pieces or

---

[136] "Mighty Heritage of Race," *Daily Record and Mail*, 4 May 1938.
[137] Romy Golan, *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics in France between the Wars* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), ix-xiv.
[138] O'Doherty, "The Irish Imagination 1959-1971," 10. Jellett and Hone were among the early organizers of the Irish Exhibition of Living Art. Taking inspiration from the Impressionist Salons des Refuses, the IELA exhibitions from 1943 onwards provided Modernist artists in Ireland with the space to show their work in the wake of rejection by the formal conservatism of the Royal Hibernian Academy shows.

donated. Keating's mural was demolished along with Scott's Pavilion.[139] MacGonigal's mural from the Irish Cultural and Historical Pavilion was sent back to Ireland, but got lost in transport.[140] Of all the artistic features of the two Irish Pavilions, only Evie Hone's *Four Green Fields* stained glass window (Figure 23) from the Irish Cultural and Historical Pavilion in the Hall of Nations was specifically recalled to Ireland and hung in a place of honor in Dublin. To this day, it graces the Government Buildings on Merrion Square. In a letter to her mentor Albert Gleizes, Hone wrote of it in October of 1938 that "it is more or less abstract - They wanted something which would be symbolic of Ireland but not religious - I did the symbols of the 4 provinces of Ireland."[141] Her twenty-one by eight-foot stained glass panel gathered the three crowns, the sword-in-hand, the harp, and the red hand of Ulster, those same symbols that DeValera had rejected before 1937, and set them against a bold mosaic of blues and greens.

All of the artists and architects who participated in the new national scheme at the exhibitions in 1938 and 1939 walked a fine line between tradition and modernity. The weight of defining the nation through a new visual and representational language was on their shoulders, but the specific environment of the exhibitions necessitated a very different set of symbols and material spaces from those that were effective at home in Ireland. Such responsibility joined diverse artists like Jellett and Keating in a common national purpose; it fostered national confidence in the design aesthetic of the burgeoning architect Michael Scott. Jellett wrote that "conceived in my mind, my picture becomes a concrete fact, an interpretation of the original

---

[139] Other artworks from the pavilions including Friedrich Herkner's *Mother Eire* sculpture and Lady Glenavy's *Inis Fail* never returned to Ireland, although an earlier version of sculptor Oliver Sheppard's Irish hero *Cuchulainn* still stands in the General Post Office in Dublin since it was dedicated there in 1934 to commemorate the martyrdom of the poet-heroes of the 1916 Rising. John Turpin, *Oliver Sheppard 1865-1941: Symbolist Sculptor of the Irish Cultural Revival* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 134-142.

[140] MacGonigal's mural seems to have been sent back to Ireland, but was perhaps lost even as quickly as on the journey. The record consists of a communication from Ireland requesting its return in December of 1940, and a response from New York that it had been sent back months earlier. There is no record in New York or Ireland of its reappearance. NYPL NYWF 39/40 2216.

[141] Evie Hone, Letter, 23 Oct. 1938. Jellett Collection, NIVAL, Dublin.

mental conception through the medium of form and colour, controlled by the laws of composition."[142] The 1938 and 1939 exhibitions offered Irish politicians, businesses, and artists the exceptional opportunity to create, foster, reject, and embrace a range of conceived national forms practiced as concrete fact for exhibition audiences in Glasgow and New York in the first years of independence.

[142] Jellett, "My Voyage of Discovery," 51.

# CHAPTER 5 FIGURES

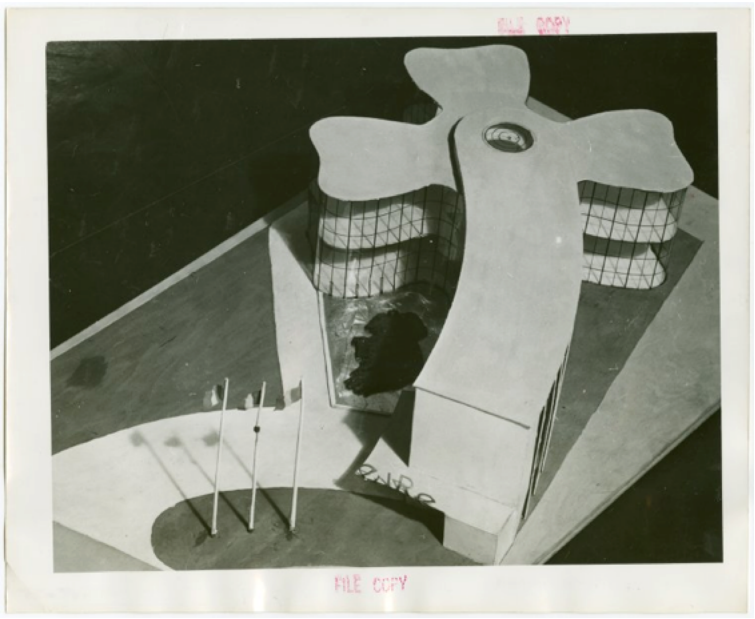


Figure 1. Michael Scott, Ireland Pavilion model, aerial view, 1938.



Figure 2. Mainie Jellett, murals. Interior, Ireland Pavilion. Glasgow Empire Exhibition, 1938. Scran digital collection, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh.

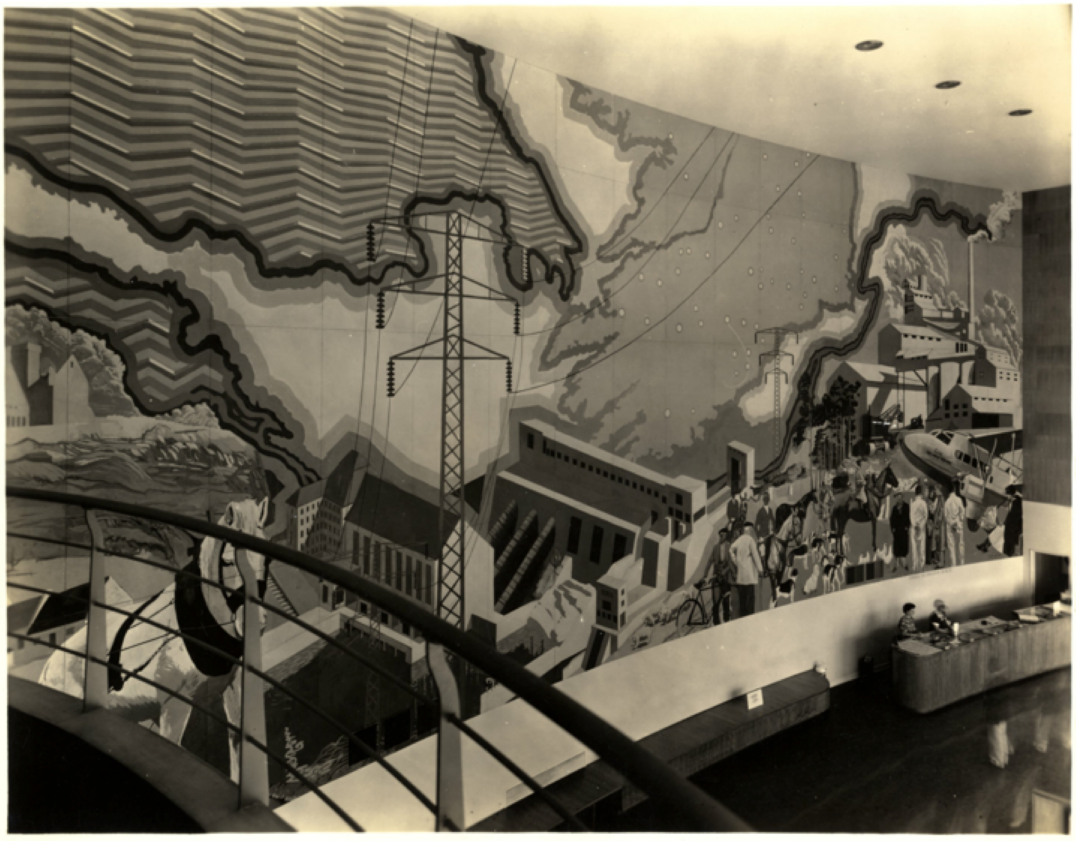

Figure 3. Seán Keating, *Shannon Basin*, 1939. Photograph. Interior, Ireland Pavilion, New York World's Fair. Gandon Editions, Kinsale.

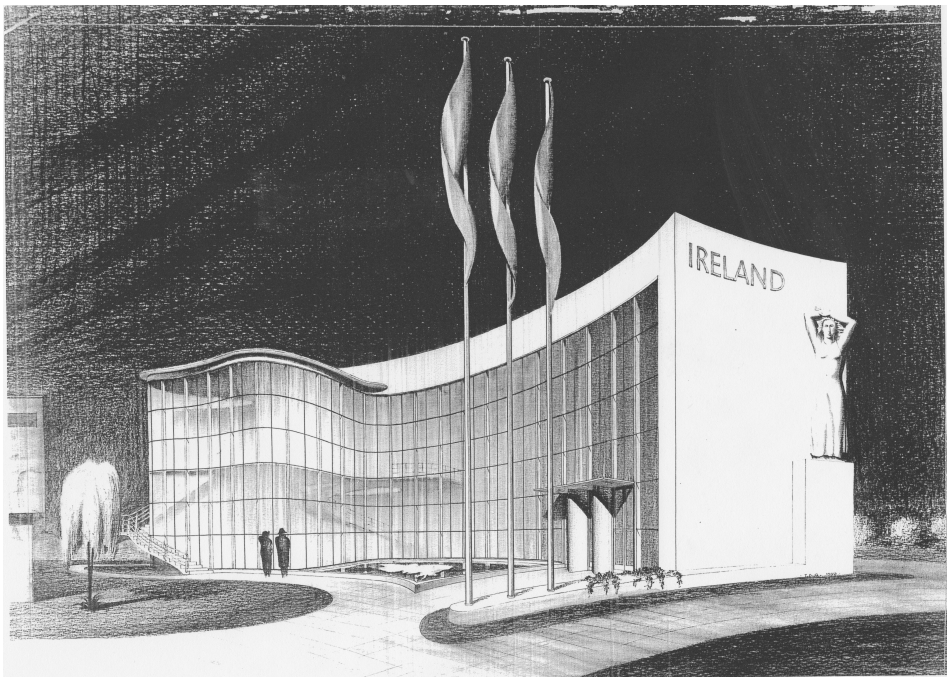


Figure 4. Michael Scott, Ireland Pavilion sketch, 1938. Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin.

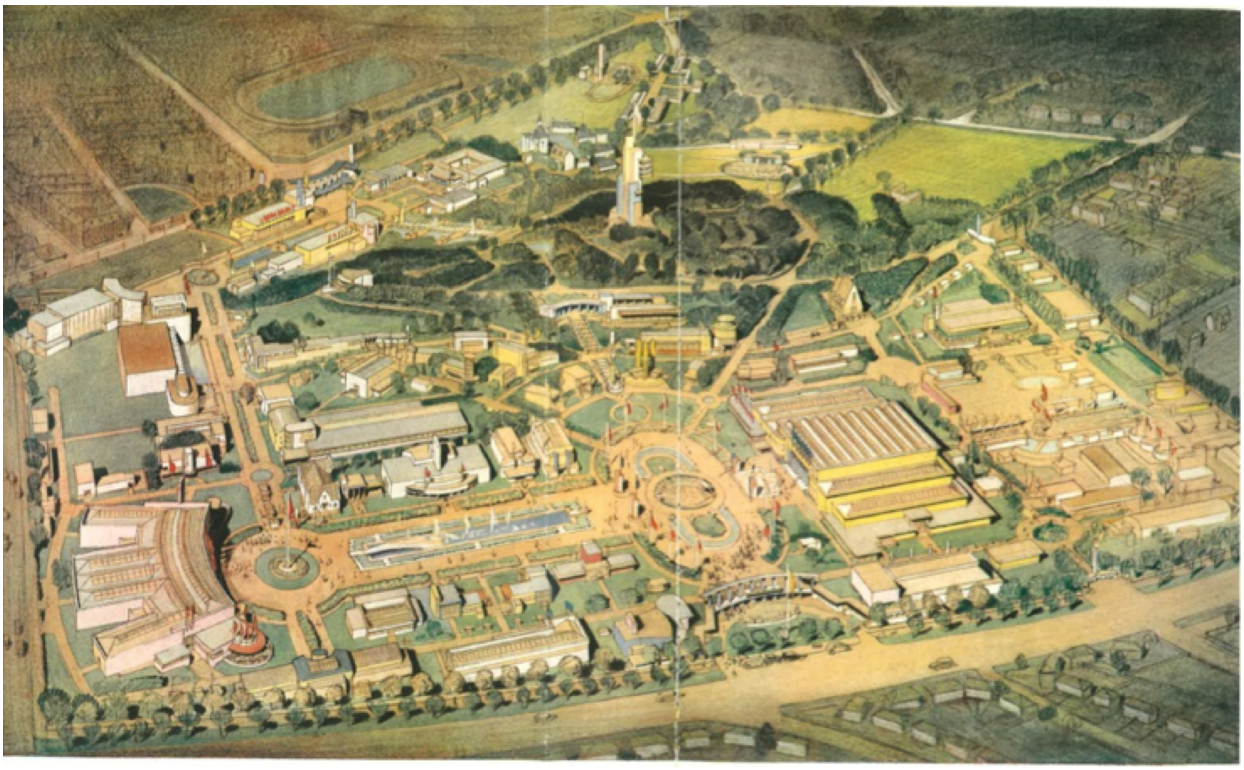

Figure 5. Map of Glasgow Empire Exhibition, 1938.




Figure 6. “Ireland & Australia Pavilions, Empire Exhibition, Scotland, 1938.” 1938. Postcard, 3" 5". Private collection.

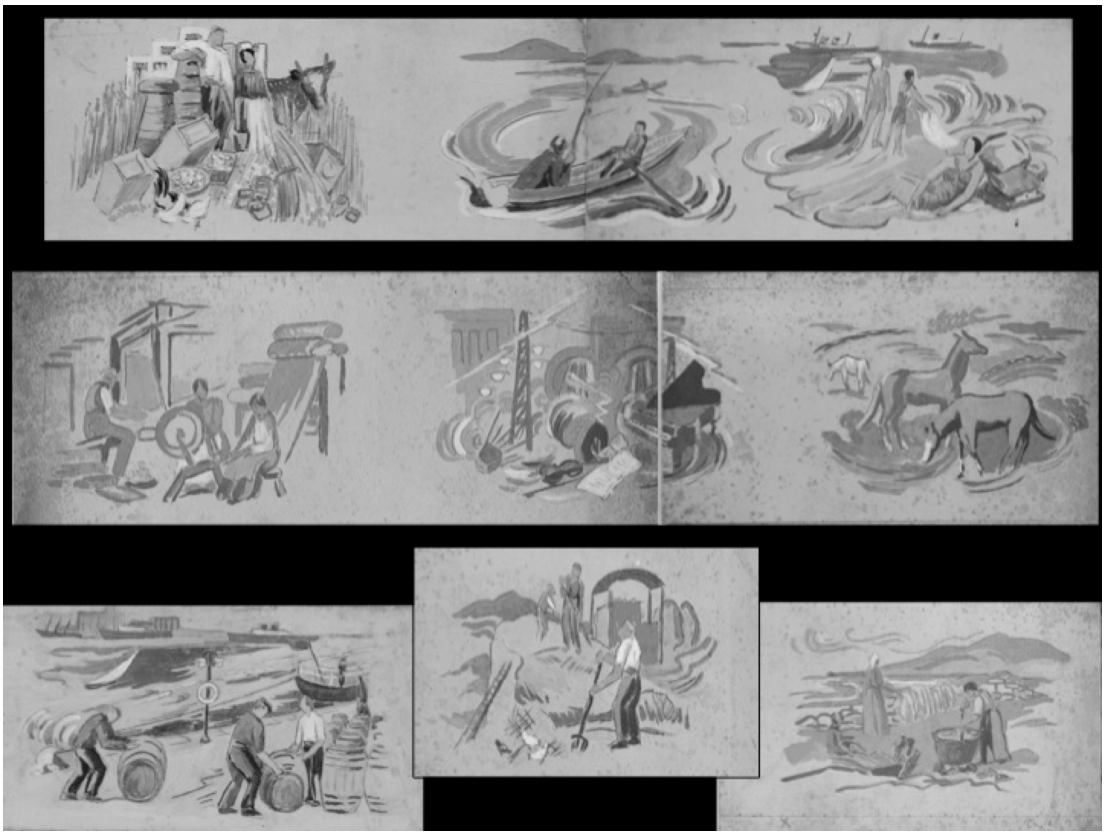

Figure 7. Mainie Jellett, Gouache designs for Empire Exhibition murals, 1937. National Gallery, Dublin

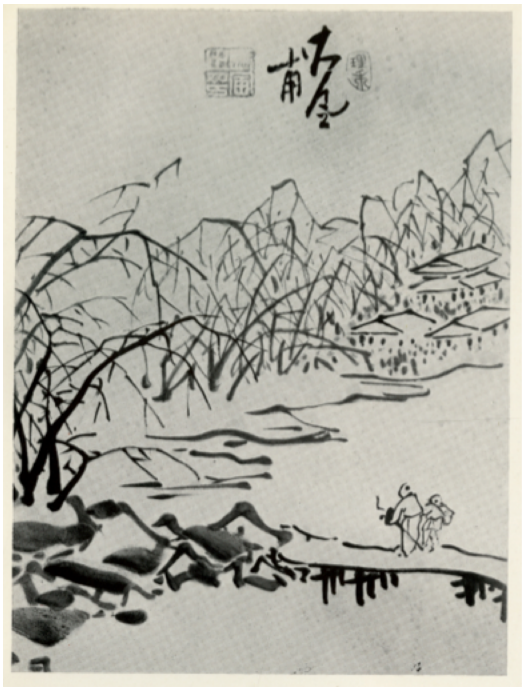

Figure 8. Chang Feng, *Winter Landscape*, c. 1650. Album painting, ink on paper, 14 x 10½ in. Private Collection (as of 1935).

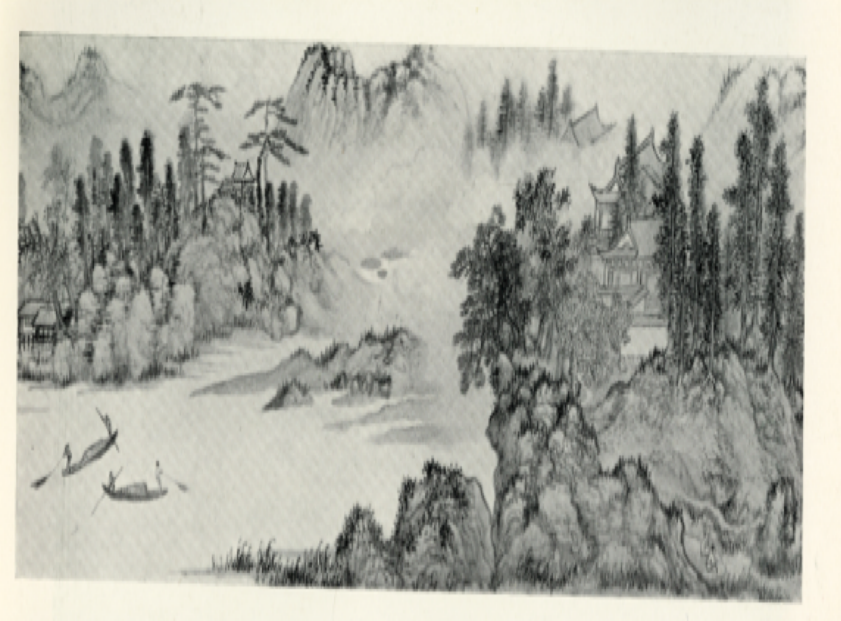

Figure 9. Hsieh Shih-Ch'en, *Landscape*, 1546. Ink on silk, 11¾ x 80¾ in. Berlin, German State Museum (as of 1935).

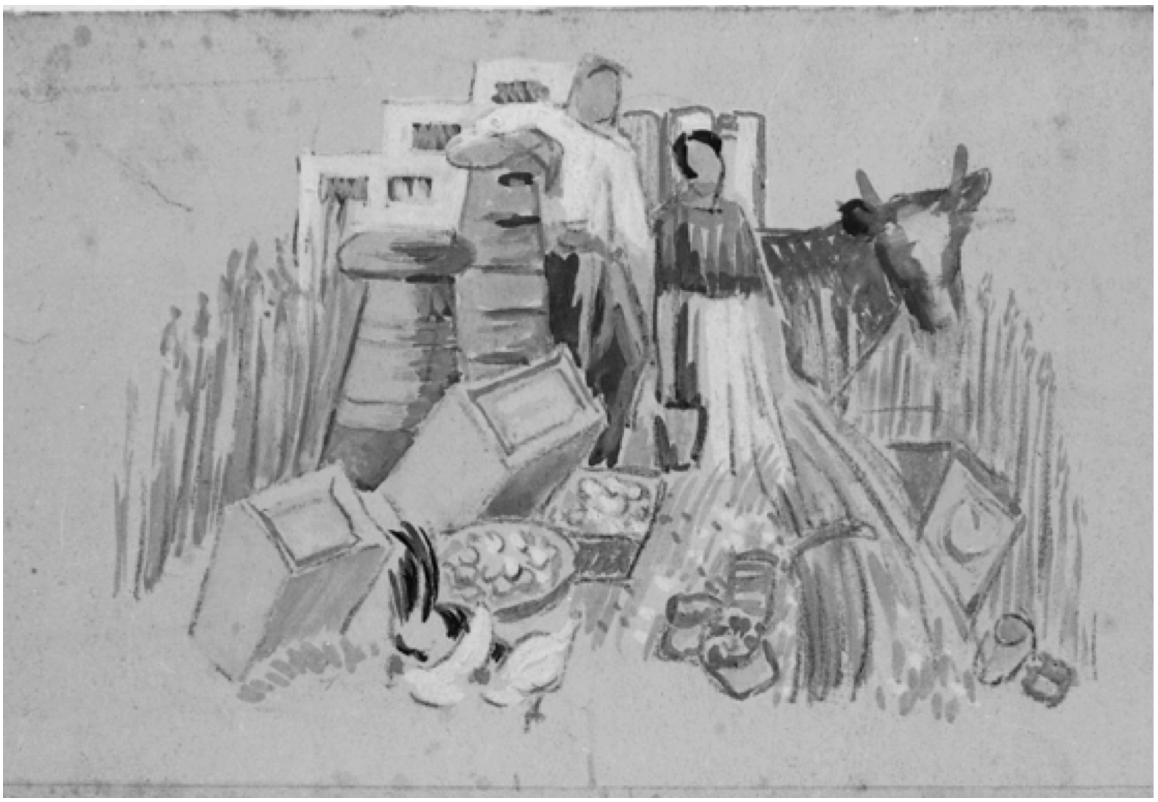

Figure 10. Mainie Jellett, "Agriculture," Glasgow Mural, Gouache. National Gallery, Dublin.

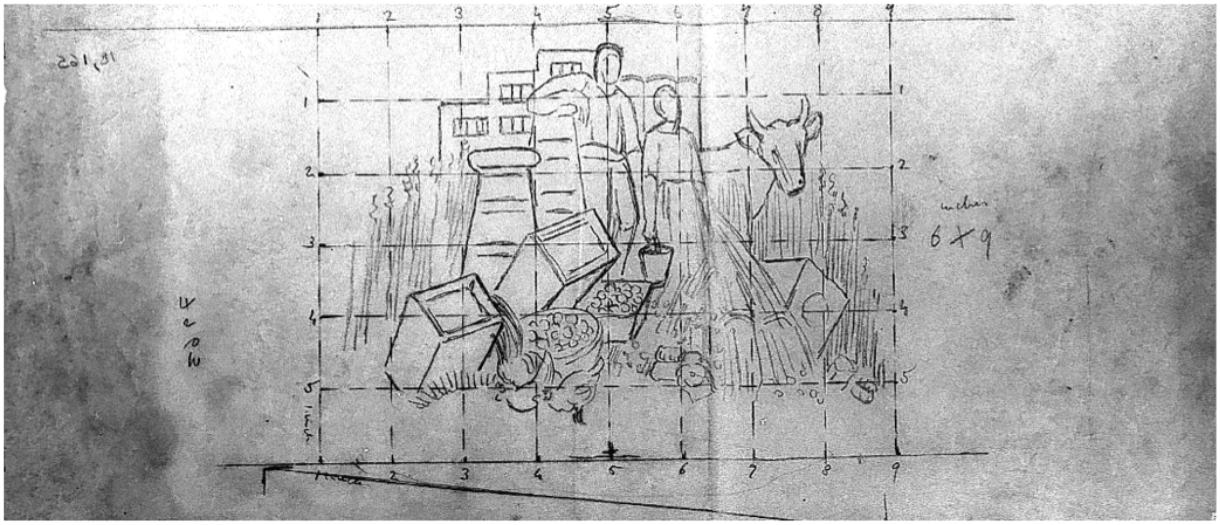

Figure 11. Mainie Jellett, "Agriculture," Glasgow Mural, Sketch. National Gallery, Dublin.



Figure 12. Mainie Jellett painting "Agriculture." *London Evening News*, 4 May 1938.

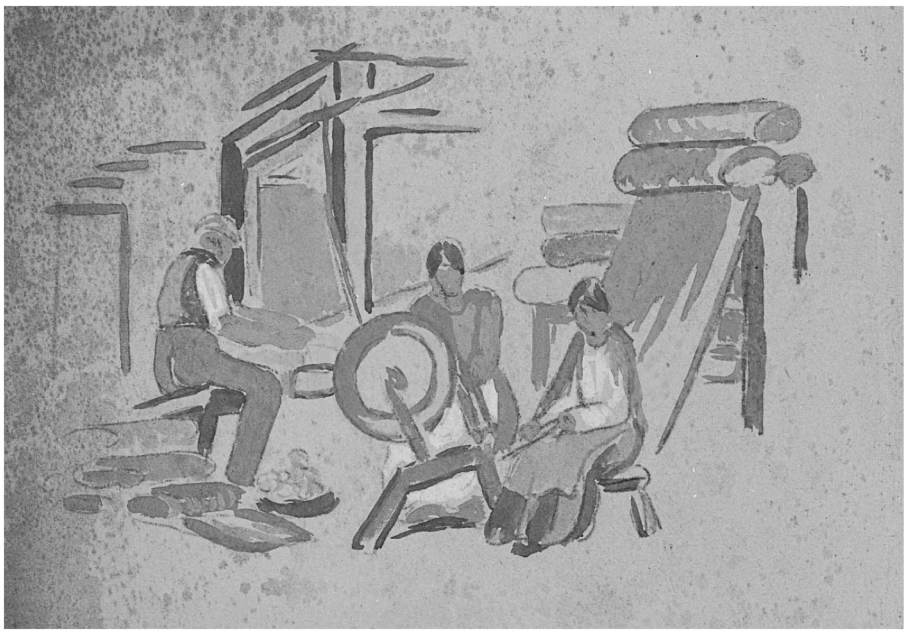

Figure 13. Mainie Jellett, “Weaving and Spinning,” Glasgow Mural, Gouache. National Gallery, Dublin.



Figure 14. Mainie Jellett, “Weaving and Spinning,” Glasgow Mural. Jellett Collection, NIVAL.

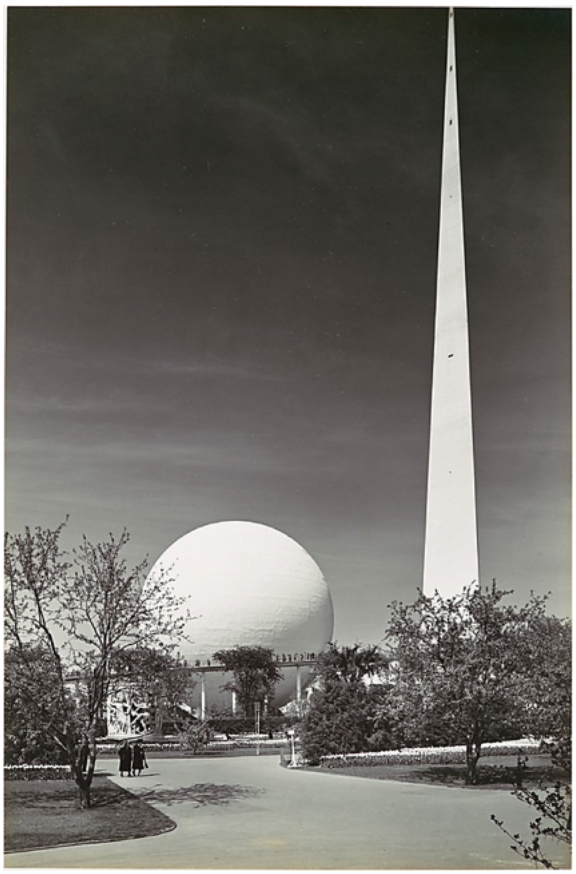

Figure 15. Samuel H. Gottscho, “Trylon and Perisphere, New York World's Fair.” 1939. Photograph. Metropolitan Museum of Art. http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/190017253

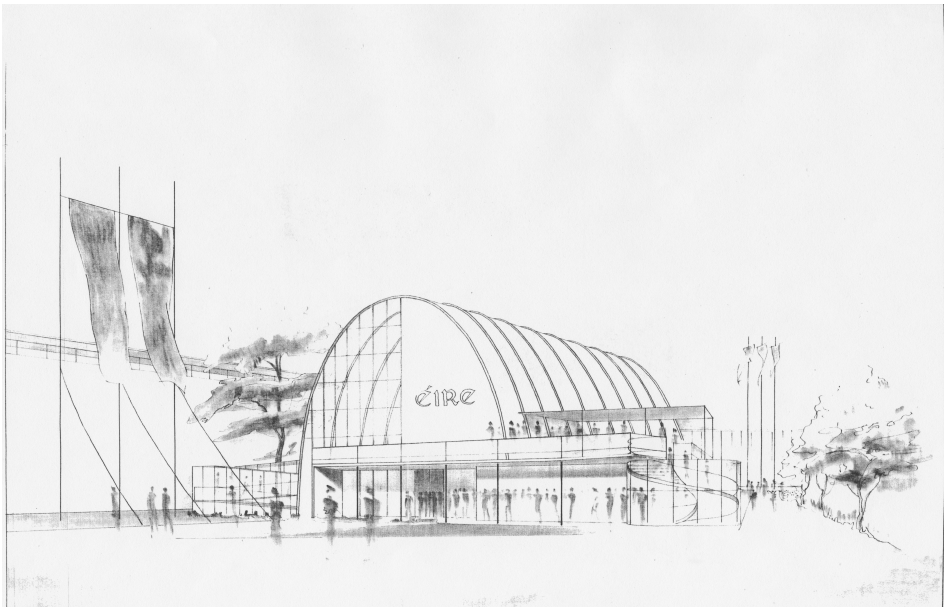


Figure 16. Michael Scott, Ireland Pavilion sketch, 1938. Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin.

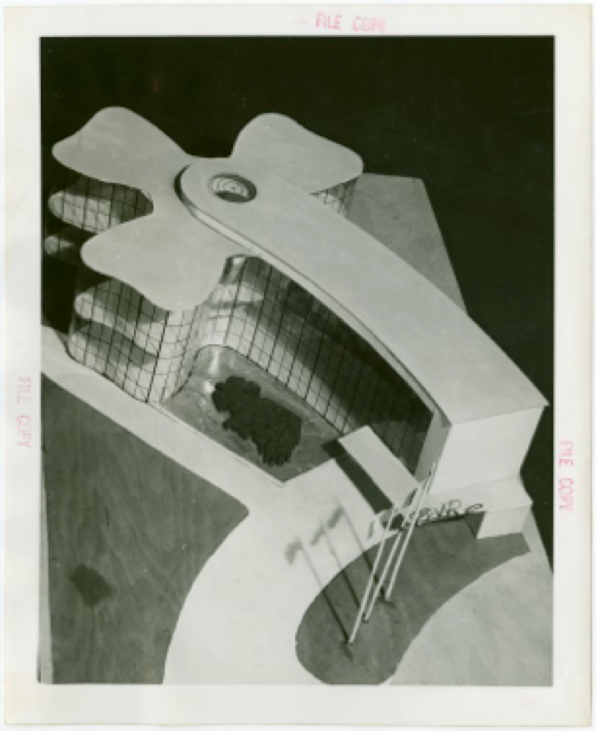


Figure 17. Michael Scott, Ireland Pavilion model, aerial view, 1938.




Figure 18. Michael Scott, Ireland Pavilion photograph, 1939.

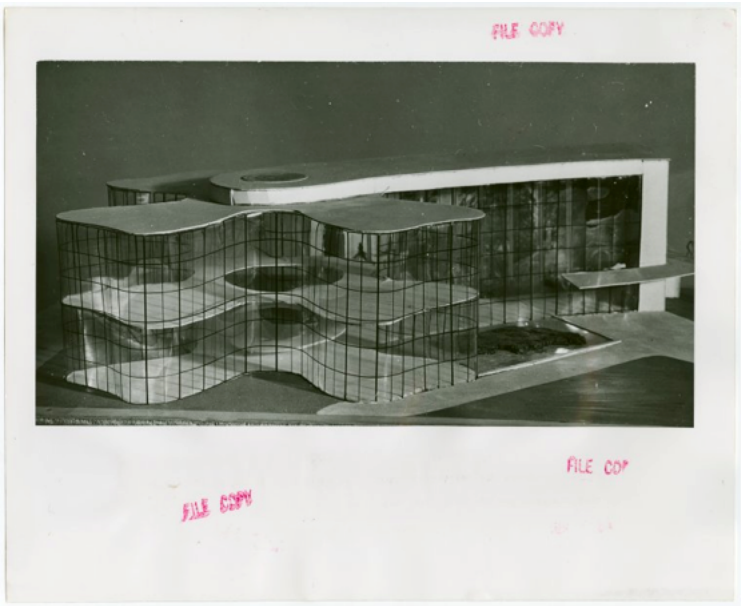


Figure 19. Michael Scott, Ireland Pavilion model, side view, 1938.

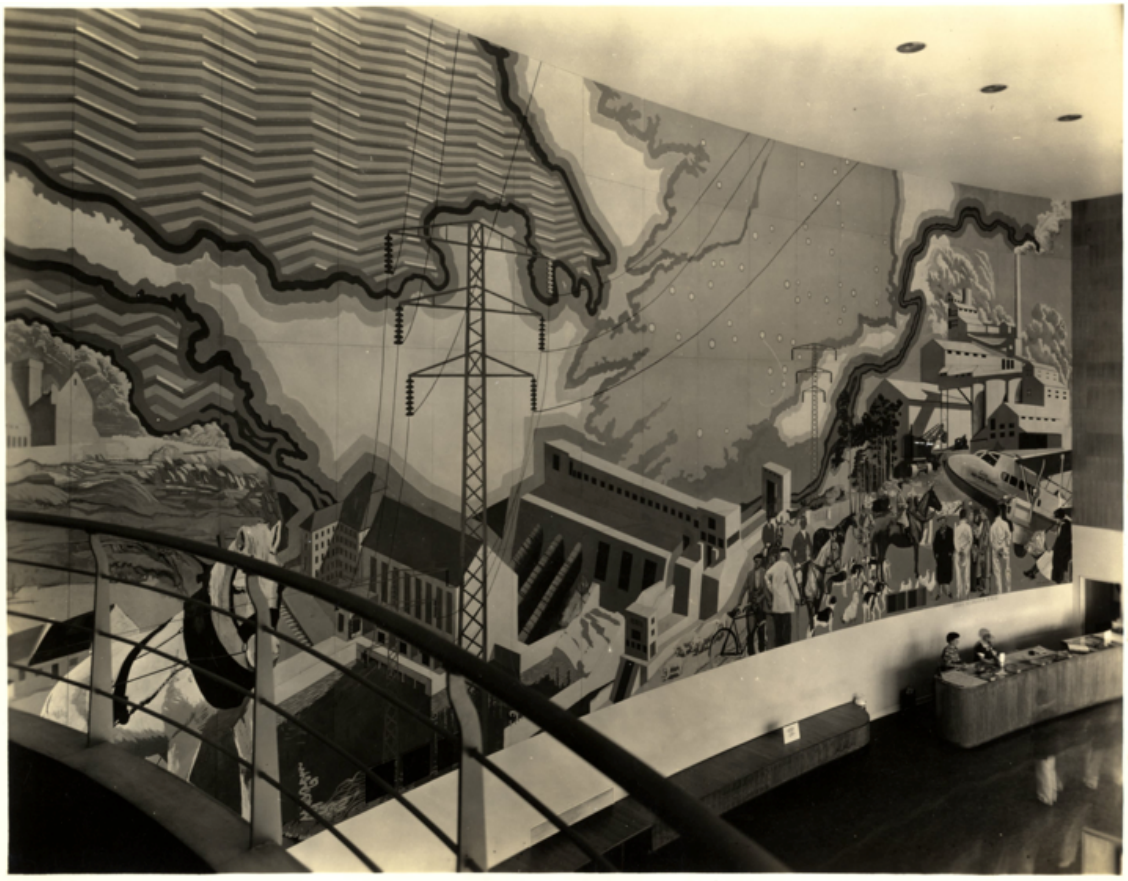

Figure 20. Seán Keating, *Shannon Basin*, 1939. Photograph. Interior, Ireland Pavilion, New York World's Fair. Gandon Editions, Kinsale.



Figure 21. Seán Keating, *Night's Candles Are Burnt Out*, 1928-9. Oil on canvas. Oldham Art Gallery, Oldham, UK.



Figure 22. Michael Scott, Interior view of Ireland Pavilion from main entrance, showing Keating's mural on right. 1939. Gandon Editions, Kinsale.



Figure 23. Evie Hone, *Four Green Fields*, 1939. Stained Glass. Government Buildings, Merrion Square, Dublin.

# EPILOGUE

## EXPO 2010, SHANGHAI

In the magazine guide to Ireland and the Irish Pavilion at Expo 2010, Shanghai, Taoiseach Brian Cowan proclaimed, "the Ireland Pavilion presents Chinese visitors with a vision of Ireland as a country offering a fascinating blend of history, scenery and culture; the world's most open economy exporting high technology, food, fashion, music and culture; and an eager English speaking business, research and education partner within the European Union."[1] This same quote was emblazoned in large green font across the front page of the coordinating Expo website designed to showcase and promote the 32,000 sq. ft. pavilion, its displays, tourism, and Sino-Irish economic relationships.[2] From May 1 to October 31, 2010, over seventy-three million visitors set a record for attendance at any international exhibition in history and nearly twenty percent of those fairgoers waited in long lines to explore the popular Irish Pavilion.[3]

The building itself (Figure 1) was designed by the Irish firm of Henry J. Lyons in conjunction with the Office of Public Works to "showcase the Republic of Ireland's Cultural, Historical and Business credentials within a 3000 sq.m. site through the use of spaces incorporating a variety of media for exhibition and entertainment."[4] Its modern, U-shaped glass structure, emerging from wide swaths of lush green grass, earned a bronze medal from the Expo organizers for its innovative and exciting design.[5] In the words of one Irish observer, "[the] sloping grass banks instantly evoke the greenness of Ireland… At night, lighting within the

---

[1] Office of Public Works, *Ireland: A Celebration of the Special Relationship Between Ireland and China* (Ireland
[2] "Ireland Expo 2010," http://www.irelandexpo2010.com.
[3] Frank McDonald, "Shanghai Surprise," *Irish Times*, 13 Nov. 2010. Repeated sources mention the Pavilion as rated a "top ten" pavilion.
[4] Henry J. Lyons, Architects, "Irish Expo Pavilion," http://www.hjlyons.com/Overseas/HJL_Project_Overseas_IrishExpo_Pg1.html.
[5] McDonald, "Shanghai Surprise," *Irish Times*, 13 Nov. 2010.

translucent triple-glazed faced turned the 3,000 sq. m. building into a lantern… intended to reflect the fact that the Irish imagination has been shaped by the mercurial light of the Atlantic clime."[6] Such emphasis on light echoes earlier focus on Irish illumination at exhibitions, such as Michael Scott's insistence on lighting his map at the 1939 New York World's Fair.[7] It also taps into an ongoing dialogue in Irish art criticism regarding the importance of a particular Irish light and atmosphere in capturing a true vision of Ireland. As artist and art critic Brian O'Doherty explained decades earlier, "to call [Irish light] a national quality could be an exaggeration, though all the paradoxes and misunderstanding of that idea were in operation."[8]

In his study of the new Aran Islands Heritage Center, sociologist Eamonn Slater has explored the prioritization of the visual over the verbal in modern Irish heritage center design. He suggests that these heritage centers drive the viewer through both the physical and chronological spaces by utilizing various visual media rather than textual explanations of national heritage and by the aestheticization of the real artifacts within a "labyrinth of visual images."[9] He calls the visitor to the heritage center "the urban stroller of modernity" or "the heritage flâneur," terms that may apply equally well to the visitors to the Irish Pavilion in Shanghai, nearly ninety-five percent of whom were Chinese.[10] These visitors did not come to the exhibit to purchase goods or negotiate business transactions, but to leisurely explore the "Evolution of Urban Space and Lifestyle" proclaimed as the building's theme and to "embark on

---

[6] Ibid.

[7] As early as March of 1939, architect Scott was looking for ways to illuminate his map at night for proper effect. Michael Scott to Irwin Scott, 13 Mar. 1939. New York World's Fair 39/40 Records, 1630/7, New York Public Library.

[8] Brian O'Doherty, "The Irish Imagination 1959-1971," in *The Irish Imagination 1959 - 1971* (Dublin: Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, in Association with Rosc '71, 1971), 11. Rosc '71 was organized by the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art and An Chomhairle Ealaíon/Irish Arts Council to showcase the work of Irish artists working from and in international influences in the previous decade.

[9] Eamonn Slater, "Constructing an Exotic 'Stroll' through Irish Heritage: The Aran Islands Heritage Center," in *Irish Tourism: Image, Culture and Identity*, ed. Michael Cronin and Barbara O'Connor (Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications, 2003), 119.

[10] Ibid. 118-19; "Irish Out to Make Their Mark at Shanghai Expo and Across China," *Irish Times*, 18 June 2010.

a [fantasy] journey along the beautiful Liffey River."[11] Moreover, as a language barrier between the Chinese visitors and Irish exhibitors may well have been anticipated, the choice to rely upon visual rather than textual media was a logical decision for the pavilion organizers.

Fairgoers entered the building along the wide ramp that cut across the green field, rising up to obscure the rest of the building and offering a linear, contemporary interpretation of an Irish hillside (Figure 2). Inside, visitors found themselves immediately moving through a long white hallway experience entitled "Atlantic Light," stressing immediately in the interior the importance of Irish "atmospheric complexion" to envisioning the island.[12] Video projecting the length of the corridor illuminated the colors and textures of the elements and environmental features one might encounter on Ireland's Atlantic coast, from wind in the fields to water flowing through the rivers. As in previous international exhibitions, the natural elements figured prominently as one of the best forms for expressing, understanding, and experiencing Ireland.

These elements propelled the exhibition stroller into the "Window of the World," the large, frontal glass square that projected over the exhibition thoroughfare, allowing even passersby to see the digital exhibit therein devoted to "Landscapes" (Figure 3). On one wall, a screen scrolled through a continuous series of video images of Irish landscape views, from general features like grazing sheep to specific historical and cultural sites such as Kylemore Abbey. A second, larger screen displayed an unchanging image of the primitive kerbstone from the Neolithic burial site of Newgrange. These landscapes encompassed nearly every physical signifier used in past exhibitions from ancient sites to medieval ruins, from rural farms to modern cityscapes.

The digital image of the entry stone from Newgrange marked the display's transition

[11] *Expo Shanghai China Official Guidebook* (China Publishing Group Corporation, 2010), 127.
[12] O'Doherty, 11.

from moving through space to moving through time, as behind the kerbstone was another hallway exhibit, "Time Portals." Here visitors walked through a series of photographs of Irish doorways printed on glass plates (Figure 4). Walking through each representative portal, from a dolmen stone tomb to one of Dublin's famous eighteenth-century Georgian doorways, visitors traveled thousands of years in only a few dozen feet, driven forward through both time and the hallway by the visual media alone, rather than by any explicit textual direction.

Other exhibit spaces in the pavilion included panoramic video rooms showing Irish festivals and urban vistas, a hallway called the "Faces Gallery" lined with headshots of Irish citizens at work and play, mimicking a domestic space with family photographs hung on the walls, as well as a large performance space for Irish *ceol*, *craic*, and karaoke.[13] The visitors exited the Pavilion past the "Irish Creativity Wall" and through the "Friendship Center" with highlighted wall charts - some of the only text in the pavilion - and computer screens demonstrating the close business ties between China and Ireland in general and the five-year relationship between the "sister cities" of Cork and Shanghai in particular. It was, as one reporter suggested, "all visual, with relatively little textual input, and it works well."[14]

Notably absent from the pavilion, however, were any Irish businesses. While Dublin's Porterhouse microbrewery occupied an independent pavilion nearby, complete with a full Irish bar shipped over from Ireland, all other Irish businesses were ironically excluded from the massive national expenditure. The lack of opportunity for income was further highlighted by complaints that the Irish pavilion offered no gift shop or souvenirs.[15] Moreover, throughout the summer President Mary McAleese and several Dáil Ministers, CEOs, and Irish entrepreneurs

[13] *Ceol* and *craic*, Irish for "music" and "a good time," are terms used frequently to promote Irish entertainment in pubs. In Shanghai, karaoke sing-a-longs were added to the list of performance activities.
[14] "Ireland's 'Amazing' Expo Pavilion Likely to Attract Millions of Visitors," *Irish Times*, 13 May 2010.
[15] "Porterhouse Will Not Be Small Beer in Shanghai," *Irish Times*, 19 Mar. 2010; Frank McDonald, "Shanghai Surprise," *Irish Times*, 13 Nov. 2010. The Government-subsidized Pavilion cost nearly €10 million, more than double the original estimate.

visited Shanghai for business conferences related to the Expo. These important Irish visitors stressed agricultural development and biotech as Ireland's greatest strengths, yet neither figured prominently in the Irish pavilion.[16]

President Mary McAleese explained that "the Chinese are fascinated by the story of Ireland, which went from being a deeply agrarian country to being a modern and dynamic and progressive county. The 'How did we get there?' fascinates them."[17] Her bold reference to the Irish economic boom of the 1990s, the "Celtic Tiger" years, and her omission of the ongoing struggles of the 2010 economy highlights the particular vision of Ireland organizers intended to promote for the Chinese audience. The idea of Ireland at Expo 2010 was fostered by the erasure of the immediate past and its replacement by modern technology and an idealization, through that technology, of a much more distant, romantic past. This segregation of time and space was most clearly expressed by the only object-based display in the entire pavilion, the "Better Living Gallery" where visitors walked past staged rooms representing Irish domestic spaces "100 Years Ago," "50 Years Ago," and "Today." As Shanghai-based Irish artist James Ryan expressed, "this part of the Ireland pavilion had given a good sense of how Ireland had developed over the years, from the pot over the hearth to the Ikea furniture generation."[18]

The three "Better Living" rooms each represented a domestic space in Ireland and promised the viewer, through careful attention to detail, a glimpse of average life in Ireland in each distinct time period: 1910, 1960, and 2010. These three-dimensional spaces, stood in contrast to the otherwise exclusively two-dimensional, virtual Irish exhibit throughout the rest of the pavilion, offered a surprisingly contradictory set of images. The juxtaposition of a vignette from the turn of the twentieth century with a room from the turn of the twenty-first century,

---

[16] Clifford Coonan, "Martin Confident that Chinese Investment in Ireland Will Grow," *Irish Times*, 27 May. 2010.
[17] "Tricolour is Flown and Traffic Stops as President Visits Shanghai Expo," *Irish Times*, 18 June 2010.
[18] Ibid.

rather than affirming "changes from a relatively poor agrarian community to a very wealthy and sophisticated modern nation,"[19] instead revealed the fractures and disjunctures of the Irish exhibitionary vision. Unlike the heritage center displays suggested by Slater, the pavilion spaces to do not necessarily express any clear connection from one half-century to the next; there is no guiding text to explain the transitions, for example, from dirt floors to upright pianos to flat screen televisions. The exhibit leaves the viewers to reconcile for themselves how these three spaces might all be part of Ireland and what changes may have enabled such domestic development.

The new Ireland of "Today" might easily have been mistaken for any contemporary European or American urban apartment space (Figure 5). Offered as typically representative of Ireland are a pair of Mies van der Rohe Barcelona chairs and a kitchen island designed in the minimalist, Scandinavian style that James Ryan explicitly called "Ikea."[20] A box of traditionally American cereal, Kellogg's Special K, sits in the grocery basket and a wok balances on the edge of the countertop. This is a vision of a generic twenty-first century global apartment where "Ireland" is only one of innumerable contributing cultural factors. Only two features suggest anything of Ireland in the space: the Irish music video on the flat screen television and the view of the River Liffey portrayed outside the floor-to-ceiling windows. In keeping with the modern impulse of this new Irish vision, the visitor's gaze is directed through these windows towards recent additions to the Dublin skyline, such as the James Joyce Bridge (2003) and the modern steel and glass buildings flying up across the river, rather than older historical and cultural features along the Liffey such as the Ha'penny Bridge or the Four Courts.

In stark contrast, the "100 Years Ago" display (Figure 6) was full of more exclusively

[19] "Tricolour is Flown and Traffic Stops as President Visits Shanghai Expo," *Irish Times*, 18 June 2010.
[20] It is unclear whether Ryan was referring to the design aesthetic or to the specific brand, although the latter is certainly a possibility.

traditional, rural, insular symbols of Ireland: the whitewashed walls and dirt floor, the kettle and andirons at the hearth, the cradle, the old wooden cupboard, and the spinning wheel. The display was also an almost perfect replica of the interiors of Irish exhibition cottages from the 1907 Irish International Exhibition in Dublin and the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition in London. At Shanghai, such cottage spaces were presented as firmly '100 Years" in the past, but the popularity of romanticized Western Ireland in tourist promotion and the explicit visual references to exhibition displays of the past seem to shift the experience of the display forward chronologically as the only space in the pavilion exclusively and unmistakably recognizable as Ireland. Rather than project this remote past on a screen, this space is three-dimensional, breaking down the distance between past and present and between observation and experience.

The furniture filling the space is located in almost the exact same places as in the 1907 and 1908 Ballymaclinton cottages, themselves drawing from ostensibly real examples in the West of Ireland. The densely-packed dresser, the small, moveable table with one arm chair and one carpenter's chair, and of course the spinning wheel became iconic and necessary components of Ireland in the exhibitionary cottage spaces. In front of the hearth in Shanghai is a bright blue cradle (Figure 7). A small shrine is tucked in the wall and the various cooking implements hang around the hearth. In the 1907 cottage (Figure 8), the cradle and shrine figure prominently and a fake dog lies nearby; a pair of stuffed chickens stand near the door in the Shanghai variation. In 1908 (Figure 9), a cupboard packed with crockery and a large spinning wheel put to the side until the woman of the house needs to use it mirrors the placement of these objects in the exhibitionary display in Shanghai 100 years later.

The argument may be made that the Irish organizers for the Shanghai display were, like the heritage museum curators, gathering significant past objects for the purpose of a casual stroll-

by, or that they were turning to nineteenth century tourist photography like that of Robert J. Welch (Figure 10) for their "accurate" reconstruction of something that no longer existed. Welch was, himself, cataloguing rural Ireland for the Congested Districts Board in the 1890s much as the 2010 pavilion organizers were cataloguing rural Ireland for Shanghai; however, it can not be understated that those same impulses in the 1890s first led to the creation of pseudo-Irish cottage vignettes in early exhibitions. I suggest that the exhibitionary foundation of the cottage and its resonance at such events for nearly half a century, led to its easy reuse in Shanghai. Images such as Welch's chronicled a particular vision of Irish life that various exhibitions had refined and shared with wider international audiences concluding with the tens of thousands of Chinese visitors who explored the Irish Pavilion in 2010. In a collection of essays devoted to the work of Welch and the avocation of photographic histories, historian Ciara Breathnach recalled artist Allan Sekula's warning against a "loss of context."[21] To consider this representation of Ireland "100 Years Ago" outside of the context of past exhibitionary representations, both positive and negative, would equally diminish an understanding of Ireland's self-conscious representation in the context of international exhibitions.

The example of Expo 2010 in Shanghai suggests that exhibitionary practices in the twenty-first century continue to be informed by similar conceptions and visions of Ireland and Irishness as were mobilized in international exhibitions throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The intentions of the organizers are still subverted by the preconceived notions and fairground experiences of the visitors; the physical and spatial context of the fairgrounds or of particular exhibition host cities continues to impact the design and implementation of national

[21] Ciara Breathnach, "Introduction," in *Framing the West: Images of Rural Ireland 1891-1920*, ed. Ciara Breathnach (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007), xiii. Quoting Allan Sekula, "Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital," in *Visual Culture: The Reader*, ed. J. Evans and Stuart Hall (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 183.

displays. While some versions of Ireland have appeared at exhibitions from the 1850s to the present, it is not the visual and material components that constituted Ireland that have remained a constant, but the variations, interpretations, and redefinitions of those features in the specific context of the fairs. While some symbols and symbolic spaces such as the rural cottage have been utilized by a range of Irish interest at multiple events, the contributions of these repeated tropes to national identity and their reception by various foreign and local audiences has changed over time and space.

Douglas Hyde concluded his famous speech in 1892 with an "appeal to every one whatever his politics - for this is no political matter - to do his best to help the Irish race develop in future upon Irish lines, even at the risk of encouraging national aspirations, because upon Irish lines alone can the Irish race once more become what it was of yore - one of the most original, artistic, literary, and charming peoples of Europe."[22] This project has explored one particular mode of national Irish development. Examining Ireland at international exhibitions has revealed the shifting political interests in Ireland as well as the shifting politics of Irish culture in international venues. Against a backdrop of uneasy politics and religious division, the global exhibition spaces encouraged the implementation of and experimentation with a range of representations of Ireland.

Categories of landscape, space, and gender, so clearly linked by art historian Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch in her work on twentieth-century Irish painting, recurred at exhibitions to encourage various understandings of Ireland and Irish social politics.[23] In 1853, the exalted new pavilion of the Irish Industrial Exhibition at Merrion Square, filled with industrial and artistic

[22] Douglas Hyde, "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland," in *The Revival of Irish Literature: Addresses by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G., Dr. George Sigerson, and Dr. Douglas Hyde* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894), 161.

[23] Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch, "Landscape, Space, and Gender: Their Role in the Construction of Female Identity in Newly Independent Ireland," in *Ireland's Art, Ireland's History: Representing Ireland, 1845 to Present*, ed. Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch (Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, 2007), 85-101.

innovations, encouraged visitors to understand this modern space as a new Ireland, fully recovered from the Famine. In fact, the gleaming exhibition palace overtly omitted representations of poverty, disease, and emigration that had become the hallmark of Ireland in the late 1840s. The pitiful female Famine emigrée was abandoned in lieu of the triumphal Queen Victoria; the exhibition space provided Dublin businessmen the opportunity to redefine the Irish landscape as one of innovation, opportunity, and economic potential.

By the end of the century, the Irish landscape and a specifically gendered notion of Irish authenticity were at the fore of exhibitionary constructions in America in the 1890s. A variety of Irish villages, designed to simulate Ireland in Chicago, were designed, managed, and worked by women whose Irishness was not necessarily a reflection of their heritage or birthplace, but their location on the fairgrounds. Moreover, in the 1890s, the introduction of giant maps of Ireland made from imported Irish expressly tied the experience of Ireland on the fairgrounds to the physical, material landscape of the island itself. Over the course of several decades, the Irish organizers of fairs and exhibitions in America and the United Kingdom allotted significant sections of their budgets and their exhibitionary footprint to maps that visitors could walk on, maps that visitors could observe in perfect harmony with the tides and harbor schedules in Ireland, and maps that flowed with ancient waters mobilized for modern electrical innovation. In each case, the organizers returned to the land and landscape to affirm their definition of Ireland.

This project has also illuminated the difficulties experienced by both the North and the South after Partition in 1921 that played out not only in political arenas, but explicitly on the fairgrounds. Exhibitions offered a neutral space at which the new nation of Ulster in 1924 and the new country of Ireland in 1938 could begin to express national ideals, symbols, traditions, and innovative visions for the future. In both cases, the new nations challenged past expressions

of Ireland and redefined familiar tropes as particular to one part of the island or the other, pitting peace against violence, loyalty against nationalism, and progress against backwardness through physical Irish Pavilions, the artwork decorating those spaces, and the industries showcasing their wares and techniques.

Irish writer Sebastian Barry has suggested that "history… is not the arrangement of what happens, in sequence and in truth, but a fabulous arrangement of surmises and guesses held up as a banner against the assault of withering truth."[24] Charting the history of Ireland at international exhibitions reveals a similar series of random combinations that promise, for a brief, six-month period, a version of Irish truth. Such investigation provides a key to understanding not only the instability of these combinations, but also their successful proliferation and implementation both at home and in international communities. As the 1853 *Cassell's Tourist Illustrated Handbook to Dublin* expressed of the first Dublin exhibition, "the harmonious combination of multitudinous parts is made to conduce to one graceful, imposing, and perfectly unique whole."[25] Each exhibitionary Ireland was a "unique whole," a sum of unstable parts that offered insight into the ephemeral aspirations of the organizers and, in turn, the political and cultural situations of the Irish experience.

[24] Sebastian Barry, *The Secret Scripture* (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 2008), 56.
[25] *Cassell's Tourist Illustrated Handbook to Dublin* (London: John Cassell, 1853), n.p.

# EPILOGUE FIGURES



Figure 1. “Irish Expo Pavilion.” Preliminary model. Henry J. Lyons, Architects. http://www.hjlyons.com/Overseas/HJL_Project_Overseas_IrishExpo_Pg1.html



Figure 2. “Entrance Ramp.” Ireland Expo 2010 Shanghai. http://www.irelandexpo2010.com



Figure 3. “Window of the World.” Ireland Expo 2010 Shanghai. http://www.irelandexpo2010.com




Figure 4. “Area 5. Time Portals.” Ireland Expo 2010 Shanghai. http://www.irelandexpo2010.com




Figure 5. “Better Living Gallery. Today.” Ireland Expo 2010 Shanghai. http://www.irelandexpo2010.com




Figure 6. “Better Living Gallery. 100 Years Ago.” Ireland Expo 2010 Shanghai. http://www.irelandexpo2010.com




Figure 7. “Better Living Gallery. 100 Years Ago.” From the *Video Walkthrough*, Ireland Expo 2010 Shanghai. http://www.irelandexpo2010.com

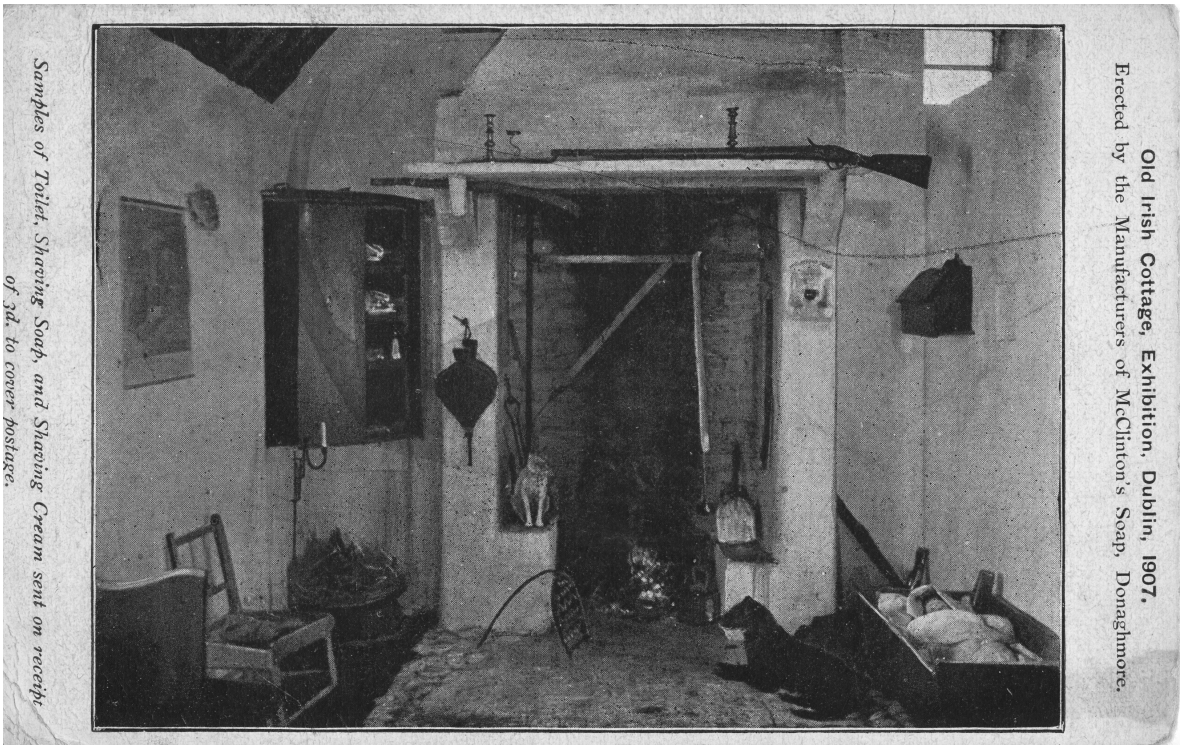


Figure 8. “Interior of McKinley Cottage, Ballymaclinton.” 1907. Postcard, 3” x 5”. Private collection.

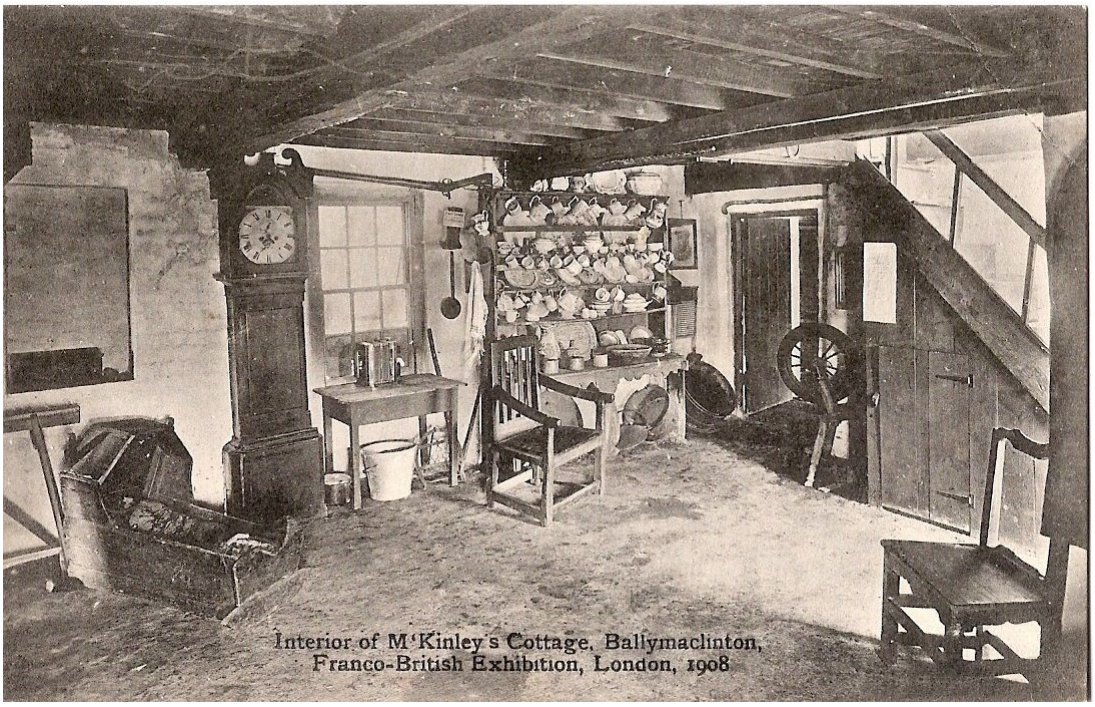


Figure 9. "Interior of McKinley Cottage, Ballymaclinton." 1908. Postcard, 3" x 5". Private collection.



Figure 10. Robert J. Welch, "Farm Kitchen." Ulster Museum, Belfast. In Claudia Kinmonth, *Irish Country Furniture, 1700-1950*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993, p. 129.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Archives

IRELAND
Beatrice Elvery Papers. Trinity College Dublin Manuscripts & Archives Research Library.
Dublin Collection. Dublin City Archives, Dublin City Library and Archive.
Michael Scott Collection. Irish Architectural Archive, Dublin.
Mainie Jellett Collection. National Irish Visual Arts Library, National College of Art and Design, Dublin.
National Archives of Ireland.

UNITED KINGDOM
Archive of Art and Design. Blythe House, National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum.
Bellahouston Park, Empire Exhibition collection. Royal Commission on the Ancient and British Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh.
Donaghmore Heritage Centre, Donaghmore Historical Society, Co. Tyrone.
Empire Exhibition 1938 Glasgow Scotland collection. University of Glasgow Library Special Collections.
Empire Exhibition collection. Brent Archives, Willesden Green Library Centre, London.
Glasgow City Archives. The Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
National Archives. Kew, London.
Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast.
Records of the 1938 Glasgow Empire Exhibition. University of Glasgow Archives.
Victoria & Albert Theatre Archive. Blythe House, National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum.
White City Exhibitions collection. Hammersmith & Fulham Archives and Local History Centre, Hammersmith & Fulham Libraries.
White City Exhibitions collection. Museum of London.

UNITED STATES
C. D. Arnold Photographic Collection. Ryerson & Burnham Libraries, The Art Institute of Chicago.
Irish Palace Building Society, papers. Irish American Historical Society, New York City.
New York World's Fair 1939 and 1940 Incorporated Records. New York Public Library.
World's Columbian Exposition, 1893, Records. University of Chicago Library.
World's Columbian Exposition, 1893 collection. Chicago Public Library Special Collections.

## Newspapers and Magazines

*Anglo-Celt* (Cavan)
*Architectural Record [American Architect and Architecture]* (New York)
*Architectural Review* (London)
*Art Journal* (London)
*Belfast News-Letter*

*Bellahouston News* (Glasgow, 1938)
*Black and White* (London)
*British Journal of Tuberculosis*
*Bulletin and Scots Pictorial* (Glasgow)
*Chicago Tribune*
*Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago)
*Daily Graphic* (London)
*Daily Mail* (London)
*Daily News* (London)
*Daily Record* (Glasgow)
*Evening Times* (Glasgow)
*Exhibition Expositor and Advertiser* (Dublin, 1853)
*Exhibition Study Group Newsletter* (London)
*Freeman's Journal* (Dublin)
*Gaelic American* (New York)
*Glasgow Herald*
*Glasgow Evening Citizen*
*Illustrated London News*
*Illustrated Magazine of Art* (London)
*Irish American* (New York)
*Irish American Advocate* (New York)
*Irish Builder* (Dublin)
*Irish Independent* (Dublin)
*Irish Press* (Dublin)
*Irish Times* (Dublin)
*Irish Trade Journal* (London)
*Irish World and American Industrial Liberator* (New York)
*New York Journal*
*New York Sun*
*New York Times*
*Northern Whig*
*Punch, or the London Charivari*
*Queen, or The Lady's Newspaper* (London)
*San Francisco Call*
*Scotland* (Glasgow)
*Scots Magazine* (Glasgow)
*Southern Star* (Cork)
*Star* (London)
*The Times* (London)
*Ulster Association for Peace with Honour Bulletin* (Belfast)
*Ulster Bulletin* (Belfast)
*Weekly Bulletin of Empire Study* (London, 1924)
*Westmeath Examiner*

**Primary Sources**


Aberdeen and Temair, Ishbel, Lady. "Ireland at the World's Fair." *The North American Review* 157, no. 440 (July 1893): 18-24.

———. *Irish Rural Life and Industry, with Suggestions for the Future*. Dublin: Hely's Limited, 1907.

Aberdeen and Temair, Lord and Lady. *'We Twa': Reminiscences of Lord and Lady Aberdeen*. 2 vols. London and Glasgow: W. Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 1925.

Allison, J. Murray, ed. *Official Illustrated Catalogue of the Queen's Doll House*. London: Fleetway Press, Ltd., 1924.

Art-Journal. *The Exhibition of Art-Industry in Dublin*. London: Virtue & Co., 1853.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Book of the Fair*. Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893.

Bell, Sam Hanna. "A Banderol." In *The Arts in Ulster*, edited by Sam Hanna Bell, Nesca A. Robb and John Hewitt, 13-24. London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1951.

Borthwick, Alastair. *The Empire Exhibition, Fifty Years On: A Personal Reminiscence by Alastair Borthwick*. Edinburgh: BBC Mainstream, 1988.

*The British Empire Exhibition 1924 Official Guide*. London: Fleetway Press Ltd., 1924.

*The British Empire Exhibition, Wembley April to October, 1924*. London: British Empire Exhibition, 1923/1924.

*The British Linen Bank: Empire Exhibition Scotland 1938*. Glasgow: M'Naughton & Sinclair Ltd., 1938.

Bruce, Robert, ed. *Scotland, Empire Exhibition* 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1938).

*Calling the World!* edited by Scotland - 1938 Empire Exhibition Glasgow: John Miller Ltd., 1938. Promotional booklet.

Carter, Howard. *The Discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamen*. London: Cassell and Co., Ltd, 1923; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977.

Cassell, John, ed. *The Irish Exhibition Almanack for 1854*. Dublin: James McGlashan, 1854.

*Cassell's Tourist Illustrated Handbook to Dublin*. London: John Cassell, 1853.

*The Chinese Exhibition: A Commemorative Catalogue*. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1935.

City of Glasgow Police. *Visit of His Majesty King George VI and Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth to Glasgow Friday, 9th July, 1938*. Glasgow: Robert Anderson & Sons Ltd., 1938.

Cole, Col. Henry. "Memorandum on the Proposal to Lease and Eventually Acquire the White City Property at Shepherd's Bush." edited by the Department of Overseas Trade. London: 1920.

"Come to Scotland in 1938." edited by Scotland - 1938 Empire Exhibition. Glasgow: Tomlinson Printers, 1937.

Committee, Workers' Empire Exhibition, ed. *Come and See the Empire by the All Red Route*. London: The National Labour Press, Ltd., 1938.

*Coronation Exhibition Great White City 1911 Official Guide and Catalogue*. London: Bemrose & Sons Limited, 1911.

Craig, Sir James. *Ulster Pavilion*. London: n.p., 1924.

*Cuimhneachan Air A'chlachan - Souvenir of the Highland Village*. Edinburgh: Wm. Ritchie & Sons, 1911.

Davis, George Royal, and John Ross Key. *Picturesque World's Fair: An Elaborate Collection of Colored Views*. Chicago: W. B. Conkey Company, 1894.

Dennehy, William F., ed. *Record: The Irish International Exhibition 1907*. Dublin: Hely's

Limited, 1909.
Duffy, James, ed. *Thomas Davis, Literary and Historical Essays*. Dublin, 1854.
Dumas, F. G. *Franco-British Exhibition Illustrated Review*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1908.
*Empire Exhibition Official Guide*. Glasgow: 1938.
*Empire Exhibition, Scotland - 1938 Souvenir Album*. Stephen Mitchell & Son, 1938.
*Empire Exhibition Scotland - 1938, Official Catalogue*. Glasgow: Empire Exhibition, Scotland - 1938, 1938.
*Empire Exhibition Scotland [Illustrated Brochure]*. Glasgow: Daily Record and Evening News, 1938.
Eppstein, John. *Peace Pavilion, Empire Exhibition, Scotland - 1938*. Glasgow: Kirkwood & Co., 1938.
*The Exhibition Guide through Dublin.* Dublin: Henry Gonne, 1853.
*A Few Facts Concerning the Franco-British Exhibition*. London: Hudson & Kearns, Ltd., 1908.
Flinn, John J. *Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition in the City of Chicago*. Chicago: The Columbian Guide Company, 1893.
*Franco-British Exhibition Official Guide*. London: 1908.
*Franco-British Exhibition Official Souvenir*. London: Hudson & Kearns, Ltd., 1908.
*Gems of the Chicago World's Fair and Midway Plaisance*. Philadelphia: Historical Publishing Company, 1894.
"General Information for Visitors, Including Party Excursions," edited by Empire Exhibition Scotland - 1938. Glasgow: Empire Exhibition Scotland - 1938, 1938.
*The Glasgow Herald Empire Exhibition 1938 Special Number*. Vol. 101. Glasgow: The Glasgow Herald, 1938.
*Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. The Official Catalogue*. Glasgow: Charles P. Watson, 1901.
*Glimpses of the World's Fair: A Selection of Gems of the White City Seen through a Camera*. Chicago: Laird & Lee, Publishers, 1893.
"Good News! Or, Free Admission to the Great Exhibition!" Dublin: William Curry and Company, 1853.
Graham, Charles. *World's Fair in Watercolors*. Springfield, OH: Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick, 1893.
Graham, Capt. Sydney S. *Report to the Administrative Committee by the General Manager*. Glasgow: Empire Exhibition, Scotland - 1938, Bellahouston Park, Glasgow, 1939.
*Guide and Souvenir to Ballymaclinton*. London: 1908.
"A Guide to the Empire Exhibition." *"The Scotsman" Trade Review*, 29 April 1938: 50-51, 79-80.
*Guide to the Irish Industrial Village*. The Irish Industries Association: 1893.
*Guide to the Pavilion of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, Empire Exhibition, Scotland 1938*. London and Beccles: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd., 1938.
*Handbook for Exhibitors*. Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, Ltd., 1938.
*Handbook of General Information*. London: The British Empire Exhibition, 1924.
*Handy-Book to the International Exhibition, 1862: Its History Structure, and Statistics, a Guide to the Objects Most Worthy of Note*. London: J. S. Hodson & Son, 1862.
Hawthorne, Julian. "Foreign Folk at the Fair." *The Cosmopolitan* xv, no. 5 (Sept 1893): 567-76.
Henry, Paul. *An Irish Portrait: The Autobiography of Paul Henry RHA*. London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1951.

Hewitt, John. "Painting and Sculpture in Ulster." In *The Arts in Ulster*, edited by Sam Hanna Bell, Nesca A. Robb and John Hewitt, 71-98. London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1951.
Holly, Marietta. *Samantha at the World's Fair*. London and Toronto: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1893.
Hodgins, J. George, ed. *The School House; It's Architecture, External and Internal Arrangements... Together with Selections for Public Recitations in Schools*. Toronto: Department for Public Education of Upper Canada, 1857.
Hollingshead, John. "A Concise History of the International Exhibition of 1862, its Rise and Progress, its Buildings and Features, and a Summary of all Former Exhibitions." In Vol. 1, *The International Exhibition of 1862, The Illustrated Catalogue of the Industrial Department, British Division*. London: Clay, Son & Taylor, 1962.
Hull, Paul. *Illustrated Guide to the World's Fair and Chicago*. Philadelphia: Blakely Printing Company, 1893.
Hyde, Douglas. "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland." In *The Revival of Irish Literature: Addresses by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G., Dr. George Sigerson, and Dr. Douglas Hyde* London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894.
"I Donoghoe's Visit to the Great Dublin Exhibition, 1853." Dublin: William MacDona, 1853.
*Imperial International Exhibition Official Guide*. London: Bemrose & Sons, Ltd., 1909.
*Irish International Exhibition, 1907*. Dublin and Belfast: W. & G. Baird, Limited, 1907.
"Irish Scenery at the World's Columbian Exposition." Belfast: Belfast and Northern Counties Railway Company, 1893.
Jacson, Catherine. *Ireland: "Tis 60 Years Since'*. Preston: The Guardian Works, 1912.
"Japan-British Exhibition Daily Programme." London: 1910.
*Japan-British Exhibition Official Guide*. London: 1910.
Jellett, Mainie. "My Voyage of Discovery." In *Mainie Jellett: The Artist's Vision, Lectures and Essay on Art*, edited by Eileen MacCarvill, 47-51. Dundalk: Dundalgan Press Limited, 1958.
Johnston, Rossiter, ed., *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition... By Authority of the Board of Directors*. 4 vols. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1897.
Jones, T. D. *Record of the Great Industrial Exhibition 1853, Being a Brief and Comprehensive Description of the Different Objects of Interest Contained in That Temple of Industry*. Dublin: John Falconer, 1853.
———. *Record of the Great Industrial Exhibition 1853, Being a Brief and Comprehensive Description of the Different Objects of Interest Contained in That Temple of Industry*. 2nd ed. Dublin: John Falconer, 1854.
Joyce, James. *Ulysses: The Corrected Text*. edited by Hans Walter Gabler. The Gabler ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1986.
Keating, Seán. "Art in Ireland [Broadcast 23 April 1932]." In *Seán Keating in Context: Responses to Culture and Politics in Post-Civil War Ireland*, edited by Éimear O'Connor, 108-10. Dublin: Carysfort Press Ltd., 2009.
Kirkwood, W. C. "Statement of Income and Expenditure for Period Ended 31st October 1942." Glasgow: Empire Exhibition, Scotland - 1938, 1942.
Lancaster, Florence. "Irish Village and McKinley's Cottage at the Franco-British Exposition." *Young Woman's Journal* 20, no. 2 (1909): 74-80.
Landauer, Walter. "Glasgow Steps Ahead." *Art and Industry* 25, no. 145 (July 1938): 11-16.

Lane, Hugh, ed. *Irish Art Gallery: Ballymaclinton*. London: Ballantine, 1908.
Lavery, John. *The Life of a Painter*. Boston: Little Brown and Co., Ltd., 1940.
Lover, Samuel. *Songs and Ballads by Samuel Lover, Including Those Sung in His 'Irish Evenings,' and Hitherto Unpublished*, 3rd ed. New York: Wiley & Putman, 1847.
Lunn, William, ed. *The Pavilion of H. M. Government, a Brief Record of Official Participation in the British Empire Exhibition, Wembley, 1924*. London: Fleetway Press, Ltd., 1924.
MacCarvill, Eileen, ed. *Mainie Jellett: The Artist's Vision, Lectures and Essay on Art*. Dundalk: Dundalgan Press Limited, 1958.
Maguire, John Francis. *The Industrial Movement in Ireland, as Illustrated by the National Exhibition of 1852*. Cork: George Nash, 1853.
Maine, G. F., ed. *Scotland's Welcome 1938*. London and Glasgow: Wm. Collins Sons and Co. Ltd., 1938.
Menenius [Digby P. Starkey]. "Ode Commemorative of Her Majesty's Visit to the Great Industrial Exhibition in Dublin." Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1853.
*Metro-Land: British Empire Exhibition Number*. 1924. Facsimile of the first edition. London: Southbank Publishing, 2004.
Milligan, Rev. James. "The Great Exhibition of 1853. Its Utility Defended; and Its Glory Eclipsed! A Sermon." Dublin: William Carson, 1853.
Murphy, Denis. “A Poem on the International Exhibition of Dublin, 1865.”
n.a. "Thoughts on the Dublin Exhibition Building." 1853.
*The National Exhibition of the Arts, Manufactures and Materials of Ireland, to Be Opened in Cork Upon the 10th of June, 1852*. Dublin: Alex. Thom, 1852.
Northrup, Henry Davenport. *The World's Fair as Seen in One Hundred Days*. Philadelphia: Ariel Book Company, 1893.
*Official Guide to the Franco-British Exhibition*. London: 1908.
*Official Report of the Japan-British Exhibition*. London: 1910.
*Palace of Arts. The Fine Arts Section of the Empire Exhibition Scotland 1938. Catalogue*. 1938.
*Popular Guide to the Franco-British Exhibition*. London: 1908.
"Scotland's Empire Exhibition. Facts You Want to Know About It." Edited by Scotland - 1938 Empire Exhibition. Glasgow and London: John Horn Limited, 1937/1938.
"Scotland's Empire Exhibition. More Facts About It." Edited by Scotland - 1938 Empire Exhibition. Glasgow and London: John Horn Limited, 1937/1938.
*Scottish Exhibition of History, Art and Industry Glasgow (1911) Official Guide*. Glasgow: Dalross Limited, 1911.
Shepp, James W., and Daniel B. Shepp. *Shepp's World's Fair Photographed*. Chicago: Gothic Bible Publishing, 1893.
Sinclair, Colin. *An Clachan, the Highland Village, Official Guide*. 1938.
*Souvenir Guide, Empire Exhibition. What's on, Where to Go, What to See: Welcome to Glasgow*. Glasgow: McEwan & Conroy, 1938.
*Souvenir Programme of the Opening of the Empire Exhibition Scotland by Their Majesties the King and Queen. Glasgow, 3rd May, 1938.* 1938.
Sproule, John, ed. *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue of Its Contents*. Dublin: James McGlashen, 1854.
Thomson, P. D. "'For Being Good Neighbours.' Sermon on the Empire Exhibition." Glasgow: 1938.
*The Tourist's Illustrated Hand-Book For Ireland; with Numerous Engravings, from Drawings by*

*Cruikshank, Crowhill, Lover, Mahony, &c. And a Profusion of Minor Illustrations*. London: John Cassell, 1853.
*The Vanishing City: A Photographic Encyclopedia of the World's Columbian Exposition*. Chicago: Laird & Lee Publishers, 1893.
*Views of the Chicago World's Fair and Midway Plaisance*. Chicago: W. B. Conkey Company, Publishers, 1894.
Walker, Dorothy. *Michael Scott, Architect: In (Casual) Conversation with Dorothy Walker*. Kinsale: Gandon Editions, 1995.
Weir, Sir Cecil M. "What They Thought of Bellahouston." *Scotland, Empire Exhibition*, no. 3 (Autumn 1938): 18-22.
Weaver, Bernard. "Franco-British Exhibition." *English Illustrated Magazine* 39 (1908).
Weaver, Sir Lawrence, ed. *Illustrated Souvenir of the Palace of Arts, British Empire Exhibition*. London: Fleetway Press, Ltd., 1924.
White, John. "Closing Broadcast. The Empire Exhibition." Glasgow: n.p., 1938.
———. "Closing Sermon. The Empire Exhibition." Glasgow: n.p., 1938.
White, W. H. "Prospectus. Scottish Exhibition Glasgow." Edited by Scottish Exhibition Glasgow. Glasgow, 1911.
"William Dargan and the Irish Exhibition of 1853." *The Illustrated Magazine of Art* 1, no. 3 (1853): 152-55.
Williams-Ellis, Clough. *The Architect*. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1929.
———. *Architect Errant: The Autobiography of Clough Williams-Ellis*. Portmeirion, Wales: Portmeirion Ltd., 1991.
"With the Empire in Scotland, Empire Exhibition Scotland 1938." Glasgow: McCorquodale, 1938.

**Secondary Sources**

Allwood, John. *The Great Exhibitions*. London: Cassell & Collier Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1977.
Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed. London and New York: Verso, 2006.
Ankersmit, F. R. *History and Tropology: the Rise and Fall of the Metaphor*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
Appadurai, Arjun. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." In *Theorizing Diaspora*, edited by Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur, 25-48. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2003.
Arnold, Bruce. *Mainie Jellett and the Modern Movement in Ireland*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991.
Auerbach, Jeffery. *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999.
Bardon, Jonathan. *A History of Ulster*. New Updated ed. Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 2001.
Barrett, James R. *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2012.
Barry, Sebastian. *The Secret Scripture*. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 2008.
Bartlett, Thomas. *Ireland, a History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacra and Simulacrum*. Trans. Sheila Faria Glaser. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010.
Baxter, Neil. "Thomas S. Tait and the 1938 Empire Exhibition." In *Glasgow's Greatest Exhibition: Recreating the 1938 Empire Exhibition*, edited by Ian Johnston, 9-17. Edinburgh: RIAS, 2008.
Bayor, Ronald H., and Timothy J. Meagher, eds. *The New York Irish*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
Benedict, Burton. *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915*. London and Berkeley: Scolar Press, 1983.
———. "International Exhibitions and National Identity." *Anthropology Today* 7, no. 3 (June 1991): 5-9.
Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
Benson, Ciaran. "Modernism & Ireland's Selves." *Circa*, no. 61 (Jan-Feb 1992): 18-23.
Berthold, Dana. "Tidy Whiteness: A Genealogy of Race, Purity, and Hygiene." *Ethics & The Environment* 15, no. 1 (2010): 1-26.
Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. 1994. Reprint, London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2004.
———. *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge, 1990.
Bhreathnach-Lynch, Síghle. ""Twelve Irish Artists": A School of Irish Painting?" *New Hibernia Review* 6, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 130-34.
———. *Ireland's Art, Ireland's History: Representing Ireland, 1845 to Present*. Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, 2007.
Bielenberg, Andy. "Keating, Siemens & the Shannon Scheme." *History Ireland* 5, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 43-47.
Black, Eileen. *Art in Belfast 1760 - 1888: Art Lovers or Philistines?* Dublin and Portland, OR: Irish Academic Press, 2006.
Bogue, Patricia. "The Brown Family of Donaghmore and the Soap and Candle Works." Donaghmore: published by the author, 2009.
Boran, Marie. "Tools of the Tourist Trade: The Photography of R. J. Welch in the Tourist Literature of Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Connemara and the West." In *Framing the West: Images of Rural Ireland 1891-1920*, edited by Ciara Breathnach, 48-60. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007.
Bowe, Nicola Gordon. "A Contextual Introduction to Romantic Nationalism and Vernacular Expression in the Irish Arts and Crafts Movement c.1886-1925." In *Art and the National Dream: The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design*, edited by Nicola Gordon Bowe, 181-200. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993.
Bowe, Nicola Gordon, and Elisabeth Cumming. *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Dublin & Edinburgh, 1885-1925*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998.
Boydell, Barra. "The Irish Harp on Glass." *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 12 (1996): 110-14.
Boylan, Thomas A., and Terence McDonough. "Dependency and Modernization: Perspectives from the Irish Nineteenth Century." In *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Tadhg Foley and Seán Ryder, 113-29. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998.
Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, 2001.
———. "Nostalgia and Its Discontents," *The Hedgehog Review* (Summer 2007): 7-18.
Breathnach, Ciara, ed. *Framing the West*. Dublin and Portland, OR: Irish Academic Press, 2007.

Brody, Jennifer DeVere. *Impossible Purities: Blackness, Femininity, and Victorian Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.
Brown, Julie K. *Contesting Images: Photography at the World's Columbian Exposition*. Tucson & London: University of Arizona Press, 1994.
Brown, Terence. *Ireland a Social and Cultural History, 1922 - 2002*. Second ed. London: Harper Perennial, 2004.
———. "Ireland, Modernism and the 1930s." In *Modernism and Ireland: The Poetry of the 1930s*, edited by Patricia Coughlin and Alex Davis, 24-42. Cork: Cork University Press, 1995.
"Bureau Internationale Des Expositions." BIE. http://www.bie-paris.org/.
Byrne, James P., Padraig Kirwan and Michael O'Sullivan, eds. *Affecting Irishness: Negotiating Cultural Identity within and Beyond the Nation*. New York & Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2009.
Cappock, Margarita. "Pageantry or Propaganda? The Illustrated London News and Royal Visitors in Ireland." *Irish Arts Review* 16 (2000): 86-93.
Clancy, Michael. "Re-Presenting Ireland: Tourism, Branding and National Identity in Ireland." *Journal of International Relations and Development* 14 (2011): 281-308.
Clark, Kenneth. *The Naked and the Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956; reprint, 1972.
Colls, Robert. *Identity of England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
Coombes, Annie. *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994.
Coombes, Annie, and Avtar Brah. "Introduction: The Conundrum of 'Mixing'." In *Hybridity and Its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture*, edited by Avtar Brah and Annie Coombes, 1-16. New York: Routledge, 2000.
Corbey, Raymond. "Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930." *Cultural Anthropology* 8 (1993).
Coulter, Riann. "Translating Modernism: Mainie Jellett, Ireland and the Search for a Modernist Language." Master's thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2000.
———. "Hibernian Salon Des Refusés." *Irish Arts Review* 20, no. 3 (Autumn 2003): 80-85.
———. "Translating Modernism: Mainie Jellett, Ireland and the Search for a Modernist Language ". *Apollo*, no. 535 (2006): 56-63.
Crary, Jonathan. *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990.
Crawford, Margaret. *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns*. London and New York: Verso, 1995.
Crawford, Margaret. E. "The Great Irish Famine 1845-9: Image Versus Reality." In *Ireland: Art into History*, edited by Raymond Gillespie and Brian P. Kennedy, 75-88. Dublin: Town House, 1994.
Crooke, Elizabeth. "Revivalist Architecture and Museum Politics During the Irish Revival." In *The Irish Revival Reappraised*, edited by Betsey Taylor FitzSimon and James H. Murphy, 83-93. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
Crouan, Katharine. *Maurice MacGonigal, R.H.A. 1900 - 1979: An Irish Palette*. Dublin: The Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, 1991.
Cullen, Fintan. *Visual Politics: The Representation of Ireland 1750 - 1930*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1997.

———. “Ireland in New York.” In *Wasifiri* 25, no. 2 (2010): 15-18.
———. *Ireland on Show: Art, Union, and Nationhood*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2012.
Cullen, Fintan, and R. F. Foster. *‘Conquering England:’ Ireland in Victorian London.* London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2005.
Curtis Jr., Perry L. *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*. Revised ed. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.
Davies, A. C. "The First Irish Industrial Exhibition: Cork 1852." *Irish Economic and Social History* 2 (1975): 46-59.
———. "Ireland's Crystal Palace, 1853." In *Irish Population, Economy, and Society*, edited by J. M. Goldstrom and L. A. Clarkson, 249-70. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.
Davis, Fred. *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia*. New York: Free Press, 1979.
de Groot, Joanna. "Metropolitan Desires and Colonial Connections: Reflections on Consumption and Empire." In *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, edited by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 166-90. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
de Nie, Michael. *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004.
Diner, Hasia R. *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.
Dixon, F. E. "Dublin Exhibitions: Part I." *Dublin Historical Record* 26, no. 3 (June 1973): 93-100.
Dolan, Jay P. *The Irish American: A History*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008.
Donnelly Jr., James S. *The Great Irish Potato Famine*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2001.
Dyer, Richard. *White*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997.
English, Richard. *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA*. London: Pan Macmillan, 2003.
Farrell, Sean. *Rituals and Riots: Sectarian Violence and Political Culture in Ulster, 1784 - 1886*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2000.
Findling, John E., and Kimberly D. Pelle, eds. *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*. Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2008.
FitzPatrick, David. *Oceans of Contemplation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*. Jossey-Bass, 1994.
———. *The Two Irelands, 1912 - 1939*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998.
Flannery, Eóin. *Versions of Ireland: Empire, Modernity and Resistance in Irish Culture*. Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006.
———. *Ireland and Postcolonial Studies: Theory, Discourse, Utopia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
Foster, R. F. *Modern Ireland, 1600 - 1972*. London: The Penguin Press, 1988.
Fowler, Joan. "Art and Independence: An Aspect of Twentieth Century Irish Art." *Circa*, no. 14 (Jan-Feb 1984): 6-10.
Funchion, Michael F. *Chicago's Irish Nationalists, 1881-1890*. New York: Arno Press, 1976.
Garner, John S., ed. *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
Gaynor, Catherine. “An Ulster Sculptor, Sophia Rosamund Praeger (1867-1954),” *Irish Arts Review* (2000): 35-43.
Geppert, Alexander C. T. *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-De-Siècle Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Golan, Romy. *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics in France between the Wars*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995.
———. *Muralnomad: The Paradox of Wall Painting, Europe 1927-1957*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009.
Gould, Lewis L. *The Presidency of William McKinley*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1981.
Graham, Colin. *Deconstructing Ireland: Identity, Theory, Culture*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, Ltd., 2001.
Gray, Peter. *Famine, Land and Politics: British Government and Irish Society, 1843-1850*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1999.
Green, Hardy. *The Company Town: The Industrial Edens and Satanic Mills That Shaped the American Economy*. New York: Basic Books, 2010.
Greenhalgh, Paul. *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
———. *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions from London to Shanghai, 1951-2010*. Berkshire, UK: Papadakis, 2011.
Grey, Jane. *Spinning the Threads of Uneven Development: Gender and Industrialization in Ireland during the Long Eighteenth Century*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005.
Grindstaff, Beverley. "Creating Identity: Exhibiting the Philippines at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exhibition." In *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, edited by Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, 298-319. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004.
Hale, Dana. *Races on Display: French Representations of Colonized Peoples, 1886-1940*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008.
Harris, Neil. "Selling National Culture: Ireland at the World's Columbian Exposition." In *Imaging an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival, 1840-1940*, edited by T. J. Edelstein, 82-105. Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago, 1992.
Harris, Susan. *Gender and Modern Irish Drama*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.
Hartigan, Marianne. "Irish Women Painters and the Introduction of Modernism." In *When Time Began to Rant and Rage: Figurative Painting from Twentieth-Century Ireland*, edited by James Christen Steward, 63-77. Berkeley, CA: Merrell Holbertson Publishers Ltd, 1998.
Haslam, Richard. *Clough Williams-Ellis*. London: Academy Group Ltd., 1996.
Hay, Marnie. "Explaining *Uladh*: Cultural Nationalism in Ulster." In *The Irish Revival Reappraised*, edited by Betsey Taylor FitzSimon and James H. Murphy, 119-31. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
Hayes-McCoy, G. A. *A History of Irish Flags from Earliest Times*. Dublin: Academy Press, 1979.
Helland, Janice. *British and Irish Home Arts and Industries, 1880-1914*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007.
Hennessey, Thomas. *A History of Northern Ireland, 1920 - 1996*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
Herod, Andrew. "Social Engineering through Spatial Engineering: Company Towns and the Geographical Imagination." In *Company Towns in the Americas: Landscape, Power, and Working-Class Communities*, edited by Oliver J. Dinius and Angela Vergara, 21-44. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011.
Hill, Judith. *Irish Public Sculpture, a History*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998.
Hiller, Susan, ed. *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art*. London and New York:

Routledge, 1991.
Hoffenberg, Peter H. *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*. Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 2005.
Holton, Karina, and Brian Ó Dálaigh, eds. *Irish Villages: Studies in Local History*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
Howe, Stephen. *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
Huneault, Kristina. *Difficult Subjects: Working Women and Visual Culture, Britain 1880-1914*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2002.
Hunt, Tom. "Portlaw, County Waterford, 1870-1901: The Decline of an Industrial Village." In *Irish Villages: Studies in Local History*, edited by Karina Holton and Brian Ó Dálaigh, 131-65. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
Ignatiev, Noel. *How the Irish Became White*. 1995. Reprint, New York and London: Routledge, 2009.
"Ireland Expo 2010." Office of Public Works. http://www.irelandexpo2010.com.
Irons, Neville. "Irish Bog Oak Carving." *Irish Arts Review* 4, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 54-63.
Ithell, George R. *A Story of the Ballymaclinton Village 1908-1910: Postal History's New Chapter*. Ashford, Middlesex, UK: published by the author, 1982.
Jeffery, Keith. *An Irish Empire?: Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
Jenkins, William. "Remapping 'Irish America': Circuits, Places, Performances." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28, no. 4 (Summer 2009): 90-99.
Johnston, Ian, ed. *Glasgow's Greatest Exhibition: Recreating the 1938 Empire Exhibition*. Edinburgh: RIAS, 2008.
Jones, Greta. "The Campaign against Tuberculosis in Ireland, 1899-1914." In *Medicine, Disease, and the State in Ireland, 1650-1940*, edited by Greta Jones and Elizabeth Malcolm, 158-76. Cork: Cork University Press, 1999.
Jones, Jonah. *Clough Williams-Ellis: The Architect of Portmeirion*. Bridgend, Wales: Seren, 1996.
Joseph, May. *Nomadic Identities: The Performance of Citizenship*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
Judd, Denis. *Empire: The British Imperial Experience from 1765 to the Present*. London: HarperCollins, 1996.
"The Junior Spinning Champion of Ireland and the Entente Cordiale." Irish Historical Textiles. http:/irishhistoricaltextiles.com/2012/03/26/.
Kelly, Mary. *The Shamrock and the Lily: The New York Irish and the Creation of a Transatlantic Identity*. New York: Peter Lang, 2007.
Kennedy, Brian P. "The Irish Free State 1922-49: A Visual Perspective." In *Ireland Art into History*, edited by Brian P. Kennedy and Raymond Gillespie, 132-52. Dublin: Town House, 1994.
Kennedy, S. B. *Irish Art and Modernism 1880 - 1950*. Dublin: The Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, 1991.
———. *Paul Henry, with a Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings, Illustrations*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007.
Kenny, Kevin. "Taking Care of Irish Culture." *American Quarterly* 49, no. 4 (Dec. 1997): 806-

24.
———. *The American Irish: A History*. Essex, UK: Pearson Education Ltd., 2000.
———. "Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study." *The Journal of American History* (June 2003): 134-62.
———. "Twenty Years of Irish American Historiography." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 28, no. 4 (Summer 2009): 67-75.
Keneally, Thomas. *The Great Shame, and the Triumph of the Irish in the English-Speaking World*. New York: Anchor Books, 1998.
Keogh, Dermot. *Twentieth Century Ireland*. Revised ed. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1990.
Kiberd, Declan. *Inventing Irishness*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
Kinchin, Perilla, and Juliet Kinchin. *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions: 1888, 1901, 1911, 1938, 1988*. Oxen, UK: White Cockcade, 2001.
Kinealy, Christine. "At Home with Empire: The Example of Ireland." In *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, edited by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 77-100. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
King, Linda. "(De)Constructing the Tourist Gaze: Dutch Influences and Aer Lingus Tourism Posters, 1950-1960." In *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity, 1922-1992*, edited by Linda King and Elaine Sisson, 167-90. Cork: Cork University Press, 2011.
Kinmonth, Claudia. *Irish Country Furniture, 1700-1950*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993.
———. *Irish Rural Interiors in Art*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006.
Kirschke, Amy M. "Materialization of Irishness in Nineteenth-Century Bog Oak Souvenirs." Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003.
Knight, Donald R. *The Exhibitions: Great White City, Shepherd's Bush London*. London: Barnard & Westwood, Ltd., 1978. Print Mania, 2008.
Knight, Donald R., and Alan D. Sabey. *The Lion Roars at Wembley*. London: Barnard & Westwood Ltd., 1984.
Lappin, Sarah A. *Full Irish: New Architecture in Ireland*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2007.
Larmour, Paul. *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Ireland*. Belfast: Friar's Bush Press, 1992.
———. *Free State Architecture: Modern Movement Architecture in Ireland, 1922-1949*. Kinsale: Gandon Editions, 2009.
Lee, Joseph J. *The Modernisation of Irish Society, 1848-1918*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1973.
Lee, J. J., and Marion R. Casey, eds. *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*. New York and London: New York University Press, 2006.
Lengel, Edward G. *The Irish Through British Eyes: Perceptions of Ireland in the Famine Era*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002.
Levine, Philippa. *Prostitution, Race & Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
Litvack, Leon. "Exhibiting Ireland, 1851-3: Colonial Mimicry in London, Cork and Dublin." In *Ireland in the Nineteenth Century: Regional Identity*, edited by Leon Litvack and Glenn Hooper, 15-57. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000.
Lloyd, David, and Peter D. O'Neill, eds. *The Black and Green Atlantic: Cross-Currents of the African and Irish Diasporas*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Loughlin, James. *The British Monarchy and Ireland: 1800 to the Present*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
———. "Creating 'a Social and Geographical Fact': Regional Identity and the Ulster Question 1880s - 1920s." *Past and Present*, no. 195 (May 2007): 159-96.
Lyons, F. S. L. *Ireland since the Famine*. Revised ed. Suffolk, UK: Fontana, 1973.
———. *Culture and Anarchy in Ireland 1890 - 1939*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.
MacArthur, Colin. "The Dialectic of National Identity: The Glasgow Empire Exhibition of 1938." In *Popular Culture and Social Relations*, edited by Tony Bennett, Colin Mercer and Janet Woollacott, 117-34. Milton Keynes, UK and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1986.
MacKenzie, John M. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880 - 1960*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1984.
Malloy, Caroline R. "O Tempora! O Mores! Issues of National Representation at the 1907 Irish International Exhibition." Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2007.
Marshall, Catherine. "Painting Irish History: The Famine." *History Ireland* 4, no. 3 (Autumn 1996): 46-50.
———. "History and Memorials: Fine Art and the Great Famine in Ireland." In *Visual, Material and Print Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, edited by Ciara Breathnach and Catherine Lawless, 20-29. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010.
Marshall, Nancy Rose. *City of Gold and Mud: Painting Victorian London*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2012.
Mathews, P. J. *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Fein, the Gaelic League and the Co-Operative Movement*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003.
Mattar, Sinéad Garrigan. *Primitivism, Science, and the Irish Revival*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004.
Maume, Patrick. *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life 1891-1918*. New York: St. Martin's Press,
1999.
Mays, J. C. C. "How Is McGreevy a Modernist?" In *Modernism and Ireland: The Poetry of the 1930s*,
edited by Patricia Coughlin and Alex Davis, 103-28. Cork: Cork University Press, 1995.
McBride, Lawrence. *Images Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination: 1870-1925*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999.
McBrinn, Joseph. "The Crafts in Twentieth-Century Ulster: From Partition to the Festival of Britain, 1922 - 1951." *Ulster Folklife* 51 (2005): 54-85.
McClelland, Keith, and Sonya O. Rose. "Citizenship and Empire, 1867 - 1928." In *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, edited by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 275-97. Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York and London: Routledge, 1995.
McConkey, Kenneth. *A Free Spirit: Irish Art, 1860-1960*. London: Antique Collectors Club Ltd, 1991.
———. *Sir John Lavery: A Painter and His World*. Edinburgh: Atelier Books Ltd., 2010.
McCrum, Elizabeth. "Irish Victorian Jewellery." *Irish Arts Review* 2, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 18-21.

McDannell, Colleen. “Going to the Ladies’ Fair: Irish Catholics in New York City, 1870-1900.” In *The New York Irish*, edited by Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy F. Meagher, 234-251. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
McDiarmid, Lucy. *The Irish Art of Controversy*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005.
McGonagle, Declan, and Fintan O'Toole, eds. *Irish Art Now: From the Poetic to the Political*. London: Merrell Holberton, 1999.
McKean, Charles. "A Scottish Modernism 1933-1939." *History Workshop Journal*, no. 40 (Autumn 1995): 165-71.
McMahon, Timothy G. *Grand Opportunity: The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893-1910*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008.
Miller, Kerby. *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
Miller, Kerby, and Bruce Boling. "Golden Streets, Bitter Tears: The Irish Image of America During the Era of Mass Migration." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 10, no. 1/2 (1990/91).
Mirzoeff, Nicholas. *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2011.
Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt*. 1988. Reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
Moloney, Mick. "Irish-American Festivals." In *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*, edited by J. J. Lee and Marion R. Casey, 426-42. New York and London: New York University Press, 2006.
Moran, Seán Farrell. “Images, Icons and the Practice of Irish History.” In *Images, Icons and the Nationalist Imagination*, edited by Lawrence McBride, 166-76. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999.
Morash, Chris. "Entering the Abyss." *The Irish Review*, no. 17/18 (Winter 1995): 175-79.
Morris, Catherine. "Alice Milligan: Republican Tableaux and the Revival." In *Field Day Review*, edited by Seamus Deane and Ciaran Deane, 133-66. Dublin: Field Day Publications, 2010.
Morton, Patricia A. *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris*. Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2000.
Moss, Graham. *The Post Office and the Empire Exhibition, 1938*. Scottish Postal History Society, 1988.
Mulligan Jr., William. "Shades of Green and Orange: Irish Identity in Diaspora." In *Affecting Irishness: Negotiating Cultural Identity within and Beyond the Nation*, edited by James P. Byrne, Padraig Kirwan and Michael O'Sullivan, 231-46. New York & Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2009.
Murphy, Paula. "British Sculpture at the Early Universal Exhibitions: Ireland Sustaining Britain." *The Sculpture Journal* 3 (1999): 64-73.
———. *Nineteenth-Century Irish Sculpture: Native Genius Reaffirmed*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2010.
Negra, Diane, ed. *The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture*. Durham, NC & London: Duke University Press, 2006.
Netzer, Nancy. "Picturing an Exhibition: James Mahony's Watercolors of the Irish Industrial

Exhibition of 1853." In *Visualizing Ireland: National Identity and the Pictorial Tradition*, edited by Adele M. Dalsimer, 89-98. Boston: Faber and Faber, 1993.

Ní Bhroiméil, Úna. *Building Irish Identity in America, 1870 - 1915: The Gaelic Revival*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003.

———. "American Influence on the Gaelic League: Inspiration or Control?" In *The Irish Revival Reappraised*, edited by Betsey Taylor FitzSimon and James H. Murphy, 63-70. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.

Nicholsen, Michael. "'Auld Sod' and New Turf: Entertainment, Nationalism and Identity in the Irish Traditional Music Community of Chicago, 1868-1999, Volume I." PhD dissertation, Loyola University Chicago, 2007.

O'Brien, Sorcha. "Images of Ardnacrusha: Photography, Electrical Technology, and Modernity in the Irish Free State." In *Ireland in Focus: Film, Photography, and Popular Culture*, edited by Eóin Flannery and Michael Griffin, 71-85. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009.

O'Cleirigh, Nellie. "Dublin International Exhibition, 1865." *Dublin Historical Record* 47, no. 2 (Autumn 1994): 169-82.

O'Connor, Barbara. "'Colleens and Comely Maidens': Representing and Performing Irish Femininity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." In *Ireland in Focus: Film, Photography, and Popular Culture*, edited by Eóin Flannery and Michael Griffin, 144-65. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009.

O'Connor, Éimear. *Seán Keating in Focus*. Limerick: The Hunt Museum, 2009.

———. *Seán Keating in Context: Responses to Culture and Politics in Post-Civil War Ireland*. Dublin: Carysfort Press Ltd, 2009.

O'Day, Alan. *Irish Home Rule, 1867-1921*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1998.

———. "The Ulster Crisis: A Conundrum." In *The Ulster Crisis*, edited by D. George Boyce and Alan O'Day, 1-26. Hampshire UK and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

O'Doherty, Brian. *The Irish Imagination 1959 – 1971*. Dublin: Municipal Gallery of Modern Art in Association with Rosc '71, 1971.

Ó Gráda, Cormac. "Making Irish Famine History in 1995." *History Workshop Journal*, no. 42 (Autumn 1996): 87-104.

———. *Black '47 and Beyond: The Great Irish Famine in History, Economy, and Memory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Ó Luanaigh, Dónall. "Prince Napoléon's Visit to Dublin and Kerry in August 1865." *Dublin Historical Record* 53, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 71-76.

O'Regan, John, ed. *The Irish Pavilion*. Kinsale: Gandon Editions, 1992.

O'Toole, Fintan. "No Place Like Home." In *The Lie of the Land: Irish Identities*, 160-72. London and New York: Verso, 1997.

Paterson, Elaine Cheasley. "Crafting a National Identity: The Dun Emer Guild, 1902-1908." In *The Irish Revival Reappraised*, edited by Betsey Taylor FitzSimon and James H. Murphy, 106-18. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003.

Pilkington, Lionel. *Theatre and the State in Twentieth-Century Ireland: Cultivating the People*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Poole, Deborah. *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Pyle, Hilary. "Irish Art 1900 - 1950." In *Irish Art 1900 - 1950*, 9-16. Cork: Rosc, 1975.
Quinn, Christopher. "The Irish Villages at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition: Constructing, Consuming and Contesting Ireland." Master's thesis, University of Guelph, 2011.
Rains, Stephanie. "Here Be Monsters: The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853 and the Growth of Dublin Department Stores." *Irish Studies Review* 16, no. 4 (Nov. 2008): 487-506.
———. *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850-1916*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010.
Reynolds, Paige. *Modernism, Drama, and the Audience for Irish Spectacle*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
Richards, Thomas. *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.
Rivers, Elizabeth. "Modern Painting in Ireland." *Studies, An Irish Quarterly Review* 50, no. 198 (Summer 1961): 175-83.
Rodee, Howard D. "The 'Dreary Landscape' as a Background for Scenes of Rural Poverty in Victorian Paintings." *Art Journal* 36, no. 4 (Summer 1977): 307-13.
Rohs, Stephen. *Eccentric Nation: Irish Performance in Nineteenth Century New York City*. Cranbury, NJ: Rosemount Publishing Corp., 2009.
Rooney, Brendan. "The Irish Exhibition at Olympia, 1888." *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies* 1 (1998): 100-19.
Rosenblum, Robert, ed. *Remembering the Future: The New York World's Fair from 1939 to 1964*. New York: The Queens Museum, 1989.
Rothery, Sean. *Ireland and the New Architecture, 1900 - 1940*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1991.
Russell, Mona. "Marketing the Modern Egyptian Girl: Whitewashing Soap and Clothes from the Late Nineteenth Century to 1936." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 19-57.
Rydell, Robert. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
———. *World of Fairs: The Century of Progress Exhibitions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
———. "Souvenirs of Imperialism: World's Fair Postcards." In *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, edited by Christraud M. Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb, 47-64. Washington D.C. and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998.
———. *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010.
Rydell, Robert, and Laura Burd Schiavo. "Reflections on Modernism and World's Fairs: An Interview with Richard Guy Wilson." In *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s*, edited by Robert Rydell and Laura Burd Schiavo, 193-99. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010.
Samuel, Mark, and Kate Hamlyn. *Blarney Castle: Its History, Development and Purpose*. Cork: Cork University Press, 2007.
Saris, A. Jamie. "Imagining Ireland in the Great Exhibition of 1853." In *Ireland in the Nineteenth Century: Regional Identity*, edited by Leon Litvack and Glenn Hooper, 66-86. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000.
Scott, Gertrude. "Village Performances: Villages at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, 1893." PhD dissertation, New York University, 1991.

Shaw, Marian. *World's Fair Notes: A Woman Journalist Views Chicago's Columbian Exposition*. Pogo Press, 1992.
Sheaff, Nicholas. "The Shamrock Building." *Irish Arts Review* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 26-29.
Sheehy, Jeanne. *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830-1930*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980.
Sheehan, Mary. *Issues of Cultural Representation and national identity explored in the Irish village Ballymaclinton at the Franco-British Exhibition, Shepherd's Bush, London, 1908*. PhD dissertation, Royal College of Art, UK, 2000.
Shifflein, Edward L. "Problematizing Performance." In *Ritual, Performance, Media*, edited by Felicia Hughes-Freeland, 194-207. New York: Routledge, 1997.
Siggins, Brian. *The Great White Fair: The 1907 Exhibition*. Dublin: The History Press, 2007.
Sinnema, Peter. *Dynamics of the Pictured Page: Representing the Nation in the Illustrated London News*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998.
Slater, Eamonn. "Constructing an Exotic 'Stroll' through Irish Heritage: The Aran Islands Heritage Center." In *Irish Tourism: Image, Culture and Identity*, edited by Michael Cronin and Barbara O'Connor, 104-21. Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications, 2003.
Smith, Virginia. *Clean: A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
Steward, James Christen. "The Irishness of Irish Painting." In *When Time Began to Rant and Rage: Figurative Painting from Twentieth-Century Ireland*, edited by James Christen Steward, 16-22. Berkeley, CA: Merrell Holbertson Publishers Ltd, 1998.
Stoler, Ann Laura. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
Swan, Ciarán. "Vanishing Borders: The Politics of Political Partition in the Free State 1922-1949." In *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity, 1922-1992*, edited by Linda King and Elaine Sisson, 132-47. Cork: Cork University Press, 2011.
Tallon, Ronald. *Michael Scott*. Kinsale: Gandon Editions, 1993.
Taylor, Robert. *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840-1860*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007.
Thompson, Spurgeon. "The Politics of Photography: Travel Writing and the Irish Countryside, 1900-1914." In *Images, Icons and the Nationalist Imagination*, edited by Lawrence McBride, 113-29. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999.
Thuente, Mary Helen. "The Harp as a Palimpsest of Cultural Memory." In *Memory Ireland, Volume 1: History and Modernity*, 52-65. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011.
*A Time and a Place: Two Centuries of Irish Social Life*. Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 2006..
Trotter, Mary. *Ireland's National Theaters: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2001.
Turpin, John. "Exhibitions of Art and Industries in Victorian Ireland: Part I: The Irish Arts and Industries Exhibition Movement 1834-1864." *Dublin Historical Record* 35, no. 1 (Dec. 1981): 2-13.
———. "Exhibitions of Art and Industries in Ireland: Part II: Dublin Exhibitions of Art and Industries, 1865-1885." *Dublin Historical Record* 35, no. 2 (Mar. 1982): 42-52.
———. "Ireland's Progress: The Dublin Exhibition of 1907." *Eire-Ireland* (1982): 31-38.
———. "The National College of Art under Keating & MacGonigal." *The GPA Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1988): 201-11.

———. "Irish History Painting." *The GPA Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1989/1990): 233-47.
———. "Irish Art and Design Education." *Irish Arts Review* 10 (1994): 209-16.
———. *Oliver Sheppard, 1865-1941: Symbolist Sculptor of the Irish Cultural Revival*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000.
———. "Official Sculpture in Post-Revolutionary Ireland, North and South, in the 1920s and 1930s." *Sculpture Journal* XIII (2005): 32-47.
———. "Visual Culture and Catholicism in the Irish Free State, 1922-1949." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57, no. 1 (Jan. 2006): 55-77.
Ward, Margaret. *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism*. London and East Haven, CT: Pluto Press, 1989.
Washer, Cheryl. "The Work of Edmond Johnson: Archaeology and Commerce." In *Imaging an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival, 1840-1940*, edited by T. J. Edelstein, 106-21. Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago, 1992.
Weimann, Jeanne Madeline. *The Fair Women*. Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981.
Williams, Maggie McEnchroe. "The 'Temple of Industry': Dublin's International Exhibition of 1853." In *Irish Art Historical Studies in Honour of Peter Harbison*, edited by Colin Hourihane, 261-75. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
———. *Icons of Irishness from the Middle Ages to the Modern World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
Wills, Clair. *That Neutral Island: A Cultural History of Ireland During the Second World War*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.
Young, Robert J. C. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
Zuelow, Eric. *Making Ireland Irish: Tourism and National Identity*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009.