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The 'Sister Kingdom' on Display: Ireland in the Space of the British Exhibition, 1851-1911

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Honors Thesis, History Department

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Abstract

British exhibitions of the nineteenth and early twentieth century were spaces that, through the display of colonial objects, promoted European, and specifically British, supremacy. During this period, Ireland occupied a unique position, and after the Act of Union in 1800 it was both a colonized space and a part of the United Kingdom. Through the analysis of seven exhibitions, this paper aims to examine the representation of the Irish in these public and often contested spaces. Ultimately, due to a number of individual agents who utilized the exhibition in order to fulfill a variety of conflicting goals, the narrative of Ireland that emerges is complex. This narrative highlights both the intricacies of the Irish question during this era, as well as the numerous functions of the exhibition.

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Table of Contents

List of Images

Introduction

Beginning in the nineteenth century, museums, exhibitions, and other spaces of display became increasingly popular and aided many imperial powers, including Great Britain, in creating a united imperial identity. Through the particular display and classification of colonial objects, these public spaces helped to promote European, and specifically, British supremacy by elevating the colonizer above the colonized. This can be seen in the Indian Court at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London. The Court was prepared by the East Indian Company and occupied more space than any other British colony. The court was given a prime location in the heart of the Crystal Palace, with India being described as "India the glorious glowing land, the gorgeous and the beautiful; India, the golden prize contended for by Alexander of old, and acknowledged in our day as the brightest jewel in Victoria's crown."[1] At the heart of this glorious display was the Kohinoor diamond, which was 186.5 carats and estimated to be worth between £1 million and £2 million in 1851.[2] This display helped to further portray India as the exotic 'other,' while showing the world the splendors of the British Empire. In addition to impressive luxury items, the Indian Court also contained a wealth of raw materials and resources, which helped to add layers to India's image, casting the colony as a space that, under the control of the British, could be incorporated into an industrial capitalist network

[1] Paul Young, "'Carbon, Mere Carbon': The Kohinoor, The Crystal Palace, and the Mission to Make Sense of British India," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 29, no. 4 (December 2007): 345.
[2] Ibid, 345.

that would benefit the metropole.[3] Even the architecture of these spaces showed British superiority. The Crystal Palace, the building for the Great Exhibition of 1851, was an opulent structure made entirely out of glass and cast-iron and subsequent exhibition spaces in Britain only became larger and more elaborate. Not only could this building been seen as a palace to industry and technology, but also as a very powerful symbol of British engineering and British superiority. It was a cathedral to British production and commerce, as well as empire.

While there have been a number of studies that focus on these spaces of exhibition and the representation of the overseas colonial other, there have not been many discussions about the representation of the different parts of the United Kingdom, specifically Ireland, within the imperial exhibition. Jeffery A. Auerbach discusses the exhibition of the United Kingdom at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in his book *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display,* arguing that the Great Exhibition became a cultural frontline in the struggle for national identity in Britain. Despite this, Auerbach only focuses on the Great Exhibition of 1851 and does not spend much time analyzing Ireland's role. Notably, Louise Purbick discusses the issue of Ireland at the Great Exhibition in her essay "Defining Nation: Ireland at the Great Exhibition of 1851," published in *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* edited by Jeffery A. Auerbach et al. Purbick, however, deals with the issues of Ireland's status as a nation within the space of the exhibition and she only discusses this issue within the context of the Great Exhibition of 1851. There have also been a few sources that discuss the Irish Village in the Franco-

[3] Ibid, 349.

British Exhibition in some detail, including *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture, and Popular Imagination in Victorian and Edwardian England* by Annie E. Coombes, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* by Alexander CT Geppert, and "The Ideal Home (Rule) Exhibition: Ballymaclinton and the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition" by Stephanie Rains. While these accounts do discuss the Irish village at some length, and place it within the larger context of Anglo-Irish relations in the early Edwardian era, they do not discuss the village or the exhibition in connection with other exhibitions or the history of Irish representation at these exhibitions. These accounts also fail to fully encapsulate the complexity of the situation. I hope to build upon this small body of scholarly work and present, through a number of case studies, a larger and more comprehensive view of Ireland's place within the exhibition.

Ireland has always had a complex relationship with England and the larger United Kingdom, which is particularly evident during the nineteenth century, when the Kingdom of Ireland and the Kingdom of Great Britain were politically united and shared a common parliamentary body. Ireland's position within the empire is still a topic of debate among historians, in particular the extent to which Ireland can be seen as a colony or as a province of a composite state. While there are compelling arguments on both sides of the debate, ultimately, I believe that Ireland in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century can be seen as both a colonized space and as part of the metropole. It occupied a unique position and was not quite a formal colony, not an informal colony, but also not an equal part of the United Kingdom. What is clear, however, is that the Irish were perceived as inferior by a

majority of the British during this period, an attitude that goes back to at least the Tudor period, if not earlier. A lot of the research on British perceptions of the Irish or of the Union deal with language and text, and emphasizes the racialization of the Irish that increased during the Victorian period. Not much attention has been given to Ireland's position within the empire and British perceptions of this position in relation to the exhibition.[4] By analyzing the representations of Ireland within a number of exhibitions from this era, ranging from the first mid-century large-scale exhibitions, such as The Great Exhibition of 1851 to later exhibitions such as the Festival of Empire in 1911 and the Irish International Exhibition in 1907, British and Irish perceptions about Ireland and the Union during this long and tumultuous period can be seen through a different lens. Not only do the complexities of the Irish situation become apparent, but so do the complexities of the exhibition space. As Ireland and Britain were experiencing complete unity for the first time, international exhibitions of industry were on the rise in the nineteenth century. These shows were particularly popular in Britain, where they ultimately showed a view of the world with Britain reigning supreme. This popularity and emphasis on British superiority continued into the twentieth century.

If, as it has been argued, these exhibitions created a British view of the world through the objects they presented, then they can tell us a lot about British perceptions of the Irish from the mid-nineteenth century through the first decade of the twentieth. Despite this, exhibitions were more than just propaganda for nations,

[4] For a discussion of this issue, see Kevin Kenny, "The Irish in the Empire," in *Ireland and the British Empire,* ed. Kevin Kenny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

and when the other functions of the exhibition are considered, it becomes clear that there is no one uniformed opinion on the Irish. Through the analysis of contemporary materials such as guidebooks and catalogues, as well as an analysis of a selection of objects and Irish villages, it becomes clear that, while the nature of the displays change, the expected narrative of paternalism from the British towards the Irish is a common thread running throughout the exhibitions. Beginning with the Great Exhibition of 1851, the British portray Ireland as set apart from the rest of the United Kingdom. For the British, the Irish benefit positively from the union between the two kingdoms, and this civilizing narrative is seen numerous times throughout these public spaces. As Irish nationalism and tensions between Britain and Ireland increased at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, the later exhibitions can be seen as an attempt by the British to neutralize what they saw as negative effects of both a growing Irish nationalism and a militant Irish nationalism.

Predictably, there are also a number of contrasting examples of the Irish exerting more control over their representation within the space of the industrial exhibition, whether through hosting their own public spectacles or through the iconography of the objects put on display. These tensions, between British and Irish agents within the space of the exhibition, mirror the political tensions occurring during the second half of the nineteenth century. At that time Irish Home Rule became one of the most prominent and debated issues in the British political sphere. There were not only Unionists and proponents of Home Rule, but also differences of opinion within those broad categories.

Attitudes during this period were not always straightforward and often represented the complexities of the relationship between the two countries. There was no one united idea of Home Rule or of Irish nationalism, and not all British accepted the prevalent stereotypes of the Irish. While these exhibitions, when taken as a whole, promoted a unified view of the world with Britain reigning supreme, there are contradictions present. These contradictions are due in part to the agency of the various organizers of specific exhibits, as well as the numerous functions of the exhibition. Exhibitions were great spaces to disseminate imperial propaganda, and they were most certainly used for this purpose. They were also, however, meant to entertain, to advertise products, and make a profit. These are all important functions to remember when discussing the role of these public spaces in creating certain images or narratives of a particular place or people. Throughout this paper, I will argue that during the Victorian and early Edwardian periods, various British agents utilized the public space of the exhibition to reinforce notions of British paternalism towards the Irish, creating a romanticized image of Ireland as non-threatening and in need of civilizing. In contrast, a number of Irish agents utilized the same public spaces to promote an image of Ireland as industrialized, modern, and capable of Home Rule. Alongside these narratives, a number of British and Irish agents also helped contribute to a more complex picture that emerges in the space of the exhibition, muddling the strict colonizers and colonized binary and reflecting Ireland's complex relationship with Great Britain during this period.

The goal of this paper is to not only analyze a myriad of exhibitions, but also to place them within the larger context of British-Irish relations during this period. I

will begin by discussing the Act of Union and Ireland's position in British society post-union, focusing on why many saw the Irish as an inferior race during this era. Then, in chapter 1 I will begin my discussion of the large-scale international exhibitions. In this chapter, I will focus on issues pertaining to Ireland's position within the Union. I will begin with a brief discussion of the rise of the exhibition in the mid-nineteenth century and then move to my first case study: The Great Exhibition of 1851. During this discussion, I will focus on the numerous narratives found in both the objects and the catalogues. I will then analyze the Great Industrial Exhibition held in Dublin in 1853, focusing on the tensions between Irish desires and British and foreign reception. I will then briefly discuss the other large-scale industrial exhibition in Britain during this era: The International Exhibition of 1862. This chapter will end with a short contextual discussion of the Irish Home Rule movement, showing the numerous perspectives on the issue. The next chapter will focus on the Irish and the colonial village by looking at the changing nature of exhibitions in the later part of the nineteenth century. I will emphasize two case studies: the Franco-British Exhibition in 1908, and the Irish International Exhibition of 1907, and discuss when the Irish were on display and when they displayed others. During the end of the nineteenth century, the nature of exhibitions began to change and they moved from public celebrations of industry to spectacles meant to entertain. The type of displays changed as well, and it became increasingly popular to display people in the space of the exhibition. My third chapter will focus on the various cultural movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that had an impact on Ireland's representation in the space of the exhibition. I will begin

by discussing the three relevant cultural movements: the Gaelic Revival, the Arts and Crafts movement, and the pastoral movement. I will then move onto my case studies of the Irish Exhibition in 1888 and the Donegal Industrial village, the Home Industries Section of the Irish International Exhibition, and the revival of the Irish village of Ballymaclinton at the Festival of Empire in 1911. Each of these chapters will emphasize the complexities inherent in the representation of Ireland within the space of the exhibition, focusing on the different agents and factors that led to the multiple and often conflicting narratives.

Ireland and England: The Act of Union

The time period that this paper deals with, from 1851-1911, is particularly fruitful for Irish studies because it was part of the 122 years when Britain and Ireland were officially politically united, as a result of The Act of Union. English and Irish history has been intertwined since the Middle Ages when England exercised increasing control in Ireland. This culminated in the Crown of Ireland Act of 1542, which established a union between the English and the Irish Crowns, making the King of England the King of Ireland as well. During this era, the Irish were seen by many as barbarians who were not as 'civilized' as the Anglo-Saxon race. Some historians even argue that the English attitudes towards the Irish during this Tudor period helped to form the basis of English (and later British) imperial policy.[5] This relationship, and in particular the English prejudice against the Catholic 'other' in Ireland continued throughout the eighteenth century, although with some

[5] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 24.

modifications. It was also during the eighteenth century that many English farmers and landowners went to Ireland and purchased or were given large sections of land. After 1782-83, Ireland won 'legislative independence' and Ireland was, on paper, a dependent but separate kingdom united only through the shared monarch. The two countries were not technically politically united and they did not share a parliament. In the Irish parliament there was a distinct Irish executive, headed by a lord lieutenant and there was theoretically a separate Irish judiciary branch. In reality though, the British held a fair amount of sway and influence. This influence was at almost every level of the Irish legislative system. The Irish executive was still under the control of the British, through the lord lieutenant, who was a British appointee and an Englishman. The Chief Secretaries were also Englishmen. The Irish House of Commons at the end of the eighteenth century was also under effectively British control and chiefly represented the interests of Protestant (Church of Ireland) landed men.[6]

This set up helped make it possible for the Act of Union to be passed in 1800, after which Britain and Ireland were politically united. The Act of Union officially brought together the British and Irish Parliaments, and therefore joined the Kingdom of Great Britain and the Kingdom of Ireland to create the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. This union lasted from January 1801 until 1922, when, after the Easter Rising and subsequent Irish War of Independence, Ireland split into Northern

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[6] Alvin Jackson, *Ireland 1789-1998: Politics and War,* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 7.

Ireland and the Irish Free State.[7] The Act of Union had many consequences, helping to affect nineteenth century views of Irish nationalism, contributing to the Home Rule Movement, and contributing to British perceptions of the Irish during this period.

The Irish Within Victorian Society

Since the 1990s, there has been an increase in the scholarly work dedicated to the issue of Ireland and the place of the Irish during this period post-union but before the Irish War of Independence, which began in 1919. Many of these more recent works help to complicate the narrative of the Irish in Britain during this era. Works like Donald MacRaild's *The Irish in Britain 1800-1914* (2006) argue that while there were limitations on Irish integration within Britain, the Irish also made a large contribution to the making of modern industrial Britain. Other similar works, such as Roger Swift's *Irish Migrants in Britain, 1815-1914: A Documentary History* (2002), argue that the experience of Irish migrants in Britain and the attitudes towards them were complex and varied with time and place. [8] There have also been a number of studies, including Peter Gray's *Victoria's Ireland?: Irishness and Britishness, 1837-1901* (2004), that discuss how ideas of 'Irishness' and 'Britishness' were described and contested with increasing intensity during Victoria's reign and that the conflict between the two groups remained largely unresolved during this

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[7] Keith Robbins, *Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness* (London: Longman, 1998), 277-278.
[8] Roger Swift, "Identifying the Irish in Victorian Britain: Recent Trends in Historiography," in *Irish Identities in Victorian Britain,* ed. Roger Swift (London: Routledge, 2011), 8.

period. There has also been an emphasis on looking towards the press to examine British perceptions of the Irish. This can be seen in Michael de Nie's book, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (2004), which traces the evolution of the popular understanding of the 'Irish question' in Britain through the relationship between the press, the public, and politicians.[9] Historian Keith Robbins succinctly discusses these complexities in his book *Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness.* Robbins argues that throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some sort of integration took place, and many Irish did melt into mainstream British life. They intermarried, became active in politics (especially in the Labour party), and became socially mobile. At the same time though, a sense of Irishness was maintained due to the geographic proximity and the steady influx of Irish immigrants into Britain.[10] So, while the Irish were historically seen as exclusively ostracized, recent scholarship tells a more intricate story, and these complexities are also mirrored when the relationship is examined through the space of the exhibition.

Despite this recent trend to more closely examine the complexities inherent in the issue of the Irish experience in nineteenth century Britain, there is still a focus within scholarship on the increased racialization of the Irish starting in the mid-nineteenth century. Beginning in the post famine period of the 1850s, discourse in Britain about the Irish became increasing racialized and the Irish were increasingly painted as a different and inferior race. This was seen as part of a larger

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[9] Ibid, 15.
[10] Robbins, *Great Britain,* 281-283.

paternalistic attitude towards the Irish during this period, which continued into the twentieth century. While Scotland during this period was favored by Queen Victoria and seen as a valued, industrial member of the United Kingdom (Glasgow was seen as the second city of the Victorian Empire), the Irish were very much seen by many as the undesirable 'other'. This inferiority was based on religion, class, and Victorian conceptions of race. Britain's collective 'other' since the Reformation had primarily been Catholics. [11]

The tensions between Protestantism and Catholicism, and the conception of Catholics as inferior, had been used to justify the colonization and appropriation of Irish lands starting in the sixteenth century. The rebellions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had made it seem to the British that Ireland had a closer allegiance to Rome than Britain. Starting in the 1840s, there was also a sharp increase in Irish immigration to Britain by people fleeing the famine. This trend peaked in 1861, when the Irish made up 3.5 percent of the British population. In certain areas, such as London, Glasgow, and Liverpool the Irish made up around 20 percent of the population in the mid-nineteenth century. This meant that the Catholicism against which the British had defined themselves over the previous centuries was now increasingly within Britain. Catholicism, and therefore the Irish as a whole, became seen as a potential threat. [12]

The Irish were also seen as an economic threat during this period, both in terms of employment and welfare. This was true in England as well as in Scotland,

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[11] Steve Garner, *Racism in the Irish Experience* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), 114-117.
[12] Ibid, 114-117.

where Irish immigration triggered suspicion and hostility.[13] They were seen by many as both a substitute workforce who would work for lower wages and be willing to break strikes, as well as lazy claimants of the Poor Law funds. The poverty of Irish immigrants was also evident during this period by their susceptibility to air and water-borne illness. The links between poverty and illness were based more on moral ideas in the Victorian era, and it was the Irish's depraved lifestyle that made them more susceptible to these diseases.[14]

This increase in Irish migrants into Britain and the subsequent increase of their perceived threats to British society also coincided with a number of new concepts of race that were emerging during this period. The idea that race constituted the primary classification of the social world was an idea that had been gaining in popularity since the Enlightenment, and by the nineteenth century, it was a concept that was firmly established on both sides of the Atlantic. In Britain, there was also the idea that there were internal categories within the main racial categories of white, yellow, red, and black. The idea of a hierarchy within the white race goes back centuries and the notion of the weaker Celt was used as justification for England to conquer Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. It was in the mid-nineteenth century, in the post-famine era, that this old discourse started reappearing with force, particularly in regards to the Irish. During this era, these ideas were particularly potent because they were seen as being backed up by natural science

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[13] Robbins, *Great Britain*, 283.
[14] Garner, *Racism in the Irish Experience*, 118.

and a number of new social sciences, such as sociology, ethnology, and anthropology, were founded around these ideas.

Robert Knox, a Scottish surgeon and an influential figure in the issues of race in the Victorian era, had been arguing that race was about both color and culture since the 1840s.[15] His major work *The Races of Men* was published in 1850. In this work, Knox argued that the Celts were a separate and inferior race from the Saxons and that extending English laws and liberties into Ireland would have no long-term effect on the Celt. To him, the Celts could not be changed. He wrote, "The experiment has been going on already for 700 years. I will concede you seven times 700 more, but this will not alter the Celt."[16] For him Ireland was, like India, a country inhabited by a separate race. Knox took his discourse a step further by also writing that " The [Celtic] race must be forced from the soil; by fair means, if possible; still they must leave. England's safety requires it."[17] Knox's ideas would have been widely disseminated in the 1850s and were very influential. They were reproduced and simplified in popular publications of the era, such as *Punch*, and would also have been seen in more mainstream publications, such as the times.[18] These ideas were also expressed by numerous groups within Britain: Keir Hardie, a Scottish socialist also spoke of the Irish collier as one with "a big shovel, a strong back and a weak

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[15]Ibid, 123-124.
[16] Edward G. Lengel, *The Irish Through British Eyes: Perceptions of Ireland in the Famine Era*, (London: Praeger, 2002), 120.
[17] Ibid, 120.
[18] Garner, *Racism in the Irish Experience, 125.*

brain."[19] While Charles Kingsley, an English priest of the Church of England, wrote to his wife in 1860 calling the Irish "white chimpanzees."[20]

These perceptions mark a break from the past view of the union as a peaceful 'marriage' between England and Ireland. For Knox, and many others in this period, the Saxons and the Celts were seen as racially incompatible.[21] Many of these ideas, as previously seen, were disseminated through text-based sources. While these sources were among the main ways that many Victorians would have gained access to these ideas, there were other ways in this era for Britons to be exposed to important ideas of science, imperialism, and nations. In particular, the international and colonial exhibitions were hugely popular and can be seen as spaces for the dissemination of many important concepts and trends of the era. Through my research, I have found that, while this racialized narrative of Ireland was not explicitly being played out within the public space of the exhibition, the larger narrative of British imperial paternalism did play a role in the representation of the Irish. Despite this, there were other narratives also emerging in these public spaces, ultimately painting a more complex picture of Ireland's tangled relationship with Great Britain.

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[19]Robbins, *Great Britain,* 281.
[20] Lengel, *The Irish Through British Eyes,* 129.
[21] Garner, *Racism in the Irish Experience,* 121.

Chapter 1: International Exhibitions and Ireland's Place Within the Union

As Great Britain and Ireland struggled with their new political union, international exhibitions of culture and industry were becoming increasingly popular and the act of mounting these large-scale exhibitions was seen as a defining feature of modernity. For a city to host an exhibition meant that they were elevated to the status of a world city and as one contemporary observer noted in 1883, "The utility of exhibitions has been so universally recognized that they have become an institution in every country that pretends to a fair share of civilization."[22] Objects from Britain, her colonies, and countries around the world were displayed and ordered in a system of classification and each object was given a specific spot in this ideally ordered world that promoted British supremacy.[23] The emphasis at these large-scale, mid-century, international exhibitions (such as the Great Exhibition of 1851) was on industry, modernity, and celebrating the nation-state. If that was the case, what role did an arguably marginalized group within the United Kingdom, such as the Irish, play in these public spaces of display and national competition? What can these exhibitions tell us about the complexities of Ireland's situation within the Union, as well as the complexities of the Irish question?

The following chapter attempts to answer these questions by first briefly examining the important of these exhibitions, and the objects displayed within them. Then, I will analyze four of these large-scale international exhibitions: The

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[22] Alexander C.T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siecle Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1-2.
[23] Ibid, 7.

Great Exhibition of 1851 held in London, the Great Industrial Exhibition held in Dublin in 1853, the International Exhibition held in London in 1862, and the Irish International Exhibition held in Dublin in 1907. By focusing on these events and analyzing how the Irish were represented, both in the iconography and placement of objects, as well as in the text of guidebooks, catalogues, and newspapers, I hope to examine how Ireland fit into this narrative of British national pride and supremacy. What emerges is a series of complex, and often contradictory narratives that shed light on the intricacies inherent in Ireland's position within the Union and the myriad of opinions on Irish nationalism and Home Rule during this period. These case studies help to prove that British and foreign audiences were presented with a number of images of Ireland as related to the United Kingdom, and that no one, straightforward picture arises.

Defining Modernity: Exhibitions of Culture and Industry

As previously mentioned, these exhibitions became popular in the mid-nineteenth century, and often acted as spaces of national propaganda. Tony Bennett, a professor of cultural studies and scholar of museums, argues in his essay, *The Exhibitionary Complex*, museums and other spaces of exhibitions were increasing in popularity during a time in which other important institutions of the state were developing. Bennett relates the emergence of museums and other institutions of display to Michel Foucault's discussion of institutions of confinement, such as the asylum, the clinic, and the prison. These institutions were also developed in the nineteenth century and Foucault argues that they can be viewed as symbols of state power and knowledge. While Foucault is studying the shift of bodies and objects

from a sphere of public display of power into more private settings, as incarceration became the norm for punishment, Bennett argues that museums can be seen as doing the opposite. Objects and bodies that were displayed in private and restricted spaces were now being moved to public and open spaces, such as the international exhibitions of the nineteenth century. While discipline as a public display of institutional power was declining, museums and other institutions were becoming vehicles for inscribing and transferring messages of state power.[24] This means that in the mid-nineteenth century, more people were gaining access to exhibitions and museums, which allowed a wider British public to experience the messages of state power inscribed in these official, public spaces. In the case of Ireland, as I will discuss in subsequent chapters, these narratives of state power were important, but only part of a larger picture.

One of the main ways these messages were disseminated to the public was through objects. With their layers of meaning, objects became increasingly important in these new public spaces of display, and they helped to shape ideas of imperialism and national identities. When discussing this increasing importance of objects in the nineteenth century, art historian Tim Barringer adapts historian Thomas Richards' theory of the imperial archive and applies it to the space of the museum. Richards argues that by meeting the administrative challenge of the British Empire, data in the form of maps and surveys, censuses, and statistics were collected, classified, and placed into the imagined imperial archive. For the British,

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[24] Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," *New Formations*, no.4 (Spring 1988): 73-74.

this was an attempt to further claim control over their far reaching-empire by collecting and gathering as much information and data as they could.[25] Barringer argues that the acquisition of objects from areas where Britain had colonial or proto-colonial interests, and the subsequent ordering and display of these objects in a museum, created a three-dimensional imperial archive. The movement of objects from the peripheries of the empire to the metropole in London greatly altered how the objects were understood.[26] This concept can also be applied to the British international exhibition. In addition to data from around the empire, objects, raw materials, and machinery from around the empire and around the world were collected, ordered, and displayed. Like in the case of the imagined imperial archive, this process helped the British to further claim and control their colonies. By displaying colonial and foreign objects as inferior to British goods, a narrative of British supremacy emerges.

These exhibitions also help to shed light on the importance of industry and its relationship to power during this era. Britain's industry in the nineteenth century, fueled by an increase in international trade, a growing middle class, and an increase in consumer goods and consumer culture, experienced unprecedented expansion. Its imports and exports increased and Britain emerged in the Victorian period as the world's most powerful trading nation. All of this growth was a direct result of the industrial revolution, which, fueled by steam power, began to change

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[25] For a more in-depth discussion of this concept, see Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and The Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993).
[26] Tim Barringer, "The South Kensington Museum and the Colonial Project," in *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*, eds. Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (London: Routledge, 1997), 11.

Britain economically and socially starting in the 1700s. Steam power radically improved a number of Britain's core industries, such as the production of textiles, mining of coal, and metalwork. International trade was also on the rise and from 1809 to 1839, Britain's exports tripled. Tied to this increased economic and industrial growth was also increased stratification within the British class system. Within this was also an emphasis on classification and moral concepts such as improvement and self-help. It was believed that people could rise up in society only through hard work and integrity. Thus, the concept of industry took on a moral connotation in the Victorian period.[27] All of these concepts can be seen at work in the space of the international exhibition, where national character was defined by industry and a palace was created solely for the celebration of manufacturing and industrialization.

The First Large British Exhibition: The Great Exhibition (1851, London)

The first of the British international exhibitions was The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, or Great Exhibition, that was held in London in 1851, and organized by members of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Henry Cole, and English civil servant and inventor, and the Society's president, Prince Albert, both played large roles in organizing the exhibition.[28] They envisioned the exhibition as a tribute to industry and when discussing the plan, Prince Albert painted a picture of a plethora of raw materials,

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[27] Paul Atterbury. "Steam & Speed: Industry, Power, and Social Change in 19th century Britain," *Victoria and Albert Museum,* accessed December 7, 2012, http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/s/industry-power-and-social-change/.
[28] Hermione Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition* (London: The Athlone Press, 2002), 1.

representing the best the world could produce. He also spoke of the benefits to British industry from competition with other nations.[29] The Royal Commission, which was created in order to oversee the planning of the exhibition, worked with local commissions and traveled across Britain in order to publicize the exhibition, appealing to national glory, local pride, and commercial well-being.[30] The exhibition, opened to the public on May 1, 1851, was held in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park and contained 100,000 exhibits from countries around the world. The *Illustrated Exhibitor* described the space as a cathedral, with one long avenue that was intersected by a transept, which divided the building in half. Britain and her colonies occupied the western half of the building, while the eastern end was occupied by the foreign displays.[31] On the western side of the Crystal Palace, each colony had a court, such as the Indian Court, where various objects were displayed. The emphasis, then, was placed on national glory and the progress and strength of the nation-state.[32] The event ran five months and was a huge success, attracting a myriad of visitors from around the world to view what was seen as the eighth wonder of the world.[33] It was the first extremely successful, large-scale exhibition and it helped to set the precedent for subsequent similar events across Europe. The stated goal of the exhibition was to bring the works of industry from all nations

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[29] Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 27.
[30] Ibid, 23.
[31] John Cassell, "Introduction," *The Illustrated Exhibitior: A Tribute to the World's Industrial Jubilee; Comprising Sketches, By Pen and Pencil, or the Principal Objects in the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, 1851,* June 7, 1851, 9.
[32] Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," *New Formations,* no.4 (Spring 1988): 94.
[33] Ibid, 9.

together, in a celebration of progress and labor. In the words of Henry Cole, "A great people invited all civilized nations to a festival, to bring into comparison the works of all human skill."[34]In the contemporary literature, such as guidebooks and reviews, there is an emphasis on this idea of cooperation, human production, and a celebration of labor. This is exemplified in one of the guidebooks, written by John Tallis, who states:

> One of the distinguishing characteristics of the Great Exhibition is its vast comprehensiveness. Nothing was too stupendous, too rare, too costly for its consideration. Every possible invention and appliance for the service of man found a place with its embracing limits; every realization of human genius, every effort of human industry might be contemplated therein, from the most consummate elaboration of the profound intellect, to the simplest contrivance of uneducated thought.[35]

Again, the focus here is on industry, human innovation, and the inclusion of all nations who are industrialized.

Given the emphasis on British strength and imperial power, Britain, and the larger United Kingdom, was represented in a number of ways throughout the exhibition space. While the bulk of the objects came from England, there were a number of objects, both textiles and other manufactured goods, from Ireland on display. There were also a number of objects that referenced or represented Ireland. When looking at a number of the objects and the arrangement of the space, it seems as if Ireland is represented as being on equal footing with the rest of the United Kingdom. This is not surprising given the patriotic nature of the event. In the case of

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[34] Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition,* xix.

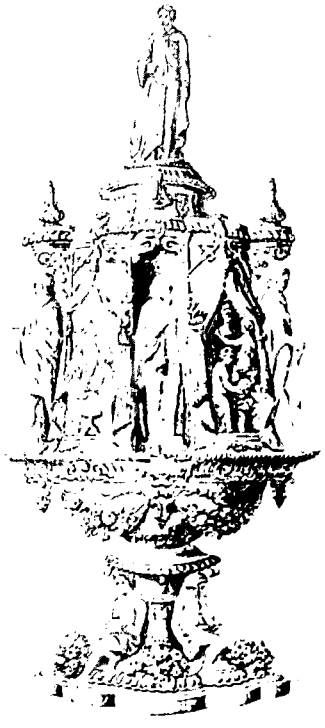
[35] John Tallis, *Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace, and the Exhibition of the World's Industry in 1851* (London: John Tallis&Co., 1852), 207.

the Great Exhibition of 1851, there were a number of English objects that represented all parts of the United Kingdom working together to produce greatness. The iconography of these objects is national and does not just focus on one single portion of the United Kingdom.

One object containing this national iconography was an eighty-blade knife created by Joseph Rodgers & Sons of Sheffield. The knife had a gold handle that represented many national signs of Britain, including Windsor Castle, and the Britannia Bridge, a railroad bridge in Wales, which was completed in 1850 and considered a feat of engineering. Here, the object is painting an image of an industrial Britain that includes outlying areas, such as Wales. The grandest nationalistic object, and most overt in its message, was a vase designed by Watherston & Brogden, a London silversmith (Fig. 1). The vase depicts Britannia, the personification of Britain (England and Wales), Scotia, the personification of Scotland, and Hibernia, the personification of Ireland. These figures were surrounded by four heads representing the four corners of the globe. Below the figures were diamonds in the shape of the rose, thistle, and shamrock, which were the national symbols of Britain, Scotland, and Ireland. Surrounding the body of the vase were relief sculptures depicting Britons, Romans, Saxons, Normans, and the Battle of Hastings, all different periods in British history. Under the relief were sculptures of famous British figures, such as Nelson, Wellington, Newton, Watt, Milton, and Shakespeare crowned in laurel wreaths.[36] These objects helped to portray a national image where Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland were all part

[36] Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 112-113.

of one nation. Britain's greatness was a product of the coming together of these regions. Not only was the image national, but it was one of industrial strength.



35. Patriotic vase, by Watherston and Brogden.

Fig. 1: Watherston & Brogden Vase, Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851,* 113

By including all parts of the United Kingdom in a narrative of industrial might and strength, these two objects can be seen as celebrating a positive union of the two kingdoms: Great Britain and Ireland. The iconography paints the image of both of these kingdoms helping the United Kingdom achieve industrial and therefore political power. These objects show Ireland as a contributing part of the United Kingdom. This can be seen in the classification and placement of Irish objects as well. Even though Ireland had its own 'court,' it was firmly placed within the British

section on the western side of the Crystal Palace (Fig. 2). This is important because the nature of classification within the Great Exhibition of 1851 helped to portray British supremacy. One of the key features of the mid-century industrial exhibition was that it moved away from earlier modes of display that were influenced by principles of scientific classification and notions of progress. These older modes of display placed like objects together, putting the more 'simple' objects first and then moved to the more 'complex' objects, focusing on order and progress. In the case of the Great Exhibition of 1851, objects were placed according the nations, which tended to further highlight constructs of empire and race. Within each nation, objects were divided into their categories, but within the space of the exhibition, the focus was on national achievement. That does not mean that there were no comparisons made between countries, but these occurred in the numerous guides and catalogues that were produced for both exhibitions. In the physical space of the Great Exhibition, Ireland was placed within the British section and many of the objects placed her within the larger context of British industry and manufactured goods. The "sister kingdom"[37] as Ireland was sometimes referred to, was seen through the majority of the British crafted symbolism and display of the exhibition, as taking part with the rest of the United Kingdom in order to promote British glory.

[37] Because the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was formed through the Act of Union in 1800, Ireland was often referred to as the sister kingdom, particularly in situations where she was being portrayed as equal or similar to Great Britain. This can be seen in a quote discussed later in the paper from Cassell's *Illustrated Exhibitor* from 1851.

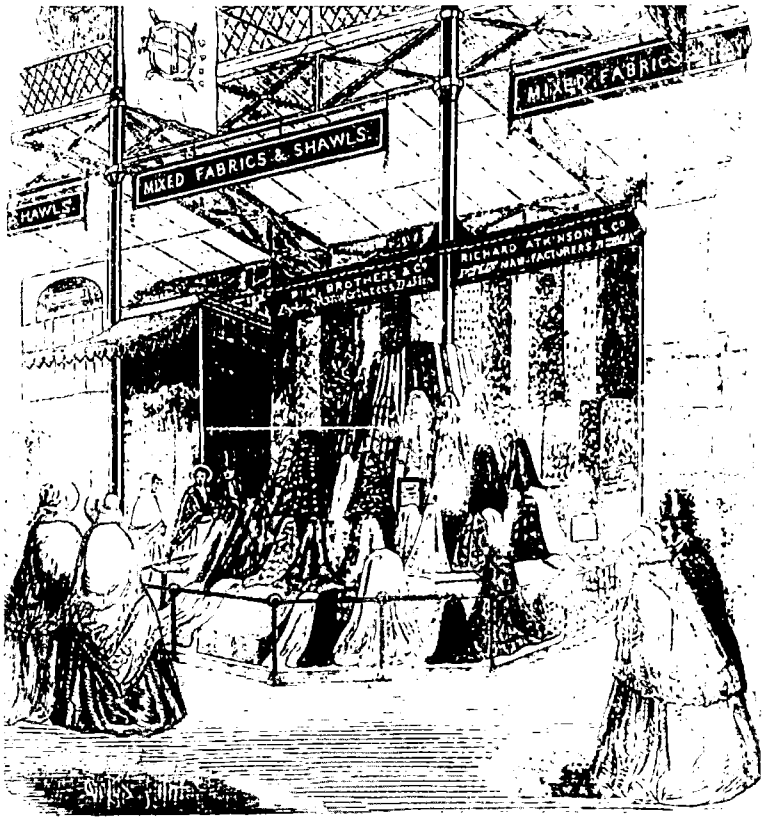


Fig. 2 : The Irish Court, Cassell, "Ireland's Contributions to the World's Fair," 145

Narratives of the Irish were also disseminated to the British public through the catalogues and guidebooks, which were a very important part of these events. As Barringer argues, the museum can be seen as a cultural formation, and the objects within it are interpreted by the viewer based on labels, guides, catalogues, and lectures, as well the other texts and images within the space.[38] The meaning of an object was very much informed both by the space it inhabited, as well as by the supplementary materials that were produced for the occasion. Unlike modern day museums, at these exhibitions there were no text-labels or extensive didactic panels that described the context of the objects or helped to explain iconography. Instead,

[38] Barringer, "The South Kensington Museum and the Colonial Project,"11.

there were a number of printed guides and catalogues that were produced by publishing houses and sold to the public. This is how visitors to the exhibition got their information about the objects, where they were from, and what they represented or meant. While not all guides had interpretation, many of them did. In the case of the two international exhibitions, over 6 million people saw each exhibition and many of them would have purchased one of the numerous texts produced for the occasions. It was through these texts that the many members of the British public understood the objects and messages on display. They were also seen as "an enduring record, in the most perfect shape, of the exhibition itself."[39] These catalogues and guides frequently created a very different picture of Ireland than the objects on display. What comes through is a narrative that is often patronizing and emphasizes Ireland's progress within the context of aid from England. As previously mentioned, Ireland had her own court within the British section of the Great Exhibition of 1851. Due to the inclusion of an Irish Court, Ireland and her objects were also singled out in the majority of the publications relating to the exhibition, including the *Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue* and the *Illustrated Exhibitor,* which dedicated a whole issue to the objects of Ireland.

The Illustrated Exhibitor was a journal written and published by John Cassell, an English book publisher. While is does not seem like Cassell had any particularly strong feeling either way about Ireland in his personal life, his publication proved to be quite popular and Cassell printed other editions for many subsequent exhibitions held in London. Cassell was born to working class parents in Manchester and began

[39] Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition,* 51.

his career as a carpenter. Heavily influenced and involved in the Temperance Movement, Cassell moved to London and started a temperance publishing office and bookshop on the Strand. He then moved to producing cheap and popular books for the masses.[40] According to a nineteenth-century encyclopedia of key booksellers and publishers, *The Illustrated Exhibitor* was "a comprehensive and well-executed scheme intended to preserve a permanent reflection of the World's Great Fair. This same idea was successfully repeated in 1862."[41] Cassell published a new *Illustrated Exhibitor* every month from June to December, and what set the publications apart from other exhibition guidebooks and catalogues was the quantity of illustrations Cassell included. The periodical was so successful, that in its last month its circulation had reached 100,000.[42] It was the proliferation of images, as well as the number of editions (8) and the relatively low price of 2 pence a copy that helped to differentiate the publication from other guides and catalogues of the Great Exhibition. For these reasons, *The Illustrated Exhibitor* is one of the main primary sources for the Great Exhibition of 1851, as well as for the Great Exhibition of 1862. It was also the only publication, again due to the sheer number of editions, to dedicate an entire edition to Ireland.

It was the August 1851 edition of the *Illustrated Exhibitor* that was dedicated to the Irish Court and Ireland's presence at the exhibition. In this edition, Cassell wrote:

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[40] Henry Curwin, *A History of Booksellers, The Old and the New* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1873), 267-270.
[41] Ibid, 271.
[42] Cassell & Company, *The Story of the House of Cassell* (London: Cassell & Company, 1922), 18.

> There is hope for Ireland. In no political or party spirit do we use these words—for politics and party spirit have no place in the Illustrated Exhibitor. But we repeat, There is Hope for Ireland—strong, vigorous, lively hope; -- Hope in the warm, generous, kindly hearts of her people; Hope in the industry of hard hands, and the energy of thoughtful minds; Hope in the clearer day which is dawning upon her green valleys, and shining out above the sterile mountain-tops that overlook them; Hope in the evidences of enterprise and skill exhibited in every object which she has placed in the Glass Palace of Hyde-park. Time was when Englishmen looked askance at anything -- human or otherwise -- coming from the Green Isles; -- but that time has passed: why should we say anything about it? In the Great Exhibition of All Nations Ireland has once again, and successfully, asserted herself in the inventive genius and industrial skill of her inhabitants; and none who wonder through the space allotted to the sister kingdom, and gaze thoughtfully upon the objects exhibited, will fail to acknowledge the fact of Ireland's advancement in the scale of nations.[43]

This narrative is two-fold. On the one hand, Cassell is putting politics aside, and once again referencing the 'sister kingdom,' which was frequently an Ireland put on equal terms with the rest of the United Kingdom. He is stating that in the case of the Great Exhibition, the objects from Ireland lived up to the standard set by other Western nations. The skill and industrial power of the nation was on display. Ireland has, according to Cassell, advanced herself among the "scale of nations." The quote, however, also tells a narrative of betterment and improvement. Ireland has advanced in terms of her industry, but she is not yet on the same plane as other nations. Through the use of Cassell's language, especially the repetition of the word "hope," Ireland's progress is firmly framed within a narrative of paternalism and Ireland is set apart from the other parts of the United Kingdom. Scotland, Wales, and England are not mentioned separately; and instead are assumed to be a part of the

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[43] John Cassell, "Ireland's Contributions to the World's Fair," *The Illustrated Exhibitor,* August 2, 1851,141-142.

glorious depiction of Great Britain. Ireland's participation, however, has to be qualified and explained. By emphasizing that there is hope for Ireland, Cassell is not setting aside politics, as he stated at the beginning of the quote, and instead relying on the prevailing paternalistic attitudes towards the Irish. Ireland's modernity and status as a nation has increase, yet she is still singled out and not as modern as Britain.

Cassell's message of inferiority and betterment can also be seen in many other guides that have sections devoted purely to Ireland's objects. Scotland and Wales are always placed together, along with England as Great Britain, and never mentioned separately as places of hope or improvement, or even mentioned separately at all. This narrative of inferiority can also be seen in the judging process. The jury that judged linen in 1851 stated, "Ireland is producing, very extensively, both lawns and handkerchiefs, more distinguished, without doubt, in the lower and middle priced qualities for general consumption than in the extremely fine goods."[44] Again, here Ireland has made progress, and she is producing objects, but the objects, and thus Ireland's industry, are clearly inferior. In the case of the Irish linen objects discussed in the above quote, Irish produced objects are clearly somehow lacking in aesthetic qualities.

This was a common narrative found in numerous written texts from the period. Ireland's success at manufacturing was good and improving, but not up to

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[44] "Class XVI. Report on Manufactures from Flax and Hemp," *Reports by the Juries on The Subjects in the Thirty Classes Into Which the Exhibition was Divided* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1851), 369.

standard. There is always "hope" for Ireland, or her objects were seen as good, but not luxury quality. This is particularly important in the nineteenth century, when there was a strong connotation between industry, morality, and nationhood. Despite the objects in the exhibitions and their emphasis on Ireland as a part of the metropole, the British produced and created guidebooks and catalogues that tell the story of a nation set apart from the rest of the United Kingdom. While these texts discuss improvement, they also affirm the stereotype of Ireland as "backwards" and less modern than the rest of Britain. These narratives also reaffirm the stereotype of the less-competent, and often lazy Irish worker. The British public, who would rely on these texts for interpretation, were being given narratives that showed Irish improvement, yet also emphasized the country's inferiority and difference.

There was, however, a counter-narrative present in 1851 that was connected to a particular group of objects. Arthur Jones of Dublin designed all of these objects and most are carved out of Bog-Yew, an ancient wood preserved in peat. Out of all of the objects from Ireland in the Great Exhibition of 1851, this group by Arthur Jones got the most press and they were mentioned in almost every guidebook and publication. One of the objects was a Music Temple that displayed Ireland's many references to Irish mythology and Irish history. The object depicts the ancient Palace of Tara. A statue of Ollamh Fouldla, the mythical founder of the Irish monarchy and the Palace of Tara, is placed on top of the palace with all of Ireland mapped out below him. In his right hand he holds the Beechen Boards, upon which are inscribed passages from the Brehon Laws—"'Seven things bear witness to a King's improper conduct. An unlawful opposition in the Senate. An overstraining of

the Law. An overthrow in Battle. A Dearth. Barrenness in Cows. Blight of Fruit. Blight of seed in the ground. These are seven candles lighted to expose the misgovernment of a King." [45] Thus, he is shown as both a ruler and a lawmaker. The front panel contains a relief sculpture that depicts the opening of the Triennial Convention at the Palace of Tara in the early part of the third century. The entire object reads like a chronology of Irish history, starting with the date 700 B.C. and the supposed founding of the Irish Monarchy and ending with the present agricultural age of Ireland in 1851.[46] It can be read as a celebration of Irish pre-invasion history, that is the history of Ireland before English involvement. The majority of the iconography depicted in the image is taken from Irish mythology and folklore, and has nothing to do with the rest of Britain. Ollamh Fouldla, an ancient but fictional Irish king, and the Palace of Tara, the center of high-kingship in medieval Ireland, are important parts of ancient Irish history.[47] Both steeped in legend and history, they harken back to a time of powerful Irish kings and the glory days of Celtic culture. These myths and images celebrate an Ireland with its own past that is separate from the past of England. Here, Jones is stating that Ireland is a nation with its own ancient history and its own customs, apart from those of England or the rest of Britain.

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[45] Cassell, "Ireland's Contributions to the World's Fair," 164-165; *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue, The Industry of All Nations 1851* (London: George Virtue, 1981), 263.
[46] Ibid, 263.
[47] Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, *Myth, Legend, & Romance: An Encyclopedia of the Irish Folk Tradition* (New York: Prentice Hall Press, 1991), 352, 400-402.

This embrace of pre-invasion history is even stronger in the teapoy (a small three-legged table) created by Jones (Fig. 3). The *Illustrated Exhibitor* describes the object, a small table, as such:

> The article, forming a receptacle for foreign produce, has been designed to represent the Ancient Commerce of Ireland: thus a figure of Commerce is placed on the summit, surrounded by the exports of Ireland. Emblematical bustos, copied from Flaxman's figures on the south front of the Custom-house, Dublin, representing the four divisions of the earth, embellish the four corners; and behind each, on the lid of the teapoy, are groupings characteristic of the Military, Scientific, and Literary Genius of the four great divisions of the ancient world. The intermediate spaces contain specimens of their most remarkable vegetable productions. The front panel, in bas relief, represents Hibernia inviting Commerce (symbolized by a Tyrian merchant galley) to the shores of Ireland: she is seated beneath the basalt cliffs of the Giant's Causeway-the giant deer on its heights. The article being specially a lady's piece of furniture, the appropriate legendary ballad of 'Rich and rare were the gems she wore," by Thomas Moore, Esq., furnish three scenes to enrich the other fronts. The support of this elaborate piece of workmanship presents the Chase of the Giant Deer by Wolf Dogs: the noble animal appears bounding through the oak and forest, and suddenly entangled by his antlers-the dogs rushing to their prey.[48]

This object depicts the personification of Ireland, Hibernia, welcoming Commerce to Ireland, surrounded by many symbols and images important to Ireland and Irish history. The wolf-hounds and deer depicted on the base of the object are two important and ancient animals in Irish mythology and folklore.[49] Again, this object portrays Ireland as its own nation, with its own history, tradition, myths, and symbols. By using symbols of nationhood, such as Hibernia, the national symbol for Ireland, and the Custom House in Dublin, it is asserting itself as it own national

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[48] Cassell, "Ireland's Contributions to the World's Fair," 144.
[49] James MacKillop, *A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 129.

space. Ireland here, in the portrayal of the "ancient Commerce of Ireland," is seen as a land of abundance, as a nation already civilized and active in trade. As with the previous Jones object, in the pre-invasion era, Ireland is depicted as prosperous and independent, not starving and in need of help from Britain, as was often the narrative and stereotype promoted after the Irish potato famine. Irish economy, history, and culture are all represented and glorified in this object. The lack of British symbols, and use of Iris national and cultural symbols such as Hibernia, Giant's Causeway, and important animals such as the deer and wolf-hound all help to illuminate a history and culture that is specifically Celtic. By placing the economic symbols relating to the economic development of Ireland within this context of specifically Celtic and not British history, Ireland comes across as a capable, modern, and self-sufficient nation. Even the material, bog-yew, relates to the narrative of a prosperous pre-invasion history. The inclusion of these objects goes against the paternalistic narrative found in the catalogues and guidebooks, as well as in the more patriotic objects. Here, Ireland is portrayed as a space with its own, validated history, which is something that sets it apart from the British colonies represented in the exhibitions.

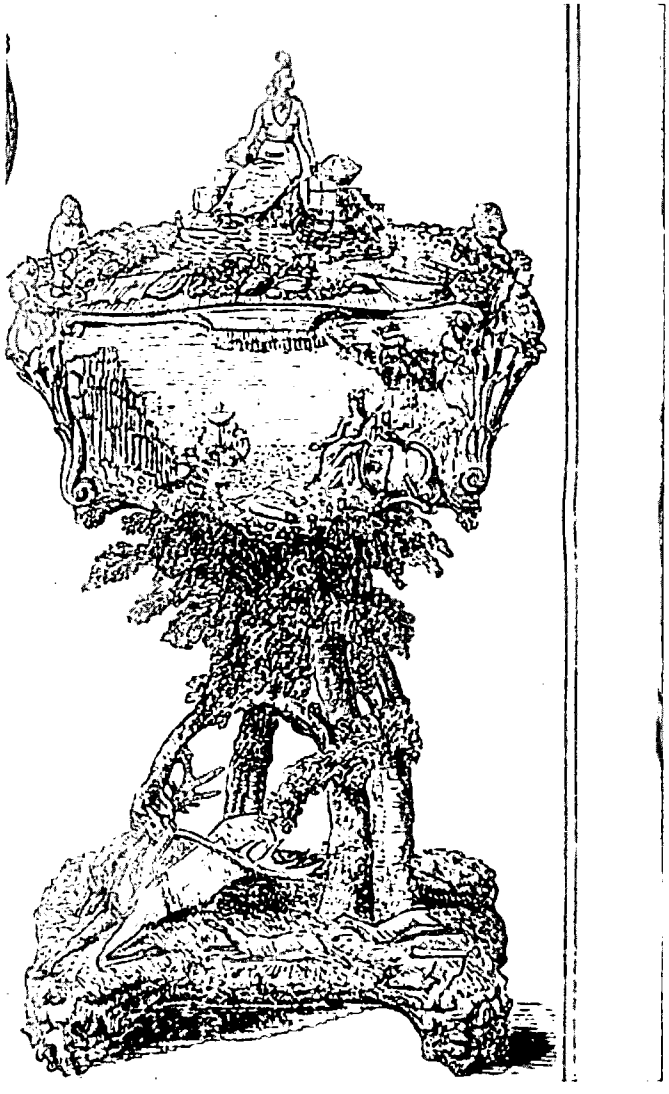

Fig. 3 : Teapoy by Arthur Jones, Cassell, "Ireland's Contributions to the World's Fair," 144

As portrayed by an Irish artist, Ireland emerges as an ancient and noble kingdom, able to take care of herself. Not only does Jones' use of iconography depict this narrative, but it is important to note that the celebration of pre-invasion history and Irish capability is seen in Cassell's publication. Despite being British, when descripting these objects, the nationalistic meaning seeps through. He explains the iconography and discusses the Irish history and myth. Cassell seems to understand

the nationalism inherent in these objects, and by including this nationalism in his description, he helped to disseminate their meaning to the larger British public. One of the narratives available for British viewers, then, was this narrative of pre-invasion Irish history and the celebration of Irish ability. This very different than the Ireland seen in other areas of the Great Exhibition, where she is either depicted on equal footing with the rest of the United Kingdom, or seen as inferior or less than the rest of Britain. This counter-narrative shows up again in the Great Industrial Exhibition held in Dublin just two year later in 1853.

Industry in Ireland: The Great Industrial Exhibition (1853, Dublin)

The Great Industrial Exhibition held in Dublin in 1853 was Ireland's first international exhibition, and it was held in the hope that the event would stimulate economic growth and industrialization in the immediate aftermath of the potato famine. According to the organizers, the goal of the exhibition was, "to render Ireland that which she is so eminently qualified to become...a manufacturing country..."[50] The idea for the exhibition stemmed from the success of the Royal Dublin Society's industrial and scientific exhibitions, which had been held since 1834, in addition to the huge success of the Great Exhibition of 1851. The event was conceived and fully funded by William Dargan, a wealthy Irish railroad owner, who wrote to the Royal Dublin Society and proposed to expand the industrial exhibition

[50] Tammy Lau, "Dublin 1853," *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions,* eds. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, (London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2008), 15.

into an international exhibition and fund the entire process.[51] The Royal Dublin Society agreed, and Dargan loaned the between £15,000 and £20,000 to complete the lavish building, which was constructed by John Benson of Cork. While the building was called Dublin's Crystal Palace, it differed greatly in design and size from the Crystal Palace of 1851. In addition to Dargan, Cusack P. Rooney and John C. Deane, other industrial leaders in Ireland, also helped to organize the exhibition.[52] According to the history section of the *Practical Mechanic's Journal Record of the Great Exhibition of 1862*, the building was completed in just 200 days and consisted of a great central hall and a vaulted roof and semicircular domes at the end, with two similar but smaller galleries on each side. The Central Hall, a 425 feet long and 100 feet wide, was longer and more than a fourth wider that the transept of London 1851 Crystal Palace, but the building as a whole was only about one-third the size.[53] The main Central Hall (Fig. 4) contained many prominent objects and from the catalogue, it is clear that the objects selected were meant to showcase Ireland's industrial ability. Not only was it implied at the time that manufacturing and industry were important, but the official catalogue of the 1853 exhibition states outright about the machinery department: "This department is the most important in the entire Exhibition, for the class of objects which it contains have ever been the most potent instruments of man's dominion and progress."[54]

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[51] "Record of the Great Exhibition of 1862," *The Practical Mechanic's Journal,* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), 16.
[52] Lau, "Dublin 1853," 15.
[53] Ibid, 17.
[54] *Official Catalogue of the Great Industrial Exhibition (in connection with the Royal Society), 1853* (Dublin: John Falconer, 1853), 16.

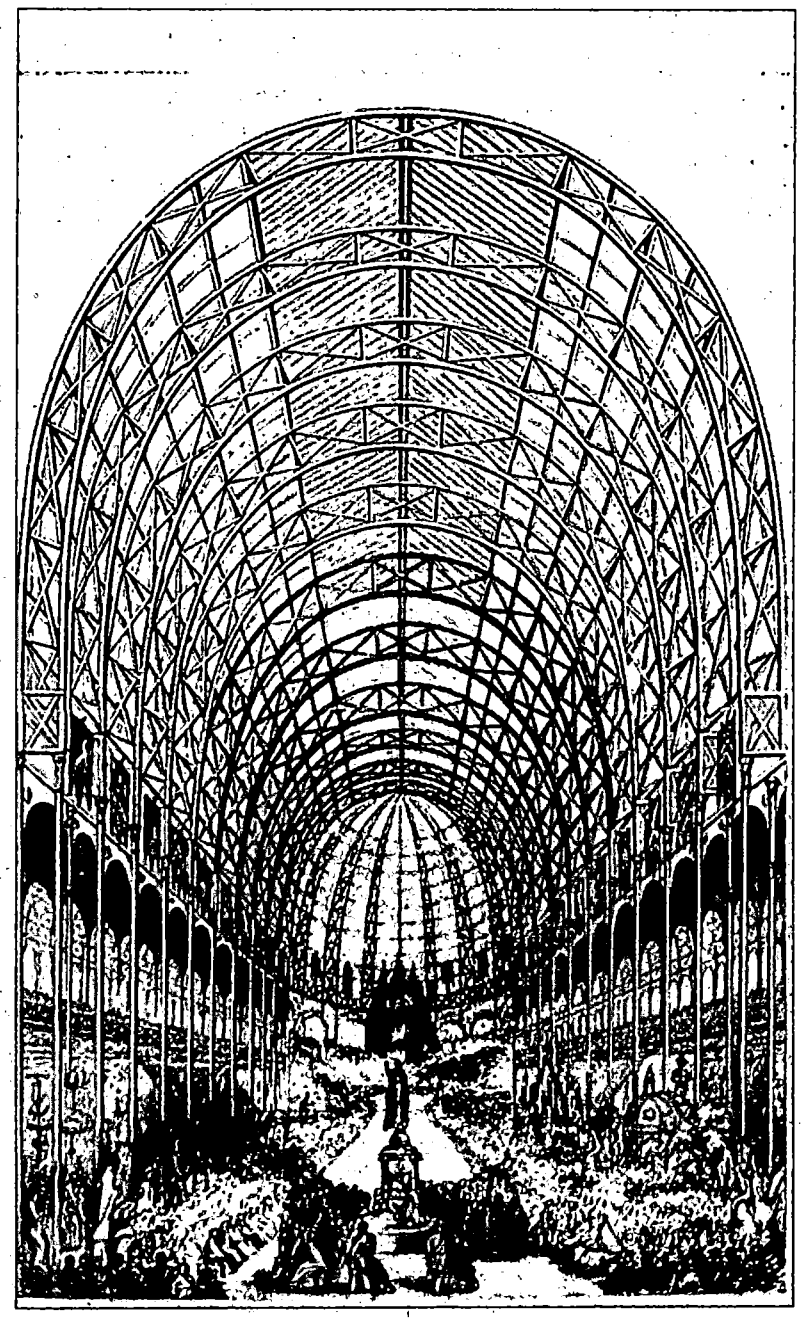

Fig. 4: Interior of Irish Crystal Palace, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue of its Contents*

Since the goal was clearly to emphasize Ireland and her connection with industry and machinery, the Central Hall contained many ornate and splendid objects from Irish companies, including brocaded and gold tissued poplins (a plain-woven fabric with a carded surface), detailed handcrafted lace, silks, velvets, a mahogany and brass mounted Irish poplin loom, famous antiquities of Ireland carved in bog oak, and jewelry and other decorative objects created from bog wood and precious stone. While these objects were clearly meant to speak to the success of Irish production, it is important to note that the Irish and British sections were not separated, and there were also many British companies exhibiting objects in the Central Hall. There was also a grand equestrian statue of Queen Victoria, as well as a number of other statues of prominent British and Irish aristocracy.[55]

The exhibition was met with mixed reviews throughout the United Kingdom, but some papers were optimistic. *The Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* of Dublin stated: "With the exception of the Crystal Palace, we can affirm that it will excel in all respects anything of the kind hitherto attempted."[56] Other papers, such as *The Standard* of London, however, were quick to report on the obstacles that faced the organizers, or highlight objects from Britain or other countries, but not Ireland. This aligns with other, expected nationalistic narratives. Certain Irish papers, as well as many of the official guidebooks and catalogues (which were produced in Dublin), were quick to glorify the exhibition. *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue of its Contents* points out the flaws

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[55] Ibid, 17-19.
[56] "Great Industrial Exhibition of 1853-Dublin," *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* (Dublin, Ireland), November 10, 1852.

of the exhibition, mainly its failure to make a surplus, yet goes on to state: "That it accelerated the progress of improvement which had previously set in, is beyond question. It has done much to make the people of other countries acquainted with the capabilities of Ireland, with the resources she possesses, and the extent to which they are developed..."[57] While certain British publications focused on the obstacles that the exhibition faced, and therefore fell back on old stereotypes of the inferior and lazy Irishman, many Irish publications were quick to glorify the exhibition. It was important for Ireland to hold an exhibition to prove itself as an industrial nation, and the a lot of the Irish press wanted to make sure that visitors focused on the more positive aspects of Ireland as a nation on display.

The organizers of the event had a hard time securing international exhibits, due in part to the fact that an international exhibition was planned for New York City the same year. So, the organizers began accepting a number of fine art exhibits, which soon outnumbered all other objects on display. There were four main categories of objects on display: Raw Materials, Machinery, Manufacturers, and Fine Arts and Antiquities. Within these four divisions, there were over thirty sub-divisions, many of which were taken from the classification system used at the Great Exhibition of 1851. Due to the unforeseen prominence of fine arts, however, the building was not evenly or cohesively organized, which many critics of the event pointed out. In terms of the industrial and manufactured items on display, many of them were luxury goods meant for the wealthy rather than items meant to be

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[57] *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: A Detailed Catalogue of its Contents* (Dublin: James McGlashan, 1854), 20.

consumed by the masses. The Irish industrial objects that were on display that did make an impression were predominately linens, handcrafted lace, and embroidery.[58]

Despite the many of the obstacles faced by the organizers, the United States and most major European nations, as well as a number of British overseas colonies, did send items to be displayed, but they were, again, mostly luxury items or national curiosities. Objects from the British colonies, in particular, tended to be ornate ceremonial objects. There were very few great objects or machines of industry. In addition to a lack of foreign visitors, who did not see Ireland as a worthy or even potential Industrial power, the price of admissions was too expensive for most Irishmen. Thus, attendance was low and fewer than 2,000 visitors a day attended the exhibition. The exhibition failed to make a profit and was seen by many as a failure.[59] These ideas are summed up in the *Practical Mechanic's Journal Record of the Great Exhibition of 1862*, which when looking back at previous exhibitions, states:

> Ireland had not yet recovered from the tremendous effects of the famine and social revolution of 1847 to 1850, nor had the old feeling with respect to the (Cinderella) sister isle, 'Can anything good come out of Galilee,' though since that greatly dissipated, then lost anything of its ancient force. The English and foreign visitors to the Exhibition were much fewer than had been anticipated, trade was bad, and hence the mass of material of the building suddenly presented for sale was sold to great disadvantage.[60]

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[58] Ibid, 16.
[59] Ibid, 16-17.
[60] "Record of the Great Exhibition of 1862," *The Practical Mechanic's Journal,* 19.

When looking at this quote, as well as the differing press coverage of the exhibition, it becomes clear that, despite Ireland's attempts at portrayed itself as an industrial national, many contemporaries in Britain refused to view them as a manufacturing power. Not only did very few British or foreign visitors show up, but all of the negative aspects and obstacles to success are what many in the British press chose to focus on. This source also makes it clear that many of the old attitudes of the 'sister isle' as inferior, still very much existed in Britain, which can be seen in the saying referenced in the quote above, "Can anything good come out of Galilee." It was during this age of increased industrialization, that these attitudes turned towards Ireland's lack of industry.

Thus, multiple narratives begin to emerge in these early, industrial exhibitions. In the British industrial exhibitions held in London, Ireland was represented as both an integral and important part of the United Kingdom, equally positioned with England, Scotland, and Wales. Yet, she was also shown as a nation without industrial power, who needed help from Britain in order to become a proper, manufacturing nation. This lack of confidence in Ireland's industrial ability in the nineteenth century can also be seen in the Great Industrial Exhibition held in Dublin in 1853. Ireland was clearly attempting emulate the Great Exhibition of 1851 and prove to the world that she was an industrial nation, yet her attempt fell short. No other nation took the event seriously, and no one in Ireland could afford to go, thus turning the event into a showcase of upper class Ireland with an emphasis on luxury goods and not manufactured goods. Underlying this narrative of Ireland's

complex position within the U.K. was the belief that the union would help better Ireland and should be seen as a positive thing. Both of these narratives continue within the space of the exhibition throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. There are also, however, examples of the Irish proclaiming their status as a modern nation with their own history and own industry.

The International Exhibition (London, 1862)

The narrative of British paternalism towards to Irish, and their inferior economy, continued in the second large scale British industrial exhibition during this mid-Victorian period. After the success of the Great Exhibition of 1851, interest in international exhibitions remained strong and the Royal Society of Arts had not given up on their vision to hold periodic exhibitions. Thus, in March 1858, it was decided that a second International Exhibition was to be held. The goal was not to repeat 1851, but instead to show the progress made in Britain and around the world since then. A commission was formed, made up by many of the organizers of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and the site, The Horticultural Gardens in South Kensington, was selected.[61]

[61] Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition,* 119-120, 127.

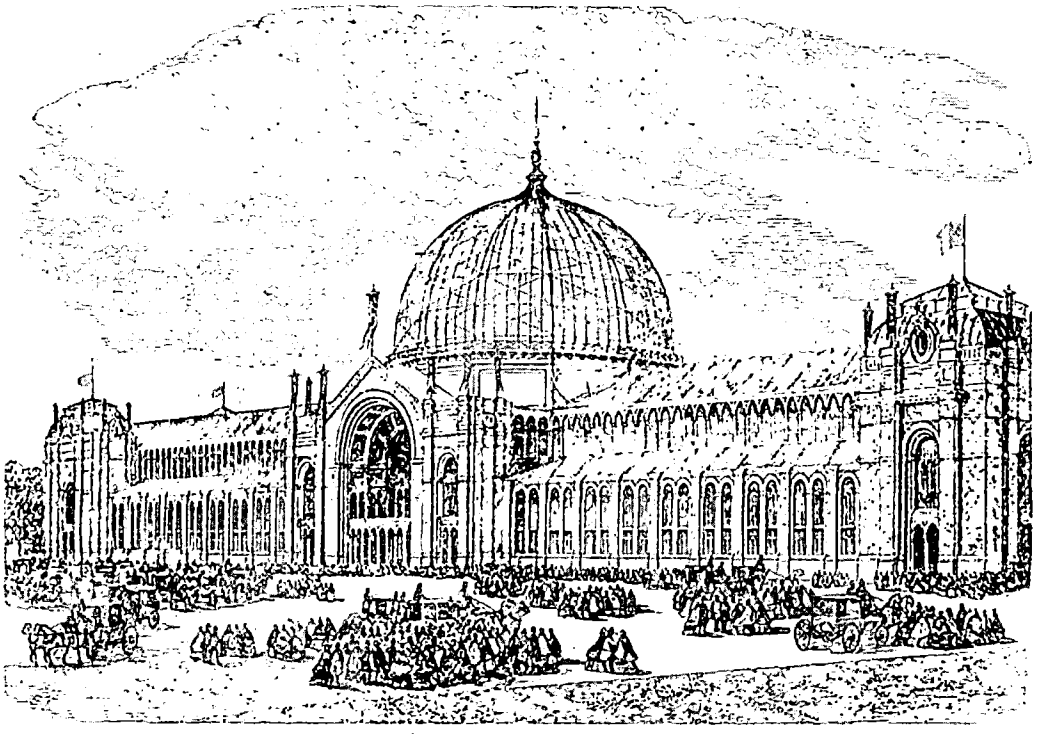

Fig. 5: The building of the International Exhibition of 1862, Cassell, *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper Exhibitor*, 1

In 1861, however, tragedy struck and Prince Albert died suddenly on December 14, 1861. The nation was shocked, and many today see Prince Albert's death as overshadowing the 1862 International Exhibition. The exhibition, was not, however, dismissed during its time.[62] Opened for six months, it was held from May to November 1862, and it is thought to have received 6,211,103 visitors, more than the 6,039,195 for the Great Exhibition in 1851. The exhibition was organized in a similar manner to 1851, again with the British getting half of the display space. The participants were also the same, as was the system of judging and the classification system, with its emphasis on machinery, raw materials, and industry yet with the objects divided by nation.[63] Despite the tragedy surrounding its opening and

[62] Ibid, 129-130.
[63] Ibid, 134.

smaller financial surplus, it was seen by many as a success during the era. John Cassell writes in his *Illustrated Family Paper Exhibitor:*

> The may-day of this year of grace eighteen hundred and sixty-two, unlike the may-days of the poets, may be said to be a real, substantial Festival of Labour. Look around. Every step we take in the International Exhibition reminds us that without labour this beautiful building and its costly multifarious contents could never have existed. Here, in friendly revelry, all the nations of the earth are represented by the products of the soil; by aid of plough and spade, and axe and mattock; by aid of loom and shuttle, and needle; by aid of painter's brush and engraver's burin; by aid of workman's hammer, and chisel...[64]

Here, as in the Great Exhibition of 1851, the focus is on nations coming together, in a celebration of labor, human production, and industry.

Like in the case of the Great Exhibition, Ireland was not as well represented as England or Scotland, yet there were a number of objects, mostly textiles, present to represent the country. Ireland, again, was portrayed within the context of the union, as a larger part of the United Kingdom. In the *Illustrated Exhibitor,* John Cassell writes of the Irish objects at the exhibition:

> If any enthusiastic Celt were to go to the Exhibition with a fixed determination and admiring all the contributions from the sister kingdom, he would speedily find himself puzzled; for the varied and excellent collection from Ireland is distributed throughout most of the classes; and with the exception of the Belfast Linen Trophy, in the Central Avenue, no very prominent display is made of Irish produce and manufactures. But it must by no means be supposed that Ireland is behindhand in the gallant show of 1862, or that her advance in social and commercial prosperity is not proportionally as great as it was in 1851. Ireland's place in the Exhibition is an honourable one; not separate from England, Scotland, and Wales, but taking part with

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[64] John Cassell, *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper Exhibitor, Containing about 300 Illustrations, with letterpress descriptions of all the principle objects in the International Exhibition of 1862* (London: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin, 1862), p.2.

> them in all that tends to our national advantage, well-being, and glory.[65]

Ireland is now explicitly shown from the British perspective as being a modern nation and contributing, along with Scotland, Wales, and England, to the glory of Britain and the glory of the empire. This narrative of inclusion is no longer just alluded to in objects and iconography, but now, Cassell frames Ireland as directly participating in the "national advantage, well-being, and glory." It is not physically set apart from the rest of the United Kingdom. It is, at least on the surface and in this catalogue, being placed on equal footing with the other component nations. Cassell is arguing that while, unlike the Great Exhibition of 1851, there is no separate Irish Court, it is because Ireland is not inferior or set apart from the rest of the United Kingdom. This quote portrays an Ireland that has grown, and now occupies a place next to England, Scotland, and Wales.

This narrative continues in the *Illustrated Exhibitor,* and can be seen when Cassell states:

> If these words were true then, they are truer and more prophetic now; for the same hands and the same hearts that helped win back India for England, and won the fight against the foe at Alma and Inkermann, and alike drove down cuirassier and charger on the field of Waterloo, are nerved for Ireland's right place and position among the nations.[66]

Like the previous quote, Ireland is being placed within the larger historical narrative of Britain. The Irish are discussed as being part of these larger, important British historical events, such as the battle of Waterloo. At the beginning of the quote,

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[65] Cassell, *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper Exhibitor,* 193.
[66] Ibid,195.

Cassell is referencing his statement in 1851 about there being hope for Ireland[67] yet, here, his words are even truer. Cassell even states that his words were somehow prophetic and foreshadowed the progress and glory achieved by Ireland in the 1862 exhibit. While Ireland is still referred to as progressing, and therefore set apart from the rest of the United Kingdom, it is clear from this quote that the narrative definitely shifted. Here's Ireland's 'right' place is among the great nations of the world. She is no longer progressing to the status of a great nation; she now deserves to be there. This, along with the direct placement of Ireland within the larger narrative of the United Kingdom, marks an subtle shift in narratives at this later exhibition.

In addition to these narratives of inclusion, paternalism does come through in some of the publications, often, again, where Ireland's "rapid industrial progress" is mentioned. This is particularly worth noting because Ireland did not have her own section in the International Exhibition of 1862. Even when, both in terms of display as well as in some of the descriptions, Ireland was being treated as a more equal part of the larger United Kingdom, it is still singled out in the text, and Ireland's rapid industrial growth and progress is frequently attributed to the British or placed within the context of the Union. Irish textiles, in particular, are singled out as inferior to English ones. Cassell writes:

> In lace, tapestry, &c., again Ireland is pre-eminent....A large industry is now established in Ireland in connection with the manufacture of lace. For this much credit is due to Mr. Goblet, of Milk Street, London. Previous to 1850, an inferior kind of pillow-lace was produced, but it

> was thought that it would be possible to introduce that making of Valenciennes into the country—the grievous famine which had then recently occurred rendering it desirable that some new mode of employment for the people should, if possible, be introduced. Lord Clarendon and Sir William Somerville gave a ready and valuable support to the proposals of Mr. Goblet, and the result was the establishment of lace schools in many parts of Ireland. Mr. Goblet shows some very interesting specimens of lace produced in these schools, and by the peasantry on the estate of Sir William Somerville.[68]

In this section of the catalogue, Irish lace is seen as inferior, but the English saw the potential in the Irish workers and Mr. Goblet taught them how to create a superior lace product. In addition to helping the Irish produce better goods, Mr. Goblet is credited with helping to bring jobs to the famine-stricken region. Ireland is being portrayed as a country that cannot take care of itself and that cannot produce objects on their own that would be worthy of mention. Not only that, but by mentioning the famine, Cassell evokes images of immense poverty. It was during the famine and post-famine period that many of the Victorian concepts of the Irish were formulated, in part due to the great hardship brought about by the famine, as well as the mass emigration of Irish immigrants, many into parts of Britain.[69] Ireland is only seen as a potential modern and industrial nation when connected with Britain and as part of the United Kingdom.

The three industrial exhibitions discussed in this chapter all help to illustrate that the narratives about Ireland emerging from these exhibitions were more complex than just a case of paternalism from the colonizers and nationalism from the colonized. In the space of the exhibition, the glory of the United Kingdom was

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[68] Ibid, 195.

shown through her industrial strength, and in certain instances, Ireland was part of that. Whether through the iconography of patriotic and nationalistic British produced objects, or through the explicit inclusion of Ireland within larger narratives of the United Kingdom in catalogues, Ireland was, at times, depicted as an equal and valued member of the United Kingdom. On the other hand, she was also portrayed as set apart from Great Britain. Often when discussing Irish industry, Ireland is shown as improving, yet still falling behind other industrial nations. These paternalistic narratives just helped to reaffirm Victorian stereotypes, such as the 'backward' and 'lazy' Irishman. At times, Irish industrial progress was even directly attributed to aid from the British. There was also a third, counter-narrative that emerged, particularly in the case of the Jones objects from the Great Exhibition and the Great Industrial Exhibition in Dublin in 1853. This counter-narrative promoted Irish nationalistic sentiment, and in the case of the Jones material, celebrated Irish pre-invasion history and culture. Here, Ireland was depicted as a capable, independent nation with its own history, industry, and resources. As stated previously, these complex and often contradictory images reflect the complex situation in Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century. It was during this mid-century period that the Home Rule Movement and Irish nationalism began growing in popularity. Just like there was no one prevalent depiction of Ireland, however, there was also no one view of Home Rule.

The Home Rule Movement in Britain and Ireland

While Irish Home Rule became one of the most important political topics of the Victorian era, it was not one, uniformed set of ideas. There were two dominant forms of Irish nationalism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mostly dominated by the Catholic majority in the country who were subjected to most of the oppression by the English. The first, and more visible, was constitutional, which was aimed at the convincing the English government to restore the Irish Parliament and institute Home Rule. The second was smaller and a more violent movement that focused on revolutionary nationalism, which would come to be known as Fenianism. The Catholic Church and most Irish people disapproved of this more violent form of nationalism. While rural discontent occurred in Ireland throughout the nineteenth century, Irish nationalism first emerged as a serious movement under Daniel O'Connell, who was a constitutionalist, and his movement was closely tied with the Catholic Association of Ireland. He mainly campaigned for Catholic emancipation against of a number of restrictions put in place against the Catholic population of Ireland. Once the Reform Act of 1829 removed the last restrictions against Irish Catholics, the nationalism movement in Ireland became increasingly tied to the Catholic majority who now could hold property and have political influence. While the emancipation of the Catholics helped to bolster the Repeal cause, it also sparked sectarian violence in the Unionist communities in the North. The link between Catholicism and Irish nationalism only grew in the post-famine era due to the decline in Gaelic culture as a result of the famine. The famine also helped to increase

more militant forms of nationalism due to the increase in anti-British sentiment that occurred as a result of the British response, or lack of response, to the situation.[70]

The British government during this period tended to do one of two things in dealing with the Irish question. One was a policy of limited concession towards the Catholics in Ireland, and the other was a policy of coercion. British policy in Ireland tended to be based on the belief that good government would eventually fix the problem. This was an issue because the majority of the Irish wanted Home Rule, seeing it as the only answer to the Irish problem. The Home Rule movement picked up momentum and the Irish question became incredibly important in the 1870s and 1880s. A number of electoral reforms were passed during this period, creating universal adult male suffrage in the United Kingdom, which helped to revolutionize the movement in Ireland. In the 1870s, the Irish Parliamentary Party grew out of the Irish Home League and rose in power, winning fifty-six seats in its first election in 1874, and for the first time a Irish party representing Irish views had power in Westminster. Their influence and power only grew throughout the 1870s and 1880s. During this time, there were also major shifts in the British political system, and the Irish question became a useful political tool as well as a danger to the unity of the United Kingdom.[71]

There were a number of key figures, both British and Irish involved in the Home Rule Movement. W.E. Gladstone, a liberal British politician and Prime Minister

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[70] Michael Hughes, *Ireland Divided: The Roots of the Modern Irish Problem* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 12-13.
[71] Ibid, 14-15.

on four separate occasions (1868-1874, 1880-1885, 1886, and 1892-1894), was a strong proponent of Irish Home Rule, seeing the Irish question as a moral one. In 1886, Gladstone announced his intensions to bring a Home Rule Bill to the table. This bill proposed the creation of an Irish Parliament, albeit one with vague and ill-defined powers. It provoked a strong Unionist response and was struck down in the House of Commons. Gladstone introduced another Home Rule Bill in 1893, but this one also failed to pass, was defeated in the House of Lords. Gladstone resigned in 1894. These failures led to Lord Salisbury stating that the Irish were incapable of self-government. Another key figure in the Home Rule movement was Charles Stewart Parnell, an Irish Protestant landowner who became leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1880. Parnell was successful in linking the Home Rule movement with the land issue, which was important in Ireland because many Irish were tenants on land owned by large English landowners. Home Rule during this period became, for most Catholics, a gateway to freedom as well as the means of solving these land issues in Ireland. This emphasis on land was also played out in the so-called "land war," which was a series of boycotts, strikes, and violent acts against landlords in Ireland during this era. Parnell fell from grace in 1891 after a scandal involving his personal life, and the Irish Parliamentary Part became divided until after 1900. Though Home Rule was still seen as an important issue, this period after 1891 was more politically stagnant and another Home Rule Bill was not introduced into Parliament until 1912-14, which never came to a vote due to the onset of World War I. The Fourth Irish Home Rule Act passed in 1920 after the Easter Uprising and the Irish War of Independence, and established Northern

Ireland as a Home Rule entity within the United Kingdom.[72] Throughout this period, Home Rule had a different definition to different people, but is always involved some form of greater self-government for Ireland. It was a hotly debated and contested issue throughout this period, with different politicians and groups having their own view on the issue. Gladstone and others treated it as a political issue and saw to fix it through establishing an Irish Parliament while still allowed the British Parliament a certain degree of control. Others such as Parnell tied it to larger Irish grievances of the era. While on the whole the divisions between Unionists and supporters of Home Rule tended to be religious, it is important to note that Parnell was Protestant.

Irish Nationalism and The Irish International Exhibition (1907, Dublin)

The complexities inherent in the Home Rule Movement, and over questions of Ireland's position within the Union, can also been seen in a later example of an international exhibition. The idea to hold another international exhibition in Dublin emerged in an Irish Industrial Conference held in 1903. The aim of the conference was to establish an Irish Institute of Commerce with the goal of increasing the trade of Irish goods, both within the United Kingdom and abroad. In addition to promoting these goals, many of the organizers' of the exhibition, led by Lord W.J. Pirrie, the owner of the shipbuilding firm Harland and Wolff of Belfast, were believers in the socio-economic and political movement for Irish Home Rule. It is important to note, however, that W.J. Pirrie himself was a Unionist and served as the Unionist Lord

[72] Ibid, 20-23.

Mayor of Belfast from 1896-1897.[73] The exhibition was planned not only promote the development of Irish industry, but also to provide farming and industrial education to the people of rural Ireland in an attempt to raise their productivity and standard of living. These goals are outlined in the prospectus of the exhibition:

> (1) to promote the Industries, Art, and Science of Ireland, by a display of the products for which the country is famous, and of the products of partially developed industries, for which special facilities exist in the country; (2) to stimulate Commercial Development and promote Industrial Education by inviting all nations to exhibit their products, both in the raw and finished state.[74]

Unlike in the agendas from earlier international exhibitions, there is a larger emphasis here on promoting specifically Irish machinery, as opposed to more lofty statements about civilized nations coming together to share in the power of industry. This emphasis on Irish, and only Irish, industry will be seen in other exhibitions later in the paper. In addition to these goals, it was thought that a successful exhibition, along with the educational scheme, would help to decrease Irish emigration, which was an issue during this era. Most people emigrating from Ireland did so due to economic reasons, so if those could be alleviated through education or promotion, it was hoped that emigration would lessen. After a number of issues with finding an exhibition site, Herbert Park, a 52-acre site located a mile and a half outside of Dublin's city center, was selected. The show opened on May 4, 1907 and ran for a little over six months, closing on November 9 of the same year. The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1907 was more popular than the exhibition in

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[73] Keith Jeffery, *An Irish Empire: Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire (Studies in Imperialism)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 126.
[74] *Irish International Exhibition, 1907* (Dublin: W. & G. Limited, 1906), 15.

Dublin in 1853, both at home and abroad, and 2.75 million people visited during its six-month run, including King Edward VII.[75]

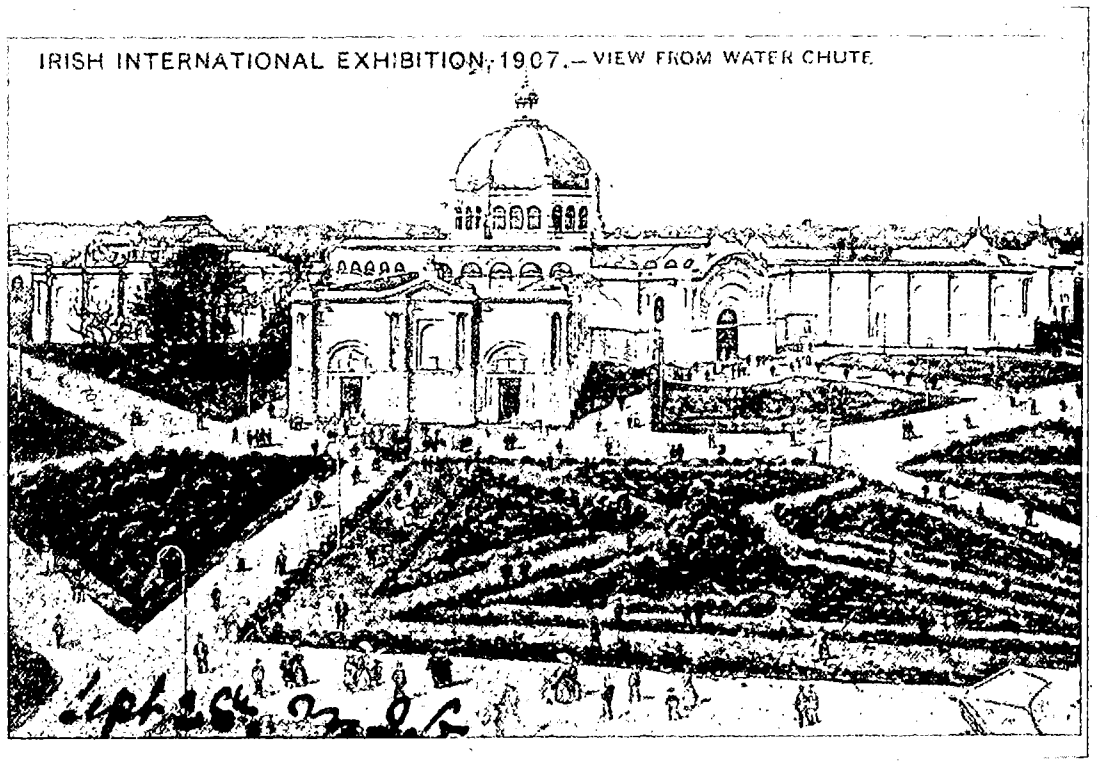

Fig. 6: The grounds of the Irish International Exhibition, Siggins, *The Great White Fair, The Herbert Park Exhibition of 1907*, 50

Unlike the previous exhibitions that have been analyzed in this paper, the Irish had their own pavilion, separate from the British pavilion, at the Irish International Exhibition. The Celtic Court, as it was called in the guidebooks and

[75] Miglena Ivanova, "Dublin 1907," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fair and Expositions,* ed. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, (London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2008), 190-192.

catalogues, contained the main entrance to the exhibition and was made up of some of the numerous Irish industrial exhibits.[76] The Celtic Court led to the Grand Central Palace, which contained a number of exhibits relating to Ireland's industry, history, and economy. The Grand Central Palace also contained many symbols, in addition to the exhibits, that referenced cultural and economic renewal. The Palace was constructed in the Florentine School, a reference to the Italian Renaissance, and its four wings represented the four provinces of Ireland. There were also a number of national symbols, including a large statue of Erin (the personification of Ireland), which greeted visitors upon their entrance into the Grand Palace.[77] The entrance hall also contained a number of scenes from Irish history or national symbols, including a stained glass window portraying St. Patrick baptizing Irish pagan princesses (a reference to an Iris myth), as well as images of the Irish countryside, and an Irish shamrock.[78] There was also an extensive exhibit on Napoleon that highlighted the Irishmen who fought under the French leader. This exhibit clearly sets the Irish experience apart from the British one, and also focuses on an episode in history where Napoleon attempted to use Irish soldiers in his planned invasion of the United Kingdom.[79] It is also interesting to note that one of the guidebooks, pointing out local monuments, makes a point of mentioning the statue of Daniel O'Connell, 'The Liberator," that was in Dublin. The book even has a large image of the statue, which shows O'Connell, one of the early leaders in the movement to

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[76] *Irish International Exhibition, 1907,* 11.
[77] Ivanova, "Dublin 1907," 191.
[78] *Irish International Exhibition, 1907, The Official Catalogue,* (Dublin: Hely's, Limited, 1907), 1-4.
[79] Ivanova, "Dublin 1907," 191.

repeal the Act of Union and a strong supporter and campaigner of Catholic Emancipation, standing proudly atop a large structure, with four angels surrounding the base.[80] The specific inclusion of this statue also helps perpetuate the separatist narrative that occurred during the exhibition. Also, despite the emphasis on Ireland as a separate nation that occurred at various points throughout the exhibition, members of the Gaelic League and *Sinn Fein* denounced the exhibition and advocated boycotting it. They opposed the fact that non-Irish workers were used to construct the fairgrounds, and they felt that the exhibition was not nationalist enough.[81]

There were also, however, some interesting objects that placed Ireland within the larger context of British history. The most notable example of this is Siborne's Model of the Battle of Waterloo, which was given a privileged spot in the entrance hall of the grand palace. According to the catalogue:

> The model represents, in relief, a rectangular portion of the Battlefield of Waterloo, measuring about 1,200 yards long, and about 520 yards broad on a scale of approximately 15 feet to the inch. It was the work of Captain Siborne, the well-known author of the 'History of the Campaign in France and Belgium in 1815.' Two key plans, showing the position of troops and the portion of the field represented, are attached to the model.[82]

The Battle of Waterloo is a very important battle in British history, and Napoleon's defeat by the Duke of Wellington (an Irishman) and his multi-national army brought an end to the Napoleonic Wars and to France's attempts to control Europe. This

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[80] *Irish International Exhibition, 1907,* 21-22.
[81] Patricia J. Fanning, "Research Note: The Irish International Exhibition of 1907- Ireland's World Fair," *Bridgewater Review* 26, no. 1 (June 2007): 26.
[82] *Irish International Exhibition, 1907, The Official Catalogue,* 7.

event and its military hero, Arthur Wellesley, the First Duke of Wellington, were celebrated in nineteenth century Britain, and by placing this large-scale model of the battle in the Celtic Court, the organizers of the exhibition were drawing attention to Ireland's role in this British victory.

While the show clearly presented an image of Ireland to the world, that image was often contradictory or contained multiple layers. On the one hand, Ireland was portrayed as both independent and capable of Home Rule. The Celtic Court was the main focus of the show, and was clearly set apart from the British section, putting the focus squarely on Irish industry and Irish manufacturing. This, combined with an emphasis on Irish national symbols, such as the large statue of Erin, and objects that stress an Irish history set apart from the larger British historical narrative, helped contribute to a dominant narrative of Irish independence. The Napoleonic War exhibit also helped with this narrative by highlighting an event in history that was connected to the struggle against Britain. While Napoleon's Irish Legion never fought against the British, it was created for the purpose of invading the United Kingdom. The inclusion of the Somali village, as a contrast to Irish achievement, also helped elevate Ireland to the status of a modern nation. On the other hand, however, there were also more unionist narratives that came through in the space of the exhibition. In particular, the Battle of Waterloo model, which was created by an Irishman, shows the Irish making important contributions to an event that was seen as an important British victory.

The tensions between Unionists and proponents of Home Rule were also frequently tied to the tensions between Catholics and Protestants, further complicating the image of Ireland shown to the world. In addition to the other attractions and exhibits mentioned, the Irish International Exhibition of 1907 also had a number of artworks on display that were borrowed from museums across Britain. One painting, on loan from a museum in Birmingham, was an 1883 work by Belgium artist Williem Geets called *A Martyr of the Sixteenth Century: Johanna van Santhoven, a Protestant, Led Out to be Buried Alive.* The piece portrayed the Protestant Martyr, a young blonde female, surrounded by a predominately male Catholic mob, and caused a lot of controversy in Dublin when it was displayed. Many in Ireland saw the display of the work as "a libel" against the Catholic Church. The Chairman of the Fine Arts Section, however, was Alfred Temple, a London man and a Protestant.[83]

This incident serves to highlight the role of specific agents in creating the narratives present at these exhibitions. On the surface, the Irish International Exhibition, with its separate British and Celtic Courts and emphasis on Irish Industrial might and strength, looks to be an exhibition advocating Irish independence and Home Rule. Many of the people in charge of the exhibits, however, like Alfred Temple and W.J. Pirrie, were either Irish Unionists or British Protestants. This led to a number of agents utilizing the same tactics in the space of the exhibition, to promote very different agendas. Due to this, the Irish Industrial

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[83] Fintan Cullen, *Ireland on Show, Art, Union, and Nationhood* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 4.

Exhibition cannot just be seen as a symbol of the fight for Irish independence, or as an exhibition dedicated to the Unionist cause. Instead, both of these narratives were present at the 1907 exhibition, and a complex and layered image of Ireland was shared with the world. Visitors to the exhibition, whether British, Irish, or foreign, could draw a number of conclusions about Ireland's place within the Empire or issues of Home Rule. Just like in the exhibitions held in London, no one narrative of Ireland was being presented. Ultimately, then, the representation of Ireland in the space of the large-scale international exhibition is full of intricacies and complexities. Instead of a straightforward colonizer versus colonized binary, the narrative that comes out of these exhibitions is one that reflects the complexities of the Irish question during this era. There was no one view of Ireland, or one form of Irish nationalism, and that was apparent in the overlapping and often contradictory images being produced at these international exhibitions.

Chapter 2: The Irish and the Colonial Village

While the large-scale international exhibitions focused on industry and the display and interpretation of objects, towards the end of the nineteenth century, it became popular to also put people on display. These later exhibitions often focused more on imperial strength, but were also clearly meant to entertain visitors and act as amusements. The majority of people on display in these colonial villages were non-white members of overseas colonies, who were placed in a replica town, often complete with buildings and livestock. These villages frequently highlighted and exaggerated the exotic or different nature of the colonists, and thereby showing British superiority and offering justification for the expansion of British imperialism. In addition to these colonial villages, there were also a number of Irish villages in British exhibitions towards the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. The presence of the Irish village further complicates the already present narrative of Ireland within the space of the exhibition by adding in more agents and highlighting a number of additional functions of the exhibition. Not only were the Irish put on display, but they also hosted exhibitions with colonial villages, thus reversing the roles.

In this chapter, I plan to first briefly discuss the changing nature of exhibitions and introduce the concept of the colonial village and the act of putting people on display. Then, I plan to analyze the most popular of the Irish villages, Ballymaclinton, which premiered at the Franco-British Exhibition in 1908. This discussion highlights the importance of agents in creating a narrative, as well as the importance of the function of the exhibit. Ballymaclinton was sponsored by two

different organizations, one a soap company and the other a philanthropic organization. Each have different goals for the exhibit, and for the soap company, the Irish village is acting as an advertisement. While the display of Irish people does play into larger themes of British imperialistic paternalism, it is important to remember the myriad of roles these exhibits held and how that affected the overall meaning. After the analysis of Ballymaclinton, I will discuss the Somali village at the Irish International Exhibition in 1907. This provides a nice contrast to the Ballymaclinton discussion and it shows that not only was Ireland partaking in these colonial villages by being put on display, but they were also, around the same time, displaying others.

People on Display and the Changing Nature of Exhibitions

It was not only the type of display that shifted towards the end of the nineteenth century, but the emphasis of the exhibition began to evolve. What began as temples to industry, machinery, and technology, shifted in character during this period. Beginning in the 1880s, these later exhibitions became more overtly about imperial and colonial display, and involved more entertainment and spectacle.[84] Unlike the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the International Exhibition of 1862, the exhibitions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were far more prevalent and were often privately funded. Also, they took place at already designated exhibition sites across the United Kingdom, such as Earl's Court,

[84] John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire, The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1984), 97.

Olympia, and the White City.[85] This shift of location meant that most exhibitions went from being held in one large palace, to being held on a fairground with a number of pavilions, each dedicated to a topic, such as fine arts, or to a specific colony, usually a large and important formal colony such as India. In addition to the pavilion, these larger fairgrounds also allowed more outdoor exhibits, as well as rides and amusements, which became very popular. This new arrangement added to the increasing importance of imperial power present at these later exhibitions. Not only did these exhibitions continue to emphasize industrial power, but they also now placed more emphasis on sweeping, imperial control. The focus of the displays was no longer limited to machinery, raw goods, and other industrial material. Now, new themes such as exploration, naval and military might, and the capacity for global exploitation of resources were also present in this exhibit space. By the Edwardian era, there was an exhibition almost every year, and even events that marked diplomatic events, such as the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908 or the Japan-British Exhibition in 1910, became about imperial strength.[86] During this period, there was also a rise in more commercial attractions, such as battle reenactments, shows, and performances of various kinds. A part of these new attractions was also the increased popularity of the display of people, usually from overseas colonies, and the formation of colonial villages, which became popular throughout Europe.[87] Despite these shifts, the exhibitions of the late Victorian and early Edwardian eras still occupied a similar function to earlier events. While the

[85] Geppert, *Fleeting Cities,* 102.
[86] MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire,* 97-100.
[87] Ibid, 102.

emphasis was no longer solely on industrial power, the British exhibition still attempted to show the world British superiority, but with more of an emphasis on their imperial might and less emphasis on the success of their industry. The space of the exhibition still reflected a British view of the world and helped to unite the United Kingdom through the cause of a new and more aggressive form of imperialism.[88]

As mentioned previously, this shift coincided with an important new type of attraction and display, which was the 'native' village. From the 1870s onwards, these villages were some of the most enduring and popular attractions at colonial exhibitions. It was through these villages, and the display of the colonial 'other,' that most people in the metropole would have encountered people from the Empire. It was also in these spaces that racial stereotypes and Social Darwinism were played out. The perceived 'barbarianism' of the colonized people was put on display, with the emphasis on their path to 'civilization' through colonization.[89] It was a way for the government and organizations such as The Empire League to show the British people what was occurring in the overseas colonies in a condensed form, and to show off the benefits of imperialism and the British civilizing mission. Most average British subjects would never travel to the colonies, and these villages made it possible to bring the empire and its imperial subjects 'home' to the metropole.

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[88] John MacKenzie, "The Imperial Exhibitions of Great Britain," in *Human Zoos, Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires,* eds. Pascal Blanchard et al., trans. Teresa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 260.
[89] Ibid, 265.

This practice of bringing in people from the colonies to the exhibition seems to have started in France in 1867, when the French brought in colonial subjects to sell goods they had produced.[90] The display of the colonial body, however, goes back to the early nineteenth century, if not earlier, and is tied to imperial ideas of science and race, as well as the development of new technologies, such as photography, and new disciplines, such as anthropology. The practice of displaying a non-European colonial 'other' showed up in British exhibitions for the first time in 1899 at the Greater Britain Exhibition, which contained the 'Savage South Africa' display. This exhibit had 174 African colonists displayed in four villages, and a number of tasks were performed by these African colonists, including making native food and creating crafts, such as beads and bangles, among other attractions. Keeping with the theme of the 'Savage South Africa' display, there were a number of other British "native" villages present throughout the twentieth century.[91] While the people and colonial culture on display changed periodically, the British colonial villages always had the goal of offering a rational for the spread of imperial civilization through the display of the quaint, the savage, and the exotic. Also, by displaying the 'uncivilized' and 'backward' other, the British were able to further their narrative of Western European, and most importantly, British superiority. In addition to bringing in overseas colonists, British exhibitions also had a number of Irish villages, which help to add another layer of meaning to the already complex representation of the Irish.

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[90] Ibid, 265.
[91] Ibid, 262.

A Myriad of Living Exhibits: The Franco-British Exhibition (1908, London)

While the first Irish village was in 1888, a larger Irish Village called Ballymaclinton, sponsored by Irish soap company McClinton and the Women's National Health Association of Ireland, debuted in the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908. Ballymaclinton would go on to be revived a number of times, including at the Festival of Empire, which will be discussed in a later chapter. The village contained many stereotypical Irish scenes, as well as buildings and symbols from Irish history, and a celebration of Irish cottage industries. The Franco-British Exhibition was held from May until September 1908 at the 140-acre White City exhibition site in Shepard's Bush, West London, and it can be seen as one of the largest and most complex cultural events in modern London.[92] It attracted over eight million visitors and was the leading exhibition held in Britain at the time.[93] The event was planned by the French Chamber of Commerce and the British Empire League in cooperation with Imre Kiralfy (a prominent man in the exhibition business), and was held to celebrate the Entente Cordiale. These were a series of agreements signed by France and Britain in 1904, which settled a number of disagreements between the two countries and was seen as marking the end of hundreds of years of intermittent conflict and disagreement. The spectacle was planned to commemorate this historic agreement and to celebrate the industry, commerce, and culture of the two

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[92] Paul Greenhalgh, "Art, Politics and Society at the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908," *Art History* 8, no.4 (December 1985): 434.
[93] Trevor May, *Great Exhibitions: From the Crystal Palace to The Dome,* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2010), 31.

countries.[94] This purpose is set out in the Official Guide of the Exhibition, which proclaims:

> It seems probable that in many of the exhibitions of the future the international element will be dual rather than plural in its application, and what could be more fitting than that the two great nations, joint pioneers of the exhibition era, should set an example in this respect, and should join hands in happy union for the purpose of setting before the world their combined resources. France and Great Britain possess distinguishing characteristics which admirably blend together. Each abounds in those qualities which form the complement of the other. The highest international results are obtained when leading racial characteristics and prominent industries are not opposed, but are dove-tailed into one another. Nowhere are the conditions for this harmonious adjustment more favourable than in the case of the neighbor nations France and Great Britain. When Anglo-Saxon energy blends with French *savoir vivre,* when British Empiricism is ordered by French method, when British solidity is adorned by French grace, a combination is reached which embraces the highest achievements of the human race.[95]

While the exhibition was, on the surface, a celebration of the Entente Cordial, through the use of language such as "leading racial characteristic," "prominent industries," and "highest achievements of the human race" this stated agenda makes it clear that the exhibition was planned to celebrate the achievements of empire and the superiority of these two great imperial powers. This quote does highlight the fact that the two countries are working together, but instead of mentioning the Entente Cordial, this stated purpose really emphasizes the imperial nature of the exhibition.

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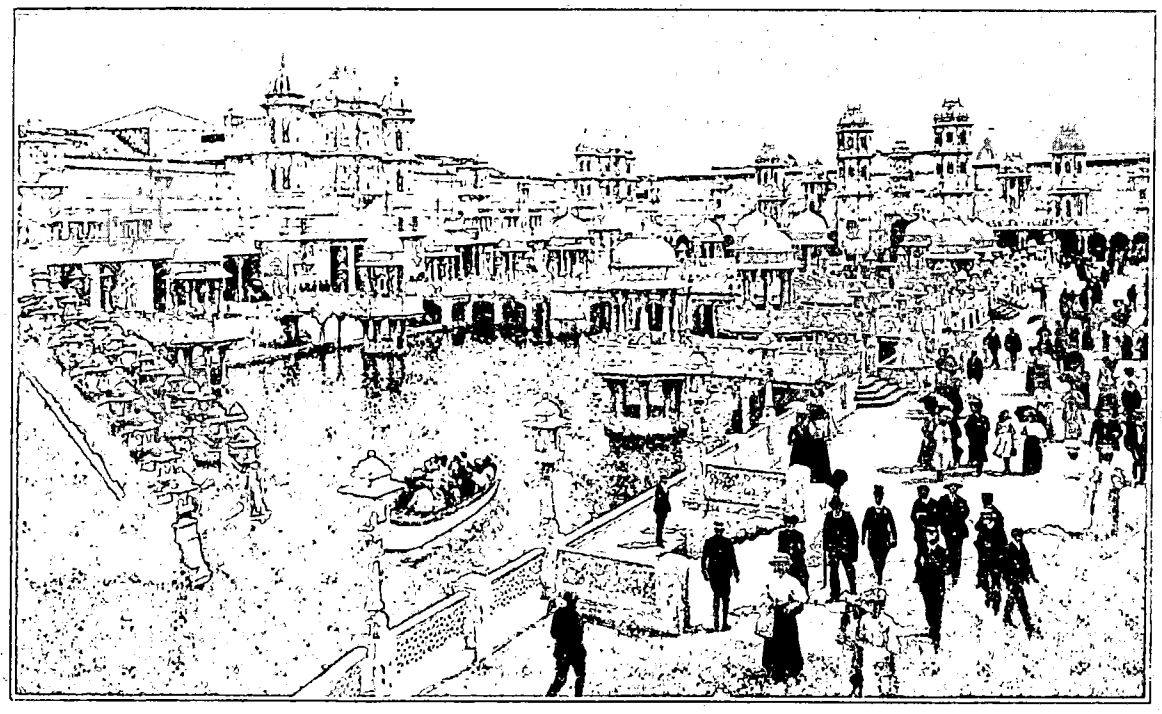
[94] Jane Kimber, "London 1908," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions,* eds. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2008), 198.

[95] *Official Guide and Description, Sommaire de L'Exposition* (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1908), 1-2.

The site, which contained twenty palaces, seven pavilions, and a hall of machinery and industry, was divided into themed areas, including the Court of Arts, the Palaces of Industry, the Palace of Women's Work, the Garden of Progress, and native villages, among other attractions. The objects on display varied from furniture and cooking ranges, to painting and more heavy industry such as shipbuilding and armaments. There was also a substantial amusement and attraction section, which included a scenic railway, an amusement ride called the Flip Flap, a Toboggan ride, and a recreation of the Johnstown Flood which had occurred in the United States in 1889.[96] In addition to these numerous displays and amusement rides, there were also three 'native' villages representing Ireland, Ceylon, and Senegal, three countries seen as benefiting from colonization and 'civilization.' While France continued the trend of bringing overseas colonial subjects to take part in these living displays, Britain and the British Empire was represented by both her overseas colonies, in the case of the Ceylon Village, and Ireland, a country that was technically part of the United Kingdom.

[96] Jane Kimber, "London 1908," 199-200; Greenhalgh, "Art, Politics and Society at the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908," 435.



THE COURT OF HONOUR.

Fig. 7: view of the grounds and Court of Honour, *Franco-British Exhibition: Illustrated Review*, 9

From the numerous remaining postcards and contemporary reviews, the village of Ballymaclinton (Fig. 8) was clearly quite a popular attraction with visitors and over the five and a half months the exhibition was opened, two-million people paid to visit the village.[97] According to Florence Lancaster, writing for *The Young Woman's Journal* (an American publication), the Irish village was one of "the most important and fascinating features of the great Exhibition."[98] The *Times* of London voiced a similar opinion when it stated in May of 1908, "The Village of Ballymaclinton is one of the most popular attractions of the Exhibition. A typical

[97] Geppert, *Fleeting Cities*, 121.
[98] Florence Lancaster, "Irish Village and McKinley's Cottage at the Franco-British Exposition," *The Young Woman's Journal* 20, (1909): 74.

Irish Village, with all the ancient features that make such a village so interesting, it transports the visitor at a step from the whirl of London to the heart of Ireland."[99] According to the Official Guide of the exhibition, the Irish Village was "complete in every aspect" and would "appeal not only to Irishmen, but to visitors from every part of the world."[100] The village contained many reproductions of historic buildings and other important artifacts, such as the Round Tower of old Kilcullen, which was a key site in the English-Irish conflict of 1798; the Old Irish Cross of Donaghmore, which is from a monastery founded by St. Patrick; the Old Abbey of Arranmore; and the Ogham Stone, which contains some of the earliest form of writing in Ireland. There was also a replica of the house that one of President McKinley's grandparents was born in. In addition to these important historic monuments and artifacts, the village also contained Galway's Fisherman's Cottage; over 100 Irish women referred to as 'colleens' working on lace, embroidery, carpets, and other cottage industries; a village shop; a post and telegraph office; a forge; a laundry; the blarney stone; a restaurant; a sanatorium; a village hall; various farm animals; and an industrial hall where goods being produced in the village were for sale.[101] Like many other attractions, guests were charged admission, and all of the profits made from the admission price and the goods sold went to the Women's National Health Association of Ireland to help fight tuberculosis, which had made "such frightful ravages" in Ireland.[102]

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[99] "The Irish Village," *The Times* (London, UK), May 14, 1908.
[100] *Official Guide and Description, Sommaire de L'Exposition,* 53.
[101] Ibid, 53-54.
[102] Ibid, 54.

SCENE IN THE IRISH VILLAGE.

Fig. 8: View of Ballymaclinton, *Franco-British Exhibition: Illustrated Review,* 287

The other British 'native' village, the Ceylon village, contained a number colonial subjects from Britain's Asian and Middle Eastern colonies preforming 'traditional' activities among the houses, bazaars, and other structures that were erected in the space. According to a contemporary source, girls dressed in native garb serving tea helped to create an 'Oriental atmosphere.'[103] A contemporary visitor described all of the trappings of a British scene of the Oriental 'other', including monkeys, snake-charmers, elephants, potters, and embroiderers. According to him, "steeped in the sunlight and shrill music, the village makes a

[103] Geppert, *Fleeting Cities,* 121.

picture of the East that could not easily be bettered under Western sun."[104] One of the guides produced for the exhibition stated:

> In the Ceylon Village you walked into a busy Ceylon street, where they juggler and the snake charmer, the wrestler and the astrologer, played their parts, and native craftsmen went busily at their work for European eyes to see. A dwarf Tamil woman, no more than four feet high, had four languages at her command to entertain the cosmopolitan visitors, and Ceylonese children showed their sheer talent for begging for coppers...[105]

From these descriptions, it becomes clear that the Ceylon village, like all other colonial villages, was attempting to emphasize the exotic and the different. This can be seen through the choice of animals, as well as the use of dwarfs. This exoticness only serves to highlight the 'backward' and 'primitive' nature of the colonial other. The supposed inferiority of the colonial subjects is also shown through the display of child beggars. The author of the guidebook quoted from above calls the act of begging a "sheer talent" for Ceylon children.

The Ceylon village also contained a number of performers, including acrobats, wrestlers and dancers, in addition to the juggler and astrologer mentioned above. These performers help to give the village an air of amusement and show. This emphasis on spectacle and creating an imperial version of the real continued in the French Senegalese village, which was described by the official guidebook as where "over a hundred men and women from the borders of the desert are now living exactly as they do in their native Africa...The pleasures and amusements of these

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[104] Ibid, 122.
[105] *Franco-British Exhibition: Illustrated Review* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1908), 294-295.

negroes are not neglected, and the visitor will hear and see with interest the weird chants and rhythmic dancing of the younger members of the tribe."[106] The stated goal or effect of these two villages was creating a 'real' and authentic space in order for the inhabitants of London to experience first hand life in one of these countries. Despite this goal, what was put on display in the case of each of the villages (Senegalese and Ceylon) was a constructed, imperial view of the real. In this constructed imperial world, the exotic, along with aspects of spectacle and amusement, are heightened to help further the divide between the British viewer and the colonial other.

In addition, these two overseas villages lacked any real sense of history. There were no historic buildings present, or any iconography or symbols related to important historical events or legends. Unlike the Irish village, they did not contain the same validation of pre-invasion history. The Irish village had many important Irish symbols from before the Act of Union, such as the Old Irish Cross of Donaghmore and the Ogham Stone. These objects, the Cross being related to St. Patrick and the stone containing examples of early writing, referred to a history that the Irish possessed that was uniquely Celtic, and not related to any larger narrative of the British or the United Kingdom. In this way, the Irish village, with its emphasis on the historic, could be compared to the other historic village in the Franco-British Exhibition, Old London. Even with these historic elements, however, the Irish village also presented a static and romantic view of rural Ireland. While both Old London and the Irish Village brought up feelings of nostalgia in an age of increasing

[106] *Official Guide and Description, Sommaire de L'Exposition*, 57.

industrialization, city growth, and overall population growth,[107] the Irish village also showed the colonial view of the 'real' Ireland. It this way, the Irish village is very similar to the other two colonial villages. Florence Lancaster of *The Young Women's Journal* states that,

> Thoroughly organized and picturesque as it is it will have the wide effect of increasing towards Ireland and its people that kindly feeling which nearly always results from the better understanding of a thing with increased knowledge. To all who are in any degree attracted to Ireland by some association of poetry or song, or by its troubled romantic history, a stroll through this 'town of the Maclintons' will afford more insight into various features of the country than it would be possible otherwise to obtain save by a visit to the Emerald Isle itself.[108]

Visitors to this attraction felt, as in the case of the other 'native' villages, that they were receiving the real view of a certain place or culture, and for most visitors, these villages were as close as they were going to get to the colonies. Here, though, the narrative is not one based in reality. Instead, it is the colonial view of progress for a country thought to be 'backward' and containing a separate race. It is clear that the purpose of this village was to paint a romanticized version of Ireland, that due to the union with Great Britain, was clean, increasingly industrialized, and becoming healthier. Cleanliness, especially, was emphasized. A postcard from the village shows the colleens bathing and the cottages in the village are, according to the *British Journal of Tuberculosis*, showing proper cleanliness, light, and ventilation,

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[107] This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3

[108] Lancaster, "Irish Village and McKinley's Cottage at the Franco-British Exposition," 74.

again emphasizing proper cleanliness methods.[109] The Irish had historically been seen by the rest of Britain as poverty-stricken and susceptible to air and water-borne illness, and the links between poverty and illness were based more on moral ideas in the Victorian era. It was the Irish depraved lifestyle and inferiority that made them more susceptible to these diseases.[110] In the case of the Irish village, however, the Irish are shown as clean and healthy, in part due to the British run Women's National Health Association of Ireland, which was founded and run by Lady Aberdeen, a Scottish countess and philanthropist. The goal of this association was to further educate the Irish on proper hygiene. These women, and thus the whole village, were living proof of the success of a British-run health program for the Irish.

Another key part of the village was the celebration of cottage industries that, according to the guidebook, had recently been introduced to Irish peasants. When not bathing themselves and practicing correct hygiene, the colleens of the Irish village would produce items such as soap, while wearing matching costumes and singing 'traditional' Irish songs. Ireland was seen by Britain as having inferior large industry, which at this time was a key component to modernity. The Irish peasant, which many British saw as the archetypal figure of the Irish experience, was seen as agricultural, not modern. Ireland, therefore, was seen as inferior to more fully

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[109] "The Tuberculosis Exhibit at Ballymaclinton in the Franco-British Exhibition," *The British Journal of Tuberculosis* 2, (1908): 309.
[110] Garner, *Racism in the Irish Experience,* 118.

modernized societies, like Britain or France.[111] By introducing Irish peasants to cottage industries, and putting these skills on display, the British could point to more positive aspects of the Union. Not only was Ireland more clean and healthier, but she was also more industrialized, and therefore more progressive and modern. The same narrative, to a less extent, was seen in the objects on display in earlier exhibitions.

In addition to portraying Ireland as non-violent, romantic, and glorifying the simple life of the Irish peasant, the Irish village also helped to diffuse the tensions of increased Irish nationalism, by promoting Lady Aberdeen's causes and vision for Ireland. While members of the aristocracy, Lord and Lady Aberdeen occupied a unique position to Ireland in that they supported Home Rule for Ireland and Lady Aberdeen was tied to the Gaelic Revival. She set up the Irish Industries Association in 1886, which, much like the village, promoted cottage industries in Ireland. Despite these ties, Lord and Lady Aberdeen were part of the Anglo-Protestant tradition and Lady Aberdeen and her Irish Industries Association was seen as suspect by many more nationalistic organizations. She promoted a 'neutral' association that aimed to unite Catholics and Protestants, as well as Unionists and nationalists. She was, as Annie E. Coombes argues, an acceptable face of Ireland and an interest in Gaelic culture during a period that saw the rise of Sinn Féin and an

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[111] Atterbury, "Steam & Speed: Industry, Power, and Social Change in 19th Century Britain.

increasing resentment in Ireland of Britain's paternalistic attitude.[112] Lady Aberdeen could be a champion for increased Irish independence, but within the framework of inclusivity and one approved by the British government in Westminster. Lady Aberdeen's version of the Gaelic Revival could be seen as neutralizing the increased militantism and nationalism and replacing it with a vision of Irish unity brought together by a shared sense of Celtic heritage, which is seen in the Irish village.

While this is certainly one way of analyzing the Irish village, ultimately a more layered and complex narrative emerges. On the one hand, you have, as Coombes argues, a vision of Ireland that is markedly different than the image presented in other colonial villages. Irish heritage and culture, albeit a manufactured version, is celebrated in the Irish village, while the African villages are not given a history or a heritage. They are solely represented within the lens of colonization. Their pre-invasion history is not validated and not seen as important by the organizers of the exhibition. On the other hand, the exhibition can clearly be read as a display of British paternalism. As art historian Paul Greenhalgh points out, Ballymaclinton creates an image of Ireland that is ancient and rural. Ireland, in the space of the Irish village, is equated with other colonies, such as Africa, in that they are both shown as nonindustrial. In the space of the exhibition, subject nations were often described in terms of nature, the rural, and as being backwards. The metropole, on the other hand, was equated with industry, the city, and culture. If,

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[112] Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 210.

during this period, industrialization equated to power, an Ireland whose only industries were cottage industries, such as handloom weaving and lacemaking, was clearly relegated to being part of the empire and not part of the metropole.[113] Greenhalgh is right in that the primitivism of Ireland is one meaning of the exhibition. Yet both Coombes and Greenhalgh are ignoring the layers of meaning that are inherent in the space of the Irish village. Thanks to a number of agents, including McClinton's Soap, Lady Aberdeen, and the Irish participants in the village, and a number of external factors, such as the Gaelic Revival and the rise of militant nationalism in Ireland, no one dominant narrative emerges from Ballymaclinton. The Irish village can be seen as an advertising space for an Irish company that uses Irish workers and is influenced by the success of a number of cultural movements, and therefore promotes a version of Ireland as rural, quaint, and nostalgic in order to sell their products, which included Colleen soap. It can also be seen as a space for the promotion of Irish industrial progress and betterment through Lady Aberdeen and the Women's National Health Association of Ireland. Here, a positive and non-violent view of Ireland is promoted as a safe alternative for the militant push for Home Rule and independence from Britain that was becoming more common in Ireland during the early twentieth century. There was however, no one dominant narrative of Ireland or view of the Irish question of Home Rule presented at the Franco-British Exhibition. Instead, the Irish village presented multiple narratives of

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[113] For Greenhalgh's treatment of the subject, see Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

Ireland that were on view for the British public, members of which undoubtedly got different things from their experience in the village.

Africa in Ireland: The Somali Village at the Irish International Exhibition (1907, Dublin)

In addition to colonial villages being popular in London, the Irish International Exhibition of 1907 had a 'native' village, in the form of the Somali village (Fig. 9) that was created for the show.[114] According to the official catalogue,

> ...a party of Somalis has been imported from British Somaliland, which is situated in the North East of Africa. This village has been erected to represent the huts in which natives live in this country. A schoolroom has also been built in which Somali children will be taught their lessons.[115]

Other newspapers and guidebooks referred to the Somalis in paternalistic terms, referring to the "wild songs" of their native land and calling them "good-natured, dark, but not unthreatening."[116] The village proved to be one of the most popular and profitable exhibits at the exhibition, making a profit of £9,600, and the village made a lasting impression on the city of Dublin.[117] The inclusion of a Somali village at the Irish International Exhibition further complicates the narrative of Ireland in the space of the exhibition by switching the roles. By having an African village and using paternalist language, such as "wild" and "not unthreatening," the Irish are elevated to the position of colonizer.

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[114] For a detailed background of the exhibition, see Chapter 1
[115] *Irish International Exhibition, 1907, The Official Catalogue,* 147.
[116] Brian Siggins, *The Great White Fair, The Herbert Park Exhibition of 1907* (Dublin: Nonsuch, 2008), 61.
[117] Ibid, 61.

Fig. 9: The Somali Village, Siggins, *The Great White Fair, The Herbert Park Exhibition of 1907,* 63

As in other British exhibitions that featured 'native' colonial villages, the colonized people on display were seen as 'backward' and in need of 'civilizing' and the exhibitions provided a space to promote the civilizing nature of the imperial mission. In the case of the Franco-British Exhibition, the Irish village helped to show, through an increase in hygiene and cleanliness and an emphasis on increased industrialization, the improvement possible with colonization. While in the Franco-British Exhibitions there were clear differences between the African villages and the Irish village, and the Irish village had layers of meaning, one of the narratives occurring in the space of the exhibition was that of Irish inferiority. By placing the Irish on display into a reality constructed on imperialist grounds that emphasized amusement and Irish stereotypes, the Irish village could have been read as a symbol

of British, imperial, paternalism. In the case of the Irish Industrial Exhibition, however, a narrative of Irish superiority comes through and the Irish are no longer on display, but instead, displaying colonized others. In this instance, Ireland, and any Irish people on display at the Irish International Exhibition, are clear placed in the superior position when compared to the non-white, colonial others on display. So, while the Irish village was becoming increasingly popular in exhibitions held in London (and the United States), in the Irish exhibitions, they were participating in placing colonized people on display, thus contributing to the narrative of Irish superiority and capability as a modern nation.

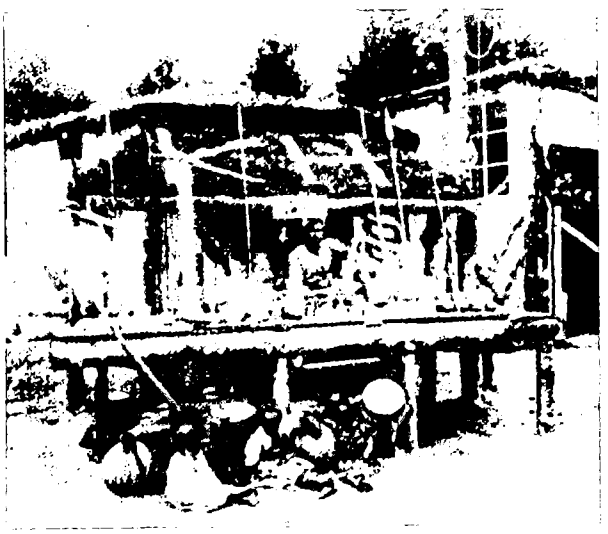

Fig. 10: Goods for sale in Somali Village, Siggins, *The Great White Fair, The Herbert Park Exhibition of 1907*, 62

Therefore, when examining the display of Irish people, the narrative of Ireland within the space of the exhibition becomes even more complex. As the nature of exhibitions changed in the late nineteenth century, the emphasis became less on showing industrial might and impressive machinery, and more on exhibitions acting as imperial propaganda and places of amusement. As these

changes occurred, it became increasingly popular to put people in addition to objects on display. When compared to other colonial villages, the Irish village at the Franco-British Exhibition contained a number of layers of meaning. On the one hand, like other colonial villages, the Irish village depicted a fictionalized Ireland that played off of already existing stereotypes of Ireland as rural and static.

It was also different than other colonial villages in that it had its own history, and the Irish women on display were often discussed terms of hygiene and cleanliness. A lot of this had to do, not necessary with any major differences between the Irish and the overseas colonists, but instead was related to the sponsors of the exhibit. One was an Irish soap manufacturer, who surely wanted to promote the quality of his product, which was being used in the village. The second sponsor was the Women's National Health Association of Ireland, which was a charitable organization run by Lady Aberdeen, a British woman. Their goal was to portray the increases in hygiene standards, and thus overall increase in health, of the rural Irish while raising money to keep aiding the rural Irish poor. While Lady Aberdeen wanted to promote an independent and healthy Ireland, but being a Protestant and British woman, it was in the context of the Union and of Unionist beliefs. Then, when Ireland participates with putting overseas colonial others on display, she becomes elevated to the status of a modern nation. So, Ireland in terms of the colonial village can be seen as an exoticized other, a capable and clean place with their own history, or the modern, western nation who is 'superior' to the non-white colonial other being displayed. In addition to all of these layers, the Irish village of the Franco-British Exhibition also helps to highlight the intricacies of the

exhibitions space. It also served as an advertisement and the Irish village can also be read as a company borrowing the latest trends, which included during this period Celtic culture and idyllic rural life, to help sell a product.

Chapter 3: Cottage Industries and the Gaelic Revival

This increased interest in Celtic culture and stereotypical depictions of rural life were features of a number of exhibitions during this time period, and were both part of larger cultural trends, including the Gaelic Revival, the Arts and Crafts movement, and a more general Pastoralism movement. These cultural movements are very important to keep in mind when discussing the representation of Ireland in these later exhibitions, where the emphasis, whether through the Irish village or another section of the exhibition, was on cottage industries. Historians and art historians often see this emphasis on cottage industries as providing a contrast between the highly industrialized and machine-driven English society, and therefore creating an image of Ireland that is inferior in an age where industry equates to power. Many scholars have made the point that the colonies tend to be depicted in exhibitions as non-industrial, and therefore Ireland was see in the same inferior light due to this emphasis on cottage industries. While the negative depiction of Ireland's industry is common theme see throughout this paper, in these late exhibitions is important to remembers these larger cultural movements and the influences they had over visitors and customers to the exhibition. It is also worth nothing that some Irish participated in these picturesque depictions of rural Irish life, and cottage industries were heavily promoted at the Dublin International Exhibition of 1907. A lot of this, again, goes back to the roles of the exhibit. Many of these Irish exhibits were also set up to sell handmade items, and in an age of growing appreciate for handicrafts and ancient Irish culture, it is important to

remember that part of this can be seen as foundations or companies producing items to coincide with public taste.

In this chapter, I will begin by giving a brief description of the Gaelic Revival, the Arts and Crafts movement, and the larger trend towards pastoralism during this period of heavy industrialization. I will then analyze the Donegal Industrial Village of the Irish Exhibition held in London in 1888, which was the first Irish village in Britain. This case study really highlights to influences of the Arts and Crafts movement and the Gaelic Revival on a number of these displays, by focusing on the English woman who organized the village and her philanthropic fund that helped to sponsor it. I will then go on to discuss the Home Industries Section at the Irish International Exhibition of 1907, focusing on the fact that some Irish participated in this rural and stereotypical depiction of themselves. The chapter will end with my discussion with the Festival of Empire held in London in 1911 and the revival of Ballymaclinton (which we saw at the Franco-British Exhibition), focusing on a comparison between the Irish village and the increasingly popular history villages. By placing these case studies within the larger context of the cultural movements that were occurring during this period, what comes across is a more nuanced analysis of Ireland's place within these exhibitions, one that is not just rooted in British paternalism and Irish nationalism.

The Gaelic Revival

The Gaelic Revival was a general growth in interest in Gaelic culture and history, which was one of a number of similar revivals in the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries. It was a cultural movement that was fueled by antiquarian interests and there were a number of major archaeological discoveries in the 1840s and 1850s, which helped propel the movement. Through the rediscovery of a number of richly decorated secular metalworks and ecclesiastical manuscripts, Irish intellectuals began to see these objects, which were produced by the ancient and medieval civilizations of Ireland, as representing an Irish Golden age, which occurred before the Gothic period of English influence.

The search for an Irish national identity, then, became rooted in these ideas, along with the rediscovery of the oral traditions and pre-Christian myths of these ancient societies. These archaeological discoveries, and their intricate and unique patterns, which went against the classical figurative tradition that was popular in the Mediterranean during this early medieval period, became incredibly influential during the Gaelic revival, and played an important part in the creation of Irish visual arts during the nineteenth century. The Gaelic Revival also had close ties to Irish nationalism, and the Gaelic League, which was founded in 1893 by Anglo-Irish Protestants in order to promote indigenous Irish culture. The League's first president, Douglas Hyde, promoted the 'de-Anglicanization' of Ireland and his ideas influenced numerous artistic and nationalistic ventures in Ireland. There was also a trend to merge the Gaelic Revival with the principles of John Ruskin and William Morris, whose ideas influenced the Arts and Crafts movement.[118] This merging of the Gaelic Revival with the beliefs of the Arts and Crafts movement can be seen in

[118] T. J. Edelstein, Richard A. Born, and Sue Taylor, "Introduction", in *Imagining an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival, 1840-1940,* ed. T. J. Edelstein (Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 1992), xiii-xvii.

philanthropic organizations that merged the call to return to handcrafted items in an age of increasing industrialization with a sense of Irish nationalism.

Pastoralism and the Arts and Crafts Movement

The Arts and Crafts Movement was a broad artistic movement that had its roots in late nineteenth century Britain. The leading members of the movement, among them John Ruskin and William Morris, were Victorian theorists, architects, and designers. These artists aimed to create a unity in art and highlight craftsmanship and the working process, which they felt was lost after the Industrial Revolution. They saw the Industrial Revolution, which placed so much emphasis on machinery and quantity of production, as devaluing the craftsman and turning him into part of a larger machine. The aim of these reformers was to react against and reform this trend by elevating craftsmen and bringing handcraftsmanship to the production of everyday objects.[119] This emphasis on hand-made goods over machined produced objects also helped to shift the focus away from uniformity and towards individuality. These goals are summed up by a major member of the movement, W.R. Lethaby, who stated "the message will be of nature and man, of order and beauty, but all will be sweetness, simplicity, freedom, confidence, and light."[120]

Many key members of the movement, including William Morris worked with different firms and organizations, including charitable organization, in order to

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[119] Cumming, Elizabeth and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 6.
[120] Ibid, 9.

increase the sale of their goods. Most of these societies were philanthropic and the patrons were largely upper to upper-middle class Britons. Morris grew wary of this connection due to the contradictions in creating art for the people, yet having most of your patrons be wealthy. Despite Morris' concerns, many of these organizations, which were led by well to do women, sprung up around Britain with the aim of maintaining or reviving traditional regional crafts in order to aid craftsmen and preserve the knowledge and techniques; and they were frequently aided by John Ruskin and other members of the movement. These women were fuelled by a desire to aid workforce welfare and public awareness, and their organizations often supported women in local communities and the creation of cottage home industries.[121] The Donegal Industrial Fund, which I will discuss later in this chapter, is a great example of one of these organizations.

Both of these cultural movements (The Gaelic Revival and the Art and Crafts movement) were also tied to the larger trend of pastoralism that was occurring in England during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. By the first decade of the twentieth century, England had been transformed from relying on an economy based on agriculture, to an economy based on industry and commerce. Industrial development over the previous century had made England an overwhelmingly urban society, and between 1801 and 1911, the percentage of the English population living in urban areas rose from twenty to eighty percent. Despite the attempts by many to cast this rapid industrialization in a positive light (including the organizers of the exhibitions discussed here), belief in this

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[121] Ibid, 18-19.

unparalleled and expanding industrial progress was being questioned. The cities were crowded, there was frequently not enough housing in the larger cities like London, and living and working conditions for many were unsanitary and desolate.[122]

Among the middle classes, there was an increased interest in the problems of the urban poor around the mid-nineteenth century as the issues became more publicized and the need for philanthropic relief increased. In many books and publications, the Victorian city was increasingly portrayed in terms of the dehumanized wealthy industrialists versus the poverty-stricken poor in constant need of charity. As a result of this, a number of liberal reform movements sprung up in large cities like London, and the liberal politicians managed to pass a number of reform bills and measures in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was also related to the rise of Socialism in Britain during this later Victorian period. As the population in the cities was increasing, more rural English farmers were forced to leave their land due not only to industrialization, but also economic imperialism and the Victorian interest in free trade, which was exemplified in policies such as the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. This led many rural village communities becoming depressed and unable to change as quickly as English society was changing. Many of the reformers believed that the root cause of this increased

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[122] Jan Marsh, *Back to the Land: The Pastoral Impulse in England, from 1880 to 1914,* (London: Quartet /books, 1982), 1-2.

urban poverty was the urban industrial system, and to get away from that, it was important to move back to villages and back to handcrafted cottage industries.[123]

Again, like the organizations tied to the Arts and Crafts movement, many of the participants in the back to the land movement were upper and middle class members of British society and not actual laborers or workers. It was these three large cultural trends that really affected the growth of cottage industries in the space of the exhibition, and particularly in connect with more rural parts of the United Kingdom. It was also these movements, which were all interlinked, that helped organizations like the Donegal Industrial Fund educate Irish workers and fund the Donegal Industrial village to sell the finished products. Despite the emphasis of the working classes in these movements, they were all taken on and implemented by wealth British citizens, usually woman, in aid of the poorer, rural communities. In the case of Ireland and the industrial village, this further complicates the picture.

The Irish Exhibition (1888, London) and the Donegal Industrial Village

While Ballymaclinton, which was already discussed within the context of the Franco-British Exhibition, was the most popular Irish village, the first example of an Irish village in a British exhibition was at the Irish Exhibition held in London in 1888. The Irish Exhibition, which opened on June 4, 1888 at the exhibition site of Olympia in London, was organized with the goal of promoting Irish industry. According to the London Irish Exhibition Railway Guide:

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[123] Ibid, 2-4.

> Ireland possesses great natural resources and extensive Industries, which have not as of yet been utilized to the full, and the 'Irish Exhibition' has been undertaken with these conditions:-
>
> 1st-To place before the public a clear view of the predominant Industries of Ireland
>
> 2nd-To awaken public interest in the efforts being made to revive her trade
>
> 3rd- To exhibit to the many thousands of persons who have never crossed the Irish Channel somewhat of her deeply interesting Historical and Antiquarian Treasures
>
> 4th- To illustrate the work and significance of Irish Art; and
>
> Finally-To help to moderate prejudices, which, frequently tending to fetter the judgment, are at the very root of misunderstandings between people and people.[124]

The influence of the return to cottage industries can be seen in the exhibition agenda, where the entire focus of the exhibition is to promote Irish industry, often in the form of cottage industries. The guide goes on to state that, it is the hope of the organizers, that by visiting the exhibition, Englishmen will better understand Ireland and have a desire to learn more about her history and industries. "No Exhibition, however, has ever been so important, nationally, or fraught with such possibilities of good, as the Irish Exhibition."[125] The organizers of the exhibition, led by Lord Arthur Hill, M.P. as the Hon. Secretary, included a number of important British and Irish lords, aristocrats, Dukes, Professors, and Bishops, in addition to the Solicitor General for Ireland. The exhibition site at Olympia occupied twelve acres in London and in the tradition of previous British exhibitions, the building (which already occupied the site) was built of glass and iron and contained a glass roof with

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[124] *Bemrose's District Railway Guide to the Irish Exhibition in London* (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1888), 6.
[125] *Bemrose's District Railway Guide to the Irish Exhibition in London,* 11.

a central height of 100 feet. The Great Hall was divided into nine avenues or courts, lettered A to J, representing everything from agriculture, textiles, brewing and distilling, women's industries and cottage industries, and fine arts. There were also replicas of famous Irish symbols, such as the Celtic Cross.[126] In addition to these stalls and exhibits full of Irish goods, there were also a number of exhibits and attractions outside on the grounds of the exhibitions site. Here, there were replicas of many famous and important Irish buildings and sites, such as Blarney Castle and The Drogheda Gateway, an important site sieged by Cromwell. There were also military reenactments that occurred among the buildings during the day.[127]

There was also, as previously mentioned, an Irish village, called the Donegal Industrial Village. The first Irish village to be displayed in a British exhibition, it was sponsored by the Donegal Industrial Fund and the Earl of Leitrim. The Fund was one of a number of similar organizations previously discussed in the chapter. It was established in 1884 by Londoner Alice Rowland Hart, and it held classes in rural areas of Ireland and provided venues for the sale of goods in order to supplement the income of people living in rural poverty. Despite being an Englishwoman, Hart was a complex individual in regards to her position towards Ireland and the politics surrounding Irish British relations. She developed an interest in Ireland in response to the accounts of Irish poverty that were popular in Britain during the 1880s, and she held England responsible for Irish rural poverty in many of her writings and speeches. Despite this, she also often romanticized Irish history and heritage. She

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[126] Ibid, 11-21
[127] Ibid, 42-46.

also rejected the commonly held stereotype that the Irish were lazy, and instead saw her fund as providing an opportunity for people to work who were motivated and wanted to further their income.[128]

The Irish village (Fig. 11) she helped organize contained twelve cottages, each specializing in something different. There was the Weaver's Cottage, the Dyer's Cottage, the Damask Linen Weaver's Cottage, the Hemstitcher's Cottage, the Village Store, the Sewing Girls' Cottage, the Knitter's and Crochet Worker's Cottage, the Shirtmaker's Cottage, the Kells Embroidery Cottage, the Sprigging Cottage, The Kells Linen Weaver Cottage, and a cottage for Mary Doherty, Spinner and Wool Carder.[129] There were also the ruins of an Irish tower, a Celtic cross, and Irish workers put on display in the cottages, which helped to authenticate Donegal Industrial Village as an example of a 'real' Irish village. The workers were further elevated to the status of spectacle when some of them were profiled by *Queen* magazine, as part of the promotion of the exhibition.[130] The village was also placed next to a replica of an Irish farmyard, where native Irish men and women were also displayed in their native garb, preforming 'authentic' tasks.

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[128] Janice Helland, "Working Bodies, Celtic Textiles, and the Donegal Industrial Fund, 1883-1890," *Textile: The Journal of Cloth & Culture* 2, no. 2 (July, 1 2004): 35-47.
[129] *Bemrose's District Railway Guide to the Irish Exhibition in London,* 49-50.
[130] Helland, "Working Bodies, Celtic Textiles, and the Donegal Industrial Fund, 1883-1890," 148.

Fig. 11: The Irish Village, *Bemrose's District Railway Guide to the Irish Exhibition in London*, 28.

The Exhibition as a whole, including the Irish Village, was widely praised by many in both the Irish and the British press, with most reviews of the exhibition highlighting the Irish Village in particular. London's *The Morning Post* stated:

> Another important feature is an Irish village, in the houses of which the visitor will see country maids sitting working at their spinning wheels, and more experienced hands working at looms. Fires made with turf, brought from the West of Ireland, will be set alight, and over them will be suspended the kettles of potatoes, as is the custom of these workers in their native cots. The Cottages have been thatched by experienced thatchers, brought over from the West of Ireland for this purpose, and those who have not had the advantage of travelling in the Sister Isle may here see, faithfully reproduce, the real work which is so familiar in Ireland. The processes to illustrate are dyeing,

> carding, spinning and weaving by hand, homespuns and linens, the weaving of damask, lace making, sprigging, netting, hemstitching, and Kells embroidery. In an Irish marker scene, with a genuine Irish cross in the centre, other natives will be seen at work and selling products of lace making and knitting, and surrounded by all these unaccustomed reproductions the visitor may easily forget that he is at Kensington and not in the Sister Isle. [131]

These sentiments of authenticity were shared by papers such as *The Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* of Dublin, *The Pall Mall Gazette* of London, and *The Standard* of London. It is clear from these accounts that many saw the village, despite elevating the participants and the Irish cottage industry to that of a spectacle, as a real and beneficial representation of Ireland. This is particularly interesting because not only did the British newspapers see this created version of Ireland as 'authentic' but so did many of the papers in Ireland. Unlike some of the previous examples discussed, there was a fair amount of overlap when it came to the newspaper accounts, and many, both Irish and British, saw the exhibition as benefiting Ireland by showing this 'authentic' portrayal to a larger British audience.

While this is certainly one way to view the Irish village, there are other factors that make it a more complex space of representation. The main sponsor of the village was the Donegal Industrial Fund, and it set up the village with the goal of not only showing off Irish cottage industries, but also providing a space for the rural Irish workers to show off, and ultimately sell their goods. As stated earlier, one of the goals of the Donegal Industrial Fund

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[131] "The Irish Exhibition," *The Morning Post*, (London, UK), June 27, 1888.

was to help provide supplemental income for the Irish rural poor by finding them spaces to display and sell their crafts. So, while the Irish village did promote a quaint and imagined reality of Irish rural life, it also tapped into the increased interest in Irish history and culture, as well as a general interest in rural life, to help sell goods. Not only did the village have these goals, but the exhibition as a whole aimed to not only show Irish industry but also examples of Irish history and antiquity. On the one hand, the Irish village can be seen as a space that shows off Irish industrial capability by showcasing Ireland's ability to produce cottage industries. It not only showcases example of intricately decorated Irish handicrafts, but it also shows the process by having workers on display. On the other hand, it was organized by a British woman, and by placing the Irish people on display they, and their culture, became more of a spectacle. It was, like other colonial villages, a space to show the benefits of British philanthropy and colonial 'civilizing.' It was also the goal of these exhibitions to entertain, and the Irish village at the Irish International Exhibition can be seen as an attraction, not meant to portray the 'real' Ireland, but instead meant to draw in visitors. By playing off the British stereotypes of quaint Irish culture, more British would be inclined to visit, and to purchase the goods for sale. The village pandered to a growing nostalgia for rural life, an increased desire for objects containing tradition Irish symbols and patterns, and by promoting the important of handcrafted objects. Not only that, but thanks to the Arts and Crafts movement, there was a larger market available for handcrafter objects.

Therefore, this first Irish village can be seen as containing multiple layers of meaning and mirroring not only the complexities of the Irish situation in the nineteenth century, but also mirroring the numerous functions of the exhibition space. It was not only meant to portray an 'authentic' Ireland, but also to entertain visitors and to sell handcrafted items, however they could.

The Home Industries Section at the Irish International Exhibition (1907, Dublin)

In the case of the Irish International Exhibition in 1907, one of the most popular attractions was the Home Industries Section. It was located in its own building near the rides and attractions, such as Rivers of Ireland, the Helter Skelter Lighthouse, the Flip Flap, the Switchback Railway, and the Somali Village. The Home Industries Section, overseen by Lady Aberdeen (the Scottish woman behind Ballymaclinton), was a mix between an attraction and an exhibit hall. Inside the building, there were three model laborers' cottages, a village hall with a village green, and a village hospital that contained a Women's Section and displays on hygiene and cottage industries.[132] According to the official catalogue

> The foreign synopsis will convey to visitors the desire of the Committee to form a display credible to Ireland, and useful to those engaged in the work of rehabilitating rural life, thereby bringing work and leisure properly together, and tending to stay the tide of emigration.[133]

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[132] Helland, "Working Bodies, Celtic Textiles, and the Donegal Industrial Fund, 1883-1890," 136.

[133] *Irish International Exhibition, 1907, The Official Catalogue,* 124.

Thus on the surface, the Home Industries Section was intended to promote a serious, industrial, and independent image of Ireland, and to help aid the image of rural Ireland and lessen the number of emigrants leaving Ireland. It was also, however, clearly influenced by the success of Irish villages and by the general escalated fascination with the rural. Like the case of the soap company that funded Ballymaclinton, here, the Irish are bringing together stereotypes about rural Ireland and pandering to the desire for rural life and Irish culture, in the hopes to attract visitors. Throughout the section, there were people demonstrating a number of tasks, such as embroidery and lace making.

On the one hand, this can be seen within the larger context of the goals of the exhibition. Instead of showing a stereotypical image of Irish rural life in London, the Home Industries Section was created with the goal of aiding Irish rural life, and was displayed in Ireland. On the other hand, Lady Aberdeen, a Scottish woman, was also in change of this display. The village can also be seen within the context of the history villages, which had less to do with race and imperial constructs of 'civilization,' that were becoming increasingly popular during this period. The rise of the history village was linked to the larger pastoral movement and admiration for the rural that occurred in this period of industrialization, and often contained buildings from a particular time period in the past with an emphasis on rural life. The Home Industries Section, then, can also be seen as a product of the pastoralism movement, as well as a the revival of cottage industries that was closely tied with

the Arts and Crafts movement and figures such as William Morris.[134] If the goal of the exhibition was to increase interest in Ireland and Irish industry, it would make sense given the cultural climate of the era that the handcrafted cottage industries had their own section and were displayed in this manor. The Home Industries Section, then, was not just a case of British paternalism, or of the British emphasizing the inferior industry of the Irish. Having this section and presenting it in this way fit with the goals of the exhibitions.

Ballymaclinton and The Festival of Empire (1911, London)

Another exhibition that owes a lot to the cultural climate of the period is the Festival of Empire, where the Irish village of Ballymaclinton was revived, along with a Tudor village. The Festival of Empire was held in London for five months, from May until October 1911. It was planned to celebrate the empire and the British state, and was supposed to open in 1910, but due to the death of King Edward VII, the event was postponed and incorporated into the coronation celebrations of King George V in 1911. The Festival was held at the Crystal Palace from the Exhibition of 1851, which had been disassembled and moved from its original location to a park in Syndenham, an area of greater south-east London.[135] According to the official catalogue:

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[134] Helland, "Working Bodies, Celtic Textiles, and the Donegal Industrial Fund, 1883-1890," 136.

[135] Susan Bennett, "London 1911," *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions,* eds. John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, (London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2008), 211.

> The Festival, as planned, has three dominant ideas. The first is that of displaying before the eyes of the dwellers in the Homeland an object-lesson in form and colour and actual exhibits of the immense resources, the varied industries, and limitless potentialities of Greater Britain. The second is to provide in the heart of Empire a home-centre for all the Britons from oversea, where they can meet as honoured guests their hosts of the Motherland, and at the same time make acquaintance with each other on the domestic hearth of Britannia. The third is, by means of a Pageant of unexampled splendor, to enable all comers, Britons at home and Britons from oversea, to witness a series of scenes of the dramatic representation of the gradual evolution of London from the days of Caesar and Casssivelaunus, winding up with series of pageants representing some of the most memorable episodes in the growth of the Empire.[136]

This three-pronged goal mirrors the three mains parts of the Festival: the Palace and surrounding grounds, the 'All-Red Route' and associated buildings, and the Pageant of London. The emphasis is almost exclusively on empire and imperial strength. The Palace and the grounds were organized in a similar manor to previous exhibitions, with the emphasis on British and colonial goods. Many of the permanent features of the Crystal Palace, such as the Court of the Kings and Queens of England and the hall of statues, were covered up for the Festival of Empire and replaced with other exhibits. The Palace was also completely redecorated and repainted for the Festival, including the addition of large banners containing the arms of all the states of empire. The entire ground floor of the palace contained all of the British exhibits and stalls, which were dedicated to a wide variety of industries including applied chemistry, manufacturers, perfumery, paintings, pianos, mining, engineering, shipping, transportation and motive power, decoration and furnishings, arts crafts and home industries, photography, liberal arts, British and Colonial agriculture,

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[136] *Festival of Empire, Imperial Exhibition and Pageant of London at the Crystal Palace, Official Guide and Catalogue Including the Fair of Fashions* (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1911), 5-6.

horticulture, forestry, fisheries, alimentary, textiles, sports, and industries from the colonies. The palace also contained the Fair of Fashions, and some of the courts, such as the medieval court, that were erected for the Great Exhibition of 1851. In addition to the Crystal Palace, the grounds of the exhibition contained numerous other palaces for the dominions, colonies, and overseas dependencies to display their industrial goods, including an Indian Pavilion, a Canadian Pavilion, and a South African Pavilion. The grounds also contained popular attractions, such as the Tudor Village, the Coaster Switchback, revolving air-ships, a lake with models of prehistoric monsters, a show called Wild Australia (an imperial display containing aborigines), a water-chute, and a maze.[137]

One of the most unique features of the Festival of Empire of 1911 was the All-Red Route, which was part exhibit, part spectacle, and part amusement ride. The Official Guide and Catalogue states that "The All-Red Route is an attempt to convey to the eye of every visitor a living picture of the more salient characteristics of the British Empire....[it] stands out as the most brilliant attempt to exhibit on a gigantic scale the features of a gigantic empire."[138] The All-Red Route was a mile and a quarter railway trip that passed through replicas of all of major colonies and dominions of the empire. It gave visitors to the exhibition the ability to visit a scaled-down version of the entire British Empire in fifteen to twenty minutes. It cost £60,000 to build the route and the two engines that powered the railway cars cost £30,000. At night, 75,000 incandescent light strung on fifteen miles of electric wires

[137] Ibid, 9-15.
[138] Ibid, 16.

and 200 arc lamps helped to illuminate the route, allowing for the attraction to be open from 10am to 11pm. During non-peak hours, visitors could stop and get out at any of the five-stations that were along the route. The first colony was Canada, where there was the Newfoundland station, a replica of the St. John's harbor, replicas of the apple orchards of Ontario, a Canadian ranch with live animals, and a replica of the harbor of Vancouver. Then, after leaving Canada, the visitor passed a Malay village, and then Jamaica with a replica sugar plantation, before heading back to Asia and into India. In the India section, there was, among many other things, a replica jungle with live animals, including tigers and an elephant. After India was Australia, with a replica of the Blue Mountains, kangaroos, a dairy farm, and a waterfall. Then the visitors travelled to New Zealand where there was a replica Maori village, and ended up in South Africa. In addition to the various animals and attractions, the All-Red Route also featured people inhabiting these replica towns.[139] Many were, like the Irish of Ballymaclinton, white inhabitants of British colonies or dominions.

The other main section of the Festival of Empire was the Pageant of London, which was a theatrical spectacle that involved 15,000 volunteers. The goal of the show was to show the growth and development of the English nation, through the history of London as a key imperial city.[140] It was performed over four days and contained four parts and over forty scenes, staring with "The Dawn of British History" and ending with "The Masque Imperial." It covered a range of subjects and

[139] Ibid, 16-20.
[140] Bennett, "London 1911," 211.

key moments in British history, including the Norman Conquest, the rule of Queen Elizabeth, the beheading of Charles I, and the acquisition of the colonies.[141] What is interesting to note is that Ireland is rarely mentioned in this long history of English, and then British, power. There is a section entitled "Edward I and Dreams of Unity," that contains three scenes: the presentation of Carnarvon Castle to Edward I, the translation of a fragment of the holy cross and the bringing of the coronation stone of Scotland to Westminster, and the investiture of the Prince of Wales.[142] These scenes each portray historical events important in the conquest of Wales and Scotland, which resulted in the creation of the Kingdom of Great Britain. There are, however, very few mentions of Ireland, despite the fact that Ireland and Britain had shared a monarchy since the 1500s and a parliament since 1800. Their history had also been intertwined for a long time. Ireland is briefly mentioned in connection with the coronation stone of Scotland, which was in Ireland for a time, and Elizabeth is referenced by her title of Queen of England, France, and Ireland. In addition, towards the end of the Pageant when the contemporary Empire is being celebrated, four heralds with the arms of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and England, are part of the celebration.[143] The only other brief mention of Ireland is the presence of Stephen of Fulbourn, Bishop of Waterford in the scene where the Prince of Wales is introduced. Stephen was Edward I's Justice of Ireland, and the guide suggests that his presence should be noted and "The fact that he was often with the King suggests that the

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[141] Sophie C. Lomas, *Festival of Empire, Souvenir of the Pageant of London,* (London: Bemrose, 1911), v.
[142] Ibid, ix.
[143] Ibid, 157.

latter was keenly interested in the affairs of the sister island."[144] While this key spectacle, which was viewed by many, addresses parts of the unity of Great Britain, it treats Ireland as if it was always part of the United Kingdom. In the Pageant of London, Ireland was seen as a minor but present figure in the British Empire, seen as neither fully part of the metropole nor fully a separate space.

The main way, however, that Ireland was represented in the exhibition was through the presence of Ballymaclinton, which at this point had become a reoccurring and successful part of British exhibitions. There was also a small Irish section inside of the Crystal Palace, which was also focused on Irish cottage industries.[145] The Irish village at the Festival of Empire was set up much the same as the first Ballymaclinton, but on a slightly smaller scale. There were still, however, a number of Irish females on display, shown working at various tasks. Like the previous two Irish villages, the official catalogue of the Festival of Empire describes it as "A realistic picture of life in the Emerald Isle; showing typical industries and amusements."[146] What makes the Irish village at the Festival of Empire more complex, however, is the presence of a Tudor village, complete with timbered cottages and young British women.[147] There was also a replica Shakespeare theatre with an "Elizabethan audience."[148] As Stephanie Raines argues, this highlights a

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[144] Ibid, 23.
[145] *Festival of Empire, Imperial Exhibition and Pageant of London at the Crystal Palace, Official Guide and Catalogue Including the Fair of Fashions,* 60.
[146] Ibid, 108.
[147] Stephanie Rains, "Colleens, Cottages and Kraals: The Politics of 'Native' Village Exhibitions," *History Ireland* 19, no.2 (March/April 2011): 33.
[148] *Festival of Empire, Imperial Exhibition and Pageant of London at the Crystal Palace, Official Guide and Catalogue Including the Fair of Fashions,* 109.

secondary narrative present in the Irish villages. While many of the spectators saw the Irish village as a representation of the 'backward' colonial other, it was also, as we have seen in this chapter, part of larger cultural trends during this era that celebrated 'unspoilt' village life and crafts. There was also an interest in 'quaint' village architecture, such as Tudor style homes, and magazines such as *Country Life* were founded. This nostalgia and interest in rural life, should, as previously discussed, be seen within the context of rapid industrialized and decline of the British countryside.[149] The Tudor village, then, adds an interesting contrast to the Irish village. Unlike the comparative villages seen in this paper, the Tudor village was not colonial. Much like the Irish village, it contained white people of the metropole on display. The main difference was that the Tudor village was set in the past. Despite this, both the Tudor village and the Irish village can be seen as a product of the cultural landscape of early twentieth-century Britain. By having a Tudor village with people on display, the influence of the pastoral and Arts and Crafts movements on the Irish village are more noticeable.

It is also important to note, however, that the Tudor village was not the only other instance of people on display at the Festival of Empire. As previously mentioned, the All-Red Route and the replica villages along it contained people on display, from a Maori village to white Canadians and Australians working. This also helps to complicate the narrative of British paternalism present in the Irish village by showing not only colonial subjects on display, but also white, British colonizers

[149] Rains, "Colleens, Cottages and Kraals: The Politics of 'Native' Village Exhibitions," 33.

on display. Thus, in the case of the Festival of Empire, like in the Franco-British Exhibition, Ballymaclinton presents a further complicated narrative of Ireland, and could have represented a number of different things for the spectators who visited the exhibition. This chapter as a whole also stresses this point and it is important to remember that visitors could have picked up any number of these narratives when viewing these exhibits. This chapter also reinforces the point that Ireland's representation in the exhibition was more than just British paternalism against Irish nationalism. Both the British and the Irish emphasized Irish rural life, history, and cottage industries during this period. While some of this in the case of the British could be attributed to utilizing the stereotype of the unindustrialized Irish, it was also clearly part of larger trends. Often it was the philanthropic funds and organizations that arose out of the Arts and Craft movement and the pastoral movement, which funded these village or spaces of display. These were women who were directly influenced by their cultural surroundings and they brought that influence with them when designing these exhibits. Even when these charitable funds were not behind the display of these cottage industries, the influences of these reactionary cultural movements are present. In the case of the Irish International Exhibition of 1907, the goal was to show Irish industry and increase interest in it. If there is already a market for handcrafted goods, or objects with Irish symbolism, then it makes sense to utilize this market to attract visitors. In the case of the Tudor village and the Festival of Empire, that helps prove that these cultural beliefs were being brought into other exhibits in the exhibitions, and it provides a nice comparison point for the Irish village. What this chapter achieves, then, is to further

complicate the already existing narratives. Not only is the representation of the Irish influenced by the wide-ranging political beliefs, the imperial mission and other similar colonial exhibits, the company that funded the space, and the individual agents who help create the space, but these narratives were also influenced by the cultural atmosphere of the period.

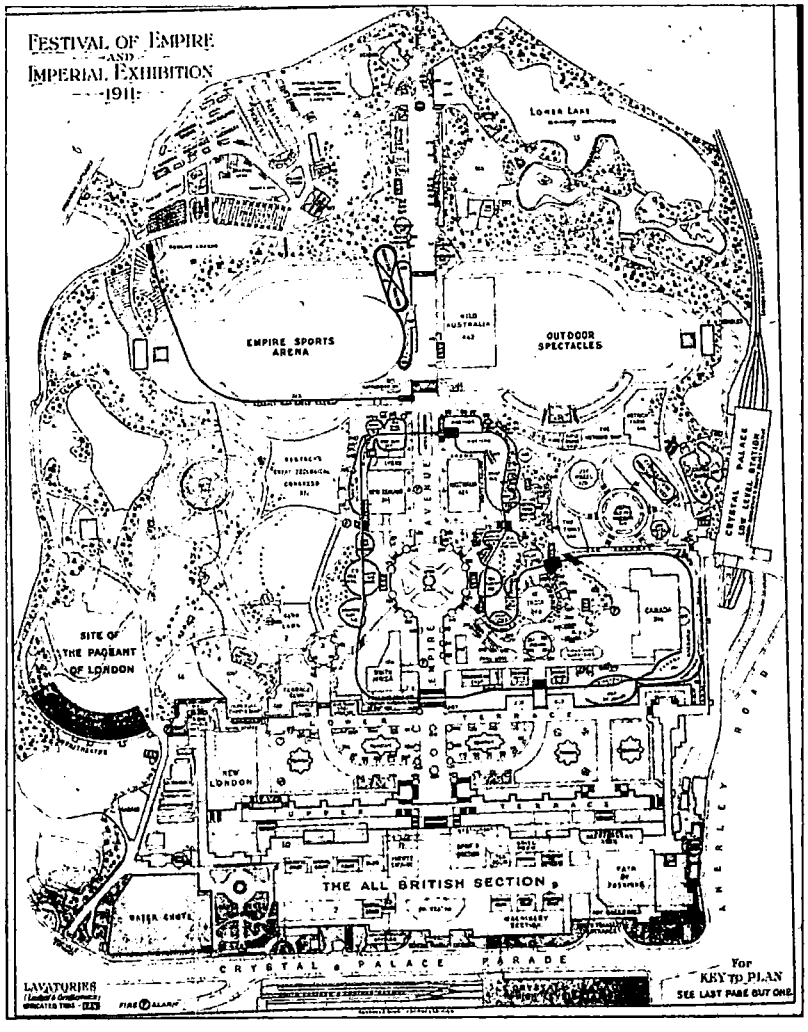

Fig. 12: Map of the Festival of Empire, *Festival of Empire Imperial Exhibition and Pageant of London, Crystal Palace, 1911: Official Daily Program*

Conclusion

Ultimately, then, if you look at all of the exhibitions being considered, an interesting and complex picture emerges. What is presented is not just the basic narrative of a colonizer versus the colonized, but instead, the complexities of Ireland's situation during the nineteenth and early twentieth century becomes apparent. On the one hand they can be seen as active participators in British imperialism, yet on the other as a colonized space that is subjected to British imperialism and paternalism. There was also not one ideal version of Irish Home Rule, and within Ireland, there was the division between the largely Protestant Unionists and the Catholic majority. All of these nuances and intricacies are on display in the space of the exhibition, which makes Ireland a particularly unique case. The three chapters of this paper each broadly represent a different layer of this complexity: political, imperial, and cultural, yet ultimately each section shows that the representation of Ireland went beyond these categories.

In the case of the earlier exhibitions, Ireland was portrayed through the objects, usually industrial, that were on display. In the case of 1851, she was set apart from the rest of the United Kingdom in the Irish court, and most of the success Ireland had at the exhibition was in the home and cottage industries. In the guidebooks, however, this success was attributed to British aid and to the Union. A central tenet of British imperialism was the ideal of betterment, or improvement, and in the space of the exhibition, Ireland was seen as an example of this British imperial tenet at work. In an era where modernity equaled industrialization, Ireland, with her mostly agricultural economy, was not seen on the same footing as

other modern nations. With the help of Britain, however, her standing in the world was improving.

This narrative of betterment, which was apparent at Britain's first large scale exhibition, continued throughout the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century. At the same time however, a number of British objects were on display at these early exhibitions that portrayed Ireland as a key part of the United Kingdom, on the same footing as England, Scotland, and Wales. This makes sense given the goals of these patriotic exhibitions, which were to portray the superiority of the United Kingdom and its empire. What is unexpected at these early exhibitions, and in particular in the Great Exhibition of 1851, is the narrative of Irish independence and pre-invasion history that comes through. While the British were creating an image of Ireland as closely tied to Britain, the objects by Arthur Jones of Dublin utilized Irish national symbols and Irish history to create a narrative of Irish economic independence and Irish pre-invasion history. What is even more remarkable is that these objects, and their symbolism, were frequently mentioned in the guidebooks and catalogues produced in Britain for the exhibition. So, not only were these objects produced by an Irishman, but they were displayed and widely discussed in a positive light in Britain, despite advocating a version of Ireland with its own, distinct history. These different agents, from Cassell and other publishers, to Arthur Jones and the exhibition organizers, were all using the same space and the same tactics to create different narratives.

The later British exhibitions introduced the display of people into the space of the exhibition, and help to further complicate Ireland's representation in these public spaces. The Irish village can be seen as a part of the larger trend of displaying colonized people in an attempt to show their 'backwardness' and help promote British superiority. On the other hand, these villages were sponsored by funds, albeit funds set up by British women, with the goals of aiding the rural Irish poor and providing them with a supplementary income. Despite this, the villages emphasized cleanliness and hygiene as standards reached in Ireland only through the help of the British, thus further promulgating British paternalistic attitudes. They offered a view of Irish economic sustainability and independence, but one that was safe, non-threatening, and non-partisan. This was important in light of the increasing demands for Irish Home Rule during the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as the increasing militantism of Irish nationalism.

The village of Ballymaclinton, present at numerous exhibitions, was, among other things, an advertisement. Among its sponsors was an Irish soap manufacturing company, and they utilized the trends of the Gaelic Revival and Arts and Crafts Movement (which led to an increased interest in quaint depictions of Irish rural life) to sell their products. These villages also contained Irish people, primarily women, who participated in this stereotypical and quaint depiction of their culture. Therefore, these Irish villages created complex pictures of Ireland and British visitors would have responded to any number of these unique images. There was no one version of Ireland, Irish Home Rule, or British attitudes presented.

The two exhibitions held in Dublin tell a similar story and also help attest to the complexities of the situation. Both British and Irish men were involved in the planning of both exhibitions, and this led to the complexities in representation. In the case of the Great Industrial Exhibition of 1852, Ireland attempted to represent herself as independent, capable, and industrial, yet the attempt failed. The exhibition was poorly attended and not taken very seriously by other western Nations. Many of the reports from Britain focused on the difficulties that Ireland had staging this exhibition, or the chose to focus on British of international goods and not Irish goods. In 1907, there was more of a complex narrative occurring on the side of the Irish. Among the group of organizers, again made up of leading British and Irish men, there were very distinct, and sometimes different, opinions about Irish Home Rule and the role of the British. These men were utilizing the space of the exhibition and the same modes of display, but for very different aims, and therefore two conflicting narratives, one of Irish independence and one of Ireland within the larger context of British glory, were present in the same space. In the case of 1907, there was also the Home Industries Section, which while organized by a British woman was approved by the Irish organizers, and emphasized the rural aspects of Ireland. There was also, however, the Somali village which placed Ireland temporarily into the role of the colonizer, or at least in a superior position to the colonized who were on display. Thus, even in the case of the exhibitions held in Ireland, no straightforward picture of Ireland's place within the empire emerges.

These case studies, then, show that when analyzing Ireland's representation in the space of the exhibition, two main points become clear. One is that Ireland in

the exhibition mirrors the complexities of Ireland's political situation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Not only where there differing opinions in Britain and Ireland over the future role of Ireland within the United Kingdom, but there were also disagreements among supporters of Irish Home Rule. As easy as it is to talk about Home Rule as one set idea, there was no agreed upon definition of Home Rule in the nineteenth century, and it was a source of tension both within Britain, but also among Irish nationalist circles. There was also the divide within Ireland between the Protestants, who were largely descendent from the English and were unionists, and the Catholic majority in Ireland, many who were in favor of Home Rule or repeal of the Act of Union.

There was also no consensus on British perceptions of the Irish during this period. While many saw them as an inferior race, there were also those, like Lady Aberdeen and Alice Hart, who, despite romanticizing the rural Irish, believed in the ability of the Irish rural poor to work and helped provide them with opportunities to do so. So, while exhibitions could certainly act as powerful imperial or national propaganda, in the case of Ireland's representation in these seven exhibitions, there is no one main narrative being disseminated to the public. Instead, much like the issue of Ireland at the time, numerous narratives were being put on display for the exhibitions visitors, and those visitors could have responded to any one of them.

These complexities also relate to the point that exhibitions did not just have one purpose during this period. They started out as grand celebrations of industry, modernity, and nationhood. These early exhibitions where often official,

government sponsored events, meant to portray the superiority of Britain and of the British Empire. They brought the empire to the metropole and helped to reaffirm British imperial ideology. These exhibitions reaffirmed the ties between industry and modernity, helping to prove that all truly modern nations were also great industrial powers. By the late nineteenth century, the nature of exhibitions shifted. While still dedicated to industry and modernity, the later exhibitions were usually privately funded and there was an increased emphasis on spectacle and entertainment. Not only were these large displays tools of propaganda for empire, meant to display the 'backward' and 'uncivilized' colonies within the space of the metropole, but they were also meant to amuse visitors. These exhibitions were also intended to make a profit, and utilized cultural movements in order to attract visitors. This is also true of certain exhibits, many of which acted as advertisements for various products or manufacturers, such as the village of Ballymaclinton. Some of the exhibits, like all of the Irish villages, also acted as spaces for the sale of goods, and organizers can be seen as tapping into the trend for Irish crafts and the growing fascination with rural life, in order to make more money for charitable organizations or for the Irish rural poor whose objects were on display. If anything, Ireland in the space of the exhibition helps to prove that both Ireland and the exhibition were complex spaces during this era. What emerges in the exhibition is not a straightforward narrative of the colonizing powers against the colonized, but instead a host of overlapping and complex narratives that are indebted to the agents who acted within these very public spaces and the audiences who could interpret them in multiple ways.

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