MANUFACTURING REALITY:
THE DISPLAY OF THE IRISH AT WORLD'S FAIRS AND EXHIBITIONS 1893 TO 1965

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by

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Introduction

In 1894, shortly after the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago closed, a pamphlet titled *The Midway: A Burlesque Entertainment* appeared. A how-to guide that instructed readers on the finer points of creating an amusement-oriented section at local fairs, its paragon was the Midway Plaisance that housed international oddities and foreign peoples along a mile-long strip of land adjacent to the White City, known as the "civilized" section, at the 1893 Chicago fairgrounds. The booklet asserted a midway was a "novel entertainment [that] requires some work and intelligence to be made a successful one, but it may be carried out much more easily than might at first be supposed."¹ Throughout its pages, the brochure elaborated on the specific details needed to stage a triumphant re-creation of the Chicago Midway; in short, it described the midway's construction, formation of working committees to ensure that the project came to fruition, vendor privileges, advertising, and, most importantly, profitable attractions to lure visitors.

This midway manual stressed the importance of "realism," particularly as this encompassed the creation of historic replicas and costumes. One of the exhibits *The Midway* championed was a Blarney Castle display because it "was famous on the original Midway, and it can be made equally popular in a burlesque reproduction." Those who visited the Blarney Castle on American soil, according to *The Midway*, expected accurate depictions of Irish identity. What

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was, however, the correct version of "Irishness"? For the author(s) of this midway booklet it was impera
tive that "bogwood and lace" be sold and "Pretty girls in Irish peasant dress should be in charge, and if some Irish songs and dances can be given it will add to the attractions of the booth." To entice visitors into Blarney Castle, "a young man in brown stockings, hob-nailed shoes, green knee-pants and corduroy coat, topped off with the high hat" should draw the attention of fair visitors to buy Irish-themed goods. For best results, *The Midway* recommended someone "who can imitate the Irish brogue, sing a funny Irish ditty, or dance a few steps, at least of an Irish jig" be used to accomplish these goals. Finally, the faux Irishman "would not be complete without his shillalah [sic] and loud taps with it on the floor" to drum up the required business.² To be sure, the Irish castle was not the only attraction listed in this guide, but its inclusion demonstrated the allure that this type of display possessed for audiences throughout the United States.³

*The Midway: A Burlesque Entertainment* was but one of many publications produced during the era of the Chicago fair and it became linked with America's fascination with events of this sociocultural type, particularly during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The existence of this document and the ephemera associated with the Chicago Exposition and all other world's fairs revealed the vitality of these international events as well as their cultural, political, and economic importance. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, world's fairs (also known as expositions and exhibitions) began to provide a powerful platform for Western-oriented peoples, specifically in Europe and the United States, to showcase their alleged superiority and acumen in technological, scientific, and artistic affairs when compared to

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² Ibid., 21.
³ Other attractions listed included villages in which representations of the Dahomey, Japanese, Indian, Lapland, and Samoan peoples occur as well as a Street in Cairo exhibit and a Turkish Theatre. See *The Midway*, 12, 19-26.
supposedly "inferior" and "savage" non-Western peoples. A nation's appearance and participation at world's fairs helped to cement political, economic, and cultural agency among "advanced" nations; it is no surprise, therefore, that the most technologically dominant countries of the world, specifically Great Britain, the United States, and France, often competed for the honor of possessing the most square footage of display space at these expositions. This Occidental mindset directed and reflected the thought process of political leaders and their people. Ireland, however, occupied a dynamic sociopolitical place in Europe because it was simultaneously a part of Europe, but also a colonial possession of Britain.

This dissertation investigates the shifting discourse regarding the display of Irish history, culture, and people within local, national, and international fairground settings in England.

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4 The notion of agency for historians is linked with concepts associated with power and action, or lack thereof, by state and non-state actors. Criticism of this idea within the realm of the New Social History, as outlined by Walter Johnson, encompasses the overuse of the term agency, especially within African American historiography. Johnson argues that this word can be "too abstract" and, ultimately, different groups, such as Africans and African Americans, "had differential degrees of access to shaping [a shared past]." He contends that historians use this concept of agency "as an advertisement of good will." Closely paralleled to this notion of overuse regarding terminology utilized by historians and other academics, according to Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, concerns the term identity. They assert that not "all people have, seek, construct, [or] negotiate" with identity and "What is problematic is not that a particular term is used, but how it is used." Brubaker and Cooper contend, specifically in their discussion of race in the United States, "The question remains whether we can address the complexity of history - including the changing ways in which external categorizations have both stigmatized and humiliated people and given them an enabling and empowering sense of collective selfhood - in more supple and differentiated language." See Walther Johnson, "On Agency," Journal of Social History 37 (Fall 2003): 113-124; and Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'identity,'" Theory and Society 29 (Feb. 2000): 1-47.

5 Within the historiography of empire studies, the term colony remains a contested construct. This dissertation defines colony as a territory controlled and influenced by an outside or foreign entity. There are various ways to dominate a colony and these include militarily, economically, politically, religiously, legally, culturally, racially or any combination thereof. My understanding of colonialism stems from Irish sociologist Joseph Ruane. He writes, "Colonialism as process refers to the intrusion into and conquest of an inhabited territory by the representatives (formal or informal) of an external power; the displacement of the native inhabitants (elites and/or commoners) from resources and positions of power; the subsequent exercise of economic, political, and cultural control over the territory and native population by the intruders and their descendants, in their own interests and in the name and interests of the external power." See Joseph Ruane, "Colonialism and the Interpretation of Irish Historical Development," in Approaching the Past: Historical Anthropology through Irish Case Studies, ed. Marilyn Silverman and P. H. Gulliver (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 295. Pamela M. Clayton also reminds us, "From 1800, Ireland was no longer legally a colony but part of the United Kingdom, yet the abusive racial stereotyping of the Catholic Irish in general was common in the Victorian era." This negatively influenced Victorians comprehension of the Irish because these stereotypes facilitated ideas that the Irish were "being lazy, dirty, ignorant, superstitious, content to be poor, uncivilised, violent, irrational, ungrateful, impractical,childlike, easily aroused and easily manipulated by self-serving agitators." See Pamela M. Clayton, "Two Kings of Colony: 'Rebel Ireland' and the 'Imperial Province',' in Was Ireland a Colony?: Economics, Politics, and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005), 238-239.
Ireland, and the United States from 1893 to 1965. In contrast to existing literature that either focuses upon these locations, primarily world's fairs, as conduits of national self expression or places emphasis on a single fair or cluster of exhibitions in a short span of time in one nation, this dissertation incorporates multiple fairground experiences within the Atlantic world that encompassed generations of spectators and treats the spaces of these fairs, especially midway sections, as cultural battlegrounds, particularly when considering Ireland and the showcase of its heritage for profit by various entities. I argue that state and non-state actors in the Atlantic world controlled myriad depictions of Irishness within multiple fairgrounds and exerted tremendous authority regarding the ways in which the transnational community perceived Ireland, and that the marketplaces linked to these events emerged as sites to mediate ethnic memory. Those groupings associated with the control of Irishness as an ethnic commodity, such as "imperial mothers," the British Parliament, the American Irish, and the Irish themselves, demonstrated purposeful action regarding their quest to "manage" Irishness. Ultimately, the power of the Irish within these transnational spaces remained contested and constrained well into the twentieth century. Central to this activity concerned the creation of what I term a manufactured reality that focused on multiple portrayals of Irishness.


Elizabeth Outka's work on the "commodified authentic," in part, influences this dissertation. Part of her work examines various English model factory towns (such as Bournville, constructed by the Cadbury Brothers, and...
for depicting Ireland at these exhibitions materialized, generally, with the "Irish Village." This "village" most often presented replicas of famous Irish landmarks, quaint cottages with thatched roofs, Irish-made items for sale, and "real" Irish men and women authentically clad in peasant dress who spoke with a brogue. In short, the presentation of an agrarian-oriented and pre-industrial Irish society became "proof" that Ireland posed very little threat during an era of robust and increasing nationalist sentiment. Although these depictions were by no means indicative of a deteriorating interest regarding Irish nationalism in Ireland, these "villages" became popular venues to display tropes that formed the basis of traditional notions of Irishness in the Atlantic world.

The theoretical inspiration for this dissertation concerns relationships of power, particularly between state and non-state actors. This project demonstrates that the display and oversight of Irish culture, history, and people within various fair settings changed over time. Beginning in the 1880s Liberal-oriented British female philanthropists directed Irish-themed exhibitions. By the late 1890s the American Irish community in multiple cities, usually under the auspices of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, hosted "Irish fairs" to expand awareness of Ireland's contribution to civilization and to raise funds for local-based initiatives, such as church renovations. For the 1904 Louisiana Purchase International Exposition the American Irish population in St. Louis worked in tandem with an organization funded by the British Parliament, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland. This relationship between state and non-state actors marked a unique crossroads regarding the use and display of Irishness.

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within the public sphere of the exhibitionary paradigm.\textsuperscript{8} It would not be until well after the First World War that the Irish began to assert agency in how their nation, culture, and people appeared at world's fairs. Throughout this dissertation, the ebb and flow of various power relationships emerge and ideas linked to authenticity, communication, and performance materialize.

Why is a study of the Irish at world's fairs during this era important? The one obvious answer is that there is very little within the historiography that focuses upon or provides an in-depth analysis of the Irish at these events. An exception to this concerns a recent dissertation by Caroline R. Malloy titled "Exhibiting Ireland: Irish Villages, Pavilions, Cottages, and Castles at International Exhibitions, 1853-1939."\textsuperscript{9} Malloy, an art historian, provides an excellent description of various Irish displays at these global events and accurately argues that the exhibition format was "one particular mode of Irish national development" and that "global exhibition spaces encouraged the implementation of and experimentation with a range of representations of Ireland."\textsuperscript{10} Malloy's work focuses on visual culture, developing ideas of Irishness, and Irish art history but, ultimately, it does not adequately consider the role of empire or the complex and dynamic power relationships that emerged between the Irish, American Irish, and the transatlantic community writ large. Her scholarship, nevertheless, is important because it is the first to break new ground in this field of inquiry.

\textsuperscript{8} The theoretical construct of the "public sphere" as a sociopolitical lens of analysis appears in the work of Jürgen Habermas. In part, Habermas argues that representation in the public sphere is linked to notions of power and commodity exchange, especially when "private people come together as a public[]." See Jürgen Habermas, \textit{The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society}, trans. Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 8-10, 26, 74, 85-88. For a discussion of the public sphere theory and debates regarding some of its shortcomings, see Nick Crossley and John Michael Roberts, eds., \textit{After Habermas: New Perspectives on the Public Sphere} (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004). This text, in general, criticizes Habermas for his binary of only public-private sphere analysis, his focus on a male-dominated bourgeoisie, and that his overall theoretical schema is simply too abstract and formalistic, i.e., that rationale dialogue in the public sphere will emerge within a society as a determining and default factor. Regardless of its minor deficiencies, the discourse surrounding the public sphere allows for tangible discussion of an important social binary of state and non-state actor agency, a theoretical concept essential for this dissertation.


\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., 295.
A more compelling justification for this project involves its ability to help us understand empire and the intricate intellectual scaffolding that accompanied it during this period. Linked to this paradigm concerns the importance of ethnic memory construction. Recent scholarship by Mary C. Kelly argues that the American Irish chose not to "remember" An Gorta Mór (the Great Hunger) in any "real" way until they achieved significant political power within the United States. Kelly concludes that it was not until the mid-twentieth century, shortly after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, that the American Irish came to terms with trauma in a localized and transatlantic context because they no longer felt socially threatened by the consequences of the Great Hunger.\textsuperscript{11} This dissertation asserts that the American Irish from the late nineteenth century onward emerged as active agents when it came to celebrating and commemorating their heritage; although the American Irish engaged with selective historical memory recognition, they did not hesitate to celebrate Irish heritage within the public sphere. What the American Irish failed to acknowledge, however, was that in their quest to "protect" Irishness, they also helped to transform it.

Although the Irish lived for centuries under British rule, this era coincided with the emergence of vigorous social resentment that peaked during the late nineteenth century and eventually led to a "new Ireland" in the 1920s. The "Irish Question" crested during this time, but notions of Irishness remained in flux.\textsuperscript{12} What made Ireland unique and dangerous was its geographic proximity to its rulers.


\textsuperscript{12} For a sociocultural examination of the shifting ideas of "Irishness" in the nineteenth century, see Anne-Catherine Lobo, "Irishness and the Body: The Presence of the Body in the Debates of Poverty in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *Affecting Irishness: Negotiating Cultural Identity Within and Beyond the Nation*, ed. James P. Byrne, Padraig Kirwan, and Michael O'Sullivan (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009), 57-68.
The commodification of ethnicity, specifically Irishness, underpins the foundations of this project. As will be shown, myriad groups within the Atlantic world heavily influenced depictions of Ireland within the public sphere before the Irish completely retook the reins of representation in 1965. The timeframe utilized for this dissertation coincides with an increasing devotion by Irish nationalists to secure an independent homeland and a rigorous expansion of world's fair activities in the Atlantic community. By the late nineteenth century, the popularity of midway attractions, specifically reproductions of authentic "villages" that housed "inferior" or "less advanced" peoples, such as the Irish, emerged as distinct and fashionable sites on exposition grounds. In short, the "Irish Village" became trendy, profitable, and an acceptable way to construct an Irish identity that, very often, did not require the input of the Irish. Concession organizers strove to transport "village" visitors to the "ould sod" and hoped that once they arrived their pocketbooks remained open for the duration of the "visit."

This dissertation challenges anthropologist and world's fair scholar Burton Benedict's assertion that "The display of people is essentially theatrical and can be analyzed in theatrical terms." Although Benedict correctly states, "World's fairs showed the power of the imperial nation and were meant to impress both foreigners and the home population," he oddly concluded, "There are many reasons for people and things being on show, and not all have to do with

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13 Elizabeth Outka's work on the "commodified authentic," in part, influences my understanding of commercializing ethnicity and "performing" it within the public sphere with the intent of presenting an "authentic" experience for viewers. See Outka, Consuming Traditions.


power." Within the context of his essay and the formation and persistence of ethnic stereotypes, Benedict clings to the notion that power is not manifest in this discourse. As this dissertation argues, Benedict's perspective is wrong, especially when it encompasses ideas of theatricality, the display of colonial peoples in midway sections of world's fairs, and empire studies. In his analysis, Benedict contends that midway "villages" were more about entertainment and less so about constructions of power within the empire paradigm. This viewpoint is inaccurate because it assumes that "villagers" (i.e., the displayed) possessed equal footing with those who oversaw and controlled these "villages." I argue that exhibition marketplaces mediated ideas linked to the power of display within the fair paradigm and that the influence of the Irish within this environment remained constrained and contested. Various state and non-state actors emerged as active agents regarding the showcase of Irishness at many fairgrounds while they attempted to balance notions of promoting Ireland's unique heritage and commodities with consumer interest and profit accumulation. As this dissertation shows, negotiating this terrain was not always easy or possible. In short, midway performances were not about perpetuating equality but, rather, emerged as conduits for normalizing and spreading ethnic stereotypes, especially during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This dissertation contends that individuals who "performed" within various midways were not passive

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16 Ibid.
17 In earlier writing, Benedict discussed the role of power regarding midway areas of world's fairs and asserted, "The display of people is a display of power. It is a symbolic performance demonstrating power relationships, but these relationships are not necessarily real." See Burton Benedict, The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915 (London: Scolar Press, 1983), 52. Although Benedict recognizes that power coincides with the display of people, his refusal to acknowledge adequately the complex relationships between "the displayed" and "the displayer" demonstrates flawed analysis. Robert Rydell, for example, writes about the lack of privacy that midway "villagers" experienced on numerous fairgrounds. He asserts, "With respect to the power of the racialized hierarchies at these fairs, what is often forgotten is that on exposition midways the people who were exhibited and performed at the fairs lived in their 'villages.' Privacy for the performers was hardly a consideration for fairgoers. Visitors to the fairs were free to roam the village concessions at will." See Robert Rydell, "In Sight and Sound with Other Senses All Around: Racial Hierarchies at America's World's Fairs," in The Invention of Race: Scientific and Popular Representations, ed. Nicolas Bancel, Thomas David, and Dominic Thomas (New York: Routledge, 2014), 217.
victims of empire. It is vital to remember, however, that empires existed "to reproduce inequality."\(^{18}\)

This dissertation also explores the complexity of identity construction and the importance of power relationships between state and non-state actors. State actors, like prime ministers, members of Parliament, or even presidents, often make decisions with the national interest in mind. Non-state actors, such as philanthropists or community leaders, tend to focus on specific projects that could mirror ideals championed by state actors but do not necessarily have to align with the same considerations. Within the context of empire, especially the Anglo-Irish paradigm and its impact on American society, and the imperial character of world's fairs, the ability for an individual or group to define the identity for another presented a unique power dynamic characterized by a "savage-civilized" binary. Specifically, this project analyzes actions and ideas linked to "uplifting" and "saving" the Irish through the benevolence of various state and non-state actors in the Atlantic world. The Irish, ultimately, recaptured control of how Irishness appeared within the spaces of world's fairs but the tropes created by non-Irish state and non-state actors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remained problematic even after the Republic of Ireland formed in 1949.

The era under investigation for this study coincides with a vigorous world's fair culture. Between 1893 and 1965, the world's nations hosted one hundred forty-seven such fairs, divided between ninety fairs of a national or specialized nature and fifty-seven international gatherings.\(^{19}\) For practical purposes, this dissertation cannot investigate the almost one hundred fifty separate fairs that occurred during this period. Instead, this work concentrates on fairs that contained a


substantial Irish-themed exhibit. These events include international expositions (such as the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the 1904 Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in St. Louis, and the 1907 Irish International Exhibition in Dublin) and U.S.-based "Irish Fairs" in New York City, San Francisco, and elsewhere. "Irish Fairs" from the late 1890s onward afforded the American Irish community the opportunity to highlight ancestral fidelity while shaping the transatlantic discourse of how Irishness appeared within a localized American setting. An examination of global and local fairs provides the necessary foundation from which to understand the interconnectivity of Anglo-Irish-U.S. perspectives and histories.

Important developments during the period under examination for this project in the United States include economic, political, social, and cultural upheavals. By the early 1890s, the United States found itself mired in a fiscal depression while simultaneously confronting racial and political problems stemming from the Civil War. The repercussions of the U.S. Civil War and Reconstruction created various problems for certain groups, particularly African Americans, in the struggle to define "Americanism" and one's "place" within society.\(^2\) Gilded Age corruption, associated with the rise of corporate capitalism, helped to create an economy plagued by monopolies and a political structure strained by the inequities of a floundering republic. The outbreak of a war with Spain in 1898 and America's rapid victory helped to redirect the nationalistic mindset of the country along imperial and racial avenues that fostered ideas of unity, generally, among the white community in the United States as well as Progressive ideals.

of reform and regulation within American society.\textsuperscript{21} The voice of America's social outsiders, including descendants of slaves, "new wave" eastern European immigrants, Asians, Native Americans, and women, however, continued to be constrained when it came to economic, political, and social issues.

Across the Atlantic, Europe experienced a challenging fin-de-siècle as conflicts between republicans and monarchists, particularly, continued to trouble the Continent. In Great Britain, however, the development of strong political parties focused on the upper- and middle-classes sparked an unprecedented reform effort that led to the passage of social legislation to alleviate the suffering of lower-class Britons while affording them partial social mobility. The Liberal Party in the United Kingdom, which advocated improvements and changes in existing social conditions, truly became a political powerhouse during mid-century. By the mid-1880s Liberals experienced a schism, partly owing to the Home Rule agenda for Ireland.\textsuperscript{22} Although such Liberals as William E. Gladstone supported Home Rule, or semi-independence, for Ireland, some within the party became alarmed at the idea of extending additional rights to Ireland.\textsuperscript{23} By no

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{23} In 1869 the Irish Church Disestablishment Act became law. This legislation reduced Anglican Church property in Ireland and it became a "voluntary body" but "received substantial compensation for loss of revenue." In 1870 and 1881 laws linked to land reform in Ireland attempted to alleviate agrarian stresses associated with rents and ownership. These laws were only partially successful. In 1884, Parliament enacted the Franchise Bill which
\end{itemize}
means a people with a monolithic mindset or global outlook, the Irish found breaking the bond of union that the British had officially fastened to them in 1801 difficult and continued throughout the late nineteenth century to struggle within the British political paradigm as England's first colony.

What the nations of Europe had in common with each other was the incessant drive to ensure that their imperial and militaristic (or "manly") ambitions outside of Europe flourished. By the mid-1880s, European nations, hungry for land, focused attention on Africa. At a conference in Berlin, Europe's leaders, driven by ideas that associated Africa with savagery and European "whiteness" with civilization, divided and began their respective scramble for Africa; the consequences of these actions reflected a period of increased tensions regarding European national identity, imperial thinking, and growing militarism. This crisis of modernity, ultimately, resulted in the outbreak of the First World War that left Europe and the United States ensnared in domestic and international quandaries surrounding ideas of race, class, economics, gender, and identity constructions. Although Western nations confronted these challenges in various ways, it gradually became apparent that resolving national-oriented concerns around the globe in the decades after the Great War would not occur quickly. For the purposes of this project, however, concentration on the Anglo-Irish-U.S. relationship must take precedence. Furthermore, this

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focus must keep an eye toward assessing the situation in Ireland beginning in the 1870s and the consequences tied to the dynamics of the evolving Anglo-Irish relationship, especially as these concern changing notions of nationalistic sentiment.25

As England's oldest colonial possession, Ireland, according to historian Alvin Jackson, "was simultaneously a bulwark of the [British] Empire, and a mine within its walls[.]" The notion of empire for the British and the Irish proved to be "an agent of liberation and of oppression[.]"26 After the 1801 Act of Union politically "united" these two areas, British leaders believed that uprisings in Ireland would abate because the Irish now possessed representation in Parliament; the agency of the Irish in Parliament until the late nineteenth century, however, proved negligible. By the 1870s many Irish nationalists began to call for, at minimum, a system of government in Ireland modeled on Canada's dominion status. The issue of Home Rule, or semi-independence, for the Irish proved elusive. The first Home Rule Bill surfaced in Parliament in 1886 and had the backing of the prime minister, William E. Gladstone, though he and his Liberal supporters adamantly insisted that Ireland remain a part of the empire. This bill, like others that followed, floundered in Parliament. In short, Home Rule was not synonymous with independence but rather, a revised negotiation of imperial agency between the metropole and the periphery. It is also important to note that a wide "spectrum of opinion" existed when it came to the Home Rule issue in Ireland. Religious and political differences in the Emerald Isle influenced one's mindset; supporters of Home Rule were usually Catholic, liberal, or champions

25 Although many Irish possessed a robust sense of nationalism during the nineteenth century, they were not the only group to champion this ideal. The nineteenth century witnessed a global outburst of nationalistic tendencies. In Italy Guiseppe Mazzini, Count Camillo Cavour, and Guiseppe Garibaldi led the fight for unification. Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz inspired his brethren with the formation of the Polish Legion. Prussian chancellor Otto von Bismarck used realpolitik to create Germany. The Meiji Restoration in Japan expelled the Tokugawa Shogunate that led to increased industrialization and modernization. Theodor Herzl led the Zionist movement for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

of republicanism while opponents were normally Protestant, constitutional nationalists. With the eruption of the First World War in 1914, and certainly by the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin, the utility of Home Rule for Ireland as a plausible political solution evaporated as Western civilization began a four year armed struggle that resulted in the deaths of millions. Irish nationalists were further angered when diplomats at Versailles ignored the status of Ireland and its desire for national self-determination. The tranquility that resulted from the Peace of Paris eventually eroded and exposed the dangers of pent up nationalist angst in Europe.

A project of this scope is also significant because it will investigate Victorian concepts of race and the "othering" of large portions of the world's population by European and American imperialists and use the portrayal of the Irish at world's fairs as a case study. The process of creating "the Other," according to anthropologist George W. Stocking, Jr., emerged as a consequence of increased industrialization in Western societies. As the schism between "primitive" and "advanced" cultures increased, classification schemas based on skin tone, labor norms, culture, and productivity created, by the late nineteenth century, simultaneously rigid and flexible definitions of differentness to categorize human beings.

When considering the role of race and immigration in the history of the United States, the writings of Matthew Frye Jacobson, in part, influence this dissertation. Jacobson argues that the power of "whiteness" in America arose from a central tension: "capitalism (with its insatiable appetite for cheap labor) and republicanism (with its imperative of responsible citizenship)." He correctly contends that race is central to comprehending U.S. history and, like Stocking, Jacobson argues that race malleability presented unique challenges to many groups of...
immigrants, including the Irish. In short, this dissertation relies on Jacobson's ideas that center on "certain groups [undergoing] a process of racial redefinition as shifting social and political circumstances require"; ultimately, it treats race as "a palimpsest, a table whose most recent inscriptions only imperfectly cover those that had come before, and whose inscriptions can never be regarded as final."  

Because this dissertation, in part, examines identity construction for Irish and American Irish during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a brief discussion of the historiography discussing the evolution of racial thinking is appropriate. Historians agree that race is a social construction and not a biological determinant. The literature on race is substantial; it is not, however, this project's intent to summarize the entirety of the historiography of race. Rather, its purpose is to recognize the numerous veins of scholarship deriving from this field of inquiry. According to historian Barbara J. Fields, "Ideas about color, like ideas about anything else, derive their importance, indeed their very definition, from their context." Fields argues that race is "ideological," yet simultaneously part of the "social reality" experienced by a nation's citizens. Because humans traditionally have characterized one another based on skin tone, ideas of power relationships and national and international trends developing from this, such as the binary of savagery and civilization, continue to require meticulous and cogent analysis. It is this discussion of Victorian and Edwardian ideas regarding who was savage and civilized that influences this project. By focusing on the way the Irish, whom many considered to possess

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various levels of "whiteness," were displayed along midways (the for-fun and entertainment-oriented sections of fairgrounds), this dissertation will address the importance of the discourse surrounding race and how it relates to the "savage-civilized" binary within the context of Anglo-Irish-U.S. history. My attention regarding race will therefore focus on perceptions of the Irish as members or potential members of the American "white community."31

A controversial segment of scholarship known as "whiteness studies" has further complicated historians' understanding of race. Beginning in the early 1990s, scholars such as Alexander Saxton, David Roediger, and Noel Ignatiev began to examine whiteness as it pertained to class politics and mass culture in nineteenth-century America, the American working class, and ethnicity.32 Their foray into whiteness as a mode of historical analysis opened the floodgates for this field of scholarship and resulted in serious criticisms of "whiteness" made by other scholars. The publication of Eric Arnesen's 2001 article in *International Labor and Working-Class History* titled "Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination" summarized whiteness scholarship to that point and asserted that historians of whiteness too often manipulated data by "putting words into historical subjects' mouths" and making people, such as the Irish, "nonwhite" before making them "white." He concludes that "historians have defined whiteness too loosely and that the category of whiteness has to date proven to be an inadequate tool of historical analysis."33 The journal invited prominent historians to comment upon Arnesen's findings. Some, such as James R. Barrett and Victoria C.

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31 This focus, in part, builds upon recent work by Nell Irvin Painter and her intellectual synthesis that traces the development of race and "whiteness" from antiquity to the present. She writes, "race is an idea, not a fact[,] It is possible, and important, to investigate that other side of history without trivializing the history we already know so well." See Nell Irvin Painter, *The History of White People* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), ix.


33 Eric Arnesen, "Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination," *International Labor and Working-Class History* No. 60 (Fall 2001): 3-32.
Hattam, stressed that Arnesen’s conclusions were too harsh, while others, including Barbara J. Fields, concurred with his overall analysis. Eric Foner, for his part, agreed with Arnesen that scholars have failed to flesh out whiteness as an appropriate method for historical analysis, but he disagreed regarding the overall agency of whiteness studies. Foner wrote, "Rather than being abandoned, the concept of whiteness must be refined and historicized." This project, in part, is an attempt to re-historicize this idea through a sociocultural lens focused on world's fairs from the late nineteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries and its effect on the Irish and American Irish communities.

From my perspective the Irish did not "become white" once they arrived in the United States. Instead, the Irish utilized the concept of whiteness to navigate the turbulent political and economic terrain of nineteenth-century America; in the end, they recognized the societal benefits of whiteness. I agree with David Lloyd, whose examination of the Irish in the Atlantic world maintains that the Irish "transformed the constitution of whiteness and simultaneously the meaning and function of race itself—and along with it the meaning of Irishness." In addition, Jennifer Nugent Duffy's work on the complexity of American Irish racial identity assists this project by providing the framework that links race, power, and the display of the body. She writes, "Race, however, is more than ideology; the ways that human bodies are represented are deeply rooted in larger structures of power" and, ultimately, race is "a sociohistorical process."

This dissertation treats "the body" as a mechanism of power that was utilized by myriad state and

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34 The following responses to Arnesen’s critique of whiteness studies are all from *International Labor and Working-Class History* No. 60 (Fall 2001), James R. Barrett, "Whiteness Studies: Anything Here for Historians of the Working Class?": 33-42; David Brody, "Charismatic History: Pros and Cons.": 43-47; Barbara J. Fields, "Whiteness, Racism, and Identity.": 48-56; Eric Foner, "Response to Eric Arnesen.": 57-60; and Victorian C. Hattam, "Whiteness: Theorizing Race, Eliding Ethnicity.": 61-68.
non-state actors within the fair paradigm to control the display and use of Irish bodies in Irish
"villages."

Although the American Irish community by the late nineteenth century garnered financial
and, at times, political security and success within the United States, portrayals of the Irish in
American- and European-based periodicals routinely presented them in negative ways. The
standard pictorial tropes of the Irish as simians from mid-century remained in print and
continued to influence how the Atlantic community perceived Ireland and its exiles. Although
the Irish were not the only group that experienced the process of "othering," their journey from
"savagery" to "civilization" represented the socioracial challenges and complexity linked to the
formation of a transatlantic identity during this era. Scholarship concerning this historic
conundrum is growing, and it is part of this project's purpose to make a meaningful contribution
to this strand of historic literature.37

Another important historiographical area to which this dissertation will add concerns the
fledgling Anglo-Irish home arts and industries movement that became a tour de force by the
1880s.38 I interpret the cottage-based initiatives of the late nineteenth century as conduits that

37 Recent examples include Michael de Nie, The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-
1882 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004); Kathleen Diane McGuire, "The Transatlantic Paddy: The
Making of a Transnational Irish Identity in Nineteenth-Century America" (Ph.D. diss., University of California-
Riverside, 2009); Ely M. Janis, A Greater Ireland: The Land League and Transatlantic Nationalism in Gilded Age
America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015); and Cian T. McMahon, The Global Dimensions of Irish
38 For a sampling of contemporary scholarship regarding the home arts and industries movement in
England and Ireland, see Paul Larmour, The Arts & Crafts Movement in Ireland (Belfast: Friar's Bush Press, 1992);
T. J. Edelstein, ed., Imagining an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival 1840-1940 (The David and Alfred Smart Museum
of Art: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Janice Helland, "Exhibiting Ireland: The Donegal Industrial Fund in
Helland, British and Irish Home Arts and Industries, 1880-1914: Marketing Craft, Making Fashion (Dublin: Irish
60 (2008): 59-81; Janice Helland, "Translating textiles: 'private palaces' and the Celtic fringe, 1890-1910," in
Fashion, Interior Design and the Contours of Modern Identity, ed. Alla Myzelev and John Potvin (England:
Ashgate, 2010); Seán Beattie, "Female Cultural Philanthropy: Alice Hart and the Donegal Industrial Fund, 1883-
1900," in Poverty and Welfare in Ireland, 1838-1948, ed. Virginia Crossman and Peter Gray (Dublin: Irish
permitted non-state and non-Irish actors with the ability to shape Irishness within the public sphere of the Atlantic world. Home arts associations, such as the Donegal Industrial Fund and the Irish Industries Association, were often founded and administered by middle- and upper-class female Britons seeking to "save" or "uplift" the destitute Irish; this is not meant to imply, however, that men did not participate in these particular endeavors or have a voice in the activities of these organizations but that often times the bureaucratic reins rested with women championing "imperial motherhood." Most often, the political persuasion of these individuals coincided with that of Gladstone and the Liberals, who did not champion complete independence for Ireland, but did support extended rights for this part of the empire. The ideology of these Liberals did not simply materialize but rather grounded itself to the emerging nineteenth-century imperial model of transformation and quasi-incorporation of "deserving" or "needy" peoples along the empire's periphery into the fold of Western civilization.39

The Irish occupy an important place within the home arts and industries literature because many organizations, such as the Donegal Industrial Fund, became the instruments for how many non-state actors, particularly prominent women of the late nineteenth century, engaged with state actors concerning the maintenance and proliferation of empire before the First World War. This does not mean that these women were simple "followers" of imposed dictates of empire. In actuality, they carved a niche for themselves within the complicated system of empire as "imperial mothers."40 Ultimately, however, their actions, although not without some

39 For a synopsis of imperial ideals regarding tradition, economics, and gender and how these influenced nineteenth-century discourse regarding empire, see Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., The Invention of Tradition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); C.A. Baly, Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830 (London: Longman, 1989); and McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest.

40 For a discussion of the role of women and the British Empire, see Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," History Workshop 5 (Spring 1978): 9-65; Antoinette Burton, Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest (New York: Routledge, 1995);
positive benefits, often reinforced traditional precepts of hegemonic behavior as this related to the binary of metropole and colony within the framework of empire.

The burgeoning literature of Irish home arts and industries examines the cultural importance of Celtic revivalism during the late nineteenth century and the influence of individuals, Irish and non-Irish alike, who shaped this movement. Paul Larmour, Neil Harris, Janice Helland, and Seán Beattie emerge as important contributors to this literature. Their work, collectively, examines Irish cottage-made goods and the manner in which these commodities helped to transform and augment a portion of Ireland's rural economy while simultaneously engaging in the mass distribution of Irish cultural products to Britain, continental Europe, and the United States. This literature's importance rests with its focus on non-state actors, including rural female cottage workers and the British philanthropists who took an active role in opening European and American markets for the distribution of these goods, and their part in shaping Irish identity during this age of revivalism. This dissertation will build upon this literature by incorporating the American Irish perspective regarding the discourse surrounding this transatlantic identity construction schema, particularly through a discussion of U.S.-based


"Irish Fairs" and the agency of the American Irish community regarding the commodification of Irishness.  

The world's fair historiography is vast. Serious scholarly interest in these international gatherings began in the 1950s with traditional narrative accounts focusing on the activities of fair organizers, the purpose of individual fairs, and the reasons why fairs became popular. Early works from the 1950s and 1960s generally do not include substantial theoretical or cultural analysis. By the mid-1970s, historiographical curiosity of fairs began to evolve intellectually with consideration of cultural and social history. William Schneider and John Allwood, for example, concentrated less on those organizing the fairs and more on interpretation of fair thematic structures within the paradigm of ethnography, race, and colonialism. Schneider's 1977 article stressed that fairs of the late nineteenth century acted as venues meant for mass entertainment, not education; his conclusions rest upon his investigation of the Jardin d'Acclimation in the Bois du Boulogne near Paris with primary attention given to France's West African possessions and the way that racist sentiment in Europe influenced notions of modernity. Allwood's perspective regards fairs as mass participatory extravaganzas. He focuses primarily on the opulence of various fairgrounds and the importance of displaying goods to entice visitor involvement regarding the growth of commerce. These works, and others, became the catalyst

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for scholars in coming decades to concentrate attention on cultural interpretations of world's fairs.

By the 1980s, Robert Rydell had emerged as the leading expert on world's fairs in the United States and their connections to American foreign relations, culture, and imperial discourse. His *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* remains a cornerstone in world's fair scholarship. Its thematic approach to analyzing these events by focusing on the racist sentiment and ideals encompassing the maintenance of empire provided scholars with the first academic treatment of U.S.-based world's fairs and their use as historical measurements of popular culture. Rydell's examination of the display of non-white peoples at these fairs and the development of ethnography to justify their placement in the amusement-oriented sections of fairs helped to create within the literature an initial framework for interpreting midways. Yet Rydell does not focus his efforts on an examination of the Irish; rather, he investigates "barbarous elements" that appeared in fairs, most notably African and Asian colonial peoples. Rydell's analysis of the Midway Plaisance at the 1893 Chicago fair, for example, used the midway to emphasize, particularly for the fair organizers, the overall theme for this event, which was "progress," but he did not discuss the repercussions of this midway exhibit as it pertained to the Irish or the consequences of it among the American Irish community. 45 Nevertheless, Rydell's *All the World's a Fair* sparked a cultural renaissance regarding world's fair scholarship. From the 1990s to the present, historians of these global events continue to grapple with such vital themes as nationalism, identity, and gender, while

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incorporating cultural perspectives of fairs and their influence on local, national, and international communities.46

Gender, like race, is a complex historical mode of analysis. For this project's purpose, I will treat gender as an essential component of transatlantic sociocultural trends, particularly in reference to non-state actors. According to Joan W. Scott, gender is a fluid, socially constructed concept that incorporates the "social creation of ideas about appropriate roles for women and men." She argues, ultimately, that gender is "a social category imposed on a sexed body." Intimately connected to Scott's groundbreaking argument is the role of hegemony within society; she writes, "gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power," and in order for scholars to understand society, "one needs to think about the effect of gender in social and institutional relationships, because this thinking is often not done precisely or systematically."47

Part of this dissertation's focus will be on those "social and institutional relationships" and the


47 Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," The American Historical Review 91, No. 5 (Dec. 1986): 1056, 1067, 1069. Scott also argues, "When historians look for the ways in which the concept of gender legitimizes and constructs social relationships, they develop insight into the reciprocal nature of gender and society and into the particular and contextually specific ways in which politics constructs gender and gender constructs politics." See Scott, 1070.
ways in which the variety of transatlantic historical actors interacted with each other and their respective societies.

Although Scott's article helped to legitimize gender as a recognized analytical tool for scholars from the mid-1980s onward, her writing also assisted in allowing this methodological approach to gain acceptance among many historians, such as those who concentrate on foreign relations and notions of power within society. Kristin Hoganson, for example, asserts that "foreign policy does not occur in a vacuum. To focus only on the wranglings of high level meetings of the political, diplomatic, and military elite is to skim the surface of the past[.]". She posits that including culture and gender analysis allows for more nuanced understanding of the past, particularly as these apply to the construction of power and comprehending the actions of state and non-state actors. She does not argue, however, that gender explains everything but rather, that gender helps to expand our understanding of state and non-state actor agency. In short, Hoganson reminds scholars "to be wary of master narratives (and narratives of mastery) from the past and to recognize that power and human agency have operated in many ways and in many contexts." Hoganson's ideas, in tandem with Scott's, will provide the gender fulcrum for this dissertation because their ideas stress the necessity for including gender analysis as a meaningful way to examine the agency of state and non-state actors.

The construction of Irish "villages" represents the theoretical processes of inventing traditions and reimagining communities in real life. The writings of Eric Hobsbawm, Terence

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Kristin Hoganson, "What's Gender Got to Do with It?: Gender History as Foreign Relations History," in Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations, 310, 316, 319. For additional examination of gender as an important mode of historical analysis, see Kathleen Canning, Gender History in Practice: Historical Practices on Bodies, Class & Citizenship (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006). In part, Canning's work includes an examination of "the body" as this relates to gender and historical writing. She asserts, "As a methodological strategy, exploring the bodily stakes of history is often the most effective means for uncovering the place of gender in transformative events. Moreover, understanding bodies as another layer of experience, site of subjectivity, or representation of self and social collectivity enriches the history of everyday life in the milieus of popular culture, fashion and advertising, social hygiene and sexual politics." See Canning, 28.
Ranger, and Benedict Anderson prove useful in providing basic interpretive factors for analyzing ways in which various groups created, controlled, changed, and authenticated public depictions of Irishness. Concepts associated with ritualization, commemoration, repetition, and community (i.e., "national") perspectives underpin the ideas linked with these scholars. Within the larger conceptual framework of power relationships, these concepts prove helpful to this dissertation because they provide nuanced departure points for analysis, particularly in understanding the process of creating "the other" when dealing with peoples and cultures deemed "inferior" by technologically and militarily "advanced" nations.  

        Fairs provided an excellent medium for communicating various concepts, especially those relating power and the use of space for the display of cultures and peoples. John Bodnar asserts that this process "is contested and involves a struggle for supremacy between advocates of various political ideas and sentiments" and that, ultimately, the "public expression of memory was entirely dependent upon a process of symbolic communication that simultaneously allowed for a diversity of expression and privileged some expressions over others." The display of Irishness in the public sphere afforded those who visited Irish "villages" the opportunity to experience Irishness as part of a complex communicative discourse and as Tony Bennett argues,  

49 Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*; and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006). In addition, work by Timothy Mitchell and Bob Brier demonstrates how representations of "exotic" cultures influence an individual's perception of peoples as a commodity and the consequences of "othering" within the public sphere. See Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (1988; repr. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); and Bob Brier, *Egyptomania: Our Three Thousand Year Obsession with the Land of the Pharaohs* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). For a cogent overview regarding identity construction and the creation of "the other" regarding various factors (such as ethnicity, race, and culture), see Spencer and Wollman, *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, 57-93. Not all scholars, however, agree with Anderson's imagined community model. For example, Partha Chatterjee argues that this Euro-American centric paradigm presumes that postcolonial peoples are "perpetual consumers of modernity" and that peoples in Asia, Africa, and elsewhere can only understand their respective societies through the lens of colonial administrations. Chatterjee believes that this theoretical construct is too vague and does not properly account for sociocultural norms of "the colonized." See Partha Chatterjee with an introduction by Nivedita Menon, *Empire and Nation: Selected Essays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 25-36. 

the collection and display of the cultural artifacts of a civilization "formed a part of the cultural accessories of power in which it was the organization and transmission of power within and between ruling strata" that determined the value of a specific culture and its people. In short, Bennett concludes, "exhibitions came to function as promissory notes in their totalities, embodying, if just for a season, utopian principles of social organization which, when the time came for the notes to be redeemed, would eventually be realized in perpetuity."\footnote{Tony Bennett, \textit{The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics} (London: Routledge, 1995), 27, 82.}

The existence of Irish "villages" at numerous fairs helped to transform Ireland's people and past into an accessible commodity within the public sphere and permitted "the staging" of its culture for popular consumption. Sociologist Jeffrey Alexander links concepts of social performance to cultural pragmatics and the importance of how these reinforce or dismantle the notion of legitimacy within public performance of various types. Cultural pragmatics, in short, examines meanings of social formations, such as world's fairs, and their influence on individuals and society. Alexander concludes that cultural pragmatics is ultimately a social construct because viewers of theatrical or social performances structure meanings to actions and perspectives. For this dissertation, I interpret Alexander's notion of cultural pragmatics within the realm of displays of the Irish at multiple fairs and will analyze how issues of authenticity and presentation afford those on display and those witnessing it various levels of agency.\footnote{For an in-depth examination of Jeffrey Alexander's stance regarding cultural pragmatics, see Jeffrey Alexander, "Cultural Pragmatics: Social Performance between Ritual and Strategy," \textit{Sociological Review} 22, no. 4 (Dec. 2004): 527-573; and Jeffrey C. Alexander, Bernhard Giesen, and Jason L. Mast, eds., \textit{Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).}

This dissertation provides comprehensive examination and analysis regarding the display of the Irish at, primarily, international and local fairs in the Atlantic community from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. I argue that myriad groupings of state and non-state actors in the Atlantic community controlled and manipulated depictions of Irishness on
numerous fairgrounds, primarily through the creation of faux Irish "villages," and that this manufactured reality influenced how Irish and non-Irish peoples understood Ireland.

Additionally, I posit that the marketplaces linked to international and local fairs fused notions of power associated with the display of the Irish and that the influence of the Irish, albeit continually shifting, remained constrained and contested. Although the Irish eventually emerged as the arbiters of Irishness at these cultural extravaganzas, the existence of ethnically-inspired tropes continued to influence how spectators viewed Ireland's heritage and contributions to civilization. This dissertation fills a historiographical gap within world's fair scholarship by investigating the diverse elements that possessed agency over portrayals of Irishness during the apex of "fair fever" in the Atlantic community and it reveals the complex relationships that developed along the controversial spaces of local, national, and international fairgrounds.

Chapter one provides the historic scaffolding regarding the troubled nature of Anglo-Irish history, investigates depictions of the Irish within the public sphere of the Atlantic world, and examines the influence of Irish immigration on U.S. history during the nineteenth century. The transatlantic complexity and sociocultural transformations of this era provide the framework of analysis for this dissertation. As this chapter demonstrates, the Irish were not a monolithic people, pictorial representations of the Irish helped to perpetuate stereotypes about Ireland and its exiles, and the sociopolitical diversity within the United States, as demonstrated by the activities of American nativists, did not always provide a welcoming environment for immigrants.

The second chapter explores the concept of spatiality at world's fairs and the power paradigm created through the display of "exotic" peoples within amusement-oriented sections of these events. It situates fairgrounds as transnational political spaces that afforded organizers the opportunity to define and perpetuate stereotypes of "the Other."

In addition, this section
provides an overview of midways and the ways in which these areas developed into important commercial venues. The chapter concludes by examining maps from various exhibition catalogs and demonstrates how midways provided a convenient environment for displaying and controlling "exotic" peoples.

Chapter three frames the idea of Irishness within the Atlantic world as a byproduct of the actions of British female philanthropists, such as Alice Hart and Lady Aberdeen, who created benevolent-oriented organizations to "uplift" the Irish from their own "savagery." Initially, these "imperial mothers" focused on reviving traditional cottage-based industries, such as lace-making and embroidery, in Ireland with the aim of saving the "Irish race" from perpetual pauperism and to teach ideas linked to self-sufficiency and industriousness. By the late 1880s and early 1890s, these imperial-minded women used the public display of Irish crafts to garner additional attention within the transatlantic community regarding the plight of Ireland; the height of their endeavors materialized in the form of two "Irish Villages" at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. During the late 1890s, however, the American Irish began to host their own manifestations of Irishness under the guise of "Irish Fairs" and by the early twentieth century a unique relationship emerged between an American Irish business and the British Parliament that resulted in the Irish display at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in St. Louis. The interaction of state and non-state actors during this era regarding the maintenance of Irishness created a dynamic discourse regarding the commodification of ethnicity.

The focus of the fourth chapter concerns the activities of Irish entrepreneurs and their attempts to navigate the rough waters of nationalism and Irishness at the 1907 Irish International Exhibition in Dublin and beyond. Conflict between nationalists and supporters of the Dublin fair showed that not all Irish believed that the exhibition paradigm provided the best venue to assert
Irishness but it proved that nostalgic depictions of Ireland were popular. In the aftermath of the 1907 fair, an Irish-based soap company continued with its showcase of Irishness in the form of a representative Irish village called Ballymaclinton that continued to define Ireland within the public sphere through the 1920s. Traditional tropes linked to the "Irish Village" model persisted because that was what the Atlantic world expected. It would not be until after the Irish Civil War (1922-1923) that transatlantic notions of Irishness began, albeit slowly, to change.

The final chapter analyzes depictions and evolving notions of Irishness between the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) in San Francisco and the 1965 New York World's Fair. The San Francisco fair became the first international exhibition in which an Irish-themed display failed to garner popular support and closed before the official end date; the "Shamrock Isle" at the PPIE demonstrated that fair goers, and especially the Irish and American Irish communities, desired a different discourse when exhibiting Ireland. By the 1930s, the Irish Free State, a dominion within the United Kingdom, controlled most representations of Irishness within the transnational political spaces of world's fairs. In 1949, Ireland declared that it was a republic and used the 1964-1965 New York fair to participate for the first time within the exhibitionary paradigm as an independent nation. The Irish government used the New York site as a way to recapture how Ireland's culture, history, and people appeared within the Atlantic world. Although Ireland embraced a few traditional tropes linked to Irishness created by non-Irish agents during the late nineteenth century, it utilized new display methods and technology to present Ireland as a nation equal to any within the global community.

This dissertation relies on a variety of sources. The importance of "ground level" primary sources that focus on material culture include fair ephemera such as catalogs, pamphlets, brochures, picture books, photographs, specialty newspapers produced during particular fairs,
postcards, maps, and letters. Also, "traditional" items such as government reports and
documents, prominent newspapers and periodicals, as well as institutional and personal records
and papers form another part of material consulted. As evidenced by the above, albeit brief,
historiographical discussion, the secondary literature is substantial. This project relies on myriad
monographs, scholarly articles from referred academic journals, and unpublished dissertations
and theses, particularly from scholars devoted to history and display-performance studies, among
others.

As *The Midway: A Burlesque Entertainment* reminded its readers in their quest to
construct a modest replica of the Midway Plaisance, "we would suggest that only such features
be presented as can be well produced. Do not attempt to do too much." Cautioning prospective
fair organizers to be cognizant of total available space allotments for midway displays, it was
vital to adhere to the following: "If there is only space and people enough to give ten of the
attractions, do not attempt fifteen or twenty. Give the ten completely and well instead."\(^\text{53}\) I have
attempted to follow this advice when writing this dissertation.

In addition, the anonymous compilers of *The Midway* provided its readers with a fiscal
recommendation when only a handful of suggested displays could appear. In its listing of "eight
booths" that "will prove the most remunerative for the work and expense," a "Blarney Castle"
exhibit made the final cut.\(^\text{54}\) The inclusion of this Irish-themed exhibit as a lucrative enterprise
for fair organizers reminds us of the importance late nineteenth-century peoples, in the United
States and elsewhere, placed upon representations of "authentic" Irish lifestyles, culture, and
peoples not simply for monetary gain, although that was inherently important to midways, but

\(^{53}\) *The Midway*, 6.
\(^{54}\) Ibid.
also recognition of Irish popularity and influence among various communities, either as "items" for commodification and display or as legitimate members within a nation's citizenry.

Note on terminology

Throughout this dissertation the terms "world's fairs," "exhibitions," and "expositions" appear and refer to large-scale international events. Although they are not technically synonyms, I use them as such to avoid repetition in my writing. As John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle remind readers of *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, "exhibitions are similar to fairs but are quite different in one respect: exhibitions are solely for displaying or exhibiting goods, while fairs connote commerce, as in the sale of goods being displayed." An exposition, however, is a term that "etymologically bridges the gap between fair and exhibition" and "an exposition is larger, more extensive, and perhaps more formally organized than a fair." References to the phrase "Irish Fair" denote a small-scale, locally-based event held within an American city from the late nineteenth century onward.

Within the context of U.S. immigration history, I use the descriptor "Irish" when referring to individuals who migrated to the United States from Ireland and "American Irish" in reference to their descendants in the United States. The "American Irish" perspective incorporates the scholarship of Kevin Kenny and his argument that in order to understand Ireland and its descendants in a transatlantic sense, it is helpful to examine Irish contributions within a broad context.\(^{56}\) After the American Civil War, the Irish strove for economic and political parity with the Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority in the United States. Most Irish and American Irish were adherents of Catholicism but many struggled with competing notions of ethnic and national

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loyalties. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most American Irish classified themselves as "Americans" who were ardent champions of their "Irishness," which included their Catholicism. The American Irish, in short, desired to project strength and power within the public sphere of the United States while remaining ethnically faithful to their ancestors.

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Chapter One

History and Perceptions of the Irish in the Transatlantic World

Introduction

In the December 28, 1867 issue of *Punch*, a weekly British magazine devoted to satire and humor, John Tenniel's "The Fenian Guy Fawkes" appeared.¹ Lampooning Fenianism and its ideology of physical force republicanism in achieving Irish independence, and linking them early to Guy Fawkes' seventeenth century attempt to destroy the British Parliament, Tenniel's drawing depicts a partially simianized Irishman wielding a lit torch and revealing a revolver prominently tucked into his belt while sitting upon a drum of gunpowder.² A lit fuse positioned in the center of the barrel alerts viewers to the recent action of this representative Irishman. A small group of children surround the main figure and look up at him with wide, innocent eyes. In the background, a woman, presumably Irish, breastfeeds her infant unaware of the impending danger.

² The historic literature surrounding the Fenians is substantial. In short, the Fenians were the American branch of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), a nationalist organization formed in Dublin, Ireland in March 1858 with members devoted to the overthrow of British rule in Ireland; in particular, the Fenians and the IRB advocated physical force nationalism to achieve their desired goals. Both of these groups were secret societies. The strength of the Fenians in the United States peaked in the decade after the U.S. Civil War and their multiple unsuccessful attempts to capture Canada and use it as a bargaining chip to "free" Ireland failed. In the United States, the Fenians, eventually, were overshadowed by the Clan na Gael. See Brian Jenkins, *Fenians and Anglo-American Relations During Reconstruction* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1969); Maurice Harmon, ed., *Fenians and Fenianism: Centenary Essays Edited by Maurice Harmon* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970); William D'Arcy, *The Fenian Movement in the United States: 1858-1886* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1971); Hereward Senior, *The Fenians and Canada* (Ontario: Macmillan of Canada, 1978); R. V. Comerford, *The Fenians in Context: Irish Politics and Society 1848-82* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1985); Owen McGee, *The IRB: The Irish Republican Brotherhood, from the Land League to Sinn Féin* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005); and Peter Vronsky, *Ridgeway: The American Fenian Invasion and the 1866 Battle That Made Canada* (Canada: Allen Lane, 2011).
to herself, her child, and all those surrounding the Irishman and his hazardous container.

Tenniel's drawing caricatures Irishmen as Fenians or potential Fenians and therefore unfit for inclusion in civilized society because they are foolish, ignorant, and irresponsible, not only with their own lives but also with the lives of innocent bystanders. By using the Fawkes moniker in this cartoon's title, Tenniel presumes that the Fenians will be unsuccessful in their endeavors.

A few years after "The Fenian Guy Fawkes" appeared in *Punch*, Thomas Nast, the most prominent political cartoonist in the United States, incorporated Tenniel's portrayal of Fenians into a broader condemnation of Irish activities in America, especially in the wake of rioting in New York City in July 1870 and 1871 between Protestants and Catholics. The September 2,

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3 For an excellent overview of the rioting in New York City between Irish Protestants and Catholics and the tensions regarding the ritualization of the anniversary of the 1690 Battle of the Boyne (July 12) in which the Protestant army of Prince William of Orange defeated the Catholic army of King James II, see Michael A. Gordon,
1871 issue of *Harper's Weekly* published Nast's "The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things." Like Tenniel's Fenian-inspired Fawkes' cartoon, Nast's Irishman sits on top of a barrel of gunpowder while wildly waving a lit torch. In lieu of a firearm, Nast's Irishman has a shillelagh tucked under one of his arms and an empty bottle of rum held upside-down in the other. Nast's keg indicates, however, that it belongs to "Uncle Sam" and the "Spirit of 76," thus alluding to the potential of revolution that this particular Irish character could ignite in America. Like Tenniel's Irishman, Nast depicts his character as an ape-like creature who exudes all of the signs of a savage, irresponsible, drunken, and bloodthirsty simian bent on some type of violent behavior. By the mid-nineteenth century, political cartoonists had developed a predictable formula for presenting the Irish, and other "inferior" peoples, as sub-human caricatures in the transatlantic print media. In the background of Nast's drawing are fake newspaper headlines that champion a pro-Irish, pro-Catholic perspective and intimate that these Irish "must rule" thus providing this Irishman's rationale for behaving in such an uncouth manner. The writing beneath the drawing contains a threat of violence for supporters of "Orangeism" and Fenian justification for vigilantism toward the Protestant enemy. Part of Nast's intent with this drawing is to demonstrate to viewers that the Irish in America, particularly Catholics, are capable of inciting social unrest and panic without any regard to other Americans (presumably the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant population in the United States); nor do the Irish, at least according to Nast, offer any solutions to their grievances other than bloodshed and the potential destruction of the American republic at the hands of reckless and selfish citizens. Presumably, Nast drew on anti-
Irish Catholic sentiment in the wake of violent uprisings in New York City that occurred in opposition to the draft in 1863 and the 1870 and 1871 "Orange Riots."

Why do these two depictions of the Irish from the nineteenth century matter? In part, these drawings are significant because they are representative of the political art in Great Britain and the United States that portrayed the Irish as Caliban-like creatures dedicated to violence to achieve political, social, economic, and cultural parity with their Anglo-Saxon brethren during the era under examination. The work of Tenniel, Nast, and many others symbolized a growing trend during the mid- to-late nineteenth century that incorporated animal-like representations of "inferior" Irish elements when transatlantic questions regarding Ireland's future within the British
Empire became a persistent political topic for politicians in Britain and America. British and American periodicals often relied on stereotypes of the Irish to convey to their readers that the Irish could not be trusted to govern themselves; in effect, home rule (semi-independence) for Ireland would, in their opinion, end in complete disaster for Ireland and the British Empire. Although Irish-based political cartoonists did challenge the traditional civilized-savage binary by depicting the English as barbarians, most of these illustrations did not journey beyond the borders of Ireland and, therefore, lacked a significant transatlantic audience. Ultimately, the determination of nineteenth century British- and American-based political cartoonists to continually represent the Irish as less-than-human-type figures results from a complex history that involves Great Britain, Ireland, and, ultimately, the United States.

It is the purpose of this chapter to provide the historical framework regarding the nuances of Anglo-Irish-U.S. history and to give appropriate perspective from which to draw when analyzing depictions of the Irish at world's fairs in later chapters. In addition, it also creates the foundations for recognizing the contested nature of world's fair marketplaces, particularly in the Atlantic world, and how the Irish found the display of their heritage and people firmly situated in the "uncivilized" sections of these events. Of particular significance will be the discussion of pictorial representations of the Irish in British and American periodicals for mass consumption during the latter decades of the nineteenth century and how these images negatively influenced how the Atlantic community perceived Ireland. In advance of that discussion, however, an examination of Anglo-Irish history, the importance of Irish immigration within American society, and the history of world's fairs is necessary.
Anglo-Irish history

The historical relationship between Britain and Ireland abounds with complexity and nuance. Historian R. F. Foster writes, "In 1541 Henry VIII assumed the title 'King of Ireland', which had technically been a 'lordship' of the English Crown since the twelfth-century conquest."\(^5\) As the dominant partner in this binary, the English exerted tremendous religious, political, economic, and cultural pressures on the Irish from the sixteenth century onward; an act of Parliament would eventually unite these two areas politically in 1801. A seminal event in Anglo-Irish history occurred during the mid-sixteenth century when King Henry VIII dissolved his nation's religious ties to the Roman Catholic Church. The Crown proceeded with this course of events because Pope Clement VII would not grant Henry a divorce from his wife, Catherine of Aragon, for failing to produce a male heir for the king. In retaliation for the pontiff's actions, Henry separated from the Church and declared that he would become the supreme religious leader for his people. This action was equally traumatic for Catholics in Ireland and Britain but Catholics in Ireland proved particularly stubborn when it came to renouncing their allegiance to the Holy See.\(^6\)

In 1609 Parliament passed the Articles of Plantation creating the framework for the expansion of English hegemony in Ireland. According to these laws, profitable lands in Ulster (present-day Northern Ireland) became available for English and Scottish settlers, resulting in the displacement of native Irish farmers. The creation of the "Ulster Plantation," therefore, helped to fuel the animus between these two peoples while instilling within the English leadership notions of feasible land reform initiatives for territories controlled by the empire. English action regarding the "colonization of Ireland" became the paragon for how they implemented various

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\(^6\) Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence*, 8-9.
territorial expansionist endeavors by the late seventeenth century, particularly in North America and elsewhere.\(^7\) In 1641, an initial uprising by native Irish proved partially successful but, ultimately, this action and all attempts at rebellion during the next few centuries eventually ended in failure for the Irish. The mindset of rebellion, however, would not abate as decades of English rule turned into centuries of British hegemony over the Emerald Isle.\(^8\) By no means a monolithic people in thought or action, many Irish strove continually to alter their circumstances, often through attempted violent revolution.\(^9\) Lack of Irish success regarding the overthrow of English control of Ireland, from the historian’s perspective at least, does not strictly equate with complete failure but demonstrates that many Irish during myriad eras desired to be active agents in deciding their own fate.

Ireland occupied a unique place within the pantheon of British colonial possessions. According to Kevin Kenny, an apt description for Ireland concerned it being "both the first and the last colony of the British Empire." He stresses that the concept of a British Empire, for most historians, did not materialize until approximately the seventeenth century but once the British extended their tentacles of empire in Ireland, the Crown and Parliament found it irresistible to avoid expansionist activities associated with the construction of empire, particularly within the Atlantic world and beyond. In this sense, therefore, the English were not unlike their continental counterparts, especially Spain, Portugal, and France. Although Ireland was a part of the Atlantic

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\(^9\) During the eighteenth century, various agrarian-based secret societies, such as the Whiteboys and Defenders, emerged in Ireland with the intent of extracting justice by harassing Protestant and Catholic landlords and the Protestant church. Seamus Metress writes that these vigilantes were primarily local and "used violent intimidations such as burnings, maiming of cattle and assaults to protest injustice." See Seamus Metress, *Outlines in Irish History: Eight Hundred Years of Struggle* (Detroit, MI: Connolly Books: 1995), 34.
world, between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, it experienced a unique relationship with that world because it was treated and known as an extension of the British Empire.\textsuperscript{10}

In order to exert economic, cultural, and political hegemony over the Irish, the British Parliament began to take particular legal measures in the mid-seventeenth century to thwart certain freedoms for the native Irish. Various Navigation Acts provided economic restrictions that included provisions that forbade the export of Irish cattle, hindered commercial partners for the Irish in the woolen trade, and required that the transportation of Irish-made goods occur only on English ships. In addition, numerous Penal Laws ensured that the Irish experienced fewer rights than their Anglo brethren. For example, the Irish were required, under penalty of further land forfeiture, to swear an oath denying the supremacy of the pope. By 1691, it became illegal for Irish Catholics to hold public office or participate politically in a meaningful way in Ireland. Other Penal Laws forbade the Irish from joining the military, becoming lawyers or teachers, sending their children abroad to acquire an education, own weapons or hold in property a horse worth in excess of £5, and voting.\textsuperscript{11} Although these laws were not universally enforced at all times in Ireland, the significance of having such power, at least from the English perspective, allowed the conquest of Ireland to commence within a reasonable time frame. If the need arose, the English could use all disposable legal means within their power to quell or, at the very least, discourage unrest in their colonial possession. As their time in Ireland marched onward, the English found it expedient to alter their relationship with the Irish, especially in the wake of Theobald Wolf Tone's 1798 rebellion.

In May 1798, Irish revolutionaries linked with the United Irishmen, led by Theobald Wolf Tone, rebelled, in part due to the passage of the Insurrection Act of 1796 that granted local magistrates in Ireland the power to search for and seize arms from Irishmen as well as to execute anyone caught administering an illegal oath. The British grew concerned that surreptitious organizations, such as the United Irishmen, whose members were bound by secret oaths, jeopardized British hegemony because of their support for revolution in Ireland.\textsuperscript{12} Although the '98 Uprising failed, largely as a result of British infiltration of the rebels' ranks, it became the primary catalyst behind British Prime Minister William Pitt's proposal to incorporate Ireland into the United Kingdom in 1801. Pitt's rationale for pursuing such action, which offered the Irish limited representation in Parliament, was to quell future Irish rebellions by providing the Irish a voice in the affairs of the empire. In reality, however, the agency of the Irish in Parliament was minimal due to their minority political status. The British attempt at unification failed to assuage Irish nationalist endeavors.

By the mid-1820s, the most prominent Irish nationalist was, without a doubt, Daniel O'Connell. A County Kerry Catholic, O'Connell became one of the first native Irish to become a lawyer in 1798, after the passage of a law from the early 1790s opened this profession to eligible Irish. O'Connell's fame in Ireland, and infamy in England, blossomed after he founded the Catholic Association in 1823. The purpose of this organization was to unite Irish Catholics for repealing oppressive acts of Parliament directed toward Ireland. The Catholic Association solicited minor dues or "catholic rent" from Irish of all economic positions and, ultimately, was successful because O'Connell garnered the support of Catholic clergy in Ireland. Solidarity proved to be politically potent. Parliament passed the Catholic Emancipation Act in April 1829.

which eliminated remaining political restrictions against Catholics. O'Connell's next mass
movement project, the Repeal Association, formed in 1841, but proved less successful.

Operating along lines similar to the Catholic Association, the Repeal Association requested
"repeal rent" from the Irish in order to champion the cause of dissolving the union between Great
Britain and Ireland. The amount of political opposition to O'Connell and his allies proved
overwhelming and by late 1843, this organization foundered in achieving its objectives.13

In early autumn 1845 famine struck Ireland. A fungus (*phytophthora infestans*) wrought
devastation on Ireland's potato crop and had disastrous consequences for several years. Because
the potato was a staple for so many Irish tenant farmers, its removal by disease from their diets
resulted in mass starvation, the spread of illness, significant migrations, and, for over one million
Irish, death. Ireland's agricultural community was unable "to compensate" for the loss of the
potato.14 Although technically a part of the United Kingdom, Ireland did not receive sustained
assistance from the British government aside from temporary "public works and price control"
measures and, therefore, "many starved through bureaucracy." A number of conservative British
politicians, for their part, viewed the potato blight as just punishment for continued Irish social

13 T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin, eds., *The Course of Irish History* (New York: Weybright and Talley,
1967), 248, 250, 252, 255-256, 258, 261; and Oliver MacDonagh, "The age of O'Connell, 1830-45," in *A New
1989), 158-168. O'Connell's actions within the realm of global abolitionism aided in dismantling the support he
received from many American Irish during the antebellum era. As historian Angela F. Murphy argues, "Many
Americans, from both the North and the South, viewed the transatlantic abolition movement as part of a British
conspiracy against the United States." Due to growing concerns associated with "romantic nationalism," the Irish in
America found themselves in a difficult position, particularly when O'Connell ramped up efforts that effectively
chastised American Irish who condoned or at least tolerated the peculiar institution. The Irish in the United States,
therefore, had to choose between fidelity to their ancestral homeland or demonstrating their "loyalty to the American
republic," because many Americans during the 1840s "increasingly viewed the Irish immigrant community as a
danger to republicanism." Desiring to promote their rights as American citizens, they chose, according to Murphy,
practices advancing their own freedoms at the expense of African Americans. See Angela F. Murphy, *American
Slavery Irish Freedom: Abolition, Immigrant Citizenship, and the Transatlantic Movement for Irish Repeal* (Baton
Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 13, 19, 23, 216-217. Historian David Sim also notes that it is
important to remember, "O'Connell was not Ireland, and he did not have free rein in setting the pace of repeal
agitation." See David Sim, *A Union Forever: The Irish Question and U.S. Foreign Relations in the Victorian Age*

Press, 2005), 61-2, 68.
unrest, evidenced by the Catholic and Repeal Associations, and perceived Irish agrarian laziness. Charitable English organizations attempted to alleviate Irish distress, but their efforts ultimately proved inadequate.15

The movement of millions of Irish during the mid- to late nineteenth century to England, Scotland, continental Europe, Australia, and the Americas resulted in demographic shifts that allowed for the expansion of Irish culture and, eventually, Irish sociopolitical agency abroad. The Irish were not the only ones leaving their homelands due to economic and social upheaval during the nineteenth century, but their total numbers for emigration, particularly during the 1840s and 1850s, surpassed many other Europeans. Between 1841 and 1860, for example, nearly 1.7 million Irish came to the United States, with most making the journey in the years after the outbreak of famine.16

Although the potato famine of mid-century was not solely responsible for the tensions between the British and Irish, it helped to perpetuate expanding resentment between these two peoples. Thomas N. Brown writes that the potato blight "filled the immigrant ships with bitterness. The dispersed Irish felt deep in their hearts that the English government had deliberately contrived to starve them out."17 By the late 1850s, the emergence of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in Ireland and its American-based counterpart, the Fenians, deemed that any means, particularly violence, was permissible in expelling the English from

15 Foster, Modern Ireland, 325-331.
Irish land. Estimates place ownership of Irish land by English proprietors by the 1870s at over ninety percent.\textsuperscript{18} By no means a monolithic people, not all Irish, especially those of a Protestant persuasion, supported the notion of physical force republicanism.\textsuperscript{19} The Catholic clergy in Ireland disavowed public support for the IRB and the Fenians because of their tactics, particularly their secretive nature; unofficially, many Irish Catholics in Ireland and elsewhere were not averse to Ireland experiencing extended political and economic rights within the British Empire or complete independence as a nation state. The British responded to the arrival of American Fenians in Ireland to foment rebellion by suspending habeas corpus (non-arbitrary arrest) in February 1866. Taken in tandem with lingering resentment from failed British policies to alleviate suffering in Ireland during the potato blight, the British suspension of habeas corpus in Ireland did little to garner Irish support for British policies.\textsuperscript{20}

During the 1870s and 1880s, issues of land reform and home rule dominated sociopolitical discourse in Ireland. The objectives of redefining the status of Ireland championed by supporters of these reform initiatives within the British Empire, such as Irish nationalists and some Liberal-oriented politicians, proved troublesome for the British. In the decades after the potato famine, land rent increases and evictions were common practices throughout the Irish

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\textsuperscript{19} For an examination of Irish Protestantism in the Atlantic world, see Donald M. MacRaild, "The Orange Atlantic," in \textit{The Irish in the Atlantic World}, ed. David T. Gleeson (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010), 307-321.

\textsuperscript{20} Jenkins, \textit{Fenians and Anglo-American Relations During Reconstruction}, 85-86. Lawrence McCaffrey notes, "Physical-force nationalism best represented Irish America's approach to liberating Ireland from British colonialism. In Ireland people came to respect Fenians for their sacrifice and their bravery--they were added to the list of martyred patriots, but revolutionary Republicanism was and remained a minority voice. Fenianism added democratic and egalitarian impulses to Irish nationalism, but its mainstream continued to seek self-government with some British connection by constitutional means. After 1870 it found expression in Home Rule." See Thomas E. Hachey, Joseph M. Hernon, Jr., and Lawrence J. McCaffrey, \textit{The Irish Experience} (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 105.
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countryside. To combat excessive displacement of Irish tenant farmers, the creation of the Irish National Land League in October 1879 provided an outlet for frustrated agrarian workers to express grievances, primarily through public protests, boycotts, and, at times, armed resistance.\textsuperscript{21}

By the early 1880s, focus shifted away from the "Land War" because of parliamentary actions that alleviated some agrarian distress and, instead, centered on the developing notion of home rule.

Home rule means "limited self-government." For many in Ireland, even prominent Protestant Irishmen such as Isaac Butt and Charles Stewart Parnell, the desire to re-create an Irish Parliament with power to direct internal matters became vitally important. In 1870, Butt wrote the pamphlet \textit{Home Government for Ireland} "where he proposed Canada as a model for the constitutional relationship between Britain and Ireland [with the purpose of enjoying] self-government and a distinctive 'national life' while fully participating in the government of the wider empire." Butt's writing helped to spark widespread debate regarding this issue. Through the efforts of politically active Irishmen and British Liberals, led by William E. Gladstone, the first Home Rule Bill (1886) came before Parliament for a vote. Although this measure did not pass, it proved significant to the Crown, Parliament, and Protestant Unionists residing in Ireland that some form of independence for Ireland could eventually materialize but the manner in which this would transpire and its final costs remained, for the time being, unknown.\textsuperscript{22}

By the late 1870s and early 1880s, Charles Stewart Parnell, a member of the Anglo-Irish Protestant landed gentry, emerged as a leading nationalist figure dedicated to land reform and


home rule for all Irish. Possessing a charismatic personality and “good looks,” Parnell replaced Isaac Butt as Ireland's premier politician fighting for the home rule cause within a few years. During his tenure as the leading home rule advocate of the Irish Party between 1880 and 1890, Parnell garnered extensive support, particularly among rural farmers; in fact, he became known as the "uncrowned king" of Ireland. Favoring obstructionist tactics in Parliament to bring additional attention to the plight of Irish farmers and laborers, Parnell earned a reputation for leading "the most efficient, best-organized party [the Irish Party] in the House of Commons."23 Ultimately, however, Parnell's hubris helped to weaken, for a time, the home rule cause. His sustained intimate involvement with Kathleen O’Shea, the wife of Captain William O’Shea, resulted in widespread denunciation when her husband filed for divorce in late 1889 and cited adultery as the rationale. Although Parnell eventually married Kathleen O’Shea after she obtained a legal divorce, his political reputation in Ireland and abroad suffered considerably. Even though Parnell was under tremendous pressure to resign his leadership role of the Irish Party he decided to ignore the political and moral arguments used by anti-Parnellites who called for his immediate resignation. The controversy surrounding Parnell did not last long. In October 1891 Parnell died of rheumatic fever.24 The cacophony of opinion surrounding home rule in Ireland and elsewhere, particularly the United States, remained steadfast.

In 1893, Parliament debated the second Home Rule Bill for Ireland. Championed by the Liberal prime minister, William E. Gladstone, this measure was almost identical to the 1886 bill because it called for a two-house chamber in Ireland to oversee domestic issues but retained Irish representatives at Westminster for debate while requiring the Irish to contribute financially to the upkeep of the British Empire. The bill passed in the House of Commons but met with defeat in

23 *The Irish Experience*, 124.
24 Ibid., 130-132.
the House of Lords. With the loss of Liberal support, Gladstone resigned as prime minister and Lord Rosebery, a Liberal who “was indifferent to Irish nationalism,” assumed control and did not make home rule for Ireland a prominent issue. Ultimately, the division within the Liberal ranks led to conservative Unionists taking the political reins of Parliament by 1895 and maintaining control of it for the next decade.25

The mindset of most British conservatives of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as Lord Salisbury, Arthur J. Balfour, and Gerald Balfour, was two-fold. First, they believed that home rule for Ireland was not an appropriate or necessary option since it would weaken British hegemony, especially in the transatlantic world, because it revealed an empire unable to quell a rebellious population. Second, they claimed that the Catholic Irish, who were racially inferior, unfit to govern themselves. This latter perspective had its intellectual foundations in England during the mid-nineteenth century through the study of ethnology, the science of human beings. For many Victorians of this era and beyond, one's place in the racial hierarchy of Western civilization depended on one's comparability with the exemplar of humanity, the Anglo-Saxon. Within the Anglo-constructed racial discourse supported by conservatives of the period, the Catholic Irish, many of whom were poor, uneducated tenant farmers or laborers, fell into the category of Celt. For many Victorian social commentators, the Celtic race was "somewhat childish" and too often "unchaste, fickle, quick to fight, and wanting in 'firmness and self-command.'"26 In short, the Celts, especially Ireland's Catholics, could not handle the reins of self-government, limited or not.

Although most British conservatives viewed Celtic peoples, particularly the Catholic Irish, as inferior beings, this did not equate to conservatives ignoring Ireland. In the words of Gerald Balfour, Irish chief secretary from 1895-1900 and prime minister from 1902-1905, the intent of Unionist political and social approaches to further subdue Ireland concerned an attempt "to kill Home Rule with kindness." Conservatives recognized that ignoring Ireland was not an option because of its tradition of challenging British policies. They feared that continued Irish unrest made them and the Empire appear weak to the Atlantic community. Finally, the conservatives' conviction that a firm policy toward Ireland was the antidote to the disease of rebellion among the Irish would prove, once and for all, that their policies could resolve Ireland's home rule disorder while healing generations of grievances, particularly those surrounding land ownership.27

Through various legislative initiatives, British conservatives gradually amended laws that made it easier for Irish tenant farmers to purchase and keep their lands as well as foster domestic industry initiatives. Although these acts did not resolve all land-based grievances in Ireland, they contributed to an increase in the number of Irish land owners; two land bills in 1903 and 1909 "created 200,000 peasant proprietors. Their farms comprised about half of Ireland's arable land." In 1891, Arthur J. Balfour created the Congested Districts Board during his tenure as the Irish chief secretary. His aim was to alleviate the dire level of poverty rampant in Ireland by attempting to invigorate, develop, and expand domestic craft-based industries "such as spinning and weaving, fishing, and agriculture" through government subsidies.28 This early attempt by conservative politicians within the Empire to "uplift" the Irish through home craft industries was

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27 *The Irish Experience*, 135.
28 Ibid.
a process begun by Liberal-oriented individuals, like Alice Hart and Lady Aberdeen, and is part of a longer discussion explored in a later chapter.

During the early twentieth century, the political power of the House of Lords in Parliament began to change. Responding to popular criticism regarding the Lords' archaic procedures, Parliament passed the Parliament Act of 1911 which "reduced the Lords' veto to a delaying power[.]") In short, the Lords could only veto legislation for three consecutive terms of Parliament (two years) before legislation became law.\(^{29}\) This was significant for supporters of Irish home rule because the House of Lords, which vetoed two previous home rule bills in 1886 and 1893, could no longer use the veto to postpone indefinitely home rule for Ireland or keep any other piece of legislation from becoming law. A consequence of Parliament's actions resulted in the introduction of a third (and final) Irish home rule bill in 1912.

Support in Ireland for home rule, however, was not widespread. In the northern Ulster counties growing electoral (and primarily Protestant) discontent since the 1880s regarding semi-independence for Ireland created severe social and political animosity; the threat and use of violence in Ulster between Unionists and Nationalists was not uncommon. As politicians scrambled in 1913 and early 1914 to create solutions, such as the partition of Ireland into two separate entities, to avoid widespread violence and appease various constituencies in Ireland and Britain, the presumptive heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Franz Ferdinand, was assassinated in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914. The outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 pushed the Irish home rule issue for Britain to the political back burner, and for many Irish nationalists the war offered the opportunity to take back Ireland from a distracted Crown and Parliament. For

\(^{29}\) Public sentiment turned against the House of Lords after it vetoed a 1909 House of Commons budget. This sparked such outrage because the Lords "violated centuries of constitutional tradition" by taking this course of action regarding budgetary matters produced by the Commons. See *The Irish Experience*, 147-148; and Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 462.
Unionists, however, fighting on the Continent allowed "for a demonstration of [their] commitment to imperial values." The stage was now set for a showdown in the streets of Dublin in April 1916.

Physical force republicans, led by the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), seized upon the wartime distractions of the British military in Europe to further their agenda of establishing an independent Irish state during Easter 1916. Members of the IRB occupied several government buildings in Dublin, including the General Post Office where they announced the creation of "the provisional government of the Irish Republic." In short, the IRB "saw the need for a blood sacrifice which would inspire the Irish people to a final struggle for freedom." The IRB’s plans of insurrection ultimately failed because the British military’s response was swift, and it did not receive the support of Irish citizens en masse. Within a week, the members of the Irish insurgent army surrendered "and fifteen, including the signatories of the proclamation, were executed before the government gave way to the rising tide of public outrage and called a halt." Although the "blood sacrifice" of the IRB did not garner immediate conversion to physical force republicanism for all of Ireland, the executions of Irish citizens at the hands of the British army further soured the relationship between the colony and the metropole.

The memory of the Easter martyrs fueled continued fighting in Ireland that resulted in the Irish War of Independence (1919-1921), and it was not until 1921 that a plausible political solution for peace emerged in the form of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, which called for dominion status for Ireland. Many ardent nationalists were displeased with the provisions of the treaty,
which included swearing an oath of allegiance to the Crown and allowing the British to maintain a naval presence in Irish ports. This accord ignited a civil war in early 1922 and lasted until peacemakers were able to extinguish it in late May 1923. Although political assassination continued and violence remained, the Irish Free State emerged as a dominion of the Crown. The political relationship between the Irish and the British evolved once again in 1937 when a new constitution (Bunreacht na hÉireann) extended republican institutions, such as "a two-chamber parliament or Oireachtas, with an elected president or Uachtaran as head of state and a system of cabinet government headed by a prime minister or Taoiseach." By the start of World War II, Ireland, known as Éire, retained de facto independence. In 1949 Ireland declared itself a republic and henceforth an independent nation. Northern Ireland steadfastly remained a part of the United Kingdom due primarily to the ethnic and religious identity of the Scots Irish and their desire to remain associated with British national identity; geographic partition of the island continues into the present.\textsuperscript{33}

The United States' relationship with the Irish

The arrival of the Irish to the Americas began in the mid-seventeenth century. During the Age of Cromwell (1649-1660), many destitute Irish laborers as well as Catholic priests arrived in the West Indies. Most came as indentured servants or slaves while some "went willingly to work as British administrators in both the Caribbean and the mainland British colonies in North America." Since the 1690s many Catholic Irish fled Ireland to avoid the legal restraints imposed by the Penal laws in their homeland; many found solace in the "non-British Atlantic World" as the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Irish Volunteers advocating physical force to diminish British control over Ireland. In the wake of this war (which the British government referred to as "a police action to suppress illegal terror and to restore law and order"), "the IRA had killed 230 [British] soldiers and policemen and wounded 369; British military police forces had killed 752 and wounded 866 of the IRA." See The Irish Experience, 160-166.\textsuperscript{33} Ib\textsuperscript{id}, 96, 98-99, 106-108.
soldiers "in the armies of Catholic nations across Europe, especially France and Spain." The largest influx of Irish to British North America in the eighteenth century occurred between the 1720s and 1770s. Tens of thousands of Irish Presbyterians, who originated in Scotland, the northern counties of Ireland, and parts of England, landed in droves in the American colonies. Known as the Scotch-Irish, these individuals, some of whom turned out to be Anglicans and Catholics, helped to create the social and cultural framework of colonial American society.34

During the early nineteenth century the numbers of Irish emigrating to the United States averaged in the thousands, and after 1828 "the numbers fell under 10,000 only once...and as early as 1831 and 1832, the numbers were so high--more than 50,000 a year--that it had truly become a mass migration." Between 1815 and 1845, approximately eight hundred thousand to one million Irish departed Ireland for America. What differentiated these Irish from the Irish of the famine era was their religion; most of the pre-1845 Irish arrivals were Protestants.35 As Protestants, these Irish appeared, generally, as "appropriate" additions to the fold of the American populace because of their modest education and affluence. Although Catholics did migrate to the United States before the potato blight, their total numbers paled in comparison to their well-to-do Protestant brethren.36

By the 1840s, "the American economy started its 'take-off,' its 'spurt' toward industrial capitalism." This market revolution accounted for increased American interest in finding additional labor to work in factories and other areas of the growing marketplace. As David

Emmons points out, the shifting "political culture from the artisanal republicanism of the revolutionary era to a new republicanism built on expanding labor, consumer, and resource markets" assisted in clearing a pathway for new European arrivals during mid-century. What many Americans did not count on, however, was the rapid influx of European immigrants, particularly the Catholic Irish, in the wake of the cataclysmic famine during the mid-1840s and 1850s.

The outbreak of An Gorta Mór (the Great Hunger) in 1845 had devastating consequences for the population of Ireland. Although famine was not a new phenomenon for Europeans, the fungus that wreaked such havoc on the potato crop during this period was unlike anything witnessed before. The overreliance on the potato as a central component in the dietary structure of the majority of the Irish caused significant hardship. Approximately 1 million Irish died during this era and roughly 1.7 million left Ireland for the United States between 1841 and 1860. Irish refugees sought asylum not only in the United States but also in Canada, South America, Australia, and various European nations, including England and Scotland, during the mid-nineteenth century in the wake of this agricultural calamity. The sociopolitical experience for these new Catholic Irish arrivals in America would be difficult and filled with hardships.

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37 David M. Emmons, Beyond the American Pale: The Irish in the West, 1845-1910 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 7. For an overview of the "market revolution" and its effects on transforming American society during the early to mid-nineteenth century, see Charles Sellers, The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). In short, Sellers argues that this "revolution" in capitalistic economics determined the fate of American society, politics, and culture by "creating ourselves and most of the world we know."


In part, the challenges faced by many immigrants of mid-century, particularly the Catholic Irish, occurred due to the rise of American nativism. John Higham defines nativism "as intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign (i.e., 'un-American') connections," and Tyler Anbinder reminds readers that nineteenth-century Americans used nativism "primarily to describe anti-immigrant sentiment." Although Catholics in the Americas had experienced discrimination based on their religion since the late seventeenth century, the increase of anti-Catholic behavior beginning in the mid-1830s set the precedent for widespread resentment of Catholics in the United States. Catholic Irish communities were not the only ones discriminated against during this era, but examining their plight helps to set the sociocultural foundation for how Protestant America and the religious exiles of Ireland interacted with each other.

The rise of nativism during the nineteenth century began during the Second Great Awakening, especially during the 1830s and 1840s. Part of this religious revivalism stressed the role of the individual and how one needed to "search the scriptures for themselves and apply the lessons they found there to their own lives. In short, the believer was expected to remake himself or herself into a new person--to be 'born again." Catholic orthodoxy, however, did not stress these principles. Because of this religious disconnect and the rise of American nativism, Catholics in the United States, particularly the Irish, experienced violence and retribution for their spiritual practices; historian Jon Gjerde, for instance, refers to this as the "Catholic

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42 Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 188.
challenge to the American nation." The destruction of the Ursuline convent in Charlestown, MA in 1834; the anti-Catholic writings of Samuel F. B. Morse and Lyman Beecher in 1834 and 1835; Maria Monk's inflammatory *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal* in 1836; and rioting in Philadelphia in 1844 in which two Catholic churches were burned serve as only a few examples of the prevalence of anti-Catholicism and a rise in xenophobic behavior by many Americans of this era.

The political apogee of nativism in the United States occurred in the early 1850s with the creation of various secret sociopolitical groupings, such as the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner. Nativists of this period did not desire to outlaw immigration but instead wanted to restrict citizenship and control immigrants through the passage of laws designed to hinder their ability to participate fully within the American republic. Denial of suffrage, prolonging citizenship requirements for new residents, and curbing public office holding to only native-born citizens encapsulated their political ideology. These nativists became known as "Know-Nothings" because they feigned ignorance when asked about the activities of their secret societies. Ultimately, however, the secrecy of the Know-Nothings faded away when six states fell under the political leadership of the nativist-inspired "American Party" in 1855 and seventy five Know-Nothing representatives entered the halls of Congress. The anti-immigrant position of the Know-Nothing movement eventually abated, ironically enough, because of the enormous mid-century influx of European immigrants, the political capital many American politicians


assigned to the new arrivals, and the sectional tensions that concerned slavery. The dissolution of the Whigs and the birth of the Republicans helped to further quarantine nativist sentiment. Because male immigrants were seen as "white," they received de facto suffrage and often voted, regardless of their citizenship status, in elections. Pandering by politicians to win the Irish vote, especially for the Democrats, often resulted in electoral success in the 1850s. The American political courtship of immigrants by politicians, particularly by the 1870s and 1880s, would transform the electoral landscape of the United States.\textsuperscript{46}

As Dale Knobel elaborates in \textit{Paddy and the Republic: Ethnicity and Nationality in Antebellum America}, native-born Americans' perceptions of the Irish in the decades leading up to the Civil War were not static. He posits that between 1820 and 1860 the Irish experienced a "hardening" of public opinion from native-born Protestant Americans. Popular perceptions of the Irish in the United States in the 1820s and 1830s were somewhat favorable because many in America believed that the Irish could become respectable citizens. With the influx of Irish Catholics in the 1840s, Irish stereotyping became less forgiving because American citizens connected "behavior and birth, suggesting that it was more difficult for the immigrant Irish to shake off their background and become acceptable republicans." By the 1850s nativism reigned supreme, with many Americans believing that "authentic republicans could only be born and not made."\textsuperscript{47} A defining moment for the Irish in American history occurred because of the outbreak of internal hostilities during the U.S. Civil War (1861-1865). Immigrants, like the Irish, who


fought as soldiers in this conflict used it as a way to remove their "foreignness" and demonstrate allegiance to their new home and its native-born citizenry.

The Irish served in both the Union and Confederate armies. Regardless of their personal opinion about the expansion of slavery, the Irish in America recognized the importance of serving in this armed struggle. Most of the Irish community in the United States lived in northern areas, and nearly 150,000 Irish and American Irish, Catholic and Protestant, served in the Union army. President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, which made the destruction of slavery an official war aim and allowed African Americans to serve in the Union army, challenged the idea of what the republic meant to Irishmen. As Susannah Ural Bruce elaborates, some Irish soldiers grew concerned about the Union's war aim of destroying slavery; many worried that the freedmen would become economic competitors while some were blatant racists who despised the idea of any type of a free black community. She argues that a variety of reasons pushed those from the Irish community to the battlefields: some, particularly Fenians, believed that the Civil War proved to be an appropriate training ground to wrest control of Ireland from the English; many felt that service to the nation in its time of need would extinguish the flames of nativism; others simply needed the money to survive. Despite their rationale, Irish volunteers in the Union ranks began to form a new sense of identity as both Irishmen and Americans. Although certain events during the war, such as heavy casualties at Antietam and Fredericksburg or the consequences associated with the New York City Draft Riots in the summer of 1863, catapulted the Irish into debates within the public sphere regarding

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republicanism, they also helped the Irish in America to solidify their identity through legal and cultural forms of an emerging nationalism. As Christian Samito argues, "Participation in the Civil War intensified the demands of Irish Americans for inclusion and equal treatment but also their sense of American allegiance, even as they maintained facets of their ethnic culture and an enduring concern for Ireland's liberation."

The emergence of a dual identity for the Irish in America in the wake of the Civil War presented certain challenges. The activities of the Fenians in America, for instance, and their determination to achieve independence for Ireland by any means necessary culminated in two unsuccessful attempts in 1866 and 1870 to capture and ransom Canada to the British in exchange for a "free" Ireland. In addition, many Fenians hoped that armed struggle between Americans and British would materialize. Ultimately, however, their actions failed to spark a war between the United States and Great Britain. Although certain elements of the Irish community in America and abroad devoted themselves to physical force republicanism, by the 1880s the revolutionary tide, in part, began to turn in favor of constitutional nationalism and semi-independence for Ireland. The emergence of the home rule initiative in Ireland, led by Charles Stewart Parnell and others, received support by most second-generation American Irish because many of them favored compromise over the perceived risk to their respectability regarding group identity in the United States by non-American Irish if they wholeheartedly supported violence.

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52 Senior, *The Fenians and Canada*; and Vronsky, *Ridgeway: The American Fenian Invasion and the 1866 Battle That Made Canada*.  
59
abroad. The challenges linked to an emerging American Irish identity always concerned balancing allegiance to America with maintaining loyal kinship ties to those family members who struggled in the mother country.54

The late nineteenth century, known as the Gilded Age, proved to be an active period for the Irish community in America, especially when it came to politics. As Mark Summers argues, this era presented unique opportunities and challenges to America's party system. Compromise and corruption among the Democrats, Republicans, and fledgling third-parties forced politicians to be simultaneously ruthless and politically flexible; this was, after all, the zenith of "boss politics." Elections became more about "spectacle" than substance and the American Irish community, due primarily to their large numbers in many northern cities and their dislike of African Americans, emerged as an important voting bloc for the Democrats. Republicans also attempted to twist "the British lion's tail" from time to time if they believed it would garner them some Irish votes. But ultimately, fear of "Negro rule" drove the Irish into the arms of the Democrats. Irish Democrats, in short, believed that "restricting the full measure of American freedom to white males" matched "the republicanism of the founders."55 In addition, the Irish community in the United States also garnered local power, most often in northern cities, by filling the ranks of the police and firefighting forces. George E. Reedy describes this late

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54 For a discussion of identity construction for the American Irish, particularly as this relates to Fenianism during the late nineteenth century, see Snay, Fenians, Freedmen, and Southern Whites: Race and Nationality in the Era of Reconstruction. Regarding American Irish nationalism and the Land League, see Brown, Irish American Nationalism, 1870-1890; and Eric Foner, "Class, Ethnicity, and Radicalism in the Gilded Age: The Land League and Irish America," Marxist Perspectives 1, no. 2 (Summer 1978): 6-55. Brown concludes that middle-class American Irish desired to see an independent Ireland because they felt it would raise their social standing in the United States while Foner contends that class-based issues of the working-class really directed nationalistic sentiment for American Irish.

55 Mark Wahlgren Summers, Party Games: Getting, Keeping, and Using Power in Gilded Age Politics (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 22. For a revisionist interpretation of the Gilded Age that rejects "corruption and ballyhoo" as its central components and champions the role of politics and its importance to Americans of this age, see Charles W. Calhoun, From Bloody Shirt to Full Dinner Pail: The Transformation of Politics and Governance in the Gilded Age (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010).
nineteenth century process "as a means of gaining capital for [political] trading purposes." The American Irish community relied on localism and public service in achieving a form of political parity with Protestant Americans.

Associated with Gilded Age politics was the rise of labor unionism and activism. The Irish emerged as an important bulwark in the rise and proliferation of American trade unionism during the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. Irish power within unions did not simply materialize overnight; in fact, those Irish who were able to go westward experienced greater agency when compared to those who remained back east. When the Famine generation arrived on the shores of America, they were poor, unskilled agricultural workers who generally lacked sufficient means to ply their farming trades. During the antebellum era, these Irish were "a cheap, expendable [labor] force for the construction of North America's emerging industrial and urban infrastructure."

In the years after the Civil War, the Irish were able to achieve modest social advancement through the rankings of the middle class by becoming skilled laborers who recognized the power and importance of organized labor, collective bargaining, and

liberal use of the strike. In fact, about one third of those employees who participated in the great railroad strike of 1877 were Irish.\(^6^0\)

During the 1880s and 1890s, in particular, Irish leadership in numerous labor organizations, such as the Workingmen's Benevolent Association in Pennsylvania, New York's Amalgamated Trades and Labor Union, the Knights of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor, demonstrated that the Irish were active agents in the expansion of trade unionism. As Kevin Kenny writes, "The Irish also dominated the workforce and trade unions in metal work, longshore work and freight-handling" during this era. By the waning decades of the nineteenth century it was apparent that the Irish made significant strides within America's economy, and by 1900 the Irish, either immigrants or their progeny, "held the presidencies of over 50 of the 110 unions in the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the most powerful but also one of the most conservative [labor] organizations in the country." In short, "Even in trades where they accounted for only a small minority of the workforce, Irish Americans often dominated the union leadership[.]"\(^6^1\)

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, tensions among the American Irish remained constant concerning the best course of action for Ireland and the utility of the home rule agenda. By the early 1900s, the United Irish League of America and the Clan na Gael emerged as two important organizations influencing American Irish thought. The former claimed the financial backing of elite, wealthy American Irish who supported non-violence and feared being associated with radicalism while the latter, which catered to working-


\(^6^1\) Kenny, The American Irish, 156-157, 188-189.
class American Irish, supported independence by any means. If nothing else, the American Irish proved capable of raising money: from 1916-1921, they "raised an estimated $10 million in support of Irish independence." In the aftermath of the First World War and a civil war in Ireland, the British granted Ireland dominion status. In October 1924, Dr. Timothy A. Smiddy, the first "Minister Plenipotentiary of the Irish Free State, presented his credentials to President Calvin Coolidge in the White House." After a brief and anticlimactic ceremony, American recognition of the British Empire's newest dominion concluded.

Like most immigrants to the United States, the Irish experienced growing pains as they wrestled with notions of identity, allegiance to traditions, and emerging sentiments of a new national pride. The Catholicism of the Irish in America, even by the early twentieth century, helped to perpetuate notions of "outsider" status within Protestant America, but from the 1930s onward, they "gained significant political power [by achieving] prominence in state and national politics," particularly as the Democratic Party emerged as a political powerhouse during the era of Franklin Roosevelt. Although forms of nativism and anti-Catholicism remained in parts of American society, by the mid-twentieth century the descendants of the Famine generation readily identified as both American and Irish.

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65 John Higham reminds readers that by the early twentieth century, increased nationalism, economic prosperity, and diminishing fear of the immigrant to destroy the republic helped to reduce nativist tendencies in the United States. He argues, "The loss of a sense of national menace in the face of increasing cultural diversity indicates how much the ebb and flow of nativism has depended on larger changes in the course and character of American nationalism. When new conditions quieted both internal and international tensions, nationalism regained such buoyancy and radiance that little room was left for anti-foreign fears." See Higham, Strangers in the Land, 110-111.
Portrayals of the Irish

In the December 1879 and January 1880 editions of The North American Review, English historian and writer James Anthony Froude examined in a two-part article the character of the Catholic Irish in the United States and the dangers they posed to American republicanism. Froude recognized the growing political power and acumen of the Irish in the United States while he simultaneously characterized them in nativist language. Writing that a byproduct of the spread of Catholicism was the beginning of a potential theocracy in America, he characterized the fears of many Americans of this era when he wrote that "freedom and self-reliance are extinguished in Romanism" and "that Romanism is as inconsistent with a republican form of government as slavery was." Although Froude appeared supportive of republican ideals, including "that all men have a natural right to liberty," he also felt that "only those [peoples] have a right to liberty who deserve it, and can use it well[.]" Labeling the Irish as a "primitive" society, he concluded "those who clamor loudest for their rights are those who have fewest rights which deserve to be respected." Tyler Anbinder's work reminds readers that by the mid nineteenth century, American nativists held a similar position to that espoused by Froude in his 1879 and 1880 articles. Nativists asserted that American Catholics would be perpetual political

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67 Froude, "Romanism and the Irish Race in the United States. Part I," 524, 527-528, 530. Jon Gjerde reminds readers that in the years leading to the U.S. Civil War, "association between Romanism and slavery only became more entrenched in many Americans' minds." See Gjerde, Catholicism and the Shaping of Nineteenth-Century America, 255.
slaves to Rome and therefore be unable to become fully independent-minded republican citizens.69

Although the Irish clamored for additional political rights during the late nineteenth century, witnessed, in part, by the birth of the home rule movement, Froude's position regarding the Irish would be of little surprise to readers of The North American Review.70 What Froude did not do in his articles is alert readers to Irish immigration patterns and trends; instead, he relied on well-established paradigms of xenophobia in the United States dating to the 1850s to make his argument. Americans were cognizant of the increasing numbers of the Irish in their midst as approximately 436,000 Irish arrived in the United States between 1871 and 1880. Although these numbers reflected the robust migration of the Irish to the shores of America, it cannot be forgotten that about 2.1 million arrived between 1841 and 1870.71 Therefore, by the time of Froude's writings, many Irish were already living in and quite familiar with the American republic and its various nuances. Froude's articles are of interest because they represent the type of thinking common during the waning decades of the nineteenth century concerning the

69 Anbinder, Nativism and Slavery, 115-117.
70 Many social commentators of the early Victorian era based their perspectives of the Irish, in part, on the opinion of the premier political writer of the time, Thomas Carlyle. In his 1839 essay "Chartism," Carlyle wrote that England was responsible for injustice in Ireland and that it "reaps at last, in full measure, the fruit of fifteen generations of wrong-doing." However, Carlyle was not shy in his condemnation of the Irish and described them as "degraded, disordered...headlong, violent, [and] mendacious[.]" He continued, "In his rags and laughing savagery, he is there to undertake all work that can be done by mere strength of hand and back" and, ultimately, "[t]he time has come when the Irish population must either be improved a little, or else exterminated." Carlyle concluded that although England must not ignore Ireland, the Irish possessed a "chronic atrophy" of civilization. It is important to note, however, that Carlyle was not the first or only critic to paint the Irish situation in negative terms. See Thomas Carlyle, "Chartism," in English and Other Critical Essays (London: Dent, 1915, 1964), 181-183, 187. For cogent analysis and interpretation refuting some of Carlyle's assertions in the "Chartism" essay, including his belief that the Irish were responsible for the degradation of working-class wages of the British, see Roger Swift, "Thomas Carlyle, "Chartism", and the Irish in early Victorian England," Victorian Literature and Culture 29, no. 1 (2001): 67-83. Carlyle's perspective on Africans and their descendants around the world was just as harsh. His racial ranting exposed his distorted perspective regarding the contributions of non-white peoples. See Thomas Carlyle, "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question," Fraser's Magazine (Dec. 1849): 670-679.
71 Natives and Strangers, 89, 101. During the 1870s and 1880s the Irish ranked behind Germany and Great Britain regarding immigration to the United States. In addition, Scandinavians and French Canadians appeared with increasing prominence during this era. See Higham, Strangers in the Land, 15.
classification of the Irish community, in both the United States and abroad, as "separate in blood, separate in religion[.]"

The height of nativist sentiment in the United States emerged during mid-century in the wake of economic, political, and environmental calamities abroad, particularly in northwestern Europe, which increased the influx of immigrants to America. The political animus concerning the European immigrant community in the nation during the early 1850s partially abated with the demise of the Know Nothings and the coming of the Civil War. The meteoric rise of American industrialism and the need for labor from the 1870s onward, however, further pushed nativist sentiment, especially for American businessmen, to the sidelines of American society. John Higham asserts that corporate interests in the late nineteenth century championed this influx of foreign workers. He writes, "There seemed no end to what the country could produce with men enough to do the work and to buy the results. The immigrants served both ways. And business leaders, marveling that population growth kept pace with economic opportunities, saw in the flow of immigration the workings of one of the grand laws of nature." With the slavery issue resolved, social complacency taking hold, and confidence in the renewed spirit of the nation, "Americans saw little reason to fear the influence of foreigners upon them." American society, however, continued to grapple with slavery's residue and the negative consequences for African Americans as they confronted renewed social, political, and economic restrictions witnessed during the era of Jim Crow.

Until relatively recently in world history, the social construct of race as a category of analysis and societal marker of differentness did not exist. According to David Roediger, it was not until the seventeenth century when large numbers of European elites began to view

73 Higham, Strangers in the Land, 16, 18.
"themselves as physically white, and were still further from imagining that the word 'white' had uses as a noun." 

Probably the first individual to write about the modern concept of race and provide descriptors and classification criteria for all of mankind was François Bernier. In 1684 this well-traveled French physician published an article about "human differences" in a Parisian journal. He organized all of humanity into four separate categories: "the Europeans, the Far Easterners, the 'blacks,' and the Lapps." As Thomas Gossett explains, the importance of Bernier's endeavors taken in tandem with the scientific exploration of natural laws during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries assisted later thinkers because "a tradition of descriptive natural history" existed that permitted them, albeit incorrectly, to assign the value of human beings in a hierarchical manner using new biological constructs. It was not until the late eighteenth century that the term Caucasian emerged as a descriptor for the "white race." 

By the late eighteenth century, western European intellectuals and political leaders agreed that "the idea of 'civilization' was [meant to be] the destined goal of all mankind, and was in fact often used to account for apparent racial differences." In the nineteenth century, especially during the Victorian era, Europeans and Americans alike viewed a society's fitness for civilization through the specific and "peculiar achievement[s] of certain 'races.'" From the perspective of the white communities in Europe and the United States, social distinctions, such as industrialization and urbanization, emerged as vital catalysts that propelled societies to the ultimate goal of being the paragon of civilization. Societies that lacked these Euro-U.S. centric ideals fell short of being "civilized" and, by default, earned the dubious distinction of being

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75 Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of an Idea in America (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), 32-33, 37. The originator of the term Caucasian was Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, a professor of medicine at the University of Göttingen. This descriptor originated in his analysis of a human skull he had "from the Caucasian mountain region of Russia" and his conclusion that it resembled "the crania of the Germans." See Gossett, Race, 38. For a discussion of scientific racism and biological determinism, see Stephen Jay Gould, The Mismeasure of Man, rev. ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996).
primitive societies in the age of industrialization. There would be, however, strenuous debate regarding the origin of all peoples and the reasons why some societies, like those found in Western Europe and the United States, progressed differently from others. Biological and biblical determinants framed this Victorian era debate, and issues of race became the binding agent that defined this period.\textsuperscript{76}

By the mid-nineteenth century, ethnology (the science of human beings) "was in fact the most general scientific framework for the study of linguistic, physical, and cultural characteristics of dark-skinned, non-European, 'uncivilized' peoples."\textsuperscript{77} The scientific and cultural construction of "the Other" assisted in buttressing debates about the superiority of Euro-U.S. civilization when compared to Indian, African, Asian, and Native American cultures. Linked with discussions about the ranking of civilizations were questions about the origin of mankind. Monogenists believed all human beings possessed a common ancestor while polygenists argued that mankind originated from various ancestral groupings. When considering the Judeo-Christian origin of mankind, Stephen Jay Gould writes that monogenists "upheld the scriptural unity of all peoples in the single creation of Adam and Eve" while polygenists "held that human races were separate biological species, the descendants of different Adams."\textsuperscript{78}

With the publication of Charles Darwin's \textit{On The Origin of Species} (1859) and \textit{The Descent of Man} (1871), the origins binary "quickly receded from the center of the anthropological stage in the milieu of Darwinian evolutionism" but ideas of racial fitness and connections to advanced civilization continued to frame social scientists' thinking of mankind as something measureable on a sliding scale of humanity. Evaluating the "worth" of human beings

\textsuperscript{77} Stocking, \textit{Victorian Anthropology}, 47.
\textsuperscript{78} Gould, \textit{The Mismeasure of Man}, 71.
shifted, albeit gradually, from ideas of human origin to sociocultural evaluations of race; Darwin's writings, however, did not settle all scientific disputes, and polygenists continued to influence the emerging field of physical anthropology. Although Darwinian thought did not garner initial widespread support, he "showed that humans are part of nature, not above it, and that all animal life, including human, is related by descent from a common ancestor."  

Darwin's writings influenced the activities of numerous scholars, such as Lewis Henry Morgan, Herbert Spencer, and Edward Burnett Tylor. Morgan and Tylor popularized the anthropological construct of a hierarchy of civilizations. To them, the stages of savagery, barbarism, and civilization classified mankind's development. As monogenists, they adhered to a one "race" theory for human beings but stressed that considerable variations manifested themselves among the peoples and cultures of the world. In short, they "concluded that the development of man was generally upward from a primitive condition of savagery[.]

Similarly, Spencer approached society's development in evolutionary terms and believed cultures, like biological organisms, developed from simple to complex. As George W. Stocking, Jr. argues, "Darwinian evolution, evolutionary ethnology, and polygenist race thus interacted to support a raciocultural hierarchy in terms of which civilized men, the highest products of social evolution, were large-brained white men, and only large-brained white men, the highest products of organic evolution, were fully civilized."

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79 Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution*, 38-41, 55-56.
81 Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution*, 73-74, 77.
83 Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution*, 122.
When examining Victorian society, culture, and politics, recognizing the complex relationship associated with ideas of civilization, social progress, racial constructs, religion, and how commentators of the era processed and wrote about these ideas is key to comprehending how Victorians in Britain and the United States approached the Irish question.\(^\text{84}\) In part, the development of a robust Anglo-Saxonism from mid-century onward influenced how Victorians defined themselves and others, especially the Irish. Discussion of a "Celtic race" became central to Victorians because it permitted them to assert their perceived superiority over the Irish. While not all Victorians agreed, however, as to the reasons for Irish inferiority, most did concur that the Irish were inferior. A failure to accept industrialization, deficient racial stock, and an adherence to popery (or as many believed, slavery) emerged as the most common Victorian justifications as to why the Irish were either a burden to the empire or why they simply would never be like Anglo-Saxons.\(^\text{85}\)

Today, a diverse and contentious historiography exists regarding Anglo-Saxonism and how Victorians viewed the Irish. What is important for the purposes of this project is to recognize that like Victorians, historians vehemently disagree as to the leading element that contributed to Victorian revulsion of the Irish. Notions associated with Victorian racialized perceptions of the Irish, the influence of modernization, and opinions of cultural fitness for self-government frame historians' analysis about this complicated Anglo-U.S.-Irish paradigm.\(^\text{86}\)

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\(^{84}\) For example, in a lecture delivered before the Statistical Society in London on December 20, 1881, geologist G. Phillips Bevan stated, "Of all the misfortunes that can happen to a country, the greatest is that of not possessing a backbone of an industrial nature[.]" He continued, "That Ireland should ever become a great manufacturing land, is perhaps a physical impossibility, but that her existing industries might be developed and new ones introduced, is surely not an unreasonable expectation, or an unreasonable task to be undertaken by our statesmen, our capitalists, and our patriotic men generally." See G. Phillips Bevan, "The Industrial Resources of Ireland," *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 44, no. 4 (Dec., 1881): 675-676.

\(^{85}\) For an overview of eugenics since its inception in the late nineteenth century, see Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985).

\(^{86}\) For a sampling of this historiography, see L. P. Curtis, Jr., *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England* (Bridgeport, CT: Conference on British Studies, 1968); L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Apes
Curtis, Jr., for example, writes that in the United States, the intelligentsia's adherence to Anglo-Saxonism during the 1870s and 1880s "blossomed into a strident and apologetic creed," which included such followers as "Henry Adams, Henry Cabot Lodge, A. Lawrence Lowell, [and] Herbert Baxter Adams[.]

He labels their devotion to Anglo-Saxonism as cultish because of their loyalty to the "mythology" of this ideology.87

By the 1870s, pictorial representations of the Irish as savage, simianized, Caliban-like creatures were common in numerous British and American newspapers and periodicals. Although the degree of the Irishman's savagery in Victorian cartoons oscillated between a semi-civilized person and an unredeemable ape-like being intent on the destruction of the British Empire, what most of these depictions have in common is their perspective on the Irish as outcasts or "the Other." In his seminal and controversial work, Apes and Angels, L. P. Curtis, Jr. argues that Victorian depictions of the Irish were part of an emerging "cultural imperialism" concerned with racialized representations of the Irish as anti-modern. Although Curtis acknowledges severe socioreligious differences between the Irish and Victorian Britons, he concludes that many Victorians of the "governing class believed that Irish inferiority was a more or less permanent state of affairs, the result of biological forces about and beyond the power of enlightened English administrators to control or ameliorate."88

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87 Curtis, Jr., Anglo-Saxons and Celts, 92.
Curtis's thesis, however, has not convinced all historians. Richard Ned Lebow, Sheridan Gilley, and R. F. Foster perpetuate what I term the anti-Curtis thesis. These historians counter that nineteenth century English attitudes relied not on racialized interpretations of the Irish per se but instead, the Irish were viewed as either morally deficient, disloyal to the Crown and Parliament, or that the Victorian foundations of anti-Irish prejudice rest on religious and class-related issues rather than racial constructs. Michael de Nie, however, constitutes what I term the post-Curtis thesis. His work posits that to gain a comprehensive understanding of Anglo-Irish animus, it is imperative that one incorporate analysis devoted to race, class, and religion. He writes, "In British eyes, the eternal Paddy was forever a Celt, a Catholic, and a peasant" but that, ultimately, "British self-interest" also played a crucial role in the handling of Anglo-Irish affairs.

What these historians demonstrate is that perception and reality were competing interests during the Victorian era, especially when one considers the contentiousness surrounding any issue that involved the British and the Irish. Although the Curtis thesis of Victorian racialization and its connection to "cultural imperialism" appears monolithic in character, it does provide an appropriate framework from which to evaluate the actions of those individuals making and implementing British policy in Ireland, especially during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. It also holds value because it reveals the transatlantic linkages between pictorial representations of

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89 Lebow, *White Britain and Black Ireland*, 14-15, 50; Sheridan Gilley, "English Attitudes to the Irish in England, 1780-1900," in *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*, ed. Colin Holmes (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1978), 95-96, 105; and Foster, *Paddy and Mr Punch*, 193, 286, 288. From my perspective, Gilley is the most aggressive toward Curtis when he writes, "as an American liberal Professor Curtis has no understanding of the English idea of empire, in its own special virtues and vices." In short, Gilley argues that Curtis blames the English for all problems in Ireland and absolves the Irish for wrongdoing or problems they encountered or created, particularly in England. Gilley, however, treads shaky cultural ground and falls into the same trap of fighting against monolithic descriptions and analysis that he attempts to counter when he concludes, "like John Bull, 'Paddy' was intended to entertain, and ought to make one laugh."

90 de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy*, 5, 274.
the Irish in Britain and the United States. Although the Irish were by no means the only group portrayed in the transatlantic print media as simian-like beings to denote their "cultural inferiority," the proliferation of this ideal and its correlation to American Irishness from the 1860s to the end of the nineteenth century cannot be ignored. Gilley, however, does present a persuasive argument that Curtis relies too often on antiquated tropes that frame his Anglo-Irish perspective. Although the British were responsible for implementing draconian legislation in Ireland, as evidenced through the Penal Codes, Gilley's criticism that Curtis glosses over the nuances of empire recognizes the importance of avoiding monolithic characterizations. Ultimately, Michael de Nie's perspective that multiple issues (such as race, class, and religion) helped to define and complicate this debate proves most useful for this dissertation and will, therefore, guide my analysis of the Irish in the print media and their display at international and local fairs in the United States and Europe.

In numerous Victorian-era periodicals, such as Judge, Puck, Punch, and Harper's Weekly, pictorial depictions of the Irish followed, at times, prescribed prejudices regarding the appearance, activity, and demeanor of the various Irish characters seen most often with "Paddy," "Bridget," and "Biddy" personalities, especially between the 1840s and 1890s.91 The Paddy was rebellious, angry, drunk, and dangerous; the Bridget was young, simple-minded, and easily swayed by others; and the Biddy was overbearing, loud, disorderly, and, at times, inebriated. Negative representations of the Bridget/Biddy character "appeared largely in mainstream American humor journals, which profited from playing on popular disdain of Irish domestic

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91 Curtis writes, "In both England and America the simianized version of the Irish Celt lasted well into the twentieth century, only to die out slowly after the rebellion and intermittent warfare of 1916-21." See Curtis, Apes and Angels, rev. ed., 29.
servants." Paternalistic ideas framed the manner in which portrayals of the Irish occurred in both British and American publications. As Curtis reminds us, albeit in racialized language, the Irish "shared with virtually all the nonwhite peoples of the [British] empire the label of childish, and the remedy for unruly children in most Victorian households was a proper 'licking.'" With the rise of Fenian activity during the 1860s and the adherence of its members to physical force republicanism, ape-like representations of the Irish in the print media increased. Part of how political cartoonists of the Victorian era represented a subject's "character" depended on facial angles; the higher one's facial angle, the more civilized one appeared. In short, Victorian cartoonists who desired to depict people or civilizations, such as the Irish, as inferior did so by reducing the facial angle of their subjects and exaggerating certain features, such as the eyes, nose, ears, or jaw, in order to make them appear closer in lineage to apes rather than "civilized" Anglo-Saxons.

Not all depictions of the Irish, however, were steered by a strict adherence to simianized features. The Irish "Pat" emerged in some British periodicals as a simple, trusting, yet unsophisticated tenant farmer who emerged as "the epitome of Irish masculinity." As Curtis informs his readers, Pat's "face was long but full, his forehead high, his chin square, and his nose and mouth straight and firm." In addition, Pat had a "twinkle in his eyes and an easygoing smile, marking him as a man prepared to trust anyone of equal good faith." The "Erin" figure, as noted by Kathleen Diane McGuire, provided a "charming ingénue whose qualities of virtue, pride, and beauty suggest the best traits of Irish womanhood." Erin emerged as a leading Irish

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93 Curtis, Anglo-Saxons and Celts, 54.
94 Curtis, Apes and Angels, 75.
character primarily "in Irish and Irish-American publications where the celebration of an Irish woman's best qualities went hand in hand with the publications' larger aims of Irish independence." In most American periodicals, however, Irish women found themselves portrayed as "lazy, domineering, ungrateful, unfashionable and unwitting participants in political acts." Overall, positive and non-simianized representations of the Irish occurred primarily in the Irish and Irish-American print media. These particular portrayals, however, found it difficult to compete with the abundance of negative stereotypes of the Irish "in the comic weeklies and monthlies of London and New York." 

Depictions of the Irish in the transatlantic print media connect to scholarly ideas of race construction. The emerging and contentious "whiteness studies" genre of the 1990s presents historians with various interpretations regarding how issues of race and identity formation, particularly for immigrants of the nineteenth century, can proceed. The Irish in America form the foundation for this vein of scholarship and historians such as Alexander Saxton, David Roediger, and Noel Ignatiev provide the theoretical framework for ideas of whiteness in America. Saxton posits that the white community of nineteenth-century America championed whiteness for racial justification for their actions, especially for westward expansion and preserving the institution of slavery, and that white racism provided the platform for continued suppression of non-white peoples in America. Roediger argues that members of the American white working class used their emerging sense of whiteness during the mid-nineteenth century to

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96 Curtis, Apes and Angels, 87; and Lebow, White Britain and Black Ireland, 45.

differentiate themselves and their labor from that of the non-white workforce. Finally, Ignatiev asserts that the Irish in America found it expedient to distance themselves from the African American community, particularly in northern cities where job competition was fierce, in order to achieve legitimation in the eyes of the American Protestant white community. In short, Ignatiev concludes that the Irish in America transformed from an oppressed group abroad into a group that repressed the African American community by using racial hatred and violence in order to gain acceptance within "proper" American society.

Criticism of whiteness studies within American historiography is abundant.98 For the purpose of this dissertation, however, David Lloyd's recent discussion of the Irish in the Atlantic world proves most useful, particularly when thinking about ideas of race and the Irish in America. Lloyd argues that ideas surrounding the development of nation states hinges on an important perspective of readiness; according to many Victorian observers, such as John Stuart Mill and Thomas Carlyle, the Irish did not display the necessary requisites for self-government. Ireland's colonial status helped, in part, to create in the Victorian imagination the Irish as non-white imperial subjects and, therefore, a partially degraded people. Lloyd, however, diverges from the whiteness paradigm by asserting that the Irish did not "become white" when they entered the United States. Instead, "they transformed the constitution of whiteness and simultaneously the meaning and function of race itself--and along with it the meaning of Irishness."99 It is this idea of race malleability and how one group uses it to garner advancement,

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98 See Eric Arnesen, "Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination," International Labor and Working-Class History No. 60 (Fall 2001): 3-32 and the numerous responses to this article in this journal.
99 David Lloyd, "Black Irish, Irish Whiteness and Atlantic State Formation," in The Black and Green Atlantic: Cross-Currents of the African and Irish Diasporas, ed. Peter D. O'Neill and David Lloyd (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 8-10, 12, 14, 17. Lloyd cites a December 2, 1846 letter by John Stuart Mill in which Mill wrote, "the demand of [the Irishman's] nature is to be led and governed. He prefers to have some one to lean upon. He has energy and self-will in abundance, because he has strong desires, but it must be in the line of his previous habits and inclinations. He will never emerge from old habits by his own innate force; but he may be guided and persuaded out of them."
acceptance, or recognition that shapes this project's perspective of the Irish in a transatlantic racial context. World's fairs offer an appropriate environment to analyze sociocultural constructs during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because of their proliferation and sustained popularity.

History of World's Fairs

The gathering of people for celebration is a process that dates to antiquity. Feasts, festivals, and marketplace interactions were some of the main reasons why individuals from biblical times to the medieval age and beyond assembled in public spaces; in short, festivity of one type or another regularly influenced the meeting of large groups of people throughout the world. In fact, the English word, fair, originates from the Latin term for 'holy day': feria. In Europe, the advent of the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century created the socioeconomic environment that led to the mass production of goods and resulted in the rush of European powers to showcase their wares in a domestic and, eventually, international context with the aim of asserting hegemony within the sphere of industrial production. Parisian manufacturers, beginning in 1798, began to hold a series of small, nationally-oriented expositions and, with these, the birth of "the modern exhibition movement" within European society began to materialize. It did not take long for other nations, especially England, to realize the utility of holding these types of events. It was not, however, until the mid-nineteenth century that the international component of exhibitions occurred amongst European nations and

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100 Diane Negra reminds readers that most people believe "Irishness is reliably, invariably, a form of whiteness" and that it "has become a form of discursive currency, motivating and authenticating a variety of heritage narratives and commercial transactions, often through its status as a form of 'enriched whiteness.'" She asserts, ultimately, "the United States played a key role in producing and consuming the authenticity of Irishness." See Diane Negra, "The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture," in The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 1, 12.
101 Rydell, All the World's a Fair, 3; and Keith Walden, Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 10-11.
their political and business leaders. The emergence of multi-nation fairs assisted in transforming European sociocultural interaction with the rest of the world because these occasions emerged as displays of colonial power structures by exhibiting foreign peoples as commodities who validated the expansionist mindset of European imperial powers and politicians during the Age of Empire.

The first international exhibition took place in London's Hyde Park between May and October 1851. The unique architectural design of this fair's building mimicked an overgrown greenhouse and during its assembly, the public and the press dubbed this enclosed structure covering nineteen acres of land the Crystal Palace. Although numerous national-oriented exhibitions took place in England and other parts of Europe for decades, this one was "the apotheosis of the lofty ideal of 'rational entertainment.'" Over thirty countries participated by sending manufactured goods, artwork, and other items for display. There were four main classifications of exhibits: raw materials; machinery; manufactured products; and fine arts. Future exhibition organizers would utilize and expand upon these designations to arrange later fairs. In short, "statues of famous politicians, of Victoria and Albert, sculptures, technical marvels such as telegraphs and calculating machines, vast steam hammers and whole cotton-weaving machines" created a showcase-oriented atmosphere among fairgoers and those reading about it in European and American newspapers. The Crystal Palace laid the global groundwork for subsequent meetings of this sort and, according to Jeffrey Auerbach, nurtured the "cultural battlefield" in which Britons "fought for ascendancy in a struggle to define Britain's

past, present, and future." This idea of "cultural battlefield" can easily extend to later exhibitions, especially from the 1880s onward, because ideas of nationalism and imperialism often amalgamated in the generally contentious process of identifying and justifying a nation's actions within and beyond the physical boundaries of the fairgrounds.

The success of London's first international exhibition sparked the worldwide phenomenon of flaunting mechanical, industrial, agricultural, and artistic products of the world's "civilized" countries. Although not all fairs were financially successful, this fact rarely stymied a nation's commitment to host such gatherings. In fact, Dublin's 1853 Great Industrial Exhibition and New York's 1853-1854 Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations failed to garner profits. They are important, however, because each was the first attempt, respectively, at hosting a world's fair in Ireland and the United States. Each emulated the Crystal Palace's unique architecture by actually constructing its own version of London's exhibition building; both experienced some difficulty in attracting visitors from outside of their cities due to problems associated with transportation infrastructure, particularly passable roads and reliable railways; each competed against the other to draw the most impressive exhibits; and both hoped that their exhibitions would reinvigorate local economies. Although these events helped in the partial revitalization efforts of Dublin in the post-Famine years, and the continued growth of New York through increased spending on construction projects and profits made by hotels, restaurants, and printing presses that churned out newspapers dedicated to these events as well as pieces of

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105 Auerbach, "Exhibiting the Nation," i. Auerbach also stresses that the success of this event was not guaranteed and that it continues to be interpreted in a variety of ways because it "was too big, too amorphous, too decentralized for its lessons to be clear. If anything, it was a 'distorting mirror,' overemphasizing industry at the expense of other areas of British economy." See Auerbach, "Exhibiting the Nation," 273.
printed ephemera, organizers of both realized that detailed planning was paramount and attempts at holding more than one international exhibition at a time were folly.  

Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, Europe, particularly London and Paris, hosted most of the international exhibitions. Events of this sort did occur in New Zealand (1865), Philadelphia (1876), and Australia (1879-1881) but it was not until the 1880s that these events truly became global. Atlanta held the International Cotton Exposition in 1881; Boston hosted the American Exhibition of the Products, Arts and Manufactures of Foreign Nations between 1883-1884; India had its first world's fair (the Calcutta International Exhibition) between 1883-1884; New Orleans showcased between 1884-1885 the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition; Edinburgh's 1886 International Exhibition of Industry, Art and Science was the first to occur in Scotland; and the 1888 Exposició Universal de Barcelona introduced Spain to the challenges of hosting a world's fair. Importantly, inconsistent financial returns did not hinder the momentum of international exhibitions. Aside from the above-referenced fairs, numerous national-oriented exhibitions took place in the late nineteenth century in Louisville (Kentucky), Nashville (Tennessee), Cincinnati (Ohio), Rome (Italy), Santiago (Chile), Munich (Germany), Brussels (Belgium), Caracas (Venezuela), Turin (Italy), Budapest (Hungary), Richmond (Virginia), and dozens of other locales in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere.  

What does this imply about the late nineteenth century? It reinforces the notion that nations, whether hosting national

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107 Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions, 423-425. Recent scholarship about world's fairs, in part, deals with how these events influenced various groups. An example of this includes Mabel Wilson, Negro Building: Black Americans in the World of Fairs and Museums (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). Wilson's monograph situates the sociocultural meaning of fairs within the United States for African Americans with partial emphasis on these events in the American south during the post-Civil War world. Ultimately, she argues that African Americans possessed agency with respect to how they presented their past and themselves to the American public while simultaneously negotiating American racism.
or international exhibitions, realized the economic potential and prestige associated with being a country linked with this type of gathering. In short, many countries connected exhibitions to ideas of civilization, prestige, and cultural advancement.

World's fairs gradually buttressed European ideas related to sociocultural superiority and imperialism. By the late nineteenth century, the leading nations of Europe and eventually the United States engaged in a no holds barred competition to take possession of as many lands as possible in Africa, Asia, the Near East, and the Pacific. The rationale for such thinking stemmed from the belief that "great states possessed the respect of their neighbors only when they acted like great states and gave visible evidence of their power resources."\textsuperscript{108} Empire-building activities relied on military might, industrial prowess, and the wherewithal by European and American leaders to sustain the rhetoric of benevolence associated with bringing "the savage," oftentimes kicking and screaming, into the fold of semi-civilized status; often using the bayonet to achieve their goals. Public support for imperial-minded activities elevated the image of the conquerors to god-like proportions and provided entertainment for readers of newspapers, journals, and imperial-themed works of fiction and adventure. In short, geographic territory not settled or controlled by Europe or America appeared as a new frontier up for grabs by imperial-minded nations. Although not all peoples in Europe or America viewed imperialism as a positive good, the triumphantist messages of politicians and business leaders who profited from the exploitation of "the savage" muffled most dissenting opinions. Fair organizers eventually realized the allure and significance of connecting nationalism to imperial-themed displays and incorporating the notion of empire into the overall schema of an exhibition's infrastructure.\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{109} For a discussion of European and American imperial practices and outcomes during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Alan Brinkley and Ellen Fitzpatrick, \textit{America in Modern Times Since 1890} (New
Commemoration of national events, such as the centennial of the United States declaring independence in 1876 or the celebration of the French Revolution in Paris in 1889, became the reason for particular nations to host international exhibitions in certain years. When marking a certain anniversary in a nation's history that coincided with a world's fair, it was standard practice for a country to ensure that its particular event was the most lavish one to date. As a result, displays of grandness quickly became associated with these exhibitions. For example, Philadelphia's Centennial International Exhibition created the precedent for constructing separate main buildings and pavilions within a properly landscaped and park-like urban environment.

The 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris left behind the now iconic Eiffel Tower which many Parisians and foreigners associate with that city, but it also set the precedent of exhibiting colonized peoples in village-type settings. The transformation of metropolitan areas into temporary wonderlands of display, particularly between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when the era of imperialism coincided with the construction of foreign villages to showcase "primitive" peoples, make sociocultural analysis of world's fairs and their effect on global interactions paramount.

After the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, the breadth and scope of international exhibitions reached unprecedented heights. The 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois (an event marking the quadricentennial of Columbus's first voyage to the Americas) provided fairgoers with an experience unlike previous world's fairs. Located on approximately 660 acres of land alongside Lake Michigan in Jackson Park, the Columbian

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Exposition was, at the time, the largest world's fair; almost 200 acres of covered exhibition
gallery space allowed visitors to experience fair opulence like never before. What marked this
event as unique, aside from its size, was its spatial arrangement. The fair's planners divided the
exposition into two general categories: civilized and barbarous. The civilized section of the fair,
known as the "White City," represented western extravagance and the best of white civilization,
whereas the pre-civilized portion, known as the "Midway Plaisance," symbolized savagery,
barbarism, and cultural backwardness of peoples who were not considered fully human by fair
organizers, including an array African and Asian peoples. This division, premised on the
supposed hierarchy and alleged worth of human beings proclaimed by nineteenth century
anthropologists and ethnologists, allowed later fairs to incorporate similar organizational patterns
to varying degrees.\textsuperscript{111} Most sources place total attendance at the Chicago fair at approximately
twenty seven million and thus emerged a new rubric for determining the "success" of an
exhibition, fair attendance statistics.\textsuperscript{112}

Adhering to the template of "bigger and better," fairs in the United States during the early
twentieth century, like those elsewhere, particularly in Paris, demonstrated that organizers and
visitors demanded that their respective fair be the grandest. The 1904 Louisiana Purchase
International Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri (commemorating the centennial purchase from
France of the Louisiana Territory by Thomas Jefferson) widely surpassed the acreage and
display exhibition space of the 1893 Chicago fair. Housed on over 1200 acres of land, the 1904

\textsuperscript{111} For a thorough discussion of the Victorian mindset regarding race, anthropology, and the "ranking" of
human beings, see Stocking, \textit{Victorian Anthropology}.

\textsuperscript{112} Moses P. Handy, ed., \textit{The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition: A Reference Book}
(Chicago: W.B. Gonkey Company, Publishers to the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893), 194; Rossiter Johnson,
ed., \textit{A History of the World's Columbian Exposition}, Vol. 1 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1897); Rydell,
\textit{All the World's a Fair}, 40-41, 60-68; William Cronon, \textit{Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West} (New
Played by World's Fairs, Museum Exhibits, and Policymakers from 1893-1904" (master's thesis, Kent State
University, 2004), 5-6, 13-14, 16-17; and R. Reid Badger, "Chicago 1893," in \textit{Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and
Expositions}, 116-125.
St. Louis fair took almost everything that its predecessors presented to a new extreme, including the number of official buildings, colonial representation of "inferior" peoples (particularly Filipinos), and space designated for amusement. Like the Columbian Exposition, the St. Louis fair painted its main buildings in bright white to designate its "purity" but differed from its predecessor by adding "dashes of color on the roofs" to reduce "the strain on visitor's eyes."

Ultimately, the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition championed "man's handiwork" by showing "his progress and development" by incorporating "all races from the primitive to the cultured." Traditional accounts of total attendance for the St. Louis fair congeal at approximately twenty million. As the 1906 *Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission* made clear about the popularity and purpose of world's fairs:

> That all nations take a deep interest in world's fairs is made manifest by the large attendance of people from all parts of the globe. It is self-evident that they appreciate the fact that most beneficial results may be derived by all, not only by means of the practical and tangible demonstration and comparison of objects assembled, but through the opportunity afforded for interchange of thought so conspicuously made available to advanced thinkers and workers.

The worldwide craze for hosting world's fairs did not abate as the early twentieth century progressed. In the decade leading up to the First World War, over one dozen international

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114 *Final Report of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission 1906*, 59th Congress 1st Session, Document No. 202 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), 520. Recent scholarship by historian James Gilbert questions the attendance figures associated with the 1893 and 1904 fairs in America. Gilbert argues that historians too often repeat the figures of twenty seven million and twenty million, respectively, for these fairs without taking into account the raw aggregates of each pertaining to employees entering and exiting the fair or the amount of times the same person visited on different occasions. His estimates are much more conservative regarding total attendance by different individuals, placing the total at a few million for each fair. In addition, Gilbert concludes historians "should not dismiss as frivolous the argument that the participants might have missed the historical significance of their own actions. The meaning we ascribe to the past is always future-oriented; it evolves because some implications become stronger as time passes, and new ones emerge." See James Gilbert, *Whose Fair?: Experience, Memory, and the History of the St. Louis Exposition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 14-16, 154.
gatherings, and more than two dozen nationally-oriented fairs, took place in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere. Portland, Oregon's 1905 Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair or Dublin's 1907 Irish International Exhibition or Nanking's 1910 Nan-Yang Ch'Uan-Yen Hui or San Francisco's 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition demonstrated the global reach of these events. As previously stated, not all of these venues were financially profitable, but their organizers strove to ensure that their respective cities would provide the sites for these events because of the international publicity, prestige, and prospective fiscal windfall each fair might provide to local businesses, including restaurants and hotels.

At their core, exhibitions, both national and international, are about economics and power. The interplay between these two central ideas helped in the creation of the sociocultural environment in which these events took place from the mid-nineteenth century onward. Ideas about education, uplift, the struggle of "civilized" over "barbarous," and the eventual presentation of human beings under the guise of imperial activity buttressed notions of who had global agency and who did not. The next chapter provides an in-depth discussion of the origin and evolution of the amusement section of these fairs to better understand and analyze the colonial displays and spaces in which the Irish and many other peoples found themselves showcased as commodities for consumption for both national and international audiences.

Conclusion

As this chapter has demonstrated, the transatlantic world of the nineteenth century witnessed significant sociocultural transformations, especially when one considers the complex and nuanced relationship between the United States, Ireland, and England from midcentury.
onward. The Irish were not a monolithic people but that did not prevent certain elements in American and British society from labeling the Irish as drunkards and troublemakers. The rise of Fenianism helped to perpetuate the stereotype, particularly in the transatlantic print media, that all Irish males were bomb throwers intent on the destruction of the Crown, Parliament, and Protestantism and that the Irish, in general, could not be trusted with self-governance of any form. The myriad types of Irish nationalism that emerged during this era were too often glossed over and replaced with imagery in American and British newspapers and periodicals that depicted the Irish as Caliban-like creatures; rarely did these images present a balanced approach when one consider ideas of religion, class, gender, or racial constructs.

In the United States, the influx of large numbers of Catholic Irish refugees fleeing famine from the mid-1840s to the early 1850s presented native-born Americans with much to ponder, especially in the sociopolitical environment of the antebellum era. The rise of xenophobic behavior, as evidenced by the proliferation of political parties of a nativist bent, demonstrated to America's newcomers of midcentury, such as the Irish, that the American republic was not as welcoming as they had previously believed. Although many immigrants were able to survive and thrive in the United States during the nineteenth century, this does not imply that their journey was an easy one, especially if they were not Protestant or skilled craftsmen.

As the cartoons of John Tenniel, Thomas Nast, and many others reveal, the Irish in both Britain and the United States had a long way to travel before they received recognition as legitimate members of either society. Part of this journey involved world's fairs and the changing ways that the Irish found themselves displayed within the marketplaces at these transatlantic cultural extravaganzas of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As will be shown, those who controlled depictions of the Irish along various fairgrounds changed over time and
each grouping utilized, albeit in different ways, Ireland's heritage to commemorate, justify, and transform the meaning of Irishness in the transatlantic world. It is, however, to the cultural significance of world's fairs that we now turn in the next chapter.
Chapter Two

Creating "the Other": Imperial Spaces, Midways, and Maps

Introduction

In the June 5, 1893 issue of World's Fair Puck, a weekly newspaper specializing in satire and humor for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois, the image "The Ideal American Sabbath" appeared.¹ This drawing illustrated the shock and awe experienced by various "Midway types," including those of African, Asian, Middle Eastern, and even European lineage, who witnessed in disbelief the raucous actions of Americans and their behavior on the Sabbath at the Chicago world's fair.² The emphasis on the week's holy day is twofold: first, considerable debate emerged during the planning of this fair regarding the appropriateness of it being open on Sundays; second, and more importantly, this cartoon portrays "Americans" as uncivilized, aggressive-minded philistines whose actions revealed their "true" nature.³ This illustration reversed the elegance linked to the White City (the area of the exposition meant to demonstrate the apogee of Western civilization) and the barbarity of the Midway Plaisance (the

¹ "The Ideal American Sabbath-As Witnessed By Our Distinguished Guests in the Midway Plaisance," in World's Fair Puck, June 5, 1893, no. 5. Hard-copy of the entire series of this newspaper (twenty six issues) is located in the Newberry Library in Chicago, Illinois.

² The term "Midway types" originates from Midway Types: A Book of Illustrated Lessons About The People of the Midway Plaisance, World's Fair 1893 (Chicago: The American Engraving Company, 1894). Included in this work are photographs of the two "Irish Villages" at the World's Columbian Exposition. It asserted that the Midway Plaisance "was a Babel without a tower."

amusement-oriented portion of the fairgrounds where non-whites and those deemed "not civilized enough" for inclusion in the White City found refuge).

Midway peoples in "The Ideal American Sabbath," including a simianized Irishman, observed American men, some dressed as cowboys and others as Native Americans, who discharged rifles and revolvers into the spaces around them and wielded hatchets in a display of showmanship. Other "Americans" waited to have their fortunes told while many meandered near a sideshow exhibit with an image of a mermaid at its entrance and a "barker" imploring visitors to enter. A man and a woman in respectable Victorian clothing plunged from a stand near and above the Midway peoples on a zip line while they gazed into the fray and chaos of the scene below them. The placard attached to the stand read "Elegant Sport for Ladies & Gents." In the background, prominent structures labeled "Saloon," "Wine Room," and "All Night" provided accommodations for the large crowds interested in consuming only alcoholic beverages. In short, this depiction of rowdiness proved humorous to contemporary readers of World's Fair Puck because, after all, the White City was thought to be a space nothing like the Midway Plaisance, a site where "the Other" (peoples labeled non-white, non-European, and/or "exotic") was displayed for the enjoyment of "civilized" individuals and not the opposite as this image depicted.
This chapter argues that the "othering" of the Irish within the manufactured reality of various exhibitions demonstrated that those who exerted authority over the display of Irishness, especially in midways, controlled vital components regarding identity construction, the commodification of ethnicity, and how the Irish appeared to the Atlantic community. As this chapter shows, the amusement-oriented sections of various world's fairs emerged as prominent sites and marketplaces for depicting "the Other" to transatlantic audiences during the Age of Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This chapter also examines theoretical notions linked to the use of space, identity construction, power relationships, nationalism, race, performance (particularly as this relates to ideas of authenticity), and commercialism. These concepts emerge as vital sociopolitical linkages for investigating the
complexity of exhibitions and the "Irish Village" within public spaces that this dissertation explores. The chapter begins with an extended discussion of spatiality at world's fairs and other venues where Irish-themed sites transpired and how perceptions of power influenced the sociopolitical sites where this interaction occurred. It then transitions to an overview of how midway areas developed within the context of international exhibitions. Finally, the chapter concludes with an examination of fair maps from official exhibition catalogs in order to illustrate how "Midway types," such as the Irish, were placed on the periphery of the fairgrounds, thus intimating their status as "Other" when considered within the civilized-savage binary of empire during the era under investigation. 

The Power of Space

International, national, and local exhibitions, in their most basic sense, occupy physical space that enables their organizers to transmit to fairgoers many perspectives and ideologies. During the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, fairs gave governments a unique opportunity to engage a plethora of sociopolitical cultures within the confines of a temporarily constructed pseudo-cityscape. Taking center stage in the display of western-style notions of superiority at these venues was the demonstration of technological, commercial, and artistic advancement

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mixed with the imperial conquests of allegedly inferior, non-white peoples by Europe and the United States. Linking spatiality with perceptions about race at exhibitions allows one to comprehend these events when considering public space, nationalism, and performance. Exhibitions ultimately "attempted with matchless optimism to enclose the diversity of human knowledge and [endeavor] in one place." As prominent sociopolitical sites of contact for the world's peoples, exhibitions became well-known conduits for recognizing and transforming notions of identity, race, and power within the transatlantic world of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Why is "space" important when examining world's fairs? In short, space is power. Throughout history, mankind and nations strove to assert dominance through geographic expansion and control of new areas, peoples, and cultures. From the perspective of leaders from biblical to modern times, land allowed individuals to assert agency on a spectrum of power ranging from authority over a village to an empire. Regardless of size, however, the concept of spatial hegemony connecting to basic sociopolitical principles, such as stability, enrichment, and advancement, is apparent throughout world history. One only needs to consider the multiple conflicts in Europe, the Americas, Asia, or Africa concerning land aggrandizement to support this assertion. By the late nineteenth century, Europe and the United States emerged as imperial powers that asserted their authority throughout the world. One of the best and most convenient ways for Europe and the United States to reinforce their alleged cultural superiority was to occupy as much space as possible at events where showcasing a country's industrial, imperial,

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6 "Space" as a category of historical analysis is an important and growing field of inquiry. For an overview of space and power constructs, see Lawrence Grossberg, "(Re)con-figuring Space: Defining a Project," Space and Culture 2, no. 4 (November 1999):13-22. Also, see Kristin Ross, The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988); Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1991); and Miles Orvell and Jeffrey L. Meikle, eds., Public Space and the Ideology of Place in American Culture (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009).
and cultural dominance was the norm; international exhibitions provided these nations the perfect place to declare their authority. A publication linked to the 1893 Chicago fair, for example, linked spatiality, cultural advancement, and notions of national pride when it asserted "people who fail to exert themselves to the utmost degree on this occasion, will have missed the crowning opportunity of a most vital time for giving mankind substantial proof that they are progressing and not retrograding."⁷

When analyzing ideas about space, power, and exhibitions (whether international, national, or local in scope) it is useful to consider these within the framework of fairs as transnational political spaces within an urban landscape. As Mathias Albert demonstrates in Transnational Political Spaces: Agents-Structures-Encounters, the notion of political space need not restrict itself to geographic boundaries but rather "is characterized by a heterogeneity and flexibility which is related to particular spatial conditions, junctions and disjunctions" and, ultimately, create "a sphere in which common representations and identifications are negotiated[]."⁸ The malleability of transnational political space and its effect, particularly within the exhibition paradigm, allows for extended critique of the sociocultural environment in which world's fairs occurred. A significant aspect of this assessment concerns the idea of exhibitions as "spaces of transnational communication" where hegemony, prejudice, and cultural

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⁷ John D. Jones, World's Fair Chicago 1893 Souvenir Illustrated (Chicago: The Anabogic Publishing Company, 1891), 10, 22, 37. This source contains a table listing the first thirteen world's fairs with place, year, days, acres, exhibitors, admissions, cost, and receipts and, generally, demonstrates that as time passed the sites for these events increased dramatically in total acreage as did the total number of exhibits available for fairgoers to inspect. In addition, total space allocated to various nations at numerous fairs is stressed throughout this text. For example, the author mentions the 1867 London fair and compares it to previous ones by stressing total square footage occupied by various European nations: France occupied 54,481 square feet; Germany 38,691; Austria 15,494; Belgium 12,473; Italy 7,905; and the United States 3,242. In addition, meticulous detail about the overall square footage/floor space of various buildings and sites at these fairs is also emphasized. This source demonstrates, in part, the growing obsession with total square footage occupied and the "place" of prominent nation states within the exhibition paradigm.

representations of various peoples, especially within a fair's midway exhibits, collided with fairgoers who accepted, rejected, or ignored the manufactured reality and discourse surrounding them. As this project emphasizes in upcoming chapters, the existence of Irish-themed displays at myriad exhibitions in Europe and the United States transpired at a time when conflicting notions of Irish and American Irish identities emerged and evolved within a transatlantic context where commercialism and sociopolitical concerns shaped and challenged the parameters of what was Irish, American, and American Irish. Part of this process of negotiation of identity, as will be shown, concerned the shifting agency of various power structures during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that controlled Irish exhibition spaces at world's fairs, national exhibitions, and local fair spaces within the United States.

An important sociocultural connection between world's fairs and the American people developed by the late nineteenth century in part due to an increase in the popularity of celebrating local history through historical pageantry. This form of public display, in which a town's residents reenacted the past, celebrated the present, and presented hopes for the future of their community took many forms, including parades, monument construction, or tableaux vivants. The popularity of locally-based communal ritualization demonstrated the allure of large-scale exhibitions and the success many of them garnered throughout the United States. David Glassberg argues public historical displays are "an essential element of our culture, contributing to how we define our sense of identity and direction" and, ultimately, "the belief that history could be made into a dramatic public ritual through which the residents of a town, by acting out the right version of their past, could bring about some kind of future social and political transformation" helped in the creation and proliferation of ideas related to publically

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commemorating the accomplishments of a civilized society within the stable and "safe" framework of historical pageantry. The financial profitability of historical pageantry in America also helped to boost this form of local remembrance and entertainment.\textsuperscript{10} By the late nineteenth century, the spaces occupied by historical pageants and world's fairs mixed education and entertainment in order to influence the thought process of various audiences.

An outgrowth of the popularity and profitability of exhibitions and historical pageants within America was another form of public display, the U.S.-based Irish Fair. These events occurred in numerous cities throughout the United States in the wake of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and found inspiration through the two Irish Villages located along the Midway Plaisance. By 1897, Irish Fairs became extremely popular venues in cities from New York to San Francisco and allowed American Irish communities to assert sociocultural agency within their respective cityscapes. These particular celebrations lasted into the early decades of the twentieth century. The rationale for these Irish Fairs, many of them organized by various branches of the fraternal American Irish organization known as the Ancient Order of Hibernians, varied but most aimed to raise funds for the construction of buildings within American cities to house American Irish societies and thereby offer to them an official space for the U.S.-maintenance of Irish culture, literature, political power, and history among the American descendants of Ireland's emigrants. Many of the trappings associated with Irish Villages at world's fairs, such as a Blarney Castle reproduction, display of authentic Irish sod, or

\textsuperscript{10} David Glassberg, \textit{American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century} (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 1, 4, 106. This text does a superb job in situating the growth of pageantry in the United States, especially during the Progressive Era, and the complexities associated with local communities organizing and implementing these historical displays of a town's heritage and its perceived future. A weakness of historical pageantry as explained by Glassberg was the omission or minimization of non-white peoples within the local milieu. It is not surprising that historical pageants of the early twentieth century often presented a view or snapshot of history from a position of extreme nostalgia while overlooking issues of race, class, or gender constructs. Glassberg contends, "Historical pageantry's idealized portrait of a town without internal conflict extended to ethnic relations as well. In the pageant version of local history, each immigrant group peacefully joined the community in turn and encountered neither hostility nor prejudice." See Glassberg, 128.
performances by "real" Irish singers and dancers, appeared in smaller manifestations at these events that lasted, generally, a few weeks. As this dissertation demonstrates, the display and commodification of Irishness at various sites in the United States and Europe created a transatlantic environment that permitted the purchase of Irish ethnicity by various communities within the United States, including the American Irish.

Because exhibitions transpire within the public realm, they reveal qualities of inclusiveness that influence and transform society. Jürgen Habermas's discussion of the bourgeois public sphere and its origin provides a vital theoretical foundation for the examination of the space in which fairs occurred. Habermas stressed the importance of amalgamating interests in the political, financial, and public realms in the creation of a sociocultural structure that, theoretically, afforded everyone access to that system; in this instance, the public sphere.

The exchange of goods, ideas, and cultures in a communal environment happened at world's fairs when the public entered fairgrounds, albeit at a modest price, to engage with their fellow citizens

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11 Multiple newspapers from cities from across the United States, such as the *Sun (NY)*, *Los Angeles Herald*, the *San Francisco Call*, and the *Omaha (NE) Daily Bee* demonstrate the nation's captivation with these events. Although the historic literature surrounding U.S.-based Irish Fairs is scant, recent contributions to this area of scholarship include Deirdre O'Leary, "The Auld Sod: Staging the Diaspora at the 1897 Irish Fair in New York City," *e-Keltoi: Journal of Interdisciplinary Celtic Studies* 1 (Oct. 2013): 93-124; and Caroline R. Malloy, "Exhibiting Ireland: Irish Villages, Pavilions, Cottages, and Castles at International Exhibitions, 1853-1939" (Ph.D. diss, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2013), 104-109.

12 Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 2, 10, 14-27, 85-86. Habermas placed the origin of the bourgeois public sphere during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Germany, France, and Great Britain. Coffee houses, salons, and table societies, all within the realm of the "world of letters," played instrumental roles in developing the wider concept of group interaction within a public sphere, of which "the press" helped to shape and influence public opinion. Although most scholars recognize the utility of the public sphere as a theoretical construct, some criticize it as deficient in other constructs that examine, for example, race and gender. See Nick Crossley and John Michael Roberts, eds., *After Habermas: New Perspectives on the Public Sphere* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004). Investigation of the public sphere concept presented by Habermas and application of it to earlier eras has occurred. See Brian Cowan, "What Was Masculine about the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England," *History Workshop Journal* (Spring 2001): 127-157. Although Habermas focuses on traditionally masculine-oriented institutions that controlled European society, such as monarchy, the church, and the press, his lack of sustained examination of other societal factors, such as gender and race, albeit regrettable, are not valid reasons to discard his assertions. Habermas's theory is useful to this work because it provides a basic social framework regarding "space" of interaction at world's fairs; although it is by no means a perfect theory, its usefulness rests with it being a foundational concept for the interaction of state and non-state actors.
and the items and peoples displayed at these exhibitions. This process of public interaction and mingling of ideals using fair space provided governments, via official buildings, as well as private interests, through concession/amusement sections, a forum in which to influence and reinforce basic notions to fairgoers, such as the superiority of Western civilization, that proved quite powerful in shaping and reinforcing stereotypes. This fundamental interaction between state and non-state actors in the creation of new ways of thinking about and approaching topics enriches and complicates ideas of the public sphere and, ultimately, the sites on which exhibitions took place.\(^{13}\) In its most basic manifestation, the public sphere is "a network for communicating information and points of view[.]."\(^{14}\)

Any discussion of the public sphere and the complexities inherent within this system requires elaboration on a subject intimately linked to exhibitions: race.\(^{15}\) The display of difference took center stage within the fairgrounds because fair organizers adhered to contemporary ideologies regarding race and because they knew that fair visitors expected entertainment through the presentation of "the Other" especially when fairgoers entered various midway sections during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The creation of "the Other," a process inherently connected to "exoticization," emerged inside midway displays

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\(^{13}\) Habermas stressed the role of the press and its political importance within the bourgeois public sphere. Within the context of U.S. history, David Henkin's discussion of various print media during the antebellum era and the linkages between the sociopolitical world and an emerging consumer society proves useful to my work as well. Henkin argues that proliferation of print culture in the public arena created new standards for social knowledge. See David Henkin, City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).


because these exhibits were "detached from one context and inserted into another[.]" This made the presentation of peoples, including the Irish, intimately linked to racial categorization and ideas of sociopolitical constructions of power. Racialized space in fairgrounds became venues in which social discourse, especially prejudice, transpired within the public sphere. As Barbara Fields notes, ideologies, consciousness, and social reality provided key ingredients in how individuals and groups perceived each other, particularly in racialized terms. Within the racial terrain of an exhibition and its very public spaces, the socially constructed idea of race proved too alluring to ignore for a fair's organizers and visitors. Profiting from contemporary bigotry and notions of "the Other" proved the rule rather than the exception for midway concessionaires.

The interaction of state and non-state actors within the confines of the fairgrounds presents other theoretical dimensions to this project. Because nation states constructed elaborate representations of their respective societies, recognizing the nationalistic threads appearing at exhibitions requires analysis. According to Benedict Anderson, a nation is "an imagined political community" and its society, although limited by the fact that no citizens can ever know all the people within its geographic confines, operates, to varying levels of success, because of shared ideals among its citizenry. Similarly, international exhibitions allowed nation states to define, construct, and theoretically invent what they believed was the best representation of their cultures. The spaces occupied by governments along fairgrounds became very real but temporary conduits for the expression of national ideals, practices, and beliefs to their own citizens, other countries, and the peoples of other nations who saw these structures and the

18 Anderson, _Imagined Communities_, 4, 6.
exhibits contained within them. The power dynamic associated with national display within a public space is a key reason as to why nations continually and systematically participated in these events. In short, governments of the world usually felt international pressure to participate at world's fairs in order to constantly reinforce ideas of superiority to each other and stave off criticism that their societies were not progressing as quickly as another if they did not present a grand narrative of the past, present, and future of their countries at these events.

Connected to the way a nation depicted itself within the space of exhibitions, specifically within the emerging imperial paradigm of the late nineteenth century, is the transmission of ideas through cultural pragmatics, defined as "the social process by which actors, individually or in concert, display for others the meaning of their social situation." Jeffrey Alexander's work on this topic provides a useful approach when analyzing "on the ground" interaction between individuals on display at exhibitions, such as those housed in reproductions of a colonial nature, and fairgoers who observed and absorbed the environment presented to them. According to Alexander, various components are necessary to communicate ideas regarding cultural pragmatics. They include "actors, audiences, representations, means of symbolic production, social power, and mise-en-scène." It is vital to remember, however, that the conveyance of ideas from actor(s) to audience is not always clear cut and that spectators "can not only affirm

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20 The frequency in which world's fairs occurred and the focus by their organizers to "outdo" previous exhibitions, particularly when considering the total acreage occupied by these events, demonstrates that a robust sense of international pressure was apparent. In addition, it was very common for nations to provide financial support to fair organizers to help ensure the success of a specific fair. In essence, a form of international rivalry emerged that fostered notions of grandeur and exceptionalism, particularly on the nation-state level. Newspapers, for example, documented the ebb and flow of various processes linked to world's fairs for the global audience. Paul Greenhalgh writes, "Between 1855 and 1914 an event involving more than twenty nations was held somewhere in the world on an average of every two years. After 1914 exhibitions were fewer but vaster than their predecessors." See Greenhalgh, Ephemeral Vistas, 15.

21 Alexander, Giesen, and Mast, eds., Social Performance, 32.

what they see and hear, but also challenge it (privately or publicly), ignore it, or, most commonly, misinterpret it. As this dissertation demonstrates, the Irish "villages" showcased at various fairgrounds in the Atlantic world provided a manufactured reality created by state and non-state actors that perpetuated stereotypes and ideas about Ireland that many associated with "true" Irishness. This occurred, in part, because the inhabitants of many of these village displays were "authentic" Irish people and for most fairgoers, this was enough "proof" that these exhibits represented a legitimate depiction of Irish history, culture, and heritage.

The purpose of midway village reproductions and the showcase of "the Other's" lifestyles rest on the notion of sociopolitical representation within the core-periphery binary of empire. As Alexander stresses, performances, whether secular or religious, "stand or fall on their ability to produce psychological identification and cultural extension. The aim is to create, via skillful and affecting performance, the emotional connection of audience with actor and text and thereby to create conditions for projecting cultural meaning from performance to audience." This interchange of ideas, or "texts," demonstrates the sociopolitical power of interaction between actors (those on display) and the audience (those viewing displays). Linked to Habermas's notion of the public sphere, Alexander's cultural pragmatics paradigm allows this project's theoretical scaffolding to take shape and interpret how fairgoers and midway peoples interacted with each other and, ultimately, how synthetic environments, such as those along midways, altered or reinforced perceptions of "the Other" and their authenticity within an international context.

Part of this transformative effect, especially when thinking about "the Other," resulted because exhibition grounds throughout the world emerged as sites for mass education and

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23 Glassberg, American Historical Pageantry, 2.
entertainment. Amusement-oriented sections of fairgrounds, in a very general way, presented to midway visitors the opportunity to evaluate "the Other." In this process of valuing "the Other," passersby received a brief "education" in the sociocultural practices of Midway types while simultaneously being "entertained" with performances linked to the perceived behaviors of various villagers. The production of knowledge through the visual displays and interaction of visitors within villages in midways hinged upon "particular forms of representation in terms of distribution of power: who is empowered or disempowered by certain modes of display?" These "modes of display" created sites for the transference of intent within "the idea of detached representation" found within midway villages that ultimately granted countless audiences the opportunity to comprehend what was before them. Through the social process of observing differentness, midways became venues for reinforcing, in part, racist ideologies as fact for an international audience.\(^{25}\) As Annie E. Coombes reminds us, midway villages "fostered a feeling of geographical proximity, while the sense of 'spectacle' was calculated to preserve the cultural divide."\(^{26}\) It is important to remember, however, that individuals housed along various midways were cognizant of their surroundings and possessed a form of agency when absorbing their environment and interacting with fair visitors. In short, "Colonial subjects [on midways] were

\(^{25}\) Sharon Macdonald, "Exhibitions of power and powers of exhibition: An introduction to the politics of display," in *The Politics of Display: Museums, science, culture*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (London: Routledge, 1998), 4, 11. Another way in which to think about exhibitions, racial discourse, and the nation-state is through the writing of Penelope Harvey. Using Michel Foucault's notion of social technology, Harvey links this concept to fairs as a "technology of nationhood." She writes, "If we think of technologies as knowledge-producing tools, then the universal exhibition provides a rich site for an investigation of the mechanics of fact-making with reference to national cultures and nation states." This perspective easily melds with the idea that midways "produced" knowledge for fairgoers while entertaining them with "fact-based" notions of differentness and exoticism. See Penelope Harvey, *Hybrids of Modernity: Anthropology, the nation state and the universal exhibition* (London: Routledge, 1996), 53.

both objects of observation and observers themselves. The imperial 'gaze' was interactive at these exhibitions.\textsuperscript{27}

For a price, however, fair spectators could often take a piece of the midway village home with them in the form of "authentic-made goods," including jewelry, clothing, and numerous decorative items to showcase in one's home as a reminder of their exhibition experience. Through the process of commercialism and the commodification of cultures within the spaces of numerous fairgrounds, the manufactured reality presented to fairgoers gradually morphed into the "authentic" environment from which these "natives" derived. Within the context of the Irish Village, for example, purchasing home/cottage-made items, such as lace, poplin, or tweed, from "real" Irish people only reinforced perceptions associated with having a legitimate Irish experience while at the fair and transferring the Irishness of the purchased commodity to the domestic realm through display in one's home.\textsuperscript{28} This notion of ethnic purchase, not surprisingly, proved transferrable to other villages along midway spaces, especially for Africans and Asians. As Tony Bennett writes, public spaces, such as museums and fairgrounds, created places where the display of peoples and goods was "calculated to embody and communicate specific cultural meanings and values" and that physical objects within the imperial landscape "formed a part of the cultural accessories of power" that allowed for the very display of that authority. Within the realm of international exhibitions, Bennett also concludes that "the Other" emerged as

\textsuperscript{27} Peter H. Hoffenberg, \textit{An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 17.

\textsuperscript{28} Miles Orvell's work on material fetishism within the United States during the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries places items, authentic and imitation alike, as central components in the development of American cultural attitudes. A byproduct of the repercussions associated with the Industrial Revolution, the mass production of domestic goods forced the United States to re-orient its commercial perspective, he argues. Orvell's discussion of world's fairs as sites where individuals could come together and have similar experiences that were recreated but in a manageable way allowed Americans to expect a new reality where anything could be purchased, especially at a reasonable rate. See Miles Orvell, \textit{The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940} (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 35, 40-72.
"subordinate adjuncts to the imperial displays of the major powers." Although this project disagrees with Bennett's "subordinate adjuncts" position because of the increasing elaborateness and nuance of midway presentations at numerous world's fairs, his recognition of imperial activity and connection to exhibitions writ large is important. This mixture of commodities, empire, and peoples helped to create at public venues of display, in both Europe and the United States, what this project terms *imperial spaces*.

Within the realm of American domesticity and consumer proclivities during the era of the fairs examined within this dissertation, Kristin Hoganson's *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* offers insight into the actions of Americans who believed they could capture, interpret, and control foreign cultures through the act of purchasing items made in other countries and displaying them in the front parlors of American white middle-class and wealthy households. In her discussion of American homes, she treats these as "contact zones" where domestic and international ideas crashed into each other and produced a world influenced by multiple perspectives. In a similar way, this project contends that midways and other sites, such as U.S.-based Irish Fairs, became pathways for negotiating who and what "the Other" was and, more specifically, what it meant to be Irish and how various levels of power structures, including the allegedly innocuous process of purchasing Irish-made goods, influenced identity and ethnic commodification within the transatlantic world and the imperial spaces of fairgrounds. Let us now shift to a discussion of the development of midways in order to prepare for a spatial analysis of these imperial spaces.

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29 Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 6, 27, 82.
30 Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium*. In this work, Hoganson mentions the allure of world's fairs to Americans of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because, in part, fair promoters "played up the premise that they offered a genuine overseas travel experience." For those unable to afford the expense of world travel, these international events became sites that afforded Americans the chance to see and "experience" far off worlds for the price of a single admission ticket. See Hoganson, 177.
Amusement Sections at Exhibitions

The circus-like atmosphere associated with midway attractions at international exhibitions during the late nineteenth century was not initially part of the official organizational structure of world's fairs. Beginning with London's Crystal Palace in 1851, fair organizers placed their emphasis on exhibitions as a way to educate fairgoers and found inspiration, in part, through the surging industrialization of England and other European countries during the mid-nineteenth century. The display of machine and hand-made goods, including artwork, informed visitors about the process of production in myriad ways. It did not take very long, however, for the entrepreneurial spirit to inspire individuals not associated with a fair's planning committee to coalesce around these intercontinental events as places to procure a profit. At the 1853 New York fair, for example, vacant lots surrounding the fairgrounds emerged as conduits for connecting amusement seekers with unofficial fair entertainment along the lines of "grog shops, gambling dens, side-shows, cock-fight arenas" in tandem with showcases that included "five-legged cows, dancing bears, mermaids, dwarfs, giants, rattlesnakes and 'grinning darkies'" who offered some excitement for a modest price.

Although the educational component remained a steadfast feature of world's fairs, fairgoers continued to show significant interest in being entertained at exhibitions. At the 1867


32 Charles Hirschfeld, "America on Exhibition: The New York Crystal Palace," American Quarterly 9, no.2 (Summer 1957): 112. Concerning the shifting discourse regarding culture, either in a specific context, such as a world's fair, or society writ large, Lawrence W. Levine reminds readers, "Culture is a process, not a fixed condition; it is the product of unremitting interaction between the past and the present." See Lawrence W. Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 33.

33 Part of the rationale for including entertainment at world's fairs concerned an already vibrant and growing interest by Europeans and Americans to observe peoples deemed exotic by contemporary standards. Although the desire to exhibit "human oddities" dates to antiquity, European proclivity for showcasing human differentness found a large audience beginning in the Renaissance. Carl Hagenbeck's ethnic shows, P. T. Barnum's
Exposition Universelle in Paris the introduction of national pavilions garnered great success. Located in the outdoor park-like space of the exhibition, these structures housed mostly non-European peoples with the purpose of "[displaying] their culture in a building constructed in their indigenous architectural styles." Entertainment at these pavilions included "theatres, tea-rooms, or restaurants" and a few "artistic performances were staged for the public." In addition, this Paris exhibition featured two aquariums that allowed fairgoers to immerse themselves on all sides by aquatic life. In the United States, commissioners for the 1876 Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park incorporated concession stands "manned by entertaining salespeople" into the park grounds. Due to regulations that prohibited activity not deemed appropriate inside of the fairgrounds, such as the erection of saloons or animal sideshows, enterprising individuals constructed Shantyville (also known as "Centennial City") across the street from the main entrance on Elm Avenue. In short, "the precincts of Elm Avenue were an unofficial midway at a time before amusement zones were incorporated into the fairs." This unsanctioned recreational zone at America's second world's fair, however, shook loose previous notions held by fair organizers regarding the inclusion of entertainment within fairgrounds. After 1876, fair organizers had direct oversight regarding the type of wares

museums and "freak shows," and Buffalo Bill's Wild West show are examples of the nineteenth-century entrepreneurial spirit mixed with the blatant racism and cultural ignorance of this era's showmen. These exotics or "freaks" were African, Asian, Native American, and other non-white colonial subjects put on display for amusement and profit. For an in-depth discussion of the development of "human zoos," see Pascal Blanchare et al., trans. by Teresa Bridgeman, Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 73-80, 134-141, 165-173, 205-219, 286-293; Sadiah Qureshi, Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 1-11, 49-76, 101-125; and Blanchard, Boetsch and Snoep, eds., Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage, 16, 22-53, 102-129.  

exhibited along midways and permitted them as long as those items displayed mirrored the ideological objectives of the exhibitions.\textsuperscript{35}

By the late 1880s, amusement areas within exhibition grounds became commonplace although their placement was typically located on the site's periphery in order to ensure that these concessions did not needlessly distract fairgoers. At the 1888 Glasgow International Exhibition in Scotland, for example, the placement of entertainments occurred across the River Kelvin in order to segregate this section from the main structures. Attractions included "a switchback railway, a shooting gallery, a curling rink, an Indian jungle, and various boating events...including rides on a gondola imported from Venice and operated by gondoliers."\textsuperscript{36}

Gradually, however, the display of colonial peoples from Africa, Asia, and elsewhere became associated with midways. The introduction of colonial villages along the Esplanade des Invalides, the "for-fun" section at the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, marked a critical turning point in fair and world history. The display of indigenous peoples from non-European nations, including Indochina, Senegal, and Tahiti, reinforced the strict racial hierarchy set forth by western intellectuals of the late nineteenth century concerning the perceived status of human beings in an emerging age of empire. Not surprisingly, Europeans judged their society to be the model that others should strive to emulate, although there was debate regarding the feasibility of non-westerners ever being able to reach the cultural zenith of Europe's "premiere" nations.

Fairgoers cared little about the scholarly debate occurring within the ivory towers of European universities concerning the fitness of non-Europeans. Instead, they desired to actually see and observe foreign peoples in reconstructed villages because they found it entertaining. To the


delight of midway concessionaires, these visitors were more than willing to part with their hard earned money for the chance to observe the foreignness offered by primarily non-European cultures exhibited. The floodgates of imperial display at world's fairs burst forth at the 1889 Paris exposition, and nothing could contain the fervor of fair participants to see the latest exotic discovery or quaint culture exhibited for commercial consumption.  

The 1893 world's fair in Chicago introduced new levels of colonial display techniques that set the precedent for exhibiting foreigners within an international context. Known as the Midway Plaisance, the mile-long strip of land approximately 600 feet wide presented an amalgam of the globe's imperial conquests, animal-themed sideshows, ethnically-inspired restaurants, a beauty show, and the Ferris Wheel. Charles Mulford Robinson described the Midway in *The History of the World's Columbian Exposition* (1897) as a place of entertainment soaked in the "carnival spirit" where "there was never a lack of music, never a lack of gaudy costume and of strange sight, and never a waning of enthusiasm." He concluded, the Midway "was geography's nightmare; but over and above everything else one found it a playground, a frolic of nationalities, an enormous whirligig of pleasure." This notion of bliss, particularly from the fairgoer's perspective, ensured the profitability and longevity of midway attractions.

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37 Lyle E. Linville, "The Exposition Universelle of 1889" (master's thesis, Kent State University, 1963), 37-38, 44; Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs*, 48; and Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 7. Sadiah Qureshi challenges the historiography of human display by stating, "the Great Exhibition of 1851 inaugurated the practice of displaying living foreign peoples within international fairs, 1854 witnessed one of the earliest and most significant attempts to incorporate displayed peoples into ethnological practice for both the lay and learned at the Crystal Palace in Sydenham, while the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition provides an exemplary case of the diverse ways in which displayed peoples were presented in international fairs and used by anthropologists within late nineteenth-century Britain." See Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 274.

For those peoples exhibited, however, ideas of happiness and contentment rarely matched the elation of those who paid to enter the Midway.\textsuperscript{39}

Burton Benedict observes, "World's fairs built idealized consumer cities within their walls. They presented a sanitized view of the world with no poverty, no war, no social problems and very little nature."\textsuperscript{40} Along the Midway Plaisance in Chicago, the display of commercial and imperial power was evident soon after visitors entered this area of the fairgrounds from Cottage Avenue between 59th and 60th Street. Shortly after passing two military encampments, the Midway visitor encountered a series of reconstructed villages, among them the Lapland, Dahomey, Chinese, and Austrian. Further along, the fairgoer gazed at the enormous Ferris Wheel that transported fellow fair attendees to dizzying new heights high above the melee of the Midway and the various entertainments surrounding this invention's perimeter, including attractions from Algeria, Tunis, the infamous Street of Cairo exhibit, and a model of St. Peter's Basilica. As fairgoers continued east along the Midway, the Moorish Palace, German, Turkish, and Javanese Villages came into view, as did various restaurants and cafes, including the Vienna Restaurant. As guests walked the final third of the Midway before entering the White City, they saw attractions for the Libby Glass Company, the Hagenback Animal Show, a Japanese Bazaar, and two Irish Villages.\textsuperscript{41}

The mixture of various peoples displayed within the Midway demonstrated the fluid and complex relationship late-nineteenth-century society had with notions of civilized and savage

\textsuperscript{39} Robert Rydell recounts that the living conditions for most people along the Midway Plaisance was deplorable and that outbreak of disease was a common occurrence at the fair. In addition, Rebecca Edwards writes, "some people who were brought to Chicago under false pretenses [were] held virtually as slaves." See Robert Rydell, "A Cultural Frankenstein?: The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893," in \textit{Grand Illusions: Chicago's World's Fair of 1893}, ed. Neil Harris, et al. (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1993), 141-170; and Edwards, \textit{New Spirits}, 146-147.

\textsuperscript{40} Benedict, \textit{The Anthropology of World’s Fairs}, 5.

\textsuperscript{41} John J. Flinn, \textit{The Best Things To Be Seen At The World's Fair} (Chicago: The Columbian Guide Company, 1893), 166-182. This source also contains two maps depicting the layout of the White City and the Midway Plaisance.
behavior and the intricacies of commercialism and profit-oriented displays, especially when human subjects from various parts of the globe were the main items presented. The inclusion of a German Village, for example, along the Midway may puzzle modern observers who contemplate the proper "location" for an imperial power of this era, such as Germany, with its placement along the Midway between the Street of Cairo exhibit and the Javanese Village. After all, was not the Midway the venue to house "inferior" peoples and cultures?  

When analyzing midway attractions, perceptions and prejudices held by fairgoers and fair organizers warrant careful consideration, particularly regarding the display techniques for each exhibit. In the example of the German Village, the German emperor sanctioned this exhibit that included German armaments, relics of Germany's history, and its people dressed in various regional clothing. The presentation of Germany was a positive one because it demonstrated the longevity and continued "greatness" of a European power, especially through its display of weaponry and artwork. Germany's "fitness" became apparent to visitors when contrasted to the implied backwardness of non-Europeans who often resided in huts and were barely clothed. As Annie E. Coombes stresses, midway villages "cultivated, at one and the same time, both a sense of the availability and the containability of those societies represented."  

But what about the two Irish Village displays on the Midway? Were the Germans and the Irish the same in the eyes of fairgoers? In short, the answer was no. Although both Germans and Irish came to the United States in large numbers during the mid-nineteenth century, the two groups experienced prejudice and hardship in very different ways. As mentioned in the first chapter, the Irish did not arrive to America in family units and most did not possess a skilled
trade, other than being proficient agricultural workers. The majority of Germans who came to
the United States during this era held significant wealth when compared to their Irish brethren,
thus allowing them to escape the grinding poverty and overpopulation of eastern cities and
migrate to the Midwest in greater numbers and with more alacrity than the Irish. Many Germans
were also Protestants, which allowed them to "blend" into the American religious landscape,
while the vast majority of the post-Famine Irish clung to Roman Catholicism and were,
therefore, suspect in the eyes of most Americans as spiritual slaves to the pontiff. Finally,
questioning the racial pedigree of Germans rarely occurred, especially within the Anglo-Saxon
sociocultural narrative of the nineteenth century. In short, the Irish, according to Jennifer Nugent
Duffy, experienced a type of "racial hazing" in order to enter the pantheon of American
whiteness.45

Although the Irish captured various levels of economic and political success by the time
of the 1893 Chicago fair, their placement in the Midway came as no surprise to the Anglo-
Protestant majority in the United States because Ireland, at this time, existed as a British
possession and held neither dominion status nor independence. Germany, on the other hand, had
recently solidified its status as an independent nation in 1871 and possessed the trappings of a
sovereign state that Ireland did not. Although the German and the two Irish exhibits each offered
items for sale, the overall intent of the German Village was to showcase the splendor of a
Germanic culture while the Irish villages (both overseen by organizations linked to the activities

Ethnicity and Nationality in Antebellum America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1986), 11-13, 166,
174-179, 181; and Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*
(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 822-827. As mentioned in the first chapter, this project's interpretation of
race is influenced by the notion that the Irish did not "become white" upon entering the United States but, rather,
used whiteness as a way to navigate the tumultuous sociocultural terrain in America and use it as a means for
sociopolitical advancement. See David Lloyd, "Black Irish, Irish Whiteness and Atlantic State Formation," in *The
Black and Green Atlantic: Cross-Currents of the African and Irish Diasporas*, ed. Peter D. O'Neill and David Lloyd
(New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 8-10, 12, 14, 17.
of female British Liberals) operated to "uplift" Irish home industry through benevolence and functioned as attempts to "save" the Irish, a topic explored in greater detail in the following chapters. Visitors to the Midway experienced this unique dichotomy and they continued to witness it in various manifestations at later world's fairs, especially in St. Louis, London, and San Francisco.

The upcoming chapters will explore in more depth the story of the Irish at various exhibitions within the scope of international, national, and local gatherings of this type and demonstrate the complexity of the sociopolitical relationship of the transatlantic world with emphasis on the United States, Ireland, and England. Before doing this, however, it is essential to consider general characteristics of midway displays at world's fairs with specific reference to the overall structural schema of the fairgrounds. By reflecting on how these areas "fit" into the civilized-savage binary of empire, these imperial spaces inform our understanding of "the Other" and their interaction with the society of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Mapping the Midway

Because midways at various international exhibitions emerged as early sites where the display of Irishness occurred in the Atlantic world, it is necessary to investigate basic principles associated with these areas. When considering the structural arrangement and physical layout of exhibitions, it is imperative to consider how the "civilized" and amusement-oriented sections of these events appeared to visitors. One of the best ways to explore ideas of space and power at world's fairs is to examine maps from various exhibitions. Various pieces of fair ephemera, especially official catalogs, allow for this type of analysis. An examination of seven prominent fairs in Europe and the United States between 1888 and 1915 (a major period of examination for this dissertation) provides sufficient evidence to conclude that fair midways were regularly
located along an exhibition's periphery thus demonstrating the power of spatial arrangement patterns used by fair organizers to ensure a clear divide between exhibits of a serious nature and those deemed "for fun." As Michelle Mart outlines in her work, the notion of insider-outsider status within the context of sociopolitical constructions merged easily with the reality faced by individuals who found themselves and their cultures exhibited along midways in the United States and Europe.\(^\text{46}\) Regarding this project, Irish Catholics and their descendants in the United States constitute "outsiders" while the Anglo-Saxon Protestant populations encompass "insiders." In short, fair organizers wielded tremendous agency when it came to the physical placement of those exhibits deemed for only entertainment purposes. The Irish and other peoples labeled as "Other" did not have a say in where they appeared within these fairgrounds.

At the 1888 Glasgow International Exhibition, for example, fair organizers used the River Kelvin as the natural boundary between the serious and amusement sections of the exhibition. While the main part of the fair housed a machinery section, picture gallery, a royal reception area, women's industries, a grand hall, and various exhibit spaces for numerous nations, the amusement section across the river near the University of Glasgow attracted visitors through various displays meant to entertain. These included a rifle range, switchback railway, shooting galleries, Ceylon tea rooms, a band stand, fountain, summer curling pond, a few cafés, and other enticements.\(^\text{47}\) At the 1889 and 1900 expositions in Paris, similar spatial arrangements occurred. Although not separated by a river, the location of the amusements section (Esplanade des Invalides) of these Paris fairs occupied space several city blocks away from the main portion of

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\(^{46}\) The notion of insider-outsider status and the difficulties associated with "transition" within society is outlined in Michelle Mart, *Eye on Israel: How America Came to View the Jewish State as an Ally* (Albany: State University of New York, 2006).

the two fairgrounds (Champs de Mars) and contained, among other displays, reproductions of colonial villages from Africa and Asia. This distance represented in a theoretical and physical manner the sociopolitical divide between contemporary norms of civilized and savage and demonstrated the importance of cultural separateness that became the modus operandi at later fairs. The image below shows the Champs de Mars at an approximately forty five degree angle in the center and upper left portion of the map while the Esplanade des Invalides resides near the upper right section of the illustration.

In the United States at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the segregation of supposed enlightened and barbarous ideals presented itself through the White City

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and the Midway Plaisance. The White City, meant to encompass all of Western opulence and advancement, housed exhibits in gleaming white buildings constructed of stucco and modeled on Neoclassical designs. The Midway Plaisance, located behind the Women's Building on the western portion of the fairgrounds, housed a hodgepodge collection of buildings and peoples meant to enliven and relieve fairgoers from the more serious components of the White City. Robert Rydell writes the significance of the midway "lay simply in the vivid illustrations of evolutionary principles provided by ethnological villages" and that Franz Boas, the primary assistant to Frederic Ward Putnam, the anthropological director at the fair, "had not yet moved into the camp of cultural relativism[.]" Boas, the "father of modern American anthropology," however, challenged traditional notions linked to the supposed inferiority of non-white peoples "to suggest that racism had shaky foundations" and he did emerge as a champion of cultural relativism by the early twentieth century. In 1911, he published *The Mind of Primitive Man*. This text demonstrated that Boas "emerged as an enlightened apostle of antiracism," asserted "discrimination was the salient variable in American race relations," and showed that his views on race had indeed evolved.

The midway appeared as an unusual appendage and ultimately aided in situating allegedly substandard peoples and "for fun" displays away from the White City. As the following image illustrates, the Midway Plaisance, with its entrance located in the near upper left portion of the map, posed the perfect environment for fair organizers to ensure physical separation from the White City, thus intimating that regulation of "the Other's" culture ensured harmony within the fairgrounds.

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49 Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 64.
51 Flinn, *The Best Things To Be Seen At The World's Fair*. 
Additionally, as Joseph Keppler’s 1893 illustration from World’s Fair Puck humorously warned, visitors needed to show restraint in how they experienced the space of the White City because too much visual exertion meant disaster for one’s psyche.\(^{52}\) As conveyed in numerous publications, such as The Chicago Tribune: From Peristyle to Plaisance, the fun playground

atmosphere of the Midway Plaisance could soothe and restore the mental alertness of visitors who experienced difficulty processing the grandeur of the White City.\textsuperscript{53}

The 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri adhered to the spatial layout exhibited at previous fairs when considering midway attractions. In Buffalo, the amusement section (known as "The Pan") found itself relegated to the most northwestern fringe of the fairgrounds and at St. Louis, "The Pike" appeared as a separate street behind the major buildings in the northern edge of the fair.\textsuperscript{54} Once again, similar midway placement dominated the 1907 Irish International Exhibition

in Dublin, Ireland and the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, California, as it did at earlier fairs. At Dublin the amusement section was along the southeastern border adjacent to the Home Industries Section and contained a Somali Village, Switchback Railway, Water Chute, and other amusements. San Francisco's "The Zone" comprised the eastern margin of the fairgrounds and housed a plethora of reconstructed villages and sideshows. As the map from *Official Guide: Panama-Pacific International Exposition San Francisco 1915* showed, "The Zone," located on the extreme right of this image, maintained the decades long adherence of excluding "the Other" from the main site of the fair and placing on the periphery those exhibits, such as the Irish Village/Shamrock Isle, deemed non-serious and for entertainment purposes only.55

![Map of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition](image)

**Figure 7: Official Guide: Panama-Pacific International Exposition San Francisco 1915.** Courtesy of the Donald G. Larson Collection of Expositions and Fairs, California State University, Fresno.

When discussing the display of the Irish at international exhibitions, the placement of Ireland on the periphery of the fairgrounds in myriad midway attractions solidified the notion in the transatlantic world that the Emerald Isle and other areas where British colonization was the

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norm by the late nineteenth century were little more than an extension of the Empire and its alleged benevolence. As this dissertation demonstrates, the midways and other fairgrounds where Irish culture and peoples were exhibited propagated notions of a nostalgic ideal where Ireland represented a quaint, rural, and idyllic landscape filled with simple farmers who experienced hardship at the hands of the British. Although the history of Ireland and Britain is much more complicated than the basic trope of aggressor-victim, nostalgic visions of Éire often clouded reality for the American Irish community and helped them to transform notions of Irishness into a commodity that was easily viewed, authenticated, and purchased at international exhibitions and other sites where the infamous Irish Village appeared.

Conclusion

As this chapter shows, amusement-oriented displays at world's fairs were not initially included by fair organizers as official parts of these venues and they only emerged as important and profitable areas of exhibition grounds by the late nineteenth century. The display of "the Other" along various midways proved paramount in attracting individuals who desired entertainment at international exhibitions and fostered a complex marketplace relationship between the displayed and the fairgoer. Fair organizers were careful not to include "for fun" exhibits within the main portion of the fairgrounds and always relegated midway attractions to the periphery of exhibition grounds so they would not distract too much from the serious nature and purpose of world's fairs. European nations and the United States, after all, were keen to ensure that exhibition spaces remained places to showcase the latest advancements in industry, agriculture, culture, and technology because, in large part, each country advanced considerable sums to display to the others, through elaborate buildings and exhibits, implied notions of Western superiority.
Midway spaces were more than sites to display "the Other." These very public settings emerged as imperial spaces where transatlantic communication occurred at various levels; especially when considering the actions of state and non-state actors during the era under examination. Commodification of ethnic identities within the international, national, and local contexts of myriad fairground marketplaces helped to transform the performance of foreignness during the Age of Empire into a commercialized byproduct of imperial activity. Irish Villages emerged as sociopolitical conduits that allowed individuals, especially in the United States, to purchase Irishness and celebrate nostalgic visions of the Emerald Isle within the safe and, at times, culturally sanitized yet constrained confines of fairgrounds. Although those who controlled depictions of the Irish within the public sphere of the Atlantic world changed over time, each group influenced notions associated with Irishness in various ways and all relied upon the manipulation of Ireland's heritage to achieve their respective goals. As the following chapters illustrate, the power struggle regarding oversight and the display of Irishness as a transatlantic product for multiple sociopolitical ends was a complex story and illuminates our understanding of what it meant to be Irish and American Irish during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
Chapter Three

"Inventing Irish": Philanthropy, Progress, and Performance

Introduction

On May 11, 1887 Alice Rowland Hart (known also as Mrs. Ernest Hart) spoke to the Society of Arts in London, England about her philanthropic work with the Irish peasantry of County Donegal, Ireland. Hart, a middle-class Londoner who had married an active social reformer and physician, concentrated her efforts in this speech upon how much Donegal, and the rest of Ireland, needed outside assistance to survive and prosper. Hart demonstrated her resolve to assist Ireland when she created the Donegal Industrial Fund (DIF) in 1883 to provide the destitute of Donegal, especially women, educational support to revive cottage industries (such as lace-making and embroidery) to sustain survival during difficult agricultural times. As founder, Hart championed direct involvement and oversight of those individuals interested in receiving the DIF's assistance. In her address, Hart began with a brief statement that recounted her first trip to Ireland in 1872 and how it was "solely on pleasure and holiday making" but that shortly after her arrival she asked herself, "Why should a people so naturally gay in heart be so sunk in misery?" As a first-time visitor to Donegal, Hart recognized the hardship the poor of this area contended with, even nearly three decades after the Great Famine. She, ultimately, asserted, "it
was the duty of every English man and woman to form a correct opinion, based on accurate knowledge," of Ireland and the Irish question.¹

Hart's interpretation of the "correct opinion" when it came to Donegal and the Irish revolved around the idea of British benevolence. Although Hart was not a "traditional" imperialist, her view of what the DIF needed to accomplish and how it should bring its goals to fruition were imperial-minded because she believed that in order to alleviate Ireland's suffering, individuals like herself needed to step in and begin the work of "saving" the Irish.² She felt sympathy for those suffering in Ireland and expressed as much during her speech when she recounted that "to eat one's dinner in comfort while thousands were crying for bread seemed to me like committing an outrage on humanity." However, her desire to uplift and direct the Irish peasant toward self-sufficiency also materialized when she stated that the Irish needed to devote themselves to industry in order to enter "into a condition of manly independence." Hart's commentary revealed that she felt that Ireland exhibited negative feminine characteristics and that in order for it to be "saved," the Irish must be instructed on the "finer points" of masculine discourse. Although she implied that the Irish of Donegal took an active role in this process of positive change, Hart spoke about the failure of the English "to train them [the Irish] in the habits of continuous occupation, for habitual industry is as much a matter of educational disciplines as learning arithmetic." This instructor-pupil binary that Hart emphasized when she analyzed the British-Irish relationship came to full force when she reflected upon her work with the DIF: "I

² For a discussion of the role of women and the British Empire, see Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," 9-65; Burton, Burdens of History; McClintock, Imperial Leather; Bush, Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power; Boisseau, "White Queen at the Chicago World's Fair, 1893," 33-81; Cox, Imperial Fault Lines; Pickles, Female Imperialism and National Identity; and Mary A. Procida, Married to the Empire: Gender, politics and imperialism in India, 1883-1947 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002). For an in-depth examination of the role of women and philanthropy in the United States during the nineteenth century, see Lori D. Ginzberg, Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).
am thus able to hold all the threads of the work in my own hand, know the names of, and can put my finger on, all the workers, and can increase or diminish supply as demand requires.\(^3\) This position by Alice Hart, and other women linked to philanthropic activities connected to the British Empire, of controlling the actions and bodies of the Irish peasantry supports Anne McClintock's assertion that "white women were not the hapless onlookers of empire but were ambiguously complicit both as colonizers and colonized, privileged and restricted, acted upon and acting."\(^4\) It also revealed the importance of marketplace manipulation that "imperial mothers," like Alice Hart, believed was so essential, especially when one considers the products that agrarian Irish workers produced.

Although Hart described the Irish as "hardy, industrious, virtuous, and independent," she also believed that government aid would ensure the success of the DIF's endeavors. Without state assistance to bolster these early initiatives of cottage industry revival, she believed that the Irish would continue to flee Ireland and, regrettably, this could lead to the extinction of the "Irish race." Through the activities of the DIF, however, Donegal, and to a lesser degree Ireland, could find salvation through the generosity of Parliament and the citizens of the Empire for the benefit of the Irish, whom Hart characterized as a "despairing people."\(^5\) Hart's lobbying efforts of Parliament proved fruitful because the DIF received a £1,000 grant in 1887 "for the extension of her technical teaching, the construction of classrooms, the provision of looms and the payment of

\(^3\) Hart, *The Cottage Industries of Ireland*, 9, 11. A paradox of Hart's thought process concerns her endeavors to make Ireland "more manly" by exerting a strong female presence in Donegal with the aim of "rescuing" the Irish with oversight and work traditionally attributed to women. Hart's focus on control, from my perspective, originates for two reasons. First, Hart viewed the Irish from the perspective of a middle-class female Briton who believed the Irish needed an assertive mother-type figure to provide fundamental guidance. Second, she thought that by initially focusing DIF efforts on securing skills and employment for women, this might be enough to "jolt" Irishmen in Donegal to take further action regarding agricultural or industrial endeavors. Hart founded the DIF for philanthropic reasons but it cannot be forgotten that underneath this veneer her desire to exert agency over the Irish for the purpose of "uplift" was still imperial-minded.


teachers' salaries." In short, Alice Hart, the DIF, and other benevolent societies within the realm emerged as the self-appointed caretakers of Ireland during the late nineteenth century. These "imperial mothers" believed themselves to be above the sociopolitical fray associated with empire but, ultimately, they adhered to the same socioracial prejudice of "established" imperialists. Their attempts to showcase and "invent" the meaning of Irishness to a worldwide audience, especially through their efforts at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, demonstrated their imperial-oriented proclivities during the revival of Irish cottage industries in the late nineteenth century. However, "imperial mothers" would not maintain their firm grip on how the Irish appeared within the public sphere. By the turn of the century, the American Irish and, gradually, the Irish themselves began to wrest control from these women and assert their own form of agency within the exhibition paradigm regarding the display of Irishness.

This chapter reveals that the manufactured reality of Irishness at exhibitions in the Atlantic world emerged during the late nineteenth century and that those who oversaw this "new" Irish identity were an amalgam of state and non-state actors. The actions of these individuals bolstered the importance of marketplace activities along various fairgrounds, particularly within midways, and helped to foster contested notions of Irishness. The first part of this chapter explores the philanthropic mindset of individuals within the Empire who desired to "fix" and "uplift" Ireland through charitable undertakings, especially through the renewal of interest linked to Irish cottage industries, and how the actions of these "imperial mothers" morphed into established display patterns of Irishness at national exhibitions and world's fairs from the mid-1880s to the early 1890s. The second section demonstrates that by the late 1890s, however, the power structure of exhibiting Irishness began to change, particularly with Irish-themed fairs in

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the United States. The American Irish, usually under the auspice of the fraternal organization of various branches of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), supported the process of promoting Irish ethnicity for their own objectives. In Ireland the shift of who controlled the display of Irishness was not as dramatic as it was in America but change was on the horizon. The final part of this chapter focuses on the creation of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland (DATII) in 1899 and how this entity of Parliament shifted agency regarding the oversight of the Irish at world's fairs into a joint effort between various consortiums within and outside of the Empire. Specifically, the DATII eventually worked with the U.S.-based Irish Exhibit Company to organize the Irish exhibit along the Pike at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri. Ultimately, this chapter and the next demonstrate the complexity of change over time regarding the display patterns of the Irish within transnational political spaces at various exhibitions and those individuals and organizations that exerted power over the presentation and commodification of Irishness.

Philanthropic Fervor

In the May 27, 1887 issue of the Times (London), a commentary about Ireland's political and economic future appeared. This piece focused upon the recent revival of Irish cottage-based industries. The article stressed the importance of sustained employment in order to stave off national calamity and to ensure, in part, "national contentment and prosperity[.]" Although Ireland survived numerous sociopolitical difficulties by the late nineteenth century, this essay warned that a society like that found in rural Ireland in which "the least touch of adversity drives the population into desperate poverty" was not at all secure. By the late 1880s, however, a few

7 "The Donegal Industrial Fund," Times (London), May 27, 1887, 4.
female-led philanthropic organizations dedicated to the uplift of the Irish peasantry appeared. Two of these, the Donegal Industrial Fund (DIF) and the Irish Industries Association (IIA), emerged as the dominant benevolent societies for the Irish poor. Although the women who established and oversaw the DIF and the IIA came from different social classes, both showed a high level of compassion and commitment to alleviate sociocultural difficulties for the destitute of Ireland and each demonstrated characteristics linked to imperial motherhood.

By the mid-nineteenth century, an emerging social criticism developed pertaining to the excesses of mass production linked to the Industrial Revolution and the deterioration of support for handmade goods by skilled artisans. A leading proponent for the rejuvenation of cottage-based industries in the mid-nineteenth century was the writer John Ruskin. He believed, according to historian Paul Larmour, that overreliance on machine production of commodities weakened society and contributed to the development of a demoralized psyche amongst workers. By the 1870s, Ruskin's writings and social positions found a new audience through the work of William Morris and "from them the English 'arts and crafts' philosophy of design was to evolve." Part of the process associated with the arts and crafts movement of the late nineteenth century concerned revivalism and notions of uplifting non-industrial handicraft workers and to ensure they received fair compensation. From the British perspective, at least, Ireland became the perfect testing ground regarding this elaborate social experiment because large-scale industry did not exist in Ireland during the late nineteenth century; the Irish peasantry emerged as early test subjects for revivalism. The influence of Ruskin and Morris, especially on Alice Hart and Lady Aberdeen, the founders of the DIF and the IIA, respectively, helped to shape their

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perspectives and goals when it came to the renewal and revitalization of cottage-based industries in Ireland.⁹

As mentioned above, Alice Hart's first visit to Ireland was in 1872 with her husband, Dr. Ernest Hart. As they travelled the Irish countryside, especially in County Donegal, both witnessed the hardships associated with an agriculture dominated way of life. Although noted for its beauty, Ireland's rural landscape, as witnessed by the Harts, was also, in many places, dreadful for farming. Extremely rocky soil collided with marsh-like areas, known as bog land, that made it difficult to ensure a regular harvest. Conversion of inhospitable soil and bog lands into arable tracts occurred only through arduous physical labor and considerable investment of time and money. This, in part, convinced Alice Hart that one way for her to help the Irish, particularly those residing in Donegal, was to create an organization devoted to philanthropic endeavors through resurrection of local cottage-based industries, such as weaving and lace-making. She believed that these activities would provide families, especially wives and daughters, with work to assist them in survival during rainy winter months and foster ideas of self-worth and partial fiscal independence among the destitute.¹⁰

Although official organization of the Donegal Industrial Fund did not happen until December 1883, Alice Hart's interest in Ireland and its poor began in the early 1870s. Her commitment to the cause of cottage industries extended to her own pocketbook and with £50, she provided the fiscal foundation for the DIF.¹¹ Although initial resources were limited, Hart's determination to display Irish-made goods in London materialized in a storefront on New Cavendish Street the same month the DIF incorporated. By the following year, the DIF made its

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first appearance at an international exhibition in London devoted to health. In fact, the *Times* reported that at the International Health Exhibition (1884), the DIF made significant strides in exhibiting Donegal-made wares for the British public and that "through the active and practical benevolence of Mrs. Alice Hart and the contributors of the [DIF]," the showing of these peasant-made goods was of practical importance. The *Times* also labeled the DIF as "middlemen" between London consumers and Donegal residents who plied their hand-made items to the public. At the insistence of the editors of the *Century Illustrated Magazine*, Hart described her philanthropy to its readership and asserted that her efforts with the DIF "sufficient to lift the [Irish] family out of destitution" and, ultimately, the "forgotten peasant folk have been brought into communication with the outside world; they have been lifted out of their despair, and have been taught that by intelligent industry they also can claim a position as workers in the world." Her commentary on "saving" the Irish family and linking this to the actions of the DIF demonstrated that Hart's focus was not only geared toward Irish women but she hoped to also inspire Irish men to take action that could secure financial stability for their wives and children. In addition, Hart's last statement, whether she recognized it or not, adhered to the imperial motherhood model exhibited by British female patrons of Irish cottage industries, especially her remarks regarding how the DIF could make their Irish workers productive.

By the late 1880s, the work of the DIF appeared at numerous exhibitions in Europe and the United States but the main area for the display of its goods during this time was at its London headquarters at 43 Wigmore Street, known as Donegal House. Although Donegal House provided a storefront for the display of Irish handicrafts, Hart knew that in order to increase

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exposure she needed to form alliances with noblewomen who believed in the work of the DIF and cottage industries in general. Through the patronage of the nobility, Hart surmised, she could increase the commercial exposure of the DIF by forging new outlets for the distribution of Donegal-made goods. As the Times reported on November 27, 1886, Queen Victoria, the most powerful and well-known of potential British patrons, expressed interest in the activities of the DIF, especially as these regarded "Kells embroideries, Irish homespuns, hand-embroidered poplin dresses, and other new textile and art products" available through the DIF. For the remainder of her reign, Queen Victoria's interest in the cottage industries of Ireland proved helpful to the DIF and other philanthropic organizations aimed at the uplift of the Irish peasantry. However, Alice Hart knew that the support of a queen was only the first step of many and that same year she reached out to Lady Aberdeen (Ishbel Marjoribanks), the wife of the Lord Lieutenant (Viceroy) for Ireland, to coordinate efforts on behalf of the DIF during one of her trips to Dublin.\footnote{15} Although the initial coalition between Hart's DIF and Lady Aberdeen on behalf of the Irish poor appeared stable, some tension materialized when the Vicerine decided to organize her own relief society, the Irish Industries Association, in 1886.

Born into a well-known Scottish family of noble rank on March 14, 1857, Lady Aberdeen championed early in her life the notion that "good works" not only benefitted the needy but also those who oversaw philanthropic efforts. Her Liberal-oriented outlook on sociopolitical matters materialized during childhood due, in part, to her father's political associations in the House of Commons. She married John Hamilton Gordon, seventh Earl of Aberdeen in 1877 and in February 1886, Liberal Prime Minister William Gladstone appointed him Lord Lieutenant of

\footnote{15} Helland, British and Irish Home Arts and Industries, 37-38; and "Ireland," Times (London), November 27, 1886.
Ireland. As Doris French recounts, Lady Aberdeen was not initially eager to leave London and worried that potential unrest in Ireland could threaten the safety of her family. Once at Dublin Castle, the seat of British power in Ireland, however, Lady Aberdeen "was engrossed in projects to find work for the unemployed and relieve famine in Dublin, for her original mistrust of Ireland had swiftly vanished. She visited every dark nook in the city."  

Although the Aberdeens stay in Dublin lasted only six months (due to the election of a Conservative government in London), the Vicerine's continuing patronage for numerous Irish causes was quite robust. For example, Lady Aberdeen hosted an Irish-themed garden party at the Viceregal Lodge on May 22, 1886. All guests, at the request of the hostess, wore items of Irish-made origin to advertise Irish cottage industries among the well-to-do of the English nobility and as a way to demonstrate solidarity between the occupants of Dublin Castle and the Irish peasantry. The act of English nobility wearing Irish-made clothing may appear innocuous at first, but its historical significance warrants consideration. The intent of this garden party concerned the very public use of the bodies of British nobility and other prominent citizens of Dublin in order to promote a niche industry in Ireland. By parading about in Irish-made handicrafts, these individuals consented, knowing or not, to a type of performance within the cultural pragmatics genre in a historically noteworthy imperial space. Although this dissertation's focus is on the display of the Irish within the framework of exhibitions, the actions by those in attendance at Lady Aberdeen's soirée offers another way of contemplating the power

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19 According to the leading cultural pragmatics theorists, "Cultural performance is the social process by which actors, individually or in concert, display for others the meaning of their social situation. This meaning may or may not be one to which they themselves subjectively adhere; it is the meaning that they, as social actors, consciously or unconsciously wish to have others believe.” See Alexander, Giessen, and Mast, eds., Social Performance, 32.
of display and emphasis on the perceived authenticity of the garments worn in order to demonstrate a type of elite-peasant solidarity in Ireland. In short, the technique of "wearing Irish" during the 1880s and 1890s became a popular trend among female British philanthropists dedicated to the revival of Irish industries in order to garner attention, especially from the press, but it was, ultimately, the choice of these women to take such action regarding the origin of their wardrobe and it was not something "forced" upon them for their survival, unlike the peasants who made the clothing.20

Upon her arrival in Dublin, Lady Aberdeen became the president of the committee organizing the Irish section at the 1886 Edinburgh International Exhibition. As Maureen Keane argues, this allowed Lady Aberdeen an outlet to promote her new-found interest in the sponsorship of Irish cottage industries.21 As part of her duties, Lady Aberdeen contributed to the catalog describing women's industries at the Edinburgh Exhibition. When Aberdeen recounted the works of the Irish cottage workers and her experiences in Ireland, she wrote, "It is impossible to spend even a few weeks in Ireland without being struck by the great ingenuity, the power of adaptation, the natural skill in working out designs, and the patience shown in the work itself; and no one can fail to feel the keenest desire to see such qualities turned to the best account."

The Vicerine also felt compelled to outline to readers three specific ways to improve Irish industries. First, the workers required better organization to facilitate increased production and communication among them. Second, they needed instruction regarding the most up-to-date designs to facilitate sales. Finally, the development of a commercial infrastructure for the distribution of goods beyond Ireland would ensure growth and profits.22 Lady Aberdeen's

20 Helland, British and Irish Home Arts and Industries, 81.
21 Keane, Ishbel, 45.
outlook, like Alice Hart's, fit well with notions of imperial motherhood because the actions taken ensured that elites held power over the peasantry, even if it transpired for the sake of "compassion" and "progress."

The culmination of the Vicerine's efforts during her short tenure in Ireland in 1886 was the creation of the Irish Home Industries Association, later renamed the Irish Industries Association. Its purpose mirrored those ideas outlined by Lady Aberdeen in her description of the Irish exhibit at the 1886 Edinburgh Exhibition, specifically the organization, promotion, and distribution of Irish cottage-made items. Evidence of the good-will the Aberdeens accumulated during their stay at Dublin Castle appeared on the day of their departure to London in August 1886. A correspondent for the *New York Times* in Dublin wrote that a large crowd gathered to bid adieu to the retiring Lord Lieutenant and his wife from Dublin and that the Aberdeens and the throng of Dubliners truly felt affection for one another. The reporter joked that the relations, on this day at least, between the English troops who acted as crowd control and the Irish spectators was cordial and that, "It must, indeed, have been a new sensation for the British soldiers, for the first time in their generation, to make a road for the Irish instead of one through them."24

Although the DIF and the IIA, as well as other female-led philanthropic organizations of the late nineteenth century, believed their activities supported a non-political social agenda, further consideration proves otherwise. By the mid-1880s, the Irish question for British politicians, statesmen, and business leaders equated with little else than politics. Proof of this existed in the turbulent debate, in both Parliament and the British press, concerning the first Home Rule Bill (1886). Although Liberal Prime Minister William Gladstone supported this bill,

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23 Larmour, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Ireland*, 50. The Irish Home Industries Association was reincorporated in 1892 under the better known moniker, the Irish Industries Association.
its components reflected a conservative approach to quasi-independence for the Irish because the proposed Irish assembly "was denied the power to legislate on matters dealing with religious endowments, customs, excise, defense, foreign policy, and empire." Not surprisingly, this legislation, even with its conservative-oriented outlook, failed to pass. Numerous letters to the editor in the *Times* upheld the general displeasure among many within the metropole that granting Ireland dominion status was not beneficial. Some even described home rule for Ireland as "a scheme of separation," "a most revolutionary scheme," and "Mr. Gladstone's scheme." Ultimately, the actions of myriad benevolent societies, such as the DIF and the IIA, "cannot be disassociated from the political" and one must acknowledge "the embedded colonialism of home industries organizations as complicated and diverse[.]

The complexity of home industries, imperial motherhood, and the showcase of ethnicity collided in the 1888 Irish Exhibition in London. Organized and supported by prominent institutions, nobility, politicians, and professionals (including the Bank of England, the Earl of Leitrim, William Gladstone, M.P., Ernest Hart, and many others), the objectives of this event, according to the *Times*, were numerous. First, it was to present to "the English public a clear view of the predominant industries of Ireland"; second, "to awaken a public interest in the efforts being made to revise her trade"; third, to showcase Irish goods to Londoners who never visited Ireland; fourth, "to illustrate the worth and significance of Irish art"; and finally, "to help moderate prejudices which are frequently tending to fetter the judgment, at the very root of

misunderstandings between" the Irish and British people.\textsuperscript{28} Not surprisingly, Alice Hart and Lady Aberdeen both participated, respectively, under the auspices of the DIF and the IIA. Hart's display had a reproduction of a Donegal Industrial Village that demonstrated to visitors various techniques for dyeing, spinning, hand-weaving, and embroidery of various kinds.\textsuperscript{29} The DIF's Village consisted of various cottages operated by "native Irish workers" who helped to add authenticity to this manufactured reality as did fires lit "with peat brought from Ireland[.]."\textsuperscript{30} Lady Aberdeen's contribution, although not consisting of a faux village setting, comprised a booth that exhibited Irish objects for sale in the Old Irish Market Place corridor of this exhibition.\textsuperscript{31} The activities of the DIF and the IIA at the Irish Exhibition are early examples of the commitment shown by Hart and Aberdeen regarding the importance of ethnic commodification at a fair in order to garner support for cottage-based industries while simultaneously asserting the imperial motherhood philosophy of uplifting a needy but deserving people through charitable acts. Their actions also helped to create or "invent" the foundation for the commodification of Irish ethnicity in the Atlantic world during the late nineteenth century; after all, both female patrons strove to sell Irish-made goods to a London-based audience.

An important legacy of the 1888 Irish Exhibition that influenced later displays of the Irish in Europe and the United States in various exhibition formats concerned the emphasis on a manufactured reality, especially through the erection of artificial Irish "villages" tended to by "bona fide" Irish people and its accoutrements, such as a working dairy, and the reproduction in

\textsuperscript{28} "The Irish Exhibition in London," \textit{Times} (London), February 3, 1888. The prejudices referred to in the final point of this article concerned British-oriented conceptions that the Irish Celt exhibited negative characteristics, such as lack of intelligence and emotional instability, which made them unsuitable candidates for equal membership within the Empire.


\textsuperscript{30} "Irish Exhibition in London," \textit{Times} (London), May 14, 1888.

miniature of historically significant sites in Ireland. At the Irish Exhibition in London, for example, replicas of various sorts such as a round tower from the Rock of Cashel in County Tipperary, the Blarney Castle in County Cork, and its famous stone delighted numerous visitors and set the precedent for such displays in the future. In addition, "a genuine Irish dairy" with "60 Kerry cows" provided visitors with demonstrations related to the most modern techniques for producing butter. As reported in the press, this Irish-inspired event would dispel among the British people concerns of disloyalty in Ireland toward the Empire and that, ultimately, one's attendance at this event "will do more to correct this ignorance than half-a-dozen visits to Ireland of the ordinary kind." This perspective helped to instill in later exhibition audiences the illusion that fake "villages" were, in fact, synonymous with actual travel to a foreign destination.

In the United States, the press coverage for this London-based display of Irishness received mixed reviews. The New York Tribune believed that this fair would permit the British to make "a fresh effort toward conciliating Ireland" and, ultimately, it predicted that this event promised, "to be one of the most interesting sights of London during the rest of the summer."

In contrast, the Omaha Daily Bee (Omaha, NE) opined, "A show of Irish agricultural products

32 By the late 1880s, the public display of non-Europeans from Asia and Africa at European venues, such as the Jardin d'Acclimation in the Bois du Boulogne near Paris, became "little more than a circus sideshow." These exhibits, initially, showed the lifestyles and daily routines of foreign peoples then morphed into a form of entertainment by the 1890s that "varied from Asian religious dances to mock battles between African warriors[]." See William Schneider, "Race and Empire: The Rise of Popular Ethnography in the Late Nineteenth Century," Journal of Popular Culture 11, no. 1 (1977): 99.

33 Irish Exhibition In London, 1888, 12.

34 "The Irish Exhibition," Times (London), June 4, 1888. Charges of disloyalty emerged for a brief period at the end of August when the Barrack street band of Cork, "a corps of amateur musicians," refused to perform 'God Save the Queen' during their week-long stay at the Irish Exhibition. The secretary of the Cork National League explained that the performers had not practiced this particular score and they did not desire to embarrass themselves in public; however, some band members intimated to the press that "they dared not go back to Ireland" if they played 'God Save the Queen.' Lord Arthur Hill, M.P. (the honorary secretary of the Irish Exhibition) wrote to the press that the Barrack street band should have been expelled from the exhibition grounds but this did not occur because his acting subordinate did not adequately inform his lordship, who was in Ireland, about this incident. Although violence did not erupt at the exhibition because of this event, ill-will festered for a time regarding this activity. See "Disloyalty at the Irish Exhibition," Times (London), August 22, 1888; "The Cork Band at the Irish Exhibition," Times (London), August 23, 1888; and "The Cork Band at Olympia," Times (London), August 27, 1888.

would not be so spectacular as to attract crowds, and it is hard to see what else there can be to show except [items] from Belfast." This newspaper concluded its analysis when it asserted, "An exhibition of the misery of the Irish people might be instructive, but would scarcely be attractive to Londoners[.]"\textsuperscript{36} The Omaha-based newspaper failed to recognize the momentum started by the Irish Exhibition in London when it came to revivalism of Irish cottage industries and the interest by various groups to cash in on defining Irishness within the Atlantic community, especially by the 1890s.

The apogee of the philanthropic-inspired activities of the DIF and the IIA that encompassed the revival of Irish cottage industries within the transatlantic world transpired at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition (WCE) in Chicago, Illinois. Although initial plans for showcasing Ireland concerned a single Irish "village" along the Midway Plaisance (the amusement-oriented section of the Chicago fairgrounds), disagreement between the patrons of the DIF and the IIA materialized. Although both Mrs. Hart and Lady Aberdeen downplayed strain between their respective organizations, class-based tensions between these two imperial mothers more than likely resulted in the creation of two separate Irish displays at the WCE. As a member of the nobility, Lady Aberdeen probably assumed that she would take the lead regarding arrangements of the Irish village and Mrs. Hart would behave like a subordinate and relinquish DIF resources to the IIA. Wary of allowing someone else to have oversight of the DIF, Hart presumably refused to work with the IIA and Lady Aberdeen at Chicago even though both women championed very similar agendas.\textsuperscript{37} In the end, two Irish "villages" appeared on the Midway: the Irish Village of the Irish Industries Association (known also as Lady Aberdeen's

\textsuperscript{36} "Other Lands Than Ours," \textit{Omaha (NE) Daily Bee}, June 16, 1888.

Irish Village or the Irish Industries Village) and the Irish Village of the Donegal Industrial Fund (known also as Mrs. Hart's Irish Village or the Donegal Castle and Village). [For clarity and consistency, this dissertation will refer to these as "Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village" and "Mrs. Hart's Irish Village."]

Aside from the minor feuding associated with the development of Irish exhibits at the WCE between Hart and Aberdeen, serious sociopolitical debate in the British Parliament existed in the summer of 1893 that concerned the second Home Rule Bill (Government of Ireland Bill, 1893). Although the provisions for this legislation almost mirrored those proposed in 1886, the House of Lords overwhelmingly defeated activation of this bill on September 8, 1893. The political nature of the Irish question during the late nineteenth century, once again, influenced the mindset of those in charge of displaying the perceived customs and habits of Ireland to the world. Both Alice Hart and Lady Aberdeen supported home rule for the Irish but both also believed that Ireland was in no position to fend for itself within a global marketplace. For these imperial mothers, the notion that Ireland might receive from Her Majesty and Parliament complete independence proved anathema. In fact, Lady Aberdeen wrote a brief article for The

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40 Imperial mothers were not the only group within the global community to assert dominance over peoples they deemed "inferior." In the United States during the late nineteenth century, for example, many Americans believed that Native Americans and Filipinos required close oversight to ensure "advancement." See Frederick E. Hoxie, A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); Paul Kramer, The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Edwards, New Spirits; and Miller, From Liberation to Conquest.
North American Review about Ireland, its political position within the Empire, and the intent of her "village" at the WCE, especially its purpose of marketing Irish-made products to the United States. She concluded her piece by explaining, "we are sanguine that we shall not appeal in vain for what we confidently believe will largely tend to the uplifting of a whole country [Ireland]."

Even though she identified herself as a proponent of Irish home rule, Lady Aberdeen's ideas of saving an entire people through benevolence and instruction only further demonstrated her mindset about empire in general. She believed that Ireland could achieve freedom at some point in the distant future but that time was certainly not in 1893.41

As referenced in chapter two, world's fairs emerged as "spaces of transnational communication" and part of this interchange of ideas, especially from the perspective of the British, concerned control over how their subjects appeared at international expositions.42 Ireland's relationship with the Empire presented unique challenges because it was a possession of the Crown that in near proximity to the metropole, yet it lacked any significant industrial infrastructure and remained a predominantly agricultural society. The historical narrative of Ireland stressed by the DIF and the IIA at the Chicago fair, and one supported by the majority of Britain, emphasized the simple, agrarian-minded nature of the Irish people, their dogged adherence to maintaining tradition, the quaintness of cottage-based industries, and the excitement of the Irish peasant regarding instruction by female philanthropists who believed they could "save" Ireland by reviving and popularizing its ancient practices. Although the Times wrote the following words about Ireland and its people in 1888, its utility and "truth" for many within the Empire still rang true in 1893: "Ignorance and slovenliness and superstition are at the bottom of

most of Ireland's sufferings, and there could be no more laudable object than the removal of them by education." As Bernard Cohn suggests, the communicative discourse between metropole and periphery depends, in part, on how colonizers absorb, distort, and direct knowledge construction over the colonized. In the discussion surrounding the British-Irish relationship in the transatlantic world of the late nineteenth century, the Irish "villages" on display at the WCE reaffirmed the notion that the British "invented" Ireland's history and global image, particularly when it came to the exhibition paradigm. The depiction of Ireland by the DIF and the IIA, as shown below, presented a nostalgic, pastoral, and "safe" portrayal of Ireland's past and present.

As Marion R. Casey argues, "Representation is a form of possession." Oversight of Ireland's culture, industry, and people along the Midway Plaisance at the WCE occurred under the auspices of two British female philanthropists and their organizations dedicated to the uplifting of Ireland through benevolence and education. The purpose of ethnic-based "villages" at exhibitions concerned the display of perceived characteristics and customs of a given culture within the manufactured reality of a temporary wonderland of imperial spaces meant to inform and entertain visitors. The best way of achieving this, according to fair organizers, was to create a conduit for transporting village guests to the respective society shown; therefore, "there was considerable care taken to ensure that visitors [realized] that what was presented was both

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45 For a discussion regarding the notion of inventing traditions and its linkages to the repetition of public ritualization, see Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
authentic and represented the finest available."\textsuperscript{47} The management of the Irish "villages" at the
WCE strove to recreate for fairgoers a "real" Irish experience devoid of any overt sociopolitical
tensions from Ireland's past or blatant reminders of contemporary debates surrounding home rule
for the Irish; however, attempts at a completely sanitized political environment within these
"villages," as demonstrated below, proved impossible. When compared to other "villages" along
the Midway, "the Irish villages reproduced their buildings on a smaller scale, but they included
more detail." Ultimately, "These cottages were used for work demonstrations and displays of the
lifestyle of the villagers, and the rest were fitted to accommodate the villagers during the course
of the fair."\textsuperscript{48}

Described as "representative of Ireland at her best and happiest," Mrs. Hart's Irish Village
depicted traditional peasant life in County Donegal by embodying "cottage industries, Irish
history, and recreational pastimes.\textsuperscript{49} To enter this village, guests passed through a replica of
Drogheda's thirteenth-century St. Lawrence Gate.\textsuperscript{50} Once inside, guests could not ignore the
reproduction of Donegal Castle, a fifteenth-century landmark located in northwest Ireland, at the
far end of the exhibit.\textsuperscript{51} The interior of this building housed a banquet hall "and was decorated
with rare Irish textile fabrics and with originals and reproductions of old and new Irish art.\textsuperscript{52}
Near the castle imitation and situated in the center of the courtyard was a round tower
approximately 120 feet in height; this type of structure was common in wealthy monasteries in

\textsuperscript{47}Stephen F. Mills, "The Presentation of Foreigners in the Land of Immigrants: Paradox and Stereotypes at
\textsuperscript{48}Scott, "Village Performance," 80.
\textsuperscript{49}"The Irish Village and Donegal Castle," \textit{Ohio (Logan) Democrat}, July 22, 1893; and Stroik, "The
\textsuperscript{50}\textit{A Week At The Fair: Illustrating the Exhibits and Wonders of the World's Columbian Exposition}
(Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1893), 240; and "Donegal Is Opened," \textit{The Chicago Tribune}, May 27, 1893.
For a brief discussion of Drogheda's history and its Anglo-Norman origin, see John Bradley, "Anglo-Norman
\textsuperscript{51}For an overview of Donegal Castle, see \url{http://www.heritageireland.ie/en/north-west/donegalcastle/}
(accessed March 20, 2014).
\textsuperscript{52}"Donegal Is Opened."
Ireland between the ninth and twelfth centuries and scholars believe their function was both decorative and defensive. Near the round tower was a 27 foot high replica of a Celtic cross made from Irish limestone and various facsimiles of ancient Irish stones used for commemoration during the pre-modern era in Ireland. At the end of the courtyard was a duplicate of County Antrim's Wishing Chair of the Giant's Causeway on "real Irish soil." Throughout the village, "rosy-cheeked colleens engaged in knitting, the manufacture of lace and of linen, [while] carding and spinning" of wool intrigued and entertained guests who could not help to notice that the workers were "genuine Celts brought from Ireland[.]" In addition, wood and marble carving as well as work performed by a blacksmith also informed visitors of DIF-related industries.

Mrs. Hart's Irish Village also contained an exhibit that showcased Irish artwork. Portraits of famous Irishmen reproduced from engravings found in the British Museum, images of Ireland's landscape, a large bronze statue of William E. Gladstone by Irish sculptor Bruce Joy, a painting titled "Gladstone Bringing in the Home-rule Bill," and "other famous relics of the Green Isle" presented visitors with examples of Irish creativity and artistic acumen from ancient to contemporary times. The inclusion of artwork related to home rule advocate and British politician William E. Gladstone challenged the DIF's continued claims of it being a non-political organization and reinforced notions about the inherent political bent of philanthropic activities.

54 "Donegal Is Opened."; A Week At The Fair, 241-242; and Trumbull White and William Igleheart, The World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893 (Boston: J. K. Hastings, 1893), 567. Alice Hart described the female occupants of her village as "pure Celtic lassies." When asked about the intent of her village, she stated, "In everyone of these cottages I reproduce exactly the same state of affairs that exist in Donegal, and if any one imagines that they are too primitive[ic] they have only to remember that the girls and work come from a place thirty-six miles from a railway in the very heart of Ireland and show the work that is now going on in hundreds of cottages where a few years ago all was idleness and poverty. If in my endeavor to show what good work these struggling people can accomplish and extend the horizon of their commercial sky I shall feel entirely satisfied with my task." See Major Ben C. Truman, History of The World's Fair Being a Complete Description of the World's Columbian Exposition From Its Inception (Chicago: Mammoth Publishing Company, n.d.), 563-564.
55 "Donegal Is Opened."; and A Week At The Fair, 241.
connected to Ireland, especially the revival of cottage-based industries. Adrienne Lisbeth Stroik contends that this Irish "village" focused on "a homogeneous Irishness and desire for independence while absenting disagreements taking place in Ireland about whether independence should be sought, and if so, through what measures." This statement is correct insofar as it connects to the DIF's desire to present "a homogenous Irishness," but it fails to consider the overt display of Gladstone-related paraphernalia, especially the prominent placement of the ten foot high Gladstone statue in the banquet hall within the reproduction of Donegal Castle, or the inclusion of "Gladstone Bringing in the Home-rule Bill" as part of the extensive art exhibit. In short, anything to do with Ireland during this era, especially as it related to the debate that surrounded the second home rule bill of 1893 in Britain, Ireland, and the United States, could be nothing but political in nature.

56 Helland, British and Irish Home Arts and Industries 1880-1914, 28.
Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village consisted of an enclosed rectangular space with a courtyard surrounded by approximately one dozen thatched cottages that housed numerous examples of cottage-based industries, including lace making, knitting and embroidery, and wood carving, as well as a model dairy, village shop, and concert hall. Towering over the entire enclosure was a two-thirds scale model of the Blarney Castle with a faux stone that allegedly bequeathed loquaciousness to all who kissed it; knowledge of the stone's fakeness, however, did not transpire until thousands of people already paid to kiss the real thing thus causing some controversy at Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village. Admission to this "representative" Irish village cost 35 cents "where the inhabitants of this busy little community ply their industries."

59 Blarney Castle in County Cork is an example of tower-house construction and was built in the late fifteenth century. See D. Newman Johnson, "Later Medieval castles," in Irish Archaeology Illustrated, ed. Michael Ryan (Dublin: Country House, 1994), 191-192. Various newspapers reported on the intrigue related to the debate surrounding the authenticity of the stone in the reproduction of Blarney Castle in Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village.
Upon entering Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village through a reproduction of the twelfth-century entryway to Cormac's Chapel with a large placard in Irish stating "Ceade Mile Failte" ("A Hundred Thousand Welcomes"), visitors could purchase a guide book to assist them during their sojourn through this manufactured reality of Irish-based industries. Before entering the first cottage, however, fairgoers saw another replica in miniature of a historical site: Killarney's Muckross Abbey. The first collection of cottages included lace making, hand loom weaving and Ultimately, the owner of Blarney Castle, Sir George Colthurst, responded with an editorial in the Times refuting all allegations that he permitted the Blarney stone, or any piece of it, to leave County Cork. At the conclusion of the WCE, many news outlets reported that the stone on display in Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village was actually a paving stone from 57th Street in Chicago that was secretly placed inside of a container that held other "real" objects from Ireland and "thus secured a certificate of importation." See "False Blarney Stone," New York Times, September 10, 1893; "The Blarney Stone," Times (London), September 12, 1893; "Not the True Blarney Stone," New York Times, September 16, 1893; "Here and There," Omaha (NE) Daily Bee, March 19, 1894; and "The Fairs Aftermath," Abbeville (SC) Press and Banner, March 28, 1894.

spinning, and embroidery where a "turf-fire" burned and native Irish workers, such as Maggie Dennehy, "who talks real Irish," revealed the secrets of Irish lace and crochet production for those interested. Next, the workers in the dairy ("Teach-boinne") demonstrated traditional and contemporary methods for producing butter with three of the dairymaids coming from the Munster Dairy School in County Cork. Nearby, Dublin-resident Miss Goggin oversaw the bog-oak and Galway carving displays while Mr. Michael Nicholas showed sightseers various techniques related to wood and metal fabrication taught by the Home Arts and Industries Association that provided "a paying and profitable occupation for the boys and men as well as the women and girls." Other stops along the way included shops for purchasing Irish hand-made goods, such as jewelry, tobacco pipes, lace, woolens, hosiery, and baskets.

Figure 10: "Loom and Spinning Wheel in Irish Industrial Village" in Why Should We Encourage Irish Industries?: The Exhibit of The Irish Industries Association at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago (Chicago: Irish Village Book Store, 1893). Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland.

One's visit to Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village would not be complete without ascending the winding staircase of the facsimile of Blarney Castle to observe from its ramparts the entire
village and to smooch "the magic stone" or gander at Lady Aberdeen's personal residence (a copy of a traditional Irish cottage known as Lyra-ne-grena or "The Sunny Nook") when in attendance at the fair and located directly across the courtyard from Blarney Castle near an Irish Cross. Before departing "Ould Ireland," visitors could peruse the village museum which housed photographs of Irish antiquities, step on and purchase Irish turf imported from the Emerald Isle, or listen to Miss Josephine Sullivan play the harp in the Village Concert Hall.61 Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village, in short, presented a tranquil environment for visitors to experience the Emerald Isle, or so its organizers thought.

![Lady Aberdeen's Cottage at the Irish Industries Village](image)

Figure 11: "Lady Aberdeen's Cottage at the Irish Industries Village" in A Week at the Fair: Illustrating the Exhibits and Wonders of the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1893), 245. Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

Near the end of the WCE in October, however, the display of the British flag ("Union Jack") in Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village reinforced the contentiousness of the Irish question,

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61 Guide to the Irish Industrial Village and Blarney Castle, 11-15. When Lady Aberdeen was absent from her post, Mrs. Peter White, the manager of Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village and widow of the IIA's former secretary, oversaw the village and resided at Lyra-ne-grena.
especially for the American Irish community. Shortly before Lord Aberdeen arrived at his wife's "village" display on October 21, 1893, the Union Jack occupied a prominent place above the replica of Blarney Castle. Because Lord Aberdeen visited this site as the representative of Queen Victoria in his capacity as the recently-appointed Governor General of Canada, protocol dictated that areas on the fairgrounds controlled by the British where he engaged in official business hoist the banner of Her Majesty's Government. According to the New York Times, a near riot almost exploded in the usually tranquil Irish "village." Two attempts to tear down "the English emblem" transpired; the first proved partially successful but, ultimately, security forces ensured that the British flag waved in the robust Chicago winds when His Excellency arrived. Police reinforcements contended with "several thousand [Irish] sympathizers who quickly gathered around the village" to display their displeasure. It was reported that the "guards tried to cope with the anti-English visitors" as best they could, especially when those who were apprehended and placed within the "patrol wagon" were continually liberated from it by members of the crowd. Although the New York Times recounted that fifteen "Irishmen" emerged as the ringleaders for this episode, only three arrests resulted. In comments to the Chicago Daily Tribune the next day, Lady Aberdeen stated she believed wholeheartedly that this incident was not representative of the Irish and American Irish communities and their opinions of the British Empire; in brief, she opined, "I believe the entire matter was a prank."

63 “Lady Aberdeen on Flag Episode,” Chicago Daily Tribune, October 23, 1893. The coverage of this incident remained active in the press for several days. Hoping to extinguish further discussion, Lady Aberdeen commented to a reporter for the Washington, D.C.-based Evening Star while waiting for transportation in an Ontario train station: "I have seen it printed that several thousand of Irishmen aided in pulling down the British flag at the Irish village in Chicago on Saturday. I was present and know that only a few roughs participated in that incident, and that there were the strongest indications that the great mass of Irishmen present had no sympathy whatever with the attempted outrage. These facts I would like to have published and as widely as possible, for I feel that much needless harm may arise from the misrepresentation of the actual occurrences." See "A Much Exaggerated Flag Incident," Evening Star (Washington, D.C.), October 25, 1893. News of this incident traveled to Ireland as well, see "The Irish Village at the World's Fair," Freemans Journal (Ireland), October 23, 1893.
Although the "flag episode" resulted in no fatalities or serious injuries, it is important to consider the tense sociopolitical environment evident on the WCE fairgrounds when the Irish question materialized. Barely one month removed since the British Parliament rejected the second Home Rule Bill for Ireland, this event demonstrated that Irish and American Irish sentiment could erupt in potentially violent ways on American soil. It also showed that the hoped-for idyllic setting of the Irish countryside as presented through Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village was neither static nor secure, especially when issues related to the politics of the British Empire emerged within the public sphere. Even though Lady Aberdeen adhered to the stance of this event being a "prank," in an interview with California's *Sacramento Daily Record-Union* on November 3, 1893, she told a reporter when asked if the British flag still flew over her village, "It is and the guard who is stationed near it is armed." Although one cannot know whether Lady Aberdeen's statement was in jest or not, its content revealed the continued troubles linked not only to the Union Jack's display in one Irish "village" in Chicago but also to the sustained resentment and difficulty associated with the Irish question in the transatlantic world.

Both of the WCE Irish "villages" emphasized authenticity in their midway reproductions of an idealized Irish environment on American soil. These imperial spaces emerged as "texts" for interpreting the organizer's sociopolitical tendencies. For Alice Hart, interlinking the Irish home industries revival with overt Gladstonian/home rule support through the display of artwork proved alluring to the DIF founder and, as evident in her village's attendance rates, her guests did not seem to mind this political orientation. Lady Aberdeen's strict focus on craft industries did not make her village any less political, because of her well-known position on the home rule issue, as witnessed, for example, by readers of the July 1893 issue of *The North American*

64 “Adorns Her Station,” *Sacramento (CA) Daily Record-Union*, November 3, 1893.
Both of these women used their influence to depict Ireland as docile, friendly, and on the path to industrial greatness; all that Ireland needed to achieve success, according to Hart and Aberdeen, was for individuals, especially in the United States, to take an interest in the revivalism of ancient industries, particularly through the purchase of Irish-made items available from the DIF and the IIA. With American capital, Ireland would be on its way to securing economic stability, and potentially, political strength as well.

Described as "the wonder-street of the world," the Midway Plaisance offered its guests an escape from the rigors of everyday life through entertainment. The two Irish "villages" overseen by the DIF and the IIA provided thousands of guests an outlet for experiencing the "reality" of Ireland for less than one dollar. According to Neil Harris, the gross receipts for the two Irish "villages" amounted to a combined total of approximately $201,000. Although both the DIF and the IIA reinvested all profits from the Chicago enterprise in the furtherance of Irish home industries, it is impossible to ignore the power wielded by the founding patrons of these two benevolent organizations. Representing another people's culture, either in a positive or negative way, creates an unequal power dynamic between those who have oversight and those who do not. Whether knowing or not, Alice Hart and Lady Aberdeen helped to foster in the transatlantic world a culture that championed the commodification of ethnicity; in this instance, "inventing" and selling Irishness proved very lucrative. It is not the intent of this discussion to

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66 Midway Types: A Book of Illustrated Lessons About the People of the Midway Plaisance, World's Fair 1893, n.p. In post-1893 world's fairs, the amusement-oriented sections were known generally as midways although many of them did, in fact, have specific titles. The popularity and grandeur of the Midway Plaisance secured its place as the paragon of fun areas within the exhibition paradigm.
67 Entry into Alice Hart's Irish Village cost visitors 25 cents while Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village charged 35 cents. The cost for experiencing all of the attractions along the Midway Plaisance was $13.05. See A Week at the Fair: Illustrating the Exhibits and Wonders of the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1893), 25.
68 Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village collected, approximately, $136,000 and Alice Hart's Irish Village grossed $65,000. See Harris, "Selling National Culture: Ireland at the World's Columbian Exposition," in Imagining an Irish Past, 96.
pass judgment on those non-Irish individuals involved with Celtic revivalism who participated in various national and international exhibitions. Rather, I have sought to demonstrate the complexity of ideas linked to charity and the "uplifting of the Irish race" during the late nineteenth century as not a simple endeavor but rather, one that helped to transform how the Irish, their descendants in America, and the rest of the world perceived Ireland and its culture.

The Performance of Irishness in the United States

Depictions of the Irish in the press in the United States and Europe by the 1890s had not evolved much beyond simianized caricatures. Most drawings of the Irish portrayed them as simple-minded and potentially violent folk who drank too much. Christopher Damien Rounds writes, "In common usage in America from about 1880 to 1920, Stage Irish was a term that referred to any distorted theatrical or literary depictions of the Irish or Irish-American man or woman." Although the Irish in America by the late nineteenth century achieved increased political agency, especially at the local and state levels, they remained fodder for political

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cartoonists. At the 1893 WCE in Chicago, "evidence" of Irish buffoonery materialized in the pages of *World's Fair Puck*, a weekly satirical newspaper that mocked various ethnic and racialized groups along the fairgrounds. Although the Irish were by no means the only community lampooned within the pages of this publication, most of its issues contained numerous drawings and articles that negatively showcased the Irish.

In fact, *World's Fair Puck* devoted two of its covers to ridiculing the Irish. The first appeared on May 22, 1893 and showed two finely attired Irish named "Pat" (who sported a top hat and tuxedo and held a cigar) and "Bridget" (who wore a dark dress and elaborate headpiece with a feather) as they relaxed in a gondola operated by two "Venetian" gondoliers in one of the artificial lakes constructed for the WCE. Upon first inspection, this cartoon, titled "An Authority on the Subject," did not appear abrasive or unseemly. However, closer investigation revealed that "Pat's" physical features, especially his jaw and facial hair, gave him an ape-like demeanor while "Bridget's" expression intimated limited comprehension of her surroundings. The text of the caption revealed the true intent of this drawing because it cast these two "highbrow" Irish as culturally insensitive fools. It read: "Pat (to Bridget).--It's surprisin', the ignorance of thim Dagos, callin' these boats 'gondolias.' Any wan of iducation knows a gondolia's a flat car to haul gravel on." The second Irish-inspired cover, called "A Good Disguise," came out on September 25, 1893. It depicted an Irishman who examined pieces of sculpture located in the French

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72 See cover images of *World's Fair Puck* dated May 22, 1893 (no. 3) and September 25, 1893 (no. 21).
Exhibit at the Chicago fair. The Irish individual, referred to as "Mr. Brady," is clad in a three-piece suit with a green neck tie, top hat, and dress shoes. A shamrock adorned his lapel and he held a green umbrella at his side. "Mr. Brady's" facial features revealed exaggerated, simianized characteristics: a pug nose, elongated forehead, extended space between the upper lip and nose, and bushy facial hair and eyebrows. He appears to wear his clothing in an uncomfortable manner, as if his garments do not quite fit thus revealing his cultural awkwardness, especially in an art gallery. The caption to this portrait implied that "Mr. Brady" spoke to a mask of Michelangelo by stating, "Will, Moike, me bye, yez knew your business. No man would iver recognize an Oirishman under such a fablse-face as thot." These words betray that "Mr. Brady" allegedly recognized the physical and mental deficiencies of his own people. In the background of this image, two Victorian spectators read from a pamphlet and are presumably more comfortable in their attire and possess the necessary intelligence to comprehend the displayed artwork. In addition, they appear to examine and pass judgment upon "Mr. Brady" as someone who did not belong in this part of the exhibition. Although five other cover images of World's Fair Puck specifically deride other peoples and their cultures, the Irish found their culture ridiculed front and center on two separate covers of this newspaper.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{73} The non-Irish cover image caricatures for World's Fair Puck depict Jews, Chinese, Middle Easterners, Fijians, and Africans in extremely negative ways. See covers in the following editions: June 26; July 17; September 18; October 16; and October 23.
Figure 12: "An Authority on the Subject," in *World's Fair Puck*, May 22, 1893 (no. 3). Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.
Even though the Irish in America by the late nineteenth century still succumbed to nativist sentiment and distasteful depictions of their culture, the financial success and popularity of the WCE and, more specifically, the two Irish "villages" became the catalyst for the American Irish to reclaim depictions of Irishness in the public sphere and transform these into meaningful and profitable ventures at the local level in the United States. As mentioned in chapter two, the growth and prominence of historical pageantry in America by the 1880s helped to create an environment that supported the public ritualization of the past. It is important to note, however, that a tradition in Europe and Ireland of hosting parish fairs and bazaars to defray the costs associated with building churches also helped to imbue within the American Irish notions linked to public entertainment, education, and commercialism. In short, "the Irish on both sides of the Atlantic understood what fairs were and their significance to the community" and that these events "were not a strange American custom but an activity the Irish understood."

The American Irish "comprehension" of fairs and fundraising culminated by the late 1890s and early 1900s under the generic moniker of "Irish Fairs" in New York City, New York, Chicago, Illinois, San Francisco, California, Portland, Oregon, Louisville, Kentucky, St. Louis, 74 The American Protective Association, a prominent nativist (i.e., anti-Catholic, anti-Irish, pro-Protestant) organization formed in Clinton, Iowa in 1887, and reached peak membership of approximately one half million Americans by the early 1890s. Although this organization ceased to be a formidable force after the Spanish-American War, its existence in the late nineteenth century is one example of sustained suspicion and resentment against a large part of the American Irish community. See, Higham, Strangers in the Land, 62-63, 80-87, 108. In addition, Christopher Damien Rounds asserts that the American Irish community became interested in reclaiming their ethnicity during the 1880s because "the rapidly expanding consumer society of the United States [permitted them] to understand and proclaim their status as both Irish and American." See Rounds, "Ireland For Sale: The Marketing and Consumerism of the Irish-American Identity Since 1880," 5.

75 David Glassberg, American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990). For a discussion of charity/fundraising fairs examined within a local context, see Beverly Gordon, "Playing at Being Powerless: New England Ladies Fairs, 1830-1930," Massachusetts Review 27, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 144-160. Gordon treats fairs as "community events, festive social occasions that punctuate the year" and "major events in the life of a town or community, significant social gatherings, sources of amusement and entertainment." She links the philanthropy of the women who organized these events to their personal lives: "These women's lives mirrored the bazaars: an underlying seriousness and effectiveness was masked by a facade of frivolity and play."

Missouri and other American cities. Organized primarily under the auspices of American Irish fraternal organizations, such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), these events often garnered high attendance rates and proved to be fiscally beneficial to organizers. Many of these American "Irish Fairs" occurred in order to raise needed funds for the completion of buildings in various U.S. cities dedicated to the preservation of Irish and American Irish culture. Others transpired in order to raise money to alleviate debt incurred by Catholic churches or to assist in assuring the continued charity offered by religious institutions, such as providing funds for the care of the elderly. By nature, however, these fairs supported the Irish nationalist perspective and were, by default, important political statements wrapped in the trappings of spectacle. As Colleen McDannell argues, these types of fairs "created an environment for unabashed consumer voyeurism." However, as discussed below, these Irish Fairs also increased the agency of the American Irish community because they afforded them the opportunity to challenge the meaning of Irishness in the United States while simultaneously providing a platform to engage with the shifting discourses between cultural and political nationalism, especially as this related to transatlanticism and the Irish question.

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78 McDannell, "Going to the Ladies' Fair: Irish Catholics in New York City, 1870-1900." 246.
79 The Irish were not the first group in the United States to use public ritualization and commemoration in order to bolster and celebrate a specific culture. As William Wiggins and Mitch Kachun remind us, African Americans from the early nineteenth century onward used Freedom Day festivities to acknowledge the shifting discourse between the enslaved and free populations in the Atlantic world. Kachun argues that these events permitted African Americans renewed agency because these festivals allowed African Americans the chance "to congregate"; "to educate"; and "to agitate". In addition, some African American leaders supported the raising of funds to erect buildings in various U.S. cities for the education of the youth of the black community. See William Wiggins, O Freedom! Afro-American Emancipation Celebrations (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 49-134; and Mitch Kachun, Festivals of Freedom: Memory and Meaning in African American Emancipation Celebrations, 1808-1915 (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 9, 157. For a discussion regarding the importance of political and public celebrations in the early American republic, see David Waldstreicher, In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); and Simon P. Newman, Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).
The first two Irish Fairs in the United States occurred in 1897 in New York City and Chicago. Although these events lasted for only a brief time, respectively, in May and December, each drew inspiration from the exhibits displayed at the 1888 Irish Exhibition in London and the 1893 WCE in Chicago and focused on providing fairgoers a "legitimate" Irish experience by reproducing Ireland in miniature. The New York City fair occurred under the direction of the United Irish Catholic Societies of New York (with assistance from the Irish Volunteer Regiment and the Clan na Gael) while the Chicago fair emerged due to the efforts of the AOH. The purpose of each of these fairs, generally, was to raise money to construct meeting places for each organization and to perpetuate Irish and American Irish culture in prominent urban environments in the United States. The public display of Irishness in America fostered a cultural linkage to Éire for the American Irish community and permitted them to show the uniqueness of their heritage to the non-Irish communities in the United States.

Both the New York City and Chicago Irish Fairs constructed reduced size replicas of Blarney Castle, displayed a map of Ireland replete with "real" Irish soil, and showcased traditional crafts and objects of historic interest in booths overseen by "authentic" Irish workers.

Of interest to many Irish and American Irish who attended both of these gatherings was the opportunity to stand upon and, eventually, purchase Irish soil. The organizers of these and subsequent Irish Fairs quickly realized that many of their visitors were more than willing to part

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81 In New York City, money raised was devoted to the construction of the Irish Palace Building and in Chicago, funds went to the erection of the Robert Emmet Memorial Hall. See O'Leary, "The Auld Sod: Staging the Diaspora at the 1897 Irish Fair in New York City," 94; "To Erect An Irish Palace," San Francisco Call, May 9, 1897; "Opening of the Irish Fair," New York Tribune, May 11, 1897; "Irish Fair Opens," Sun (New York, NY), May 11, 1897; and "Irish Fair," El Paso (TX) Daily Herald, December 4, 1897.

82 "Irish Fair Opens"; "Irish Fair"; and "A Novel Idea," Record Union (Sacramento, CA), December 7, 1897.
with their cash for the chance to walk across or take home a piece of Ireland. The *Sun* (New York City, NY) reported that for the small price of 25 cents, anyone in New York City could stride across actual pieces of Irish sod.\(^{83}\) Although walking on or taking home a piece of turf may appear benign, it is vital to remember the sociopolitical environment in which these events occurred. By the time of these two Irish Fairs, two Irish home rule bills met with defeat in the British Parliament and only minimal land reforms permitted some ownership of Ireland by the Irish. The level of nostalgia for Irish and American Irish visitors to these fairs, particularly when it became apparent that they could once again "walk" across Ireland or even own a small piece of their ancestral homeland, helped to instill within this ethnic community a renewed interest in all things Irish. Deirdre O'Leary's analysis of the map of Ireland display at the 1897 New York City Irish Fair, for example, reinforces the importance of remembrance within the public sphere. She writes, "The spatial associations and coherence of the map can thus be read as a kind of counter cartography, suggesting a national whole that metaphorically articulates the separateness of Ireland from England and the emotional proximity it enjoys in the hearts and minds of the Irish in America."\(^{84}\) When it discussed the Chicago Irish Fair, the *Record Union* (Sacramento, CA) implied that Irish soil from the thirty two counties in Ireland provided "a realistic character" to this event and that those of Irish lineage who visited it felt an "attachment to [this] soil, which is the root of [Irish] patriotism" and, ultimately, Irish "love for the sod" was akin "to a worship" because it was "a holy thing, something to cherish, honor and adore."\(^{85}\)

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83 "Irish Fair Opens".
84 O'Leary, "The Auld Sod: Staging the Diaspora at the 1897 Irish Fair in New York City," 102.
85 "A Novel Idea." The Washington, D.C.-based newspaper, *Evening Star*, joked about the genuineness of the Irish soil at the Chicago Irish Fair when it stated, "the management request all persons possessed of snakes, either tangible or intangible, to place them on the sod, and if they don't die a season ticket will be presented to the snake proprietor." See "Chicago's Irish Fair," *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), December 11, 1897.
The success of the Irish Fairs in New York City and Chicago in 1897 became the models for similar celebrations of this type in America. American Irish organizations throughout the country became the leading boosters for these events and in their zeal to host these small, localized fairs these venues emerged as the new stewards of representing Ireland's culture to her American brethren within the sphere of the fair paradigm. The monopoly once held by female British philanthropists regarding oversight of Irish exhibits in the United States ceased. Before the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis (an event that witnessed new forms of supervision regarding Ireland's display within the fairgrounds), several Irish Fairs throughout the nation altered how the Irish appeared at this world's fair. Irish-inspired fairs in San Francisco, California (1898 and 1902), Louisville, Kentucky (1902), and St. Louis, Misssouri (1903) helped to remove, in part, the benevolent-oriented atmosphere so prominent along the Midway Plaisance in Chicago in 1893 and created a "new" Ireland for the American Irish who visited these showcases of ethnic commodification within various American cities.

Part of the "new" Ireland emerged at the 1898 Irish Fair in San Francisco, held between August 20 and September 12 in Mechanics' Pavilion under the guidance of the Celtic Union, a collection of San Francisco's Irish societies. The *San Francisco Call* provided extensive coverage from start to finish of this event. The fair's intent was to raise funds for the construction of an Irish Hall that would become the primary meeting place for San Francisco's American Irish community.86 Reproductions in miniature of Ireland's prominent sites (such as Blarney Castle and Tara Hall), a map of Ireland containing soil from its thirty two counties, and an art gallery with paintings by Irish artists headlined this event.87 In addition, the fair organizers

86 "Celts to Hold a Big Fair," *San Francisco Call*, April 20, 1898; and "Preparations for an Irish Fair," *San Francisco Call*, May 6, 1898.
appointed "a special commissioner to Ireland" (Michael O'Donnell) to collect historic relics from Irish battlefields and other "famous places" that were to be eventually "raffled off at the fair."

Mr. O'Donnell's other responsibility was to ship back to the United States bottles of water from various rivers in Ireland (such as the Shannon, Killarney, and Boyne rivers) "to be used in making bottles of perfume, which will be disposed of at the fair." The linkage of Irish history and its natural resources to commercialism demonstrated that this fair's organizers were cognizant of the potential profit if they provided "authentic" Irish items for sale at this site. Not to be outdone, politicians of varying rankings helped to "open" the fair and show their Irish constituents in San Francisco that they supported this particular enterprise. Their attendance also added to the spectacle of these types of events due to their desire to make speeches and interact with the voting public thus ensuring that their names appeared in local newspapers.

To demonstrate the fair's validity to its visitors, organizers created an official emblem that consisted "of the American and Irish flags crossed" with a shamrock hovering in the space between the two banners. This insignia was "used on all stationary, documents, and, in fact, everything generally pertaining to the fair." The amalgam of these two national symbols suggested the close relationship of the United States with Ireland and intimated to those who

87 "Preparing for the Irish Fair," San Francisco Call, May 28, 1898. Other attractions included a "Limerick race scene, 'Rocky Road to Dublin,' Lakes of Killarney, Irish Houses of Parliament, Sir Walter Raleigh's plantation and other structures and pretty-booths, which will cost over $3000." See "Preparing the Irish Fair," San Francisco Call, June 5, 1898.

88 "Preparing for the Big Irish Fair," San Francisco Call, June 12, 1898. The "American booth" at this fair occupied a prominent place on the main floor and was "a reproduction of the Capitol dome at Washington[,]" This booth was "decorated with thousands of vari-colored electric lights and at the top the stars and stripes float proudly to the breeze." The existence and placement of the American booth reinforced to fair visitors that the American Irish community in the United States was politically loyal while it simultaneously celebrated its ethnic heritage within the public sphere. During the opening ceremonies, fair organizers went to great lengths to bolster the U.S.-Irish relationship when they had "Uncle Sam" give to the "Maid of Erin" a golden key to the nation. The Maid of Erin thanked Uncle Sam for this gift and she stated, in part, "I have breathed the air of freedom, [this key] will revive and animate me until the day comes when British oppression shall give way to Irish patriotism, and old glory and the harp and shamrock shall wave side by side as they have done to-night."

89 "Honor to the Land of the Shamrock," San Francisco Call, August 21, 1898.
80 "From Ireland's Soil," San Francisco Call, June 19, 1898.
viewed it that the bond between Americans, the Irish, and the descendants of the Irish in America was strong. The symbolism of this logo can also be read as a type of anti-nativist propaganda meant to answer up any questions about the loyalty and dedication of the Irish who resided in America.

The quest for "realness" reached a new height regarding items transported from Ireland to San Francisco for the Irish Fair. For example, fair organizers expended tremendous effort to demonstrate the legitimacy of the Irish soil sent to San Francisco for this event. News reports recounted the journey of this shipment as it departed Ireland and emphasized that it "came direct from Erin to an American port [Philadelphia] without stopping at any alien place" and that every container of soil "is sealed and will have the custom house receipts to attest to its authenticity, and will have the certificate of the examining committee in Philadelphia, and of the steamship
agents." The fervor of showing to the San Francisco public that the Irish Fair was indeed "legitimate" culminated in a copy of a certificate from federal authorities attesting to the genuineness of the Irish soil; it was printed in the *San Francisco Call* on August 5, 1898.\(^{92}\)

![Image: Sod from Erin's Ancient Shores, in *San Francisco Call*, August 5, 1898.](image)

Upon the arrival of the Irish soil in San Francisco, a parade organized by prominent American Irish citizens of the city (replete with a musical band and "gayly decorated carriages") escorted the turf to its new home near Mechanics' Pavilion.\(^{93}\) In fact, San Francisco's Irish sod

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\(^{91}\) "Irish Soil Will Soon Be Here," *San Francisco Call*, July 7, 1898.

\(^{92}\) "The First Consignment Arrives in the City Duly Certified," *San Francisco Call*, August 5, 1898.

\(^{93}\) "Irish Soil Welcomed," *San Francisco Call*, August 7, 1898.
even inspired a local man to write a poem called "At the Irish Fair" in which he stated: "Thank God for this one day of life on Irish soil again/The tears that dim my poor old eyes are sweet as summer rain;/To stand once more on Irish earth, to press it to my heart/It makes me like a child again, and tears unbidden start."\(^{94}\) One explanation as to why such extraordinary measures surrounded the press accounts regarding the "realness" of this soil is traceable to the Blarney Stone debacle that briefly haunted Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village and reputation at the Chicago WCE in 1893.\(^{95}\)

At the close of San Francisco's first Irish Fair, the San Francisco Call estimated that approximately 100,000 people visited this "novel exposition and that a good fat fund will be the result."\(^{96}\) To help boost profits, the organizers began to sell pieces of Irish sod wrapped with a green ribbon from the map of Ireland exhibit, which proved beneficial to their coffers.\(^{97}\) The treasurer for the Irish Fair, John Mulher, disclosed that this celebration raised approximately $9,500 and that these funds would contribute to the purchase of real estate that the Celtic Union hoped to purchase for the building of San Francisco's Irish Hall. Not surprisingly, the map of Ireland exhibit generated over $3,200 and proved the most popular attraction of the fair.\(^{98}\)

By the early twentieth century, the fervor and popularity of a city hosting an Irish Fair did not abate. In 1902, two of these fairs, one in San Francisco and the other in Louisville, Kentucky, garnered significant media coverage and succeeded in their objectives. The San

\(^{94}\) “At the Irish Fair,” San Francisco Call, September 9, 1898. This poem demonstrated the transnational connection felt by many within the American Irish community. Although most American Irish would never journey back to Éire, the opportunity to walk on Irish soil afforded them an opportunity to experience their cultural heritage. For the Irish exiles who attended this fair, the soil allowed them to reconnect with the land of their birth in both a physical and psychological sense.


\(^{96}\) “Irish Fair Ball,” San Francisco Call, September 12, 1898.

\(^{97}\) “Irish Turf,” San Francisco Call, August 30, 1898.

\(^{98}\) “Money for the Celts,” San Francisco Call, December 23, 1898.
Francisco fair occurred under the direction of the parishioners of St. Peter's Catholic Church "for the purpose of raising sufficient money to liquidate the church debt" while the Louisville fair collected funds for various branches of the AOH. Both relied on the allure of historic reproductions in miniature of famous Irish landmarks and sites; in San Francisco, visitors passed through a replica of the St. Lawrence Gate in Drogheda and saw a copy of Dublin's Malahide Castle among other sites, including a map of Ireland with "real" Irish sod from each of its thirty two counties "authenticated by the signature of the local clergyman," while those in Louisville climbed the steps of a faux Blarney Castle and kissed the famous stone rumored to grant loquaciousness to all who touched their lips to it. Organizers of both extravaganzas also hoped that their events would educate and inspire those American Irish who attended, especially its youth and individuals who never visited the Emerald Isle, to preserve notions of Irishness within the United States. The San Francisco Call concluded, "the fair will be a great educator to the young Irish-Americans who have never had the opportunity of treading the sod of the land of their ancestors" and the Kentucky Irish American proclaimed that their fair "taught many Americans who attended that the Irish people are not the people depicted by stage Irishman." Going further, an editorial in the Kentucky Irish American asserted, "There was no unpleasant feature about the fair" and "nothing about it [was] to be ashamed of." It asserted that this fair was unlike that found on the grounds of the WCE in Chicago in 1893 because "there were no midway shows of a doubtful character at [this] fair."

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99 “Novel Festival to Raise Funds,” San Francisco Call, January 20, 1902; and “Faugh A Ballagh,” Kentucky Irish American (Louisville, KY), October 25, 1902.
100 "Elaborate Preparations Being Made for the Grand Irish Fair," San Francisco Call, April 23, 1902; Rev. Peter C. Yorke, "A Word of Greeting from the Director," All Ireland (San Francisco, CA), May 1, 1902; "Irish Fair is Duly Opened and Pavilion is Thronged," San Francisco Call, May 2, 1902; and "Grand Success," Kentucky Irish American (Louisville, KY), November 1, 1902.
101 "Elaborate Preparations Being Made for the Grand Irish Fair"; "Fair Farewell," Kentucky Irish American (Louisville, KY), November 8, 1902; and "Farewell to the Fair," Kentucky Irish American (Louisville, KY), November 8, 1902. Like their Irish Fair predecessors, the 1902 San Francisco and Louisville fairs welcomed
The trend of the American Irish community in their journey to secure firmly the definition and public persona of Irishness continued with the 1903 Irish Fair in the Coliseum in St. Louis, Missouri. Organized by the AOH, its purpose was twofold. First, it hoped to raise money for the upcoming national convention of the AOH to occur in St. Louis in 1904. Second, part of the funds raised was to assist in the construction and maintenance of the "proposed Irish building" at the upcoming Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in the city slated for the next year. Under the oversight of Tim Hurst, a well-known American Irish baseball umpire and former professional league manager, this event, like others before it, incorporated similar exhibits to lure crowds. These included a thirty foot reproduction of Blarney Castle with stone, a traditional Irish cottage, miniature replica of the lakes of Killarney, a map of Ireland with "real" soil from the thirty-two counties of Ireland, a duplicate of Robert Emmett's grave, and various popular entertainments such as dancing, singing, riding in an Irish jaunting car, and watching various sporting events, including track and field. Lasting for approximately two weeks in April, this Irish Fair succeeded in attracting a large crowd and making headway with its two

numerous local and state politicians who delivered myriad public addresses in the hopes, not surprisingly, of securing the American Irish vote in these two cities. For example, the mayor of San Francisco (E. E. Schmitz) declared at the opening ceremonies of the 1902 Irish fair, "The Irish as represented here are indeed true and loyal Americans, true Californians, true San Franciscans." See "The Gates of St. Lawrence Tower Swing Back at the Mayor's Command," All Ireland (San Francisco, CA), May 2, 1902.  

102 "Irish Fair Starts Movement for World's Fair Building," St. Louis (MO) Republic, March 29, 1903. There was a dissenting Irish voice concerning the "appropriateness" of this Irish Fair. The pastor of Notre Dame Church in St. Louis, Father O'Leary, wrote an editorial for the St. Louis Republic in which he lambasted the organizers of this venture and provide his overall thoughts regarding the event. He argued that these fairs "prey upon our people" and its organizers "are not Irish but warts upon the social body, cold-blooded villains, capable of any profanity." Father O'Leary concluded his editorial by writing, "I hope that my humble protest will evoke an universal disapproval of such unworthy means of exhibiting Ireland before the American public. Even if every dollar realized from such a burlesque were devoted to the cause of Ireland, a thought foreign to its managers, I would not connive at the almost sacrilegious use of my country's name." See "Father O'Leary Opposed to Holding Irish Fair," St. Louis (MO) Republic, March 11, 1903. This editorial is the only evidence I was able to find of someone opposing this Irish Fair and questioning its intent.

103 "Irish Fair at Coliseum," St. Louis (MO) Republic, March 10, 1903; "Athletics at Irish Fair," St. Louis (MO) Republic, April 8, 1903; and "Fragment of Blarney Stone to be Shown at Irish Fair," St. Louis (MO) Republic, April 14, 1903.
objectives. This fair, unlike the others examined, was one of the earliest examples of an American Irish community taking an active interest in publically demonstrating that it desired some oversight of how Ireland appeared at a world's fair. As the St. Louis Republic reported of those individuals who organized this Irish Fair, many "felt that Ireland will not be wholly taken care of in the British exhibit [at the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition]. In fact, Irishmen of St. Louis and elsewhere, would much rather see their native land represented in an Irish building and entirely independent of British patronage." Although events did not transpire exactly as many Irish in America hoped when it came to Ireland's exhibit at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, changes concerning the organizational structure and oversight did occur, in part, because of the legacy and popularity of America's "Irish Fairs." This did not mean, however, that there was no controversy surrounding the Irish exhibit at the St. Louis world's fair.

Transatlantic Cooperation

The origin of Ireland's display at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in St. Louis, in part, resulted from the creation of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland (DATII) in 1899. As an official division of Parliament, the DATII became the primary British institution through which Irish farmers and workers interacted to discuss and resolve agrarian and industrial problems. Its creation resulted from the desire by those in Ireland and Britain who wanted to consolidate various agencies into one governmental entity to increase efficiency and transparency for topics related to Irish agricultural and industrial endeavors. Parliament provided the DATII an initial startup sum of £200,000 and "an annual

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104 "Irish Fair's Good Opening," St. Louis (MO) Republic, April 15, 1903; and "Irish Fair," Kentucky Irish American (Louisville, KY), May 2, 1903.
endowment of £166,000[.]" This organization consisted of a president, vice president, secretary, two assistant secretaries ("one in respect of Agriculture and one in respect of Technical Instruction"), and a small cadre of "Inspectors, Instructors, Officers, and Servants." Although the DATII adhered to the traditional imperial mindset that the Irish required "oversight" and "education" to prosper, an important component for its operational success relied on close contact with local governing bodies in Ireland to sort out on-the-ground concerns. However, the DATII was never meant to "become a body existing merely for the purpose of administering State subsidies[.]" Supporters of the DATII hoped that "a mutual confidence will steadily be engendered between the Department and those with whom it has, locally, to deal."  

The DATII inaugurated its involvement within the world's fair paradigm at the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition in Scotland by constructing the "Irish pavilion." The *Times* (London) reported that Ireland's exhibit "will attract universal attention by reason of its charming and characteristic exterior." Its designer, Mr. T. Manly Deane, based his plans for the pavilion's cottage on a Georgian-style country house in Malahide (near Dublin). Described as "a low double-fronted house, with white concrete walls, rounded bow windows, and thatched roof," the structure afforded visitors the opportunity to observe activities related to Irish industries. The educational and entertainment components of this display, in short, combined to give exhibition-goers a full appreciation of the DATII's work and endeavors. The *Times* concluded that the DATII "is to be congratulated on the result."  

Not all visitors to the "Irish pavilion," however, found it as quaint and accurate as reported in the press. Irish MP William Redmond penned his thoughts and impressions to *Freemans Journal* (Ireland) about this display: "It is, indeed, as trim and as comfortable looking a little building as well may be. There are, no doubt, some such

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107 *Times* (London), May 8, 1901.
buildings in Ireland, but they are not the buildings in which the people live, and the cottage of the Irish Section at Glasgow can never have been intended to give an idea of the average thatched cabin of Ireland." Redmond's writing contested the manufactured reality of the Irish exhibit and he argued that if all Irish homes looked like this one, "they [Irish peasants] would have nothing at all to complain of[.]" These two very different perspectives provide insight into the continued sociopolitical tensions between the Irish and British, especially when the presentation of Ireland at a world's fair occurred. The DATII, however, was not the only organization that expressed interest in managing an Irish exhibit at an international exhibition. In the years leading up to the 1904 St. Louis fair, two American Irish organizations formed with the intent of raising capital to take oversight regarding the management of Ireland at the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition.

By fall 1901, the Irish National World's Fair Association (INWFA) emerged as a local organization in St. Louis among prominent American Irish business and community leaders. Their goal was to generate money for the sole purpose of building an Irish exhibit along the St. Louis fairgrounds; initial estimates for this endeavor hovered at around $600,000. It was a goal of the INWFA to have American Irish from across the United States subscribe to this endeavor. The Indianapolis Journal (Indianapolis, IN) reported that the INWFA also planned to raise awareness of its efforts in various countries across the globe with the intent of garnering more funds: "subscriptions will be solicited from all people with Irish blood in their veins, and

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108 “By William Redmond, M.P.,” Freemans Journal (Ireland), June 14, 1901. Redmond concludes his diatribe of the "Irish pavilion" by writing: "if we had a Government really anxious to promote Irish industry, the Irish Section at Glasgow might have been far better, and might have exhibited agricultural produce, Irish machinery, and a host of other things of which Ireland may well boast...Considering England deliberately destroyed Irish industries, she might, if she had any sense of decency, and in view of the over-taxation of Ireland, return a sum sufficient to really encourage the revival of Irish trade."

109 "Irishman Prepare for World's Fair," St. Louis (MO) Republic, June 18, 1901; and "Sons of Erin Lay Plans for World's Fair Exhibit," St. Louis (MO) Republic, November 15, 1901.
from Ireland's friends and sympathizers." By November 1902, however, the INWFA struggled in its efforts to generate substantial funds; it announced a new and reduced fundraising goal of $250,000. In May 1903, a last ditch effort by the INWFA practically begged any and all American Irish to subscribe to this effort "for a credible display of Irish products at the World's Fair." In their final push to make their goal, the INWFA stated that it was not their intent to have "St. Louis men" retain control over this affair but rather, they hoped "all patriotic Irishmen the world over [could] have a part in the direction of the enterprise as soon as the movement is properly started." It was not a good sign that by late spring 1903 this organization still suffered from basic organizational and profit-generating deficiencies; its problems rested, in part, in the INWFA's steadfast desire to not cooperate with the British and the DATII when it came to matters concerning Ireland and the upcoming world's fair in St. Louis. In the end, the INWFA failed in its objectives and it rested with another American Irish-inspired organization, the Irish Exhibit Company, to salvage any remnants of an Irish exhibit at St. Louis that incorporated American Irish ideals within the public sphere of this fairground.

Two months after the INWFA's final appeal for financial support appeared in the press, the St. Louis Republic announced the formation of the Irish Exhibit Company with "capital stock, half paid, $200,000" for the purpose of demonstrating "manners and customs of Irish people." The president of this venture was Thomas F. Hanley, a St. Louis-born American Irish who co-owned a prominent plumbing business, the Hanley-Casey Company. Hanley gained wealth and prominence because his company was "one of the largest contracting plumbing concerns in the

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111 "Irish Association Organizes," St. Louis (MO) Republic, November 8, 1902.
112 "Big Irish Exhibit for World's Fair," St. Louis (MO) Republic, May 17, 1903. Part of the INWFA's appeal read, "Ireland should be represented, according to Irish thinking, as an independent factor in the world's progress and display its individuality by its work, natural, creative and inherent and most particularly it should not again be forced upon the world, as it was exploited at the Chicago World's Fair."
world" and Hanley-Casey installed the majority "of the plumbing and sewerage contracts of the
Columbian and Buffalo expositions[.]") His initial connection with the Louisiana Purchase
International Exposition included the installation of "plumbing, water mains, sewerage and steam
fittings" along the St. Louis fairgrounds.114

As the Intermountain Catholic (Salt Lake City, UT) reported, Hanley's interest in the
Irish exhibit at St. Louis arose after he learned of a "syndicate of Jewish speculators" who
proposed an Irish village with camels and meant it to be an amalgam with a Street of Cairo
display and "a slum beer garden." His protests resulted in the rejection of the "syndicate's"
efforts to acquire this concession and the governing board eventually granted to Hanley the
contract for the Irish exhibit. Recognizing the difficult task before him, Hanley and many of his
close friends incorporated the Irish Exhibit Company and personally provided the initial capital
required for this undertaking. After the formation of the Irish Exhibit Company, Hanley traveled
to Ireland to begin the search for appropriate exhibits for the Irish display at St. Louis. Once in
Ireland, Hanley recognized the utility of making the DATII a co-sponsor; in fact, he presented
his case to the House of Commons for a joint exhibition of the DATII and the Irish Exhibit
Company. Ultimately, Hanley's and other's efforts succeeded and official authorization for a
combined Irish display materialized.115

Known officially as the "Irish Industrial Exhibit" and placed along the amusement-
oriented section of the fairgrounds (known as "the Pike"), visitors to the 1904 St. Louis world's

114 "How the Irish Exhibition Was Started," Intermountain Catholic (Salt Lake City, UT), November 12,
1904.

115 Ibid. Less than one month before the official dedication of the Irish Industrial Exhibit, an article
appeared in the Ulster Herald (Ireland) by Manager M. J. Murphy. He wrote that this Irish display "promises to be
the most dignified and praiseworthy representation that Ireland has ever been given at any international exposition"
and that the national character of the Irish and their heritage "will not be sacrificed on the altar of catch-penny
commercialism. The life of Ireland is at stake. Industries can save it." See Ireland at the World's Fair," Ulster
Herald (Ireland), May 14, 1904.
fair could "explore" all of Ireland for $1.25. The rationale regarding why the Irish were along
the Pike was threefold. First, exposition rules stated that "national pavilions" were only granted
to autonomous nations; since Ireland was not part of this classification schema, it could not
display its goods in the traditional way along the main grounds. Second, Irish exhibitors could
not afford to cover expenses if they exhibited their items separately within the various sections of
the fair; organizers believed that Irish items would be overwhelmed within multiple display areas
thus reducing their overall visibility and allure to visitors. Finally, the contract granted to the
Irish Exhibit Company by the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company allowed Ireland's exhibit
a prominent place along the Pike and afforded Irish industries a holistic showcase of its myriad
articles and historic reproductions. The cost for constructing this venue was approximately $105,000 for six separate
buildings. On June 11, 1904, the official opening ceremonies for Ireland on the Pike occurred
in the Irish Theatre, a prominent feature of the Irish Industrial Exhibit. On hand for this event,
aside from the general public, were numerous individuals from the Irish Exhibit Company,
including Thomas F. Hanley, over twenty members of the Advisory Committee who oversaw
various components of construction and implementation of the exhibit, representatives of the
DATII, including T. P. Gill (secretary), and numerous local political and religious leaders, such
as the mayor of St. Louis (Rolla Wells) and the Archbishop of St. Louis (John J. Glennon). In

116 John Wesley Hanson, *The Official History of The Fair St. Louis, 1904: The Sights and Scenes of the
Louisiana Purchase Exposition: A Complete Description of the Magnificent Palaces, Marvelous Treasures and
Scenic Beauties of the Crowning Wonder of the Age* (Chicago: Monarch Book Company, 1904), 109. General
admission to the Irish Industrial Exhibit cost 25 cents; admission to the Irish Theater was 50 cents; and other
attractions within cost, in total, 50 cents. For a brief overview of the Irish Industrial Exhibit with emphasis on the
exchange of correspondence between its organizers, see Homan Potterton, "Letters from St Louis," *Irish Arts
117 Ireland's Exhibit at the Fair. Formal Opening and Dedication. (Dublin: Department of Agriculture and
Technical Instruction for Ireland, 1904), 4-5.
118 David R. Francis, *The Universal Exposition of 1904* (St. Louis, MO: Louisiana Purchase Exposition
Company, 1913), 110.
addition, David R. Francis, the president of the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, attended and made a lengthy address.\textsuperscript{119}

The noticeable absence of female leadership linked to both the Irish Exhibit Company and the Irish Industrial Exhibit presents a unique juxtaposition when compared to the activities of Alice Hart and Lady Aberdeen at the 1893 WCE in Chicago. In the relatively short time that elapsed between the WCE and the St. Louis fair there was a significant gender shift regarding the oversight of Irishness in the public sphere at a U.S.-based exhibition. This change occurred for several reasons. Most American Irish organizations were fraternal in character; this does not mean that women were not part of these societies, but usually they held auxiliary status.\textsuperscript{120} The success of the Irish "villages" at the WCE ignited interest for some American Irish men to exert agency over the display of Irishness in St. Louis in 1904 because they did not want to appear "weak" in the Atlantic world if female philanthropists had control of this type of exhibit again. By the start of the twentieth century, the American Irish male community experienced political and economic gains that fostered notions, particularly for those well-to-do men in St. Louis, such as Thomas F. Hanley, that in order to capture the respect of their non-Irish peers, the portrayal of the Irish at the 1904 fair required "strong" (i.e., male) guidance. Finally, when contemplating the role of the DATII, one must not overlook the all-male structure of its leaders, both those appointed by the Department or locally-based county councils.\textsuperscript{121} The dominance of men in DATII posts could not have gone unnoticed by the leaders of the Irish Exhibit Company in America.

\textsuperscript{119} "Irish Industrial Exhibit Opened," \textit{St. Louis (MO) Republic}, June 12, 1904.
\textsuperscript{120} For example, the Ladies Auxiliary of the AOH formed in 1894 and "was quite successful in attracting members. By 1906, when the male Hibernians numbered 126,347, the Ladies Auxiliary claimed a membership of 48,868." See Michael F. Funchion, ed., \textit{Irish American Voluntary Organizations} (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), 57.
\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland. Fourth Annual General Report of the Department, 1903-1904} (Dublin: Alexander Thom & Co., 1905), 14-17.
Similar in intent to the Irish "villages" at the WCE, the Irish Industrial Exhibit's purpose was to demonstrate the advancement of Irish industries and provide a type of nostalgic remembrance for the Irish and American Irish communities who lived in the United States. The creation of a manufactured "Irish" reality that tugged at the heartstrings of visitors to the Irish section of the St. Louis fairgrounds proved lucrative with over $76,000 in profits generated. The ultimate aim of this display was to foster American commercial interest in Ireland. T. P. Gill, the secretary of the DATII, believed that an infusion of American capital would ensure the future of the Irish "race" and because the United States had "the greatest business people," their financial ingenuity could rejuvenate an economically depressed Ireland. Ultimately, Gill hoped that a direct outgrowth of the Irish exhibit at St. Louis would be the catalyst for the formation of a "corporation or body, for the application of capital and enterprise to the development of resources and industrial opportunities in Ireland."

The goal of the Irish Industrial Exhibit in St. Louis, unlike previous Irish displays at other exhibitions, introduced a new and unique dynamic within the Anglo-American-Irish transatlantic relationship because an official department of Parliament, the DATII, encouraged a type of outsourcing of the economic problems associated with the affairs of the Empire, specifically, the Irish question. Although Mrs. Hart and Lady Aberdeen encouraged Americans at the WCE to purchase Irish-made goods, their activities were part of private enterprise and not directly linked to the policies of Parliament. The DATII, however, encouraged large-scale investment by American business to alleviate or potentially solve Irish domestic concerns regarding fiscal

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123 *Ireland's Exhibit at the Fair*, 10. In the November 5, 1904 edition of *Harper's Weekly*, Irish literary figure and DATII employee, T.W. Rolleston, described the efforts of the Irish Industrial Exhibit as providing "clear signs that the Irish nation, so fascinating in all its incompleteness and uns success, is on the way to play a distinct and worthy part in the civilization and thought of the world[.]" He argued, "Ireland is waking up; and with her remarkable natural resources and facilities, and a population who have become touched with the industrial spirit, this country is likely, we imagine, to attract capital and enterprise to its further development." See T.W. Rolleston, "Progress in Ireland as Shown at the Fair," *Harper's Weekly*, November 5, 1904.
matters. A DATII publication described the Irish Industrial Exhibit at St. Louis as a project "to draw attention rather to the possibilities than to the realized actualities of [Ireland]" and ultimately "material resources of the country lend themselves more readily to representation in an exhibition." The DATII specifically acknowledged that Ireland "is waiting for the touch of capital and enterprise to rouse it from its long sleep into industrial life and activity." This surprising statement implied that Parliament passed the baton of Irish difficulties, in part, to Irish descendants in the United States. If Parliament was unable or unwilling to awaken Ireland from "its long sleep," maybe America, in tandem with a blossoming transnational marketplace partially focused upon Irishness, could. This does not mean that Parliament abandoned Ireland but rather, by the early twentieth century it began to reinterpret its role and responsibility with the Emerald Isle and this world's fair afforded the Empire a unique opportunity for doing so.

In its coverage of the St. Louis exposition, the Times sent a special correspondent to provide readers with a snapshot of the fairgrounds. The fourth installment of this series concerned the Irish exhibit along the Pike. The article reported, "The idea underlaying the exhibits has been to show the actual industrial conditions in Ireland--everything that could illustrate her resources and her general progress--and thus convince American and Irish businessmen that the industrial spirit of the country is now advancing, with a view of attracting the investment of capital." In fact, the special correspondent reiterated on numerous occasions the need for the importation of American revenue into Ireland for fiscal rejuvenation purposes. This piece concluded by calling the Irish Industrial Exhibit an "intelligent effort" that was "unique in

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its character" and "one which reflects much credit upon the organizers, whether in Ireland or in [the United States]."\textsuperscript{125}

After the opening of the Irish Industrial Exhibit, DATII employee and Irish literary figure, T. W. Rolleston, wrote about the importance of history to Ireland and its people, particularly as this related to the Irish display along the Pike. He opined that most nations discarded celebration of their history in the hopes of appearing "up to date" and "workmanlike" while at the world's fair but Ireland, in contrast, venerated its history. He wrote, "In Ireland the history of the past influences the present perhaps more than in the case of any other European people" and that the Irish are "more disposed to use history as a stimulus and as a lesson in application to the needs of the living present."\textsuperscript{126} Part of "the living present" for the Irish Industrial Exhibit concerned an array of structures meant to capture the essence of Ireland's people, culture, and history.

Historic reproductions abounded within the Irish Industrial Exhibit. Visitors entered through a copy of the St. Lawrence Gate at Drogheda. Once inside, they could enter a replica of the McKinley family cottage from County Antrim furnished with actual items from Ireland; from this dwelling, "the great-grandfather of the late President of the United States was taken and hanged for participation in the rebellion of 1798." Other prominent sites included Blarney Castle, Cormac's Chapel from the Rock of Cashel in County Tipperary, a round tower, and the old Parliament House of Dublin (which, in St. Louis, housed a restaurant). In addition, the display of historic Irish relics proved popular and included items associated with the United Irishmen, such as a musket and violin, the death masks of Wolf Tone and Robert Emmet, and various

\textsuperscript{125} "The St. Louis Exhibition," \textit{Times} (London), September 15, 1904. The other segments of this series appeared in the \textit{Times} on June 29; July 2; September 10; and December 20.

possessions that once belonged to Daniel O'Connell, including medals, caps, a writing implement, a candlestick, and a letter written by "The Liberator" himself.\footnote{Irish Industrial Exhibition: World's Fair, St. Louis 1904: Handbook and Catalogue of Exhibits Part III, 11-12, 46-48.}
To add to the manufactured reality of the Irish Industrial Exhibit at St. Louis, native Irish workers arrived to demonstrate their skills to visitors with the usual cottage industries of lace-making, weaving, and embroidery offered as a type of spectacle to show that the Irish were indeed "true" craftsmen. Over 130 "authentic" Irish "made up the living features" of this display in which "233 varying exhibits were shown, covering a broad field of endeavor."\(^{128}\) The *Intermountain Catholic* also reported that along with the arrival of the Irish contingent of workers for the fair, "fifteen tons of the 'old sod' itself, turf taken from the Emerald Isle and over

\(^{128}\) Hanson, *The Official History of The Fair St. Louis*, 1904, 437.
which the green flag is to wave when it is placed on the grounds of the St. Louis exposition" would prove a popular attraction for the sons and daughters of Erin. \(^{129}\) The trend of transporting people and soil from Ireland to a world's fair in the United States in order to recreate a "legitimate" experience for visitors, particularly for the American Irish community, to this exhibit reinforced the notion once again that the public sphere could become a place for nostalgic remembrance and artificial ethnic memory construction. \(^{130}\)

To reinforce the "realness" of their ephemeral environment and to prove Ireland could engage in activities of a cultural and not simply industrial nature, the organizers of this exhibit went to great lengths to secure the services of Irish actors from the Irish National Theatre in Dublin to perform in the Irish Theatre at the Irish Industrial Exhibit. Plays by William Butler Yeats, Edward Martyn, and other Irish dramatists added to the allure of this ensemble and its productions. \(^{131}\) This Irish-themed showcase at St. Louis once again demonstrated that visitors could engage in pseudo-overseas travel without leaving the country while simultaneously soaking in all that the Emerald Isle offered. \(^{132}\)

Although the Irish section along the Pike at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition developed into one of the most popular attractions along the fairgrounds, it was not devoid of controversy. For example, the *Gaelic American* (a leading American Irish nationalist-oriented newspaper in

\(^{129}\) "Resurgence of the Island of Saints," *Intermountain Catholic* (Salt Lake City, UT), May 7, 1904.

\(^{130}\) Colin Graham explores the idea of authenticity and its connections to Irish culture. He writes, "to chase the authentic is to trace the origins of something that will always let us know that it has another origin further back" and "authenticity has affected the basic discourses of Irish culture in its prevalence, which has given it a status near to that of a shared currency; a focus on authenticity takes us to the verge of seeing Irish material history as an unravelling backwards in time, detecting signs which plough against the lineairties we know from political history." See Colin Graham, "Blame it on Maureen O'Hara': Ireland and the Trope of Authenticity," *Cultural Studies* 15, no. 1 (2001): 60-61.

\(^{131}\) "Resurgence of the Island of Saints."

\(^{132}\) Part of the attraction of world's fairs revolved around their ability to offer visitors the chance to explore exotic and foreign landscapes, cultures, and peoples without arduous and expensive travel. These venues emerged as conduits for connecting "ordinary" Americans to the rest of the world; in short, the globalization associated with the exhibits at world's fairs provided expanded sociopolitical linkages for myriad peoples and countries. For a discussion of how this expanded consumer behavior influenced the United States between the end of the U.S. Civil War and the conclusion of World War I, see Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium*, 177-179.
the United States) reported on a series of events involving a troupe of Irish actors from the Irish National Theatre who refused to perform in the Irish Theatre at St. Louis after they witnessed a production involving the stage Irishman. The Irish thespians who objected included J. Dudley Diggs, Gerald B. Ewing, Mary T. Quinn, Josephine Glynn, Patrick J. Kelly, and C. O'Brien Teeling Caulfiel who journeyed from Dublin "and were brought over with the Irish contingent just before the Fair opened."133 According to a letter they submitted to the press, the Irish group claimed that they received assurances before leaving Ireland that the stage Irishman would not appear in any form in the Irish Theatre at St. Louis. After witnessing "Pat Tuohy (who did not come out of Ireland with the World's Fair party)" perform as a stage Irishman who told "a series of vulgar jokes" including "how his brother Pat was mistaken for a monkey" these actors chose to protest.134 In an interview with one of the Irish actors, Miss Quinn, shortly after this event, she told a reporter: "Were we to countenance such a disgraceful travesty on the Irish race we could not hold up our heads upon returning to Dublin. We came over here [St. Louis] to play the Irish poetic dramas...Now we are told that the [Americans] don't want plays of that kind...We are exiles from the only Irish soil in America."135

The Irish troupe contended that their nationalist leanings regarding Irish politics resulted in their firing or suspension from the Irish Theatre. They claimed that the DATII "is an English Government institution, manned by Tories, Unionists, English and Scotch officials" who desired to mock and defame Irish character under the guise of assisting Ireland through industrial revival at the St. Louis world's fair. In addition, they laid blame at the feet of the Irish Exhibit Company and Advisory Committee because of the relative inaction of these agencies in halting further

134 "Protest From the Irish Players," Gaelic American (New York, NY), July 9, 1904 [emphasis in original].
135 "Stay Away From The Show."
portrayals of the Irish on stage in derogatory ways.\textsuperscript{136} The \textit{Gaelic American} demonstrated a sympathetic mindset when it came to these Irish actors, and when they first reported on the story they urged the organizers of the Irish Industrial Exhibit to "make a radical change in their methods" of portraying Ireland and that, ultimately, the Irish display along the Pike "should be given a wide berth by all self-respecting Irish people visiting the Fair." It continued, "Perhaps even measures of a vigorous kind may have to be adopted to put an end to a nuisance. The fact that the managers are Irish only makes the necessity for some kind of action all the more necessary."\textsuperscript{137}

The Advisory Committee did respond to the allegations made by the Irish actors and asserted: "these attacks are without true foundation, and are a reflection on the Irish-American citizens of St. Louis...we [members of the committee] feel that we are sufficiently qualified to judge of, and to maintain what is due to the respect and dignity of the Irish character." They called the performances in the Irish Theatre "refined and attractive entertainments" and that the Irish Industrial Exhibit, overall, "is the most important incident for the advancement of Irish industry, for the enlightenment of the American people with respect to the circumstances of Ireland, and for the honor of the race from which we derive our origin[.]."\textsuperscript{138} The Irish performers refused to apologize for their actions and reiterated "they would not take part in performances where the Irish race is burlesqued."\textsuperscript{139} In an effort to quash negative publicity brought on by this incident, the management of the Irish Industrial Exhibit agreed to pay the

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\textsuperscript{136} "Protest From the Irish Players."
\textsuperscript{137} "Stay Away From The Show."
\textsuperscript{138} "World's Fair Theatricals," \textit{Gaelic American} (New York, NY), June 25, 1904.
\textsuperscript{139} "Refuse to Apologize," \textit{Gaelic American} (New York, NY), June 25, 1904.
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salaries of those actors who took umbrage and provided transportation for them back to Ireland.\textsuperscript{140}

Although the bad press associated with Irish actors at the Irish exhibit at St. Louis lasted only a brief time, this event connected to the larger sociohistorical process of ethnic commodification that occurred along myriad fairgrounds when disputes arose over who controlled Irishness. This incident helped to raise questions regarding who was the final arbiter on what "was Irish" and what "was not Irish." Although a small group of native-born or "real" Irish raised a ruckus about the use of the stage Irishman at St. Louis, it fell to mostly American Irish organizers, such as Thomas F. Hanley and other members of the Advisory Committee, to conclude that the activities that occurred within the Irish Theatre at the Irish Industrial Exhibit were, in fact, wholesome and upheld the objectives outlined by both the Irish Exhibit Company and the DATII. This episode demonstrated that the influence wielded by the American Irish organizers and the DATII along the St. Louis fairgrounds was greater than that of the Irish performers; Ireland remained a subordinate partner in the showcase of Irishness at yet another world's fair. The two main promoters of Ireland's display at St. Louis recognized the potential, both financial and cultural, regarding a respectful and well-organized exhibit along the Pike. The prestige of its Irish supporters and American Irish organizers, likewise, was at stake. As the \textit{Omaha Daily Bee} (Omaha, NE) intimated regarding the joint operation of this Irish-themed industrial endeavor at St. Louis, it "was the only way in which a national representation of

\footnote{\textsuperscript{140}"Protest From the Irish Players." On their journey back to Ireland, the Irish actors became minor celebrities in New York City after prominent American Irish invited them to a meeting at the Vanderbilt Hotel on June 29, 1904 to discuss what transpired along the Pike at the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition. An article in the \textit{Gaelic American} reported: "It was the unanimous opinion of those present that these three young Gaels, the product of the new Ireland, were entitled to the gratitude and admiration of all self-respecting Irishmen for the manly and dignified stand which they took and adhered to; and that the management should be made to feel the resentment of Irishmen throughout the country for their high-handed action[.]"] See "The Irish Actors Upheld," \textit{Gaelic American} (New York, NY), July 9, 1904.
Ireland's arts, industries and history could be assembled under one roof[...]. The American Irish who contributed vast sums in the hopes of securing some fiscal stability for Ireland, and, perhaps, themselves relied on the cooperation of the DATII in order to remain the stewards of defining and legitimizing Irish ethnicity in the United States.

The success of the Irish Industrial Exhibit at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition met the goals of the Irish Exhibit Company and the DATII of being a "great national advertisement for Ireland[...]." Although the co-sponsored Irish display along the Pike did not solve all of Ireland's financial problems, it did, in part, help to renew interest among many within the American Irish community of Ireland's plight. This did not mean that the American Irish forgot or ignored Ireland in the years before this exposition but rather, the St. Louis world's fair, because of its scope and the prolific press coverage it received, reached myriad Irish enclaves in the United States just as it did during the WCE in Chicago in 1893. In late October 1904, shortly before this fair closed, the Kentucky Irish American appropriately summed up how most individuals who visited the Irish Industrial Exhibit felt: "This great exhibit has done much to elevate the standing of the Irish in this country, and has disabused the minds of many thousands of the visitors of the opinion that the Irish were not up in all the arts and industries of the present age."143

Conclusion

By the late nineteenth century, the use of exhibitions as "imperial spaces" to bolster notions of empire remained prevalent. With the creation of various philanthropic organizations,

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141 "M'Kinley's Irish Home at the World's Fair," Omaha (NE) Daily Bee, July 17, 1904.
142 Irish Industrial Exhibition: World's Fair, St. Louis 1904 Part II Handbook and Catalogue to Industrial Section (Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, 1904), 5.
143 "Irish Village," Kentucky Irish American (Louisville, KY), October 22, 1904.
such as the DIF and the IIA, that aimed to uplift the Irish peasantry through the revival of cottage-based industries and market Irish-made goods to a global audience, the objectives outlined by imperial mothers, such as Alice Hart and Lady Aberdeen, helped to construct the framework for marketing Irishness at world's fairs. The first large-scale endeavor for the commodification of the Irish occurred at the 1888 Irish Exhibition in London and its success helped to generate momentum for two Irish "villages" at the 1893 WCE in Chicago. By the mid-1890s, the American Irish community began to exert renewed interest and influence regarding the presentation of Irish history and culture, specifically through myriad Irish Fairs throughout most regions in the United States. When the time came for organizing the Irish section of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in St. Louis, two American Irish organizations emerged to take control over this concession. Although only one of these, the Irish Exhibit Company, succeeded in raising the necessary funds, it also recognized that the cooperation of Parliament, through the DATII, would ease potential difficulties of gathering "true" Irish displays and workers for the St. Louis fair.

As this chapter shows, the shifting agency regarding who controlled Irish exhibits demonstrated that these areas were not static "imperial spaces" where the British hegemon simply exerted its influence. Instead, the commodification of Irishness emerged as a legitimate factor within the British Empire and the American Irish community for how Ireland appeared at various public displays from the late 1880s to 1904. The popularity and fiscal success that these heritage-inspired sites generated helped to create a transatlantic exhibition environment that supported the display of Irish people and culture as a commodity for sale. The fairground marketplace emerged as an important conduit for showing that Irish agency remained constrained and contested. In the wake of the 1904 world's fair, the Irish eventually stepped
forth to claim their place as the "rightful" guardians of Irishness. As the following chapter demonstrates, however, the template for displaying Ireland to the public within the exhibition paradigm was not an easy one to change, especially when Irish "village" visitors expected that quaintness and simplicity define Ireland at international exhibitions.
Chapter Four

"Owning Irish": Transition and Troublesome Tradition

Introduction

The popularity and success of the Irish Industrial Exhibit along the Pike at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri helped to bolster interest in the Irish Fair tradition within the United States.\(^1\) The transformation of public space into temporary landscapes where ethnic commodification occurred permitted various groups, particularly the Irish in America, to assert agency regarding how these respective communities appeared to each other in the public sphere. The "performance" of heritage at various Irish Fairs in America provided a form of nostalgic remembrance and communal solidarity for the organizers and visitors of Irish lineage who participated, in one form or another, at these sites. These areas became conduits for the American Irish to claim publicly their ownership of Ireland's history and culture. In a sense, the Irish Fair permitted the Irish in America to re-imagine their past, present, and future while simultaneously it provided a venue to affirm their sociocultural hegemony among immigrant groups, especially in American cities.

Efforts to transport the Irish Industrial Exhibit from St. Louis to Madison Square Garden in New York City for an Irish Fair proved elusive due to customs regulations. The Ancient

\(^1\) In the years preceding the First World War, at least half a dozen large scale Irish Fairs occurred in various cities across the nation and included New York City (1905, 1906, and 1908), Louisville, Kentucky (1907), and Chicago, Illinois (1913 and 1914).
Order of Hibernians (AOH), therefore, took the lead and organized an Irish-themed industrial exposition which lasted approximately three weeks from late September to early October 1905. Funds collected contributed to "the erection of the great Hibernian Institute at One Hundred and Sixteenth street and Fifth avenue." 2 Although the AOH hoped to raise revenue for the construction of their Institute, it was also an aim of the 1905 Irish Industrial Exposition in New York City "to render all the assistance and encouragement within [the organizer's] power to [advance] the industrial revival in Ireland produced by the Gaelic movement." 3 On its surface, this event appeared to mimic the actions of Britain's imperial mothers and their efforts at the WCE that concerned Ireland. However, the AOH, unlike Alice Hart and Lady Aberdeen, always championed an independent Ireland. Patrick A. Moynihan, a contributor to the souvenir program for this New York exposition, wrote, "Irish nationality and English nationality are not the same thing, but two separate things, and that they cannot be forced into the same lines of development" and, ultimately, "the disfigurement and degradation of a neighbor is stupid and criminal, and will not be tolerated by a people alive to the sacred value of Nationality." 4

In a national call to AOH members, New York AOH president, Edward T. McCrystal, implored his constituents to support the efforts of the newly formed Irish Industrial Exposition and Amusement Company to showcase Ireland's "renewed vitality [and] national hope." He called on all AOH brethren to champion the industrial revival of Ireland when he wrote, "No nation, ancient or modern, has within so short a period given such evidence of recuperative power. Rising from a condition of industrial decay and political helplessness [Ireland] has taken

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2 "Big Irish Fair Now Assured," Evening World (New York, NY), April 1, 1905.
3 "The Irish Exhibition in New York," Sacred Heart Review (Boston, MA), September 9, 1905.
4 "Souvenir Official Program Irish Industrial Exposition. Madison Square Garden. Sept. 18th to Oct. 7th 1905 New York City, n.p. In this same publication, Michael Fox, a contributor who focused upon "Irish Industrial Possibilities," wrote, "we must always remember that Ireland's possibilities increase with the removal of her disabilities until she becomes a nation free and able to take care of her own interests...From the beginning, England's purpose has been to make Ireland a beggar and keep her a slave.[.]"
on a new lease of life and developed a spirit of self-reliance, self-sustainment and independence which inspires us with confidence and hope, and which merits the cordial sympathy and practical encouragement of her exiled children." Referring to unchecked Irish emigration as a "cancerous ailment" that would ultimately destroy the "motherland," McCrystal proposed that this exposition would help to stem the tide of excessive migration from Ireland and thereby begin to replenish its agrarian and industrial workforce whom he believed was the lifeblood of Ireland. He asserted that the St. Louis fair did not do enough to advertise Irish industries and handicraft but that an event of a similar nature in New York City would raise much needed awareness because this metropolis, after all, was the commercial hub of the United States where important merchants did business. 

Following the precedent set by previous fairs, the AOH and the Irish Industrial Exposition and Amusement Company relied on the familiar formula of a manufactured Irishness inside of Madison Square Garden. A replica of Blarney Castle with an interior that provided museum space for Irish relics, such as the death mask of the late eighteenth century revolutionary Robert Emmet and the first Bible translated into Irish, were popular attractions. The authenticity of the Emmet death mask was "vouched for by Thomas Matthew Ryan, the secretary of Daniel O'Connell, the 'Liberator.'" In addition, "real" Irish workers who made lace and weaved traditional Connemara rugs delighted audiences with their demonstrations. Attendees could stroll across "authentic" soil from each county in Ireland in their wistful attempt to "return home," if only for a brief time. Rides in Irish jaunting cars, dance and jig contests, "moving

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5 "Irish Exposition," Intermountain and Colorado Catholic (Salt Lake City, UT), August 12, 1905. In addition, a souvenir program for the exposition likewise intimated that the "high hopes entertained" from the Irish display at the St. Louis fair were not properly realized because "exhibitors were handicapped by the location of the Irish exhibit" along the Pike but that the 1905 New York City endeavor would create more opportunity for the sale of Irish goods because this site was the commercial capital of the nation. See Souvenir Official Program Irish Industrial Exposition. Madison Square Garden. Sept. 18th to Oct. 7th New York City, n.p.
picture films" that showed various events in Ireland, such as the opening ceremony of the 1903 Cork Exposition, and various other entertainments, including "A Trip Through Ireland" in an automobile, added to the allure of this three week long exhibition extravaganza.  

Not surprisingly, prominent political and religious figures attended and spoke at the opening ceremony. New York City Mayor George B. McClellan, Jr. stated that one of the goals of this display was "to teach the younger Irishmen of the United States the capabilities, the possibilities, and the necessities of the parent land, giving them a real and practical knowledge of Ireland[.]" Catholic Archbishop John Murphy Farley struck a similarly reflective chord when he stated, "Ours is, I think, the only land, ours the only nation, which could have endured the relentless oppression which we have endured for the past 250 years and still make such a splendid showing as can be seen here to-night." Fairgoers agreed that this event made "a splendid showing" because the AOH collected over $11,000 in revenue. 

By the early twentieth century, however, the display of Irishness was not simply limited to short-run expositions in various cities in the United States. In the wake of the multiple and well publicized Irish "village" exhibits at world's fairs and Irish Fairs in America, Irish entrepreneurs in Dublin showed considerable interest in hosting an international exhibition in their capital. The result was the 1907 Irish International Exhibition in Dublin which opened in early May for a six month engagement. This event's purpose was "to promote the development

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7 "Irish Fair Opened by Mayor M'Clellan."

8 "Report of Irish Fair," Gaelic American (New York, NY), September 14, 1907. The delay in reporting official profits (which amounted to $11, 403.79) concerned litigation between a few concessionaires and organizers of the fair.
of Ireland's agricultural and industrial resources along modern scientific lines [and] to improve the productivity and standard of living in rural Ireland by providing suitable farming and industrial education to the rural people." By bettering domestic living standards, organizers hoped to stall excessive emigration from Ireland and to take the reins of controlling the global image associated with Irishness, especially how its people, culture, products, and history appeared to the non-Irish communities around the world. In the process of Irish business leaders attempting to wrest control of how Ireland "appeared" within the public sphere of an international exhibition, they encountered challenges linked to exhibiting their society as more than a simple and idyllic agrarian stronghold.

It is the purpose of this chapter to examine and analyze this period of transition that emerged within Ireland during the early twentieth century regarding the presentation of Irishness at international sites and the effect of this process in the immediate aftermath of the 1907 Irish International Exhibition. The first part of this chapter explores the origin of Dublin's most prominent world's fair, its organizational schema, the contentious and public debate between nationalists who despised this site and the exhibition's supporters who believed this venue could help rescue a struggling Irish economy. In addition, it examines the display of a County Tyrone-based soap company's reproduced Irish cottage that became the catalyst for a commercialized interpretation of Irishness for decades to follow. The second section compares and contrasts two interpretations of ethnic commodification regarding Irishness in 1908 in the United States at an Irish Fair in New York City and at the Franco-British Exhibition in London. The amalgamation of entertainment, education, commercialism, and national pride exuded by both of these events

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within the transatlantic world demonstrated the complexity and malleability of an Irish identity, particularly for the Irish and American Irish communities.

An Irish Exhibition

By the early twentieth century, the success of international exhibitions in Europe and the United States was well known. The influx of money to major urban environments of the Atlantic world, including London, Paris, Chicago, and St. Louis, remained an ever present reminder to potential fair organizers around the globe. In Ireland, a small group of Irish entrepreneurs who owned hotels, restaurants, railways, and other businesses in and around Dublin believed that hosting an international exhibition could act as the catalyst for rejuvenating Irish industries within the global marketplace, stall the emigration of young Irish workers, bolster and temporarily diversify a weak Dublin economy, and yield profits to its organizers. In January 1903, the editor of the *Irish Daily Independent*, Mr. W.F. Dennehy, wrote a series of articles in support of Dublin hosting an international exhibition. In the aftermath of these writings, steps for arranging a Dublin fair came from the activities associated with an Irish Industrial Conference held in Dublin in February 1903 and the subsequent formation of committees tasked with creating an Institute of Commerce and Industry and launching interest in the exhibition itself. The Irish Industrial Conference "was the first time that Irishmen from all parts of the country had met to organise, to educate, to co-operate, and to fight for supremacy in the industrial arena." The majority of this conference's participants agreed that Irishmen must take the lead in organizing a Dublin exhibition and that external "appeals to sympathy" for Ireland
would cripple the endeavor and make the Irish appear weak and unable to manage their own affairs.10

After nearly one year, however, it became apparent to the Exhibition Committee that sustained governmental patronage would not be forthcoming. In response, the creation of a guarantee fund commenced in 1904 and an official monetary appeal to the Irish public occurred. This document, written by the Exhibition Committee, hoped that "all Irishmen and friends of Ireland [would] join in the guarantee, and so enable [the committee] to raise the necessary funds for carrying out their great enterprise." To entice public support, the committee promised, "All the work at the Exhibition will, as far as possible, be executed of Irish material by Irish workmen, [with] the primary object of those who are engaged in this enterprise [to be] the advancement of Irish industry[.]." Additionally, the committee asserted in its plea that a Dublin exhibition would strengthen global awareness of Irish industries and advertise to the greatest extent possible native Irish products for global consumption. In response, the formation of various fundraising groups led by prominent Irish officials in Belfast and London arose and added to the increased prestige associated with this undertaking. Within a few months, leading Irish businessmen and their companies subscribed considerable sums to this venture. As Ken Finlay records, the Dublin United Railway Company, the Great Northern and the Great Southern and Western Railway Companies, Arthur Guinness, Son, & Company, among others contributed

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11 William F. Dennehy, ed., *Record: The Irish International Exhibition 1907* (Dublin: Hely's Limited, 1909), 28. In his remarks about the work of the Executive Committee, the Lord Mayor of Cork stated that this group of Irishmen “must now take off their coats and set to work. Let them support their own manufacturers. It was in the power of each of them to help. Was it not possible, for example, for an Irish manufacturer to make an Irish boot suitable for Irish feet? If the Government were to take up this industrial revival it would be a failure. The people themselves must do it. Let them help each other, and if they had a pound to spend let them spend it on articles of Irish manufacture.” Lord Castletown expressed his sentiment about the Dublin exhibition when he argued, "The men who created many small industries here and there were as useful as the millionaire. They were told that the Irishman was a fine fighter. Let him now stand on his own feet and fight for the industrial freedom of his country." See *Record: The Irish International Exhibition 1907*, 15-16.
sizeable amounts. By early 1906, monetary guarantees deposited in the Bank of Ireland by the Finance and General Purpose Committee of the Irish International Exhibition (Incorporated) amounted to almost £157,000.\textsuperscript{12}

The site for the 1907 Dublin-based fair was Herbert Park. Located less than two miles from the city center in a sprawling suburb, this venue offered exhibition organizers a veritable blank canvas upon which to build Ireland's largest world's fair. This event occupied 52 acres of land and easily surpassed the combined acreage of all previous international and national exhibitions held in Ireland.\textsuperscript{13} Although small compared to the other world's fairs presented in the United States and other parts of Europe, the Irish International Exhibition afforded fairgoers an intimacy with their surroundings not offered by other venues of this type. The transformation of Herbert Park into an international exhibition fairgrounds occurred in a relatively short time but required considerable time, money, and labor. The construction of buildings in the vein of the "Italian Renaissance" emerged as the primary expense with total costs that amounted to approximately £118,000; the main structures included the Grand Central Palace, a Gallery of Fine Arts, a Palace of Industries, a Palace of Mechanical Arts, a Main Entrance Hall, a Palace Restaurant, and the buildings of the Home Industries Section. The exteriors of these buildings slightly mimicked the color schema of Chicago's 1893 White City discussed in chapter three. Additional costs for "various incidental expenditures, such as that on lavatory and plumbing appliances, and hire of Turnstiles" as well as fees associated with architects, surveyors, and the salaries of workers accrued to £5543. The sum devoted exclusively to "the development and decoration of the Grounds was £25,900."\textsuperscript{14} The huge financial guarantees for this enterprise

\textsuperscript{12} Finlay, \textit{The Biggest Show In Town}, 49-54.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 54, 58.
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Irish International Exhibition, Dublin 1907. The Official Guide.} (Dublin: Hely's Limited, 1907), 22; and \textit{Record: The Irish International Exhibition 1907}, 50-51. The Italian Renaissance motif of the buildings suggests that
support the claim by Brian Siggins that Ireland's "entrepreneurial classes were itching to show the world what they could do[.]."

The world, in fact, did take notice of events in Dublin that culminated in the Irish International Exhibition. Press coverage in the Atlantic world was prolific. U.S.-based newspapers, including large- and small-scale news outlets, commented on this event, as did the Irish and British media. Supporters of the fair reminded readers that its purpose was to reinvigorate global interest in native Irish industries. The *Los Angeles Herald*, for example,

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printed a report from Ireland that Dublin's 1907 exhibition was similar in nature to the 1876 Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia because both events provided "an epoch" regarding rising industrial greatness on the world's stage.¹⁶ Not all American newspapers, however, printed only positive commentary about the Dublin exhibition. The Irish-based correspondent for the *Washington Herald*, Seamus MacManus, referred to this world's fair as "the international fake" and stated, "This exhibition was organized against the wishes and against the interests of the Irish people by the anti-Irish section in Ireland[.]" He concluded his editorial by writing "that no visitor from America who has Ireland's interest at heart will patronize the anti-Irish exhibition."¹⁷ Given the large Irish and American Irish community within the United States and the well known animus between the British and the Irish, it was certainly no surprise to most American readers that vastly different press reports about an event in Ireland generated such varied responses.

Coverage of the Irish International Exhibition generated fierce debate within the Irish American press. An examination of three leading Irish American newspapers (the *Kentucky Irish American*, the *Irish-American*, and the *Gaelic American*) yielded diverse reporting and commentary. The *Kentucky Irish American* treated the 1907 Dublin fair as a positive event for Ireland because it would increase tourism and ensure worldwide interest in Irish craft-based industries. In addition, this newspaper believed that this fair would act as a catalyst for the investment of foreign capital, thus helping to ensure the fiscal future of the Emerald Isle.¹⁸ The *Irish-American*, in contrast, disparaged this event as one supported only by "[Dublin] Castle hacks" and that even a visit by King Edward VII to the fairgrounds was not enough to rescue

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¹⁸ "DUBLIN HOTELS," *Kentucky Irish American* (Louisville, KY), April 13, 1907; and "READY," *Kentucky Irish American* (Louisville, KY), April 27, 1907.
interest in this "so-called International Exposition[.]" This newspaper also described the features of this gathering as "objectionable" and, ultimately, argued that another fair of a "genuine" nature would ensure the "stimulation of the commercial regeneration of the Irish people." Even more vehement regarding its coverage of the Dublin exhibition, the Gaelic American did not mince words when it came to this world's fair. In its description of the opening ceremonies in Dublin that culminated in a parade involving the Lord Lieutenant (Lord Aberdeen) and his wife (Lady Aberdeen), the Gaelic American reported that it was "a demonstration of the British garrison in Ireland from beginning to end." Additionally, individuals who lined the parade route and cheered, the Gaelic American reported, were not representative of Dublin residents but were instead "cheap trippers from England, the landlords and the servants, horseboys and laborers whom they bring with them and the loyalists of Dublin[]."

To punctuate its distaste for the Irish International Exhibition, the Gaelic American included a cartoon from Belfast's nationalist newspaper, the Republic, on its front cover. The image showed Ireland as a tired, homely woman unable to stave off foreigners, especially the British, from flooding Irish markets with imported goods, intimating that the Irish economy would suffer further catastrophe because of this fair. This female depiction of Ireland holds a harp with a miniature head of a British subject whose hat reveals a Union Jack, thus implying that Ireland's national and, to many, sacred symbol was compromised not only by the existence of this exhibition but by Ireland's political status within the British Empire. The caption in the original image in the Republic read, "A Poster for an impending Exhibition without apologies to

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anyone. As discussed later in this chapter, this particular image appeared as a handbill in Dublin during the fair and emerged as a prominent piece of nationalist propaganda to rally support against the international component of this exhibition and mocked the image found on the official catalog of the Irish International Exhibition.

Figure 19: “Irish Anti-National Exhibition 1907,” The Republic (Belfast, Ireland), March 28, 1907.

21 “Irish Anti-National Exhibition 1907,” Republic (Belfast, Ireland), March 28, 1907.
One week after the initial anti-Dublin fair publication occurred in the *Republic*, another cartoon condemning the Irish International Exhibition appeared. Although this image contained no caption or title, its intent as nationalist fodder denouncing the Herbert Park display was clear. The drawing contained a partial depiction of the Grand Central Palace, the largest and most recognizable feature of this event, with multiple Union Jack flags waving prominently atop this structure. In addition, a large placard that read "Built By Humphrey's Of London" reminded readers that a London-based construction firm (Humphreys, Ltd.) oversaw most of the building contracts. Over the main entrance to the Grand Central Palace there was a sign labeled "Colonies," thus intimating that the primary purpose of this exhibition space was to showcase non-Irish goods. More signage near the entry point read "Department of Emigration" and implied that this venue would encourage the additional departure of Irish workers to overseas destinations. In the foreground, a caravan of faux Irish-made goods occupied prominent placement with one carriage pulled by a horse with a Union Jack blanket draped over its hind quarters. The fraudulent nature of these commodities became apparent to viewers after careful scrutiny because their containers stated, in part, "Donegal Tweed Made in England," "Irish Butter Made in Denmark," "Irish Lace Made In Cairo," "Irish Hats Made In England," and "Made In USA." In the background of this illustration a sign marked "Cottage Industries" appeared. Its diminished size, when compared to the Grand Central Palace, and physical location away from the entryway alerted viewers to the perceived diminution of Irish industries and the "international" influence and grandeur of this world's fair in the eyes of many nationalists.

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22 Anti-Irish International Exhibition cartoon (no title or caption), *Republic* (Belfast, Ireland), April 4, 1907.
To demonstrate the animus the Dublin fair garnered from a segment of the Irish population who resided in London, the *Gaelic American* printed a lengthy letter from the Irish Societies of London. This organization listed numerous ways in which the 1907 exhibition damaged Ireland and included the following grievances: "contracts for advertising, building, furniture and catering have all been given to non-Irish firms; and the greater part of the entertainment will be rendered by foreigners." The Irish Societies of London concluded, "the sole effect of this Exhibition will be to put back the present National industries revival; to kill such industries as are weak and to weaken those that are strong; to benefit the foreigner and the
foreign carrying companies." Ultimately, they implored all Irish men and women to stay away from this fair and not to spend "a single penny [in its] support."23

Ironically, even a prominent Irish nationalist-oriented newspaper in the United States inadvertently supported the Irish International Exhibition. Although the *Irish-American* classified all those who supported the Herbert Park fair as "[Dublin] Castle hacks," it permitted the English-owned White Star Line to publicize affordable passage to Ireland's world's fair in the advertisement section of its newspaper. The heading of this announcement read, "FOR THE IRISH INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION DUBLIN, (May to October)," thus repudiating any argument that, possibly, this paper was unaware of the content. In addition, the White Star Line listed eight separate dates for travel from both New York City and Boston to Ireland from mid-September to early December and promised passage "at low rates."24 This example demonstrated the complex nature of the relationship between the Irish, English, and American communities regarding this event and the occasional ambivalence of American Irish nationalist groups.

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23 "To Kill Irish Industry," *Gaelic American* (New York, NY), June 8, 1907. The Irish Societies of London included the Gaelic League (London); Cumann na nGaedheal (London); Gaelic Athletic Association (London); National Council (London); and the Irish Parliamentary Party.

When it came to supporting or condemning the Irish International Exhibition, however, Dublin-based newspapers left little ambiguity regarding their perspectives. The two leading Dublin print news outlets, the *Leader* and *Irish Independent*, offered readers vastly different viewpoints concerning this world's fair. The former questioned the efficacy of permitting the display and sale of foreign goods inside of Ireland while the latter highlighted the economic boon to Ireland's capital and emphasized the positive publicity for native industries within a global context. Described in the early phases of construction by these newspapers as both "a second-class display of foreign manufacturers" and an event that "promises to be successful beyond the most sanguine expectations of its promoters," Dublin residents found a generous portion of commentary in the Irish media when it came to discussion about the 1907 fair.  

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Although the Leader expended tremendous time, effort, and ink on trying to discredit the Dublin exhibition and its "international" element, it quickly realized that this event would occur without its blessing. To combat what it perceived as a misguided attempt to secure Irish fiscal stability, the Leader chose to focus its efforts on all alleged shortcomings, particularly when it came to the fair's organizers (whom it labeled as "busybodies who ran the affair against the express wishes of the country") and any British-based company that secured business contracts for the event. The Leader did not have to wait long after the May opening to report that the exhibition's catering company (Lyons, of London) fired almost all of the Irish wait staff on the third night of the fair. It reported, "about two hundred men and women employed in the catering department were summarily dismissed. All these, we are informed, are Irish. It appears that Lyons, of London, brought over about four hundred hands for the catering business[.]" The Leader, in characteristic Irish wit, summarized the situation when it wrote, "When the dump proved a slump, and when 'sacking' became the order of the day, the Irish were sacrificed." Even though this was an amusing way of analyzing the situation, this sentence contained important nationalist rhetoric through its use of the term "sacrificed" that, for many contemporary Irish readers, served as a reminder of Ireland's tumultuous history and relationship with England. The Leader, however, recognized that Irish residents would patronize the exhibition, many out of sheer curiosity, and continually implored its readers to spend their money only on Irish exhibits and Irish-made goods.

26 Leader (Dublin, Ireland), June 15, 1907.
27 Leader (Dublin, Ireland), May 18, 1907.
28 In its continued efforts to minimize Dublin residents going to the fair, the Leader implored its readers, "The 'International' Exhibition continues to do harm to many traders in Dublin; we have heard that some traders are actually cursing the show...for the country's sake we would wish that all the visitors paid special attention to the Irish exhibits." See Leader (Dublin, Ireland), June 22, 1907. Notwithstanding its general displeasure with the Irish International Exhibition, the Leader published a series of editorials by "T." between July and August that described Irish-made items at the fair. "T." writes in his first report, "one sees at the Exhibition that Ireland has many things
From the inception of the Irish International Exhibition, the *Irish Independent*, in contrast, treated this Dublin-based world's fair as a monumental event in Ireland's history that could potentially reverse contemporary economic misfortunes. As early as September 1905, the *Irish Independent* began to provide its readers with reasons why this exhibition was a good thing: "The proportion of unemployed in nearly all the trades is abnormally high, and large numbers of these have absolutely no resources to fall back upon...Now that the guarantee fund of the Irish International Exhibition is fully subscribed, employment will, no doubt, be found for a large number of tradesmen and labourers.[.]"\(^29\) In the months leading up to the opening ceremonies in May 1907, the *Irish Independent* kept up a steady barrage of articles recounting construction efforts and reminded its readership that "things shall be done only in first-class style."\(^30\) To muster public support, the paper even announced that it would hold a competition for its subscribers to guess how many people would attend the May 4 opening; prizes amounted to £6, no small figure considering the fiscal difficulties experienced by most Irish at the time.\(^31\) In sum, the *Irish Independent* reiterated on a regular basis the "success" of this event and the large numbers of visitors from both Ireland and abroad who partook in this experience.\(^32\)

The official opening of the Irish International Exhibition occurred on May 4, 1907. A procession of chief officials, including the Lord Lieutenant and his wife, participated in this ceremony and large crowds gathered on Dublin's streets and the fairgrounds to inaugurate this well worthy of display." See editorials by "T.", *Leader* (Dublin Ireland), July 13, 1907; July 20, 1907; July 27, 1907; and August 10, 1907.

\(^{29}\) "Aid for the Workless," *Irish Independent* (Dublin, Ireland), September 25, 1905.


\(^{31}\) *Irish Independent* (Dublin, Ireland), April 30, 1907.

\(^{32}\) For example, the *Irish Independent* reported almost four months after the exhibition's opening, "The fact is self-evident that the Irish International Exhibition has exercised a very great influence in bringing a largely-increased volume of tourist and excursion traffic to Dublin. The city is just now full of visitors. Nobody who knows Dublin and walks about the streets at present can fail to be struck by the number of strangers who are making their welcome presence felt everywhere...Large numbers of those who are coming to see us hail from England." See *Irish Independent* (Dublin, Ireland), August 23, 1907.
event. Lord Aberdeen read a message from King Edward VII, who was in Paris, that stated, "I trust that the Exhibition you are to open to-day may prove a success, and demonstrate International progress made by Ireland." After initial remarks, the Aberdeens along with Irish and foreign officials made a tour of the fairgrounds before returning to Dublin Castle. The Times (London) reported that this ceremony was "brilliant and most successful" and that it "represents a great practical achievement. It is a solid tribute to the energy and taste of the leading citizens of Dublin." The article predicted that this international exhibition would "give a much-needed stimulus to the trade of the whole island." The Times also claimed that Lord Aberdeen referred to the international and domestic character of the fair and, ultimately, he asserted that its purpose was to aid "the development in every direction of the resources of Ireland." 34

Approximately one month later, the Home Industries Section at the Irish International Exhibition opened. Under the leadership of Lady Aberdeen, who served as this section's president, the display of advancements in Irish industries appeared. The introductory remarks by Lady Aberdeen, who was well-known to the Irish because of her philanthropic endeavors, focused on the positive nature of this exhibit and how it promised to provide the groundwork for transforming all Irish villages in the near future. For example, she mentioned that the laborer's cottage "can be erected anywhere in Ireland for £135 apiece" and that the model hospital would provide access to medical care for those who required it, especially in sparsely populated areas in the countryside. In addition, Lady Aberdeen believed that the Village Hall on the fairgrounds would show that having a place in every Irish village for "opportunities for social life and recreation, music, and lectures" would ensure success and happiness for even the remotest Irish

34 "Ireland," Times (London), May 6, 1907.
village. Lady Aberdeen’s "imperial motherhood" perspective culminated in her concluding commentary when she stated, "While numberless omissions might be found in our home industries, still there would be found in it the germs of many ideas for uplifting and beautifying country life in Ireland, even in its most outlying parts, indicating how supplemental industries could be made profitable and demonstrating what could be done by workers where natural quickness gave them a great advantage when trained and put in touch with the world's market," Her use of the terms "uplifting," "beautifying," and "trained" revealed her concern for the Irish peasantry and their economic hardships but likewise denoted her perspective that the Irish required British rule and instruction in order to prosper as a people.

An example of Lady Aberdeen’s adherence to the idea of "uplifting" the Irish peasantry was the eradication of disease in Ireland. In early 1907, Lady Aberdeen helped to organize the Women's National Health Association [WNHA], "formed chiefly to fight tuberculosis." She chose the Irish International Exhibition to showcase a Tuberculosis Exhibition within the Home Industries Section. It opened on October 12 and remained there for approximately one month. Its purpose was to showcase the latest treatments for tuberculosis and to teach fairgoers how to prevent this deadly disease, known by many as "the white death" or "the white plague." This exhibit consisted of charts and maps showing were tuberculosis was most prevalent in Ireland,

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37 Finlay, The Biggest Show In Town, 107.
lectures, informational literature, a "pathology section" displaying "a diseased human lung," and equipment used for treating consumption, including isolation shelters. The Tuberculosis Exhibition became a traveling exhibit "and thus [carried] the message to remote parts of the country, as well as to large centres of population[.]." Its existence is yet another example of Lady Aberdeen's keen interest in assisting the Irish through benevolent works and supported her "imperial motherhood" mindset when it came to Ireland.

Figure 22: "New Forms of Shelter for Consumption Cases, As Exhibited at the Dublin Tuberculosis Exhibition," *The British Journal of Tuberculosis* 2, issue 4 (October 1908): 312.

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39 Lady Aberdeen's commitment to "uplift" did not focus only on the Irish. Throughout her life, Lady Aberdeen championed various causes to assist less fortunate peoples. Shortly after her marriage, she helped to create what evolved into the Onward and Upward Association that provided servant girls in the Scottish countryside the chance for additional education. This organization eventually comprised over 8,000 members who took courses by mail in "Bible topics, history, geography, literature, domestic science, needlework, [and] knitting[.]." In 1893, she was elected the president of the International Council of Women and founded the National Council of Women (Canada) with the intent of improving services to the poor and fostering educational endeavors. Lady Aberdeen's involvement with the Victorian Order of Nurses and the Women's National Health Association also showed her desire to combat diseases that hindered the progress and development of peoples in the Atlantic world. See French, *Ishbel and the Empire*, 53-54, 152-158, 231, 285-287.
In anticipation of a visit to the Dublin fairgrounds by King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra on July 10, 1907, a series of advertisements promoting this event appeared in the *Times* (London). The purpose of the royal visit was to excite additional interest in the exhibition and to demonstrate that their royal highnesses activities in Ireland as crucial to the interests of the British Empire. On June 10, the *Times* printed an advertisement informing readers, "You will miss one of the most interesting opportunities of your life if you fail to visit the Irish International Exhibition now being held in Dublin." It went on to tell readers that summer in Ireland was the best time for a holiday to the Emerald Isle and that travel to its shores, especially from England, was easy. The advertisement assured its readers that this fair "is both a gigantic entertainment and a magnificent display of art, science, natural resources, and mechanical achievements." Ultimately, "All roads this year lead to Dublin and the picturesque spots of Ireland."  

Similar advertisements alluded to the various features of this exhibition, including its art collection, colonial exhibits, mechanical wonders, the Irish Home Industries Section, and myriad amusements. Additionally, surrounding tourist destinations, such as the Lakes of Killarney, Connemara, "wild Donegal," the Giant's Causeway, and various other attractions, appeared in these advertisements to entice English travelers. One ad from mid-June told readers, "You will see the world in miniature, its curiosities, its treasures, its scientific achievements, its commercial development. You will see an Exhibition unique because of its peculiar environment and associations, because it represents the development of the world to date."  

Collectively, the royal visit and the series of advertisements in the *Times* demonstrated that although this exhibition was a Dublin-based event, it was an important enough venue to warrant

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a visit by the reigning monarchs and received attention from England's foremost media outlet championing the virtue of the Empire.

Another type of advertisement also sparked interest at the Irish International Exhibition. Located in the Home Industries Section, the Donaghmore-based Brown & Son Soapworks in County Tyrone erected a traditional thatched Irish cottage to promote its line of McClinton's soap products, a leading luxury brand of personal hygiene products made from vegetable oils. Visitors could inspect a typical interior room of an "old" Irish cottage, replete with fireplace, basic furniture, and tools. In addition, interested fairgoers could interact with a handful of native, female workers who demonstrated the utility of the McClinton's soap brand.42 Individuals could also purchase various McClinton's products, including toilet and shaving soaps

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42 Stephanie Rains, "Colleens, cottages and kraals: the politics of 'native' village exhibitions," *History Ireland* 19, no. 2 (March/April 2011): 30-33.
for men and women, and receive free shipping from the Donaghmore soapworks to anywhere in
the United Kingdom. Although this display may appear insignificant at first, further analysis
shows that this Brown & Son cottage at the 1907 Dublin fair provided a pivotal moment in the
presentation and use of Irishness. For the first time in exhibition history, a strictly Irish-based
entity, in this instance a family owned soap company, exerted agency regarding the display of
Irish sociocultural norms. Recent scholarship by Caroline Malloy buttresses this idea because
she asserts Brown and Son were "nationalists who supported Irish self-government within the
British Empire[.]"\(^{43}\) Although Brown and Son hoped to increase company revenue and promote
the McClinton's brand through this exhibit at the Irish International Exhibition, their choice of
doing so through the reconstruction of a typical Irish cottage spoke to both their familiarity with
agrarian Irish society and history and their desire to encourage McClinton's soap as a viable
international commodity of interest to "advanced" nations, especially those in Europe and the
United States, using one of the most recognizable features of Irish country life. The success of
this commercial showcase of Irishness by an Irish business became so popular that this display
became the foundation for how Brown and Son presented Ireland at exhibitions for decades to
come. Its apotheosis emerged in 1908 at the Franco British Exhibition in the form of
Ballymaclinton, an Irish-themed faux village replete with historic reconstructions of Irish history
and life and over one hundred Irish "colleens" who acted as "ambassadors" to visitors. (In-depth
examination and analysis of Ballymaclinton will continue with the second half of this chapter.)

\(^{43}\) Malloy, "Exhibiting Ireland: Irish Villages, Pavilions, Cottages, and Castles at International Exhibitions, 1853-1939," 130.
Of interest to many visitors to the 1907 Dublin fair was the series of amusements located along the southeastern border adjacent to the Home Industries Section; although not an official "midway," this area contained numerous for-fun attractions and was placed along the fairground's periphery. Included was a water chute, a "Rivers of Ireland" ride, a switchback railway, a "Helter Skelter Lighthouse," shooting galleries, an "Indian Theatre," and a "Somali Village."\(^{44}\) The water chute plunged visitors in a roller coaster-like fashion into one of the man-made waterways; the lighthouse allowed riders to use mats to slide around the perimeter of the structure and journey "from apex to base in nine seconds"; the Indian Theatre showed "Indian juggling and conjuring"; and the Somali Village "has been erected to represent the huts in which the natives live in their country" with a classroom "built in which Somali children will be taught

their lessons." According to the official record of this exhibition, when the Aberdeens visited the Somali Village, "they were greeted by the dusky inhabitants of that settlement in barbaric but friendly fashion." 

The Somali Village accumulated £9600 in profits, thus making it the highest grossing sideshow of the exhibition; in second place was the water chute with almost £7100. 

Ironically, the organizers for the Irish International Exhibition did not see any paradox in displaying a "Somali Village" with "real" natives on Irish soil or an "Indian Theatre," especially when one considers the multiple depictions of Ireland as a needy and backward nation within myriad exhibition grounds through Irish "village" displays. It appeared that a sense of sociocultural amnesia and racism overtook the Irish who organized and paid admission for entrance into these

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46 Record: The Irish International Exhibition 1907, 78.
47 Siggins, The Great White Fair, 65; Finlay, The Biggest Show In Town, 137-138.
African- and Indian-themed exhibits. The Irish, who experienced negative racial characterizations for centuries from Anglo-Saxon Protestant communities, especially in England and the United States, failed to recognize the contradiction of allowing a native village, of any type, a place within these fairgrounds. Its existence showed, however, that exhibition visitors of the early twentieth century still craved the racial stereotyping and hierarchy so prevalent during the waning decades of the nineteenth century. The Somali display could also have been a way for the Irish to demonstrate to "the West" that they were on par with other imperial-oriented nations. By showcasing an "inferior" culture on Irish soil, fair organizers might have hoped to gain a form of legitimacy as "true" members of the empire club. One of the few media voices that declared the Somali exhibit "a disgrace" was the Leader, a nationalist-oriented Dublin-based newspaper. In its June 22, 1907 edition, it railed against the Somali Village and took particular umbrage that African natives were forced to practice their religion "for the sixpence paid to enter a side show." The Leader argued, "The worship of God in any form is sacred, and is not a fit subject for a 'turn'" and, ultimately, the public display of religion for profit was "blasphemous."

48 Leader (Dublin, Ireland), June 22, 1907.
In her study of the development of Dublin's commodity culture from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, Stephanie Rains posits that the Somali Village emerged as the prototype for the Ballymaclinton display at the 1908 Franco British Exhibition because "it was also in many respects an Irish version of the Somali Village" and "it seems likely that Ballymaclinton Village was to some extent inspired by the Somali Village of 1907." Her evidence rests upon the profits garnered from the Somali Village display and her conclusion that by the time of the 1907 Irish International Exhibition, "Dublin audiences were enthusiastic consumers of commodity experiences, as well as admirers of the more tangible commodities on

Figure 26: "Somali Village," *Souvenir of Irish International Exhibition, Dublin, 1907* (Dublin: W. Lawrence, 1907). Courtesy of the Donald G. Larson Collection of Expositions and Fairs, California State University, Fresno.
display at the exhibition." After all, what could be "more tangible" to fairgoers than the showcase of human beings relegated to a zoo-like environment?

Not all Dubliners, however, supported the international commodity culture exhibited at the Irish International Exhibition. Aside from the activities of anti-fair, nationalist-oriented newspapers, such as the Leader mentioned above, a concerted effort by Irish nationalists developed to hinder the progress and success of this event. As late as April 23, 1907 (less than two weeks before the official opening ceremonies occurred), New York's Sun reported on fears by some in Dublin that an attack on the fairgrounds via dynamiting by nationalist groups, specifically Sinn Féin ("ourselves alone"), was not an unlikely outcome. Anger by Irish nationalists regarding the international component of this venue and the fact that British construction firms oversaw the building of most of the fairgrounds emerged as the two most common rallying cries against the Dublin fair. These individuals argued that the exhibition "is backed by English capitalists" and contradicted the home rule agenda. Although Irish nationalists did not physically assault the exhibition fairgrounds, anti-fair propaganda circulated throughout the streets of Dublin.

The National Library of Ireland contains a surviving piece of ephemera in the anti-fair tradition in the form of an illustrated handbill. Although no records exist regarding how many of these handbills were printed, it is likely that hundreds, if not thousands, of these blanketed Dublin's streets during the summer and fall months of 1907. In fact, the nationalist-oriented Belfast newspaper, the Republic, printed an editorial that stated, "We must rely upon pamphlets and handbills" to demonstrate animus for this enterprise. This handbill's title succinctly

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50 "Irish Exhibition May Fail," *Sun* (New York, NY), April 23, 1907.
expressed the nationalist perspective about the Irish International Exhibition: "When in DUBLIN Don't go to the EXHIBITION." It referred to this world's fair as "The Anti-national Exhibition" and was an event that "SHOULD BE BOYCOTTED BY THE IRISH PEOPLE." The handbill listed seven prominent Irish and American Irish organizations, such as the Gaelic League, that "condemned" the Dublin fair. The nationalist viewpoint that this event would harm Irish industries and benefit overseas interests is readily apparent: "It is a foreign show, built by foreigners, in the interest of foreigners. There is not anything Irish about it, and IRELAND DOES NOT WANT IT." At the bottom of the handbill, the concluding remarks assert, "ALL IRISH PEOPLE should show their disapproval of it by....STAYING AWAY."52

In addition, the anti-fair handbill contained a cartoon caricature that portrayed Ireland as powerless when it came to regulating imports. The imagery, discussed earlier, challenged the assertions of those individuals who championed the international scope of this exhibition. Additionally, the use of the Irish harp, the map of Ireland, the worn out features of the woman portraying Ireland, and the prominence of the Union Jack add to the overt nationalist rhetoric displayed in this picture. For those in Ireland who saw this drawing, its sociopolitical intent was clear: those who supported this exhibition were traitors. Although this same image appeared in at least two other newspapers (the New York-based Gaelic American and Belfast's the Republic), its representation of Ireland and the "foreign interests" who "dumped" their products at the feet of Ireland clearly symbolized the nationalists' hatred for this event.53

52 Illustrated handbill in the National Library of Ireland (Ephemera Department: EPH C175): "When in DUBLIN Don't go to the EXHIBITION."
53 Gaelic American (New York, NY), May 25, 1907; and Republic (Belfast, Ireland), March 28, 1907.
The handbill’s imagery is in direct and mocking contrast to the front piece of the exhibition's official catalog which depicted Ireland as a confident, beautiful women clothed in a flowing green dress with a shamrock broach as a prominent part of her outfit. She sits upon an elaborate throne with her hands stretched outward frozen in a perpetual pose of welcoming visitors to the fairgrounds. At her feet is the national symbol of Ireland, a harp. There are no foreigners taking advantage of Ireland in this depiction nor are there any negative references to the British Empire. The only non-Irish images are two globes depicting Europe, the Americas, Asia, and Africa. Given the prominence of the word "international" at the top of the catalog, it is not surprising that these globes occupy such a prominent position on the front of this catalog.  

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The emergence of competing imagery within the public sphere regarding the representation of a country was not unique to the Irish International Exhibition or Ireland. The sociopolitical struggle for defining Ireland, especially through images, created a complex gender discourse for those who saw these illustrations. The effect of these pictures and their structural meaning to their audiences, particularly within the cultural pragmatics model, proves useful.\textsuperscript{55}

Using cultural pragmatics theory, both images behaved as "actors" whose "performance," although superficially similar, invoked very different meanings. For example, the anti-fair illustrated handbill showed "Ireland" with her arms stretched upward and a somewhat perplexed

\textsuperscript{55} See Alexander, Giesen, and Mast, eds., \textit{Social Performance}.
facial expression that implied to viewers her inability to control or assert agency in her present situation, especially as foreigners deposited their nation's goods at the "feet" of Ireland, thereby corrupting the Irish economy. In contrast, the "Ireland" of the exhibition's official catalog sits regally on her throne with her arms positioned downward with palms facing the viewer thus intimating that she wholeheartedly welcomed visitors to her island and was simultaneously in control of her surroundings. Regardless of the viewer's political perspective, these pictorial representations of Ireland evoked, to varying degrees, a type of emotional response by those who saw them and in this process, they fostered "the conditions for projecting cultural meaning from performance to audience."56

The use of the female form in both the anti-fair handbill and the exhibition catalog cover clearly demonstrate the importance of gender constructs. The use of male and female bodies to represent pictorially certain perceived attributes of a nation's character, such as strength or cunning, significantly predate the 1907 Dublin fair. The creator of the anti-fair handbill recognized the impact of using a demoralized and feeble looking woman to represent Ireland. This female's "performance" no doubt angered Irish nationalists because it depicted Ireland as unable to protect itself, especially from foreign influence. The vulnerability exhibited by this caricature of Ireland was no accident and its designer probably hoped to illicit a response, potentially of violence, from male viewers who might want to "defend" Ireland's honor. The "performance" of the female character on the official catalog reversed this paradigm. Instead of exhibiting negative Irish attributes, this front piece showed a confident and dignified Ireland. There are no indications that this Ireland needs "rescuing," particularly from the male residents of the island.

The 1907 exhibition afforded its supporters and detractors a unique opportunity within the transatlantic world. Because this world's fair garnered extensive press coverage, particularly in Ireland, England, and the United States, it "generated enormous interest at home and abroad[.]") This reporting created within the public sphere of Ireland and elsewhere various perspectives concerning this event's successes and failures. Although this type of media attention was not unique to this world's fair, it warrants additional consideration because of Ireland's sociopolitical relationship with Britain in the early twentieth century and the vocal nature of the anti-fair nationalists who believed this venue supported the British Empire and foreign interests at the expense of Irish manufacturers and workers. Within the world's fair paradigm, the 1907 Dublin international exhibition permitted the Irish for the first time a true voice in asserting what they believed was Irishness on their own soil to the rest of the world. Although multiple claims emerged regarding this Irishness, (as evident, for example, from the discussion of the anti-fair handbill and the fair's official catalog) from this point onward the Irish exerted more agency concerning how they appeared within exhibition fairgrounds, be they national or international in scope.

Almost three million people visited the 1907 Irish International Exhibition in Dublin. As Ken Finlay reminds readers, "the Exhibition didn't actually need to make a profit, it just had to avoid losing more than the £168,000 put up by the guarantors." The gap between revenue and profit turned out to be around £100,000, a sum covered by the fair's benefactors. Although the 1907 Dublin-based fair did not generate an official profit (something very rare for an international exhibition), the economic boon for Dublin, especially for hotel and restaurant owners, the railroads, construction laborers, and other businesses, such as newspapers, did occur,

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58 Finlay, The Biggest Show In Town, 11.
however short-lived. The legacy of this exhibition concerned its organization and oversight by a few prominent Irish entrepreneurs, the challenges raised by anti-fair nationalists regarding its purpose, and the early stages of the commodification of Irishness by the Irish in the transatlantic world.

The Metamorphosis of Irishness

In 1908, two prominent transatlantic displays of Irishness occurred. The first materialized with the Irish Industrial Exposition held in Madison Square Garden in New York City under the patronage of the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH). The second transpired with the creation of Ballymaclinton, an Irish-themed "village" built by the Donaghmore-based soapworks company of Brown and Son for the Franco-British Exhibition in Shepherd's Bush, West London. Although the former lasted for only three weeks and the latter for nearly five months, both exuded many of the heritage-based trappings that were so familiar to fair attendees by this time. The size and extent of the exhibits and the total number of visitors to Ballymaclinton easily dwarfed the New York Irish fair. These events are important, however, not because of their physical magnitude, or lack thereof, but because they each demonstrated that the commodification of Irishness, for both European- and U.S.-based audiences, was still prevalent within the exhibition paradigm during the early twentieth century. In sum, the organizers of these Irish-themed displays knew they could still entice spectators to partake in the festivity of manufacturing an Irish-based reality beyond the borders of Ireland.

The New York chapter of the AOH knew that in order to attract large crowds of the American Irish and Irish communities within surrounding areas, it needed to replicate the familiar Irish fair formula of ethnic display. The result was the 1908 Irish Industrial Exposition,
known also as "New York's Irish Fair." As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the first industrial exposition of this sort occurred in New York in 1905; the 1908 venture was, in essence, a reincarnation of the original. This event opened on January 7 and closed January 26 and attracted large crowds. Its purpose was to foster interest in Ireland and its industries (both traditional and emerging) and to raise funds for the Hibernian Institute, an AOH-inspired initiative to safeguard and showcase the history and accomplishments of New York's American Irish community. Like previous Irish fairs throughout the United States (discussed in chapter three), the objectives of the 1908 Irish Industrial Exposition mirrored the celebration of ethnicity and Irish heritage through the display of Ireland's rising industrial prowess while simultaneously championing the preservation of Irishness at the local level in an American city.

Even before this Irish-themed exposition opened its doors, the New York press focused on the upcoming arrival of "bona fide" Irish workers who would demonstrate their craftsmanship to all interested fair attendees. In mid-December, for example, the Evening World informed its readers that a small group of Dun Emer Guild workers would demonstrate their rug weaving skills at Madison Square Garden; this news outlet referred to these Irish women as "the prettiest girls[.]") Aside from commentary that concerned the "positive" physical attributes of these Irish workers, the majority of this newspaper's article focused on the quality of work done by members of the Dun Emer Guild when it stated, "Rug-making is as much an art in Ireland as it is in Oriental countries, and the Dun Emer Guild has established a reputation for the superior beauty and excellence of its product." In addition, the Evening World continued, these women "are coming to the big show to demonstrate this branch of Irish industry [because of their]

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60 “New York's Irish Fair,” Kentucky Irish American (Louisville, KY), December 28, 1907; and "10,000 Cheer As Irish Fair At Garden Opens," Evening World (New York, NY), January 8, 1908.
61 “Exhibits At The Irish Fair,” Sun (New York, NY), January 26, 1908.
reputation throughout Ireland for the quality of their work.”

Another set of "real" Irish workers were "Irish Lassies" who taught fairgoers "how to make pretty lace handkerchiefs." These young women (Rose Egan, Mary Donovan, and Mary O'Flanagan) were chaperoned by the Rev. Father Michael O'Flanagan and, as the Desert Evening News reported, they "are skilled workers and their work and beauty are a great attraction." This newspaper even went to the trouble of printing a picture of the three "authentic" Irish handkerchief makers and their supervisor. The media attention regarding the incorporation of these Irish workers at this exposition fit well within the Irish fair formula created during the late nineteenth century by American Irish organizations, such as the AOH. The quest by fair organizers to champion and constantly remind its attendees about the use of "true" Irish workers in 1908 helped to reinforce notions of this exposition's authenticity within the public sphere.

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62 “Celtic Beauties On Their Way Here,” Evening World (New York, NY), December 12, 1907. Another article briefly recounted the actual arrival of Dun Emer Guild workers, see "J.B. Yeats Here To Attend Irish Fair," New York Tribune, December 30, 1907, 4.

63 “Irish Lassies Teach Kerchief Making,” Desert Evening News (Great Salt Lake City, UT), January 11, 1908.
Shortly after the Irish Industrial Exposition closed, however, news reports surfaced that questioned the "realness" of one of the alleged Irish workers associated with the Irish Fisheries exhibit. The *Evening World* reported in mid-January 1908 that a "Miss Molly Brady" was "the most attractive feature of the Irish Exposition at Madison Square Garden." Described as a "fisher maiden" from Connemara, Miss Brady garnered significant interest by the press. According to the manager of the fisheries display, Mrs. O'Reilly Neville: "I knew I could stir up some interest if I brought along a few pretty girls...and I defy Ireland or America either, to produce a finer specimen of womanhood than Molly Brady." The *Evening World*, in an effort to reaffirm the "realness" and "beauty" of Miss Molly Brady, printed her picture for its readership. However, in early February, after the exposition officially closed its doors, the *Sun* (New York) reported that, in fact, Miss Molly Brady was Miss Mary Brady, a 17-year-old native of Bayonne,

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New Jersey. According to Miss Brady: "While I was at the fair with several friends Mrs. Elizabeth O'Reilly Neville, who has written a book on the Irish fisheries, asked me to take care of her booth. I did so out of fun, and some of the reporters concluded I had just come from the land of the shamrock. Mr. Pat Powers [the exposition's chief organizer] said to let the reporters think so, and I did." Although this event may appear superficial, its importance rests with the idea that authenticity, or the perceived legitimacy, of Irish workers at this show was of such importance that both the main exposition organizer and one of its concessionaires deemed it necessary to perpetrate a type of heritage fraud upon its audience and, in essence, distort fairgoer's perceptions of Irishness within the public sphere.

In similar attempts to ensure an "authentic" experience for visitors, especially for those in the Irish and American Irish communities of New York, the display of Irish sod within a map of Ireland exhibit and the construction of a replica of Blarney Castle occurred. As Deidre O'Leary's analysis of the 1897 Irish fair in New York City demonstrated, the use of "real" turf held tremendous nostalgic power because "the transformative power of feet on soil" created a type of "private reunion in public display." The use of "genuine" Irish dirt at the 1908 industrial exposition appeared for the same reasons. The New York Tribune reported, "Samples of the dirt on which famous battles for the liberty of the Irish were fought" appeared inside of Madison Square Garden and that the "dirt bore an affidavit of the county clerk in the district in which it was obtained signifying that it was genuine." Like previous Irish fairs in the United States, this exposition's organizers "ensured" that the auld sod on display was legitimate and, thereby, it boosted their claims of this showcase as genuine and further added to the hyper realism of the

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65 “Mary Brady of Bayonne,” Sun (New York, NY), February 9, 1908.
fair. In contrast to the "realness" of the dirt map display, no assertions of authenticity materialized when it came to the Blarney Castle exhibit. Fairgoers, obviously, knew that this replica was indeed not "the real thing." The *Evening World* informed its readers that this "castle" was "an exact replica of the famous tower, with the window from which the true patriots hang to kiss the stone[.]" There is, however, no mention of this "castle" possessing the Blarney Stone; potentially, this exposition's organizers learned from previous assertions regarding the display of this stone and the public embarrassment their colleagues received by making patently false claims of this sort. In short, it was very difficult for skeptics to prove that dirt was not from Ireland but it was another thing completely to assert that a Blarney Castle reproduction housed the Blarney Stone and by 1908, fair coordinators knew as much. Approximately four months after the end of the Irish Industrial Exposition in New York City, another display that exuded "all things Irish" materialized across the Atlantic Ocean in the form of the largest Irish "village" constructed to date, part of a fairgrounds that commemorated the peaceful existence between French and English colonies.

The Franco-British Exhibition, which celebrated the Entente Cordiale between France and Britain, opened at Shepherd's Bush, West London in May 1908; both empires believed that displaying their industrial, commercial, and cultural prowess was the best way to demonstrate their collective "superiority." Part of this exhibition's fairgrounds, not surprisingly, was for the display of four ethnically-based model "villages" depicting Ireland, Senegal, India, and Ceylon. The largest ethnic commodification of Irishness to date commenced in the form of

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68 "10,000 Cheer As Irish Fair At Garden Opens," 13. 

Ballymaclinton, a "representative" Irish village paid for primarily by a prominent Irish family-owned Donaghmore-based soap manufacturer, Brown and Son, whose leading product was a luxury brand of soaps known as McClinton's.\(^7\) As Caroline Malloy's recent dissertation attests, "On the one hand, Ballymaclinton was a working model of a real industrial village in County Tyrone; on the other hand, it was a utopian vision of an Irish industrial future that would not emerge as the ensuing decade brought about full-scale Irish rebellion and the subsequent early stages of independence from England." In addition, Malloy's work correctly states that this exhibit "illustrated and exemplified the tensions and contradictions in the project of defining Irishness in both Ireland and England at the beginning of the twentieth century."\(^7^2\) Ballymaclinton also engrained within the psyche of those who visited or saw the plethora of images associated with it (especially postcards) a reflection of Ireland that reinforced previous perceptions based on notions of tradition and nostalgia shown at myriad exhibitions and Irish fairs. In addition, Ballymaclinton supported a construct of Ireland as little more than a land of farmers and lace makers who struggled with the burdens of its colonial past, even if it did display a "modern" Village Hall. Many wondered if Ireland could realistically compete within the competitive and capitalistic-oriented global economy.

The "villages" of the Franco-British Exhibition appeared in the amusement-oriented section of the fairgrounds, known as Merryland, which also contained the Grand Avenue of the Colonies. This configuration created an environment where "amusement and colonialism merged entirely." The Irish "village," housed behind the Canadian and Australian Pavilions, was

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\(^7\) Part of the McClinton soap products available were "Colleen Shampoo, Sheila Soap and Hibernia Shaving Cream[.]." McClinton soaps "were made using plant ash and vegetable oils, rather than the harsher animal fats." See Stephanie Rains, "The Ideal Home (Rule) Exhibition: Ballymaclinton and the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition," *Field Day Review* 7 (2011): 7.

\(^7^2\) Malloy, "Exhibiting Ireland: Irish Villages, Pavilions, Cottages, and Castles at International Exhibitions, 1853-1939," 120-121.
the "largest of the ethnic displays. It promised to transport the visitor by a single escapist step 'from the whirl of London to the heart of Ireland' and simultaneously convey 'a real idea of Irish life.'" The primary means by which Brown and Son conveyed visitors to the tranquil setting of their manufactured Irish "village" was by reproducing structures and concepts commonly linked with "normal" rural life in Ireland that included white cottages with thatched roofs, religious paraphernalia (including a high cross), a round tower, donkey-driven jaunting cars, a Blarney Castle exhibit, and approximately 150 colorfully clad Irish peasant girls known as "colleens" who demonstrated cottage-based industries, such as lace-making or embroidery. Additionally, a cottage that displayed items linked to the ancestors of the assassinated American president William McKinley appeared much as it did at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase International Exhibition and, once more, demonstrated the ancestral connection of Ireland with the United States in the public sphere.

As a contemporary observer noted, "This village is an ideal one--a happy blending of the old and the new, in which all that is most charming in the old is retained, with just sufficient of the new to make the whole compatible with modern ideas." In addition, "Everything and everybody in it are Irish. Even the cows in the field and the pigs in the styes were brought over from the Emerald Isle." Brown and Son, however, incorporated some new elements into the Ballymaclinton display that was different from previous Irish "villages" that included a fully functioning post office and soap making demonstrations. Shortly before Ballymaclinton opened,

75 Bernard Weaver, "The Franco-British Exhibition," *The English Illustrated Magazine* no. 66 (September 1908): 546. Caroline Malloy, however, writes that the "Irish pigs" were purchased "within driving distance of the Shepherd's Bush exhibition grounds, in Uxbridge" and, ultimately, this, in part, "undermined the Brown's avowed authentic Irishness by hiring English substitutes for the ubiquitous farm animals and passing them off as Irish." See Malloy, "Exhibiting Ireland," 139.
the New York Times reported, "Americans and people from the Continent will find great interest in a complete Irish village, where Irish peasants will be seen manufacturing Irish lace and other Irish things. A large number of these peasants will be brought over from Ireland[.]"  

The emphasis by the press regarding the "realness" of the Ballymaclinton colleens was quite common and reinforced, to the exhibit's organizers at least, the necessity of importing authentic Irish workers. It cost each visitor sixpence to enter this model Irish "village" and some publications described it as a side show, in part because the admission fee to the general exhibition grounds did not include entrance to Ballymaclinton.  

![Figure 30: "Irish Village" at the Franco-British Exhibition. Postcard from Rotary Photographic Series. Author's collection.](image)

Although Ballymaclinton emerged within the exhibition paradigm as a unique display space because a private commercial interest provided most of its funding, it still adhered to the usual tropes associated with the "commodified authentic" model that began in the late nineteenth century.

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76 “Big Rush to London Expected This Year," New York Times, April 19, 1908.
century. According to Elizabeth Outka, "the commodified authentic combined the old and the new into a single gratifying experience" that comfortably linked nostalgia with modernity by means of the performance of authenticity. Outka writes, "The contradiction implicit in performing authenticity is the very contradiction that had to be upheld. Only in performance were the possibilities of the commodified authentic released, and only in action were its paradoxes sustained." The saleable nature of Irishness, as envisioned by Brown and Son through their McClinton's Soap products for purchase at Ballymaclinton, was not a new marketing concept. In fact, Brown and Son relied on the formulaic and popular notions regarding Ireland and its culture when it came to the Ballymaclinton display. They knew of the success that other Irish "villages" garnered at various exhibitions from the late nineteenth century onward with "actual" Irish villagers, reproductions of historic Irish landmarks and relics, and the creation of a manufactured reality by building structures typically associated with the idyllic Irish countryside, such as the thatched cottage. What made Ballymaclinton different from previous manifestations of this type, however, was that inception and oversight of this "village" occurred under the auspices of an Irish-controlled family company.

At the time of the Franco-British Exhibition, twin brothers David and Robert Brown managed the interests of Brown and Son. They both championed Irish self-government and believed in the cause of Irish nationalists. The genesis of Ballymaclinton came from their involvement at the 1907 Irish International Exhibition. As mentioned above, Brown and Son sponsored an Irish cottage showcasing, among other things, McClinton's Soap, their best-selling brand of natural soaps. The popularity of this display in tandem with the Brown brothers' desire to combat disease in Ireland, particularly tuberculosis, led them to fund Ballymaclinton. Part of

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78 Outka, Consuming Traditions, 7, 16.
their philanthropic fervor resulted from their involvement with Lady Aberdeen's anti-tuberculosis initiative and the Women's National Health Association (WNHA) of Ireland; in fact, Robert Brown served as "the honorary secretary of the Co. Tyrone branch of the WNHA from its founding, responsible for bringing education, nurses, and health care to rural districts around Donaghmore." Therefore, it came as little surprise, as the *Irish Independent* pointed out shortly before Ballymaclinton opened, "that all profits are to be devoted to the suppression of Consumption in Ireland." In brief, the Irish "village" constructed by Brown and Son combined Irish traditionalism, philanthropy linked to nationalist ideals, and commercialism in their comprehension and presentation of Irishness.

The exact amount spent by Brown and Son for the Ballymaclinton exhibit is a bit murky; however, press reports provided from the Donaghmore-based company set the total between £30,000 and £40,000. About two million people visited the Irish "village," making it the most popular of the reconstructed ethnic village displays, and nearly four million postcards and, on average, 200 telegrams a day were sent from its post office. In fact, each postcard sent from Ballymaclinton received an official stamp designating that it originated from the Irish "village" and reinforced for recipients that those who sent greetings and messages from Ballymaclinton

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80 Malloy, 130. For a discussion of Lady Aberdeen's work with the WNHA, see Keane, *Ishbel: Lady Aberdeen in Ireland*, 119-144; and French, *Ishbel and the Empire*, 285-288. In their memoir, Lord and Lady Aberdeen commented about their second appointment to Ireland between 1906 and 1915: "Very early in the period of our nine years' official residence in Ireland we had come to the conclusion that the promotion of social work and the upbuilding of the health of the people, much undermined by excessive emigration for fifty years, and by permanent malnutrition of large classes of the population, were object of supreme importance." In addition, the WNHA "is organised to promote health by means of educative campaigns, such as are familiar to social workers in the United States. It aimed at combating and preventing disease in every form, especially tuberculosis, and at promoting measures for the care of mothers and infants, and for the welfare and happiness of people of all ages." See *We Twa*: Reminiscences of Lord and Lady Aberdeen, 2 vols. (London and Glasgow: W. Collins Sons & Co., 1925) 2:276-277.

81 "The Irish Village at London Exhibition," *Irish Independent* (Dublin, Ireland), April 18, 1908.


83 Geppert, *Fleeting Cities*, 121; and "To Fight Consumption," *Irish Independent* (Dublin, Ireland), October 19, 1908.
had, indeed, "visited" Ireland. Although Brown and Son did not recoup all of its investment from Ballymaclinton in 1908, it did generate nearly £20,000 through the sale of Irish-made goods and approximately £3500 in wages paid directly to Irish workers. In a letter to the editor printed in the *Irish Independent* in April 1909, Brown and Son reminded readers that Ballymaclinton assisted a struggling Irish workforce and because of their initiative, "work and wages in many an Irish cottage [occurred] where otherwise there would have been unemployment and want." In this same press release, the soap manufacturer stated that because their "village" did not generate as much of a profit for the anti-tuberculosis campaign as they hoped, the exhibit would continue to operate in the upcoming 1909 Imperial International Exhibition.  

Many contemporary Irish newspapers focused on the quasi-authentic nature of Ballymaclinton and the philanthropy of Brown and Son regarding their involvement with the eradication of tuberculosis within Ireland. The *Irish Independent* alerted its readers to the "realness" of Ballymaclinton: "never before has a real Irish village been seen out of Ireland.

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Every window and door came straight from the Emerald Isle." Although this particular report read at times as an advertisement for McClinton's Soap products and the other Irish-made items for sale, including lace, linen, underwear, handkerchiefs, and carpets, it stressed that all money collected "will go towards the Irish Anti-Consumption campaign."85 The West Cork-based Southern Star interpreted Ballymaclinton's appeal through a nostalgic lens when it wrote about the Irish workers: "They are the naive, unspoiled Irish of the bogs and hills. They are pure Celts without a taint of urban affection." In addition, these workers were also, "Irish exiles who have been whisked out of their solitary hills and bogs to the tumult and clamor of the great city."86 Although the Donegal News labeled Brown and Son's attempt to reconstruct an industrial-oriented Irish village at the Franco-British Exhibition as a sideshow, it argued, "The charm" of this exhibit "lies in the fact" that "everything, including the inhabitants, has come direct from the Emerald Isle." This news outlet also focused on the unmistakable smell of Irish peat used for heating and cooking in the thatched cottages.87 For many Irish newspapers, Ballymaclinton offered the sights, sounds, and scents of an Irish village without, in fact, being one.

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85 "The Irish Village at The Franco-British Exhibition," Irish Independent (Dublin, Ireland), May 9, 1908.
86 "Ballymaclinton," Southern Star (Cork, Ireland), May 30, 1908.
87 "Ballymaclinton in London," Donegal News (Donegal, Ireland), June 6, 1908.
Brown and Son, however, received criticism for its Irish "village." In fact, Robert Brown responded to harsh criticism by Frederick W. Crossley of the Irish Tourist Development Association who was a "transplanted Englishman" and "indefatigable promoter of the tourist sector in Ireland." Crossley took umbrage that Ballymaclinton focused too much on tuberculosis and thus portrayed Ireland as a disease-ridden island, and he questioned the usefulness and appropriateness of this display in general. Brown's response in the *Freeman's Journal* defended the mission of Ballymaclinton as a means to raise funds and awareness of the disastrous effects of tuberculosis in Ireland even though some, like Crossley, felt this damaged Ireland's global reputation. He also countered criticism that Ballymaclinton workers were not

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Irish when he wrote, "all that we can say is that every girl here that is dressed in Irish costume--and there are 160 of them--came straight from Ireland, except one French girl of Irish extraction." When it came to the uniforms of the "colleens," he asserted that even if these clothes were not specifically worn by "normal" Irish peasants, it was better that these workers clad themselves in Irish linen instead of "the cast off clothes of English swells, or the rubbish turned out by Whitechapel sweaters[.]" Brown reminded readers that his family's company did not mind if the managers of Ballymaclinton were questioned or ridiculed in the press, "but we are indignant at the shabby sneers at our girls. We say that a prettier, wittier, more modest set never left Ireland, and no firm ever had more willing helpers; the girls are splendid." Brown's letter to the editor concluded, "Ballymaclinton represents an Irish village as it would be if all its inhabitants were pledged total abstainers, as ours are." Of course, Brown could not help to include in this rebuke that his family's company spent a small fortune on building Ballymaclinton "and all we can hope for from it is an advertisement." Brown's parting salvo about advertisement revealed, in part, that the manipulation of Irishness for commercial endeavors at Ballymaclinton was definitely on the minds of its benefactors.

And advertise they did. A prevalent marketing strategy by Brown and Son was to sell inexpensive postcards in the Irish "village" that depicted the Ballymaclinton colleens as they engaged in their duties as Ireland's ambassadors to the Franco British Exhibition. The postcard business was quite lucrative with almost four million sent from the "village" post office alone during the duration of the exhibition. The postcard images appeared in both black and white...
and color, with a majority of the pictures that showed the colleens engaged in traditional practices such as dancing, carpet weaving, or riding on a donkey or inside of an Irish jaunting car. One even demonstrated the best way to kiss the Blarney Stone at Ballymaclinton (which cost one penny) in a partial reproduction of the castle's turret. The intent of this type of commodification of Irishness reinforced to viewers of these postcards that Ireland remained an idyllic and simple nation partially frozen in time that derived its identity through dogged adherence to time-honored activities and thus content in established, if outdated, modes of production or living standards.

92 "The Irish Village," Irish Independent (Dublin, Ireland), June 23, 1908. This article stated, "One penny is charged for the privilege of kissing the Blarney stone, which comes from Blarney, but is not, of course, the famous stone."
Brown and Son also focused on marketing the McClinton's Soap brand to all Ballymaclinton visitors. On a postcard labeled "Colleens Washing, Ballymaclinton," the soap makers captured their Irish maidens performing ritualistic cleansing, including face and hair washing, brushing teeth, and combing hair. In the background is a white stone thatched cottage with flowers on the windowsill. There is a large placard placed over one of the windows that read: "LADIES TOLIET Free Wash....with McCLINTON'S Soap which gives the Colleens their beautiful Complexions." It is difficult to note with certainty whether this sign appeared on the actual cottage or whether its addition came later when the original film was developed. Regardless, visitors who witnessed this scene could derive little else than this being a place where cleaning oneself with McClinton's brand soaps occurred. Interestingly, two of the
colleens appear barefoot thus denoting a tinge of cultural backwardness when compared to their shoe clad metropolitan "village" guests. On the reverse of this and all other Brown and Son-inspired postcards was the reminder of the provenance and character of the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition's Irish display: "BALLYMACCLINTON (McClinton's Town) erected by the makers of McClinton's Soap. The Irish Colleens use this soap, note their beautiful complexions."

The Ballymaclinton postcards differ greatly from other forms of Victorian and Edwardian advertisements about soap and cleanliness. Anandi Ramamurthy's work argues that marketing strategies "highlight general cultural perspectives" and "reveal political positions that reflect particular company interests." In her discussion of Victorian-era soap advertising, she writes, "it is clear that advertisers could find no better way to exaggerate the cleaning potential for their product than by depicting a black person--the classic symbol in Victorian England of the uncivilised and uncleansed soul--washing." In her work, Ramamurthy dissects myriad advertisements from Pears' Soap, Vinolia Soap, Lever Brothers, and others from the late
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and concludes that the black body was an "exotic plaything" used by various companies to sell their products. Although there is little doubt that Brown and Son capitalized on their use of the "colleen" image at this exhibition and in other marketing strategies for its business, it is unlikely that this Irish-owned soap works perceived its female workforce at Ballymaclinton as "exotic playthings." Instead, Brown and Son relied on contemporary depictions of the Irish and visitor's stereotypes about Ireland and its inhabitants when they formulated their company's promotional material.

Ballymaclinton's organizers endorsed their notion of Irishness, in part, by providing "village" visitors with a clean and tidy environment; scholarship linking Victorian and Edwardian ideals with cleanliness and civilization abound. As Juliann Sivulka reminds readers, "Nineteenth-century travelers, missionaries, anthropologists, and scientists habitually viewed cleanliness as a function of race." In her brief analysis of the Irish "village" at the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition, Annie E. Coombes writes of the colleens as "women [who] rose at the crack of dawn for spartan cold baths to keep [tuberculosis] at bay! They were thus living proof of a supposedly successfully implemented government health programme." As mentioned

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93 Anandi Ramamurthy, Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 2, 24, 65. Ramamurthy's work also examines the commodity culture surrounding tea, cocoa, tobacco, and the phenomenon of the Empire Marketing Board for the purpose of the British government's promotion of Empire products from 1926-1933.


95 Sivulka, Stronger Than Dirt, 100. She also states, "Once seen as a virtue with spiritual, moral, and material rewards, cleanliness came also to be an indicator that some European-Americans, white people, were more civilized than others."

above, the anti-tuberculosis campaign for Ireland originated with the initiative of Lady Aberdeen's Women's National Health Association (WNHA) and the traveling Tuberculosis Exhibit. By the start of this exhibition, Parliament became more active in the fight against this scourge. The Times reported that in mid-July, Lady Aberdeen officially opened "a model sanatorium in the village of Ballymacclinton" with the purpose "to educate the public in combating tuberculosis in Ireland[]." This newspaper stated that after Irish patients who suffered from consumption received proper medical attention, they "went home to preach the gospel of cleanliness, exercise, and discipline, and to set an example to other people in the country."97 Once again, Lady Aberdeen's imperial motherhood mindset emerged in order to educate and "uplift," in this instance, the tuberculosis-ridden Irish body.

Robert and David Brown, Lady Aberdeen, and others associated with the model sanatorium set up at Ballymacclinton received praise from the editors of The British Journal of Tuberculosis for their activities to eliminate the "white plague" from Ireland.98 This periodical printed two images showcasing two models of Irish bedrooms from the Tuberculosis Exhibit at Ballymacclinton. The first exhibit, labeled "Healthy Bedroom," depicted a tidy and clean sleeping space with separate bed, bureau, and washing stand. Plenty of sunlight streamed into the bedroom courtesy of a well positioned window. The second exhibit, labeled "Unhealthy Room," showed unkempt and filthy sleeping quarters with no natural light. Items are strewn about this room and any visitor would be hard pressed not to recognize the differences between this bedroom and its corollary.99 These two exhibits aimed to educate those who saw them that the best way to repel diseases, such as tuberculosis, was to ensure one's living quarters met basic

standards of hygiene in order to safeguard against infection, as championed by the activities of the WNHA. The sociopolitical significance of cleanliness and civilization overcoming filth and barbarism was also evident within the realm of this public space.

Figure 36: "Healthy Bedroom Exhibited at the Tuberculosis Exhibit in the Irish Village of the Franco-British Exhibition," The British Journal of Tuberculosis 2, issue 4 (October 1908): 310.

Figure 37: "Unhealthy Bedroom at the Tuberculosis Exhibit in the Irish Village of the Franco-British Exhibition," The British Journal of Tuberculosis 2, issue 4 (October 1908): 311.
In a recent article, Stephanie Rains asserts that Ballymaclinton's purpose was the promotion of "a specific product and public health." Although the Franco-British Exhibition housed various "villages," Rains discusses the paradox regarding fairgoers' perceptions of primitivism, especially when comparing the Irish and African "villages." She also argues that Ballymaclinton "stressed Irish modernity and commerce" through its historic reproductions and items for sale while African displays supported stereotypical renderings of black people in scant dress and prehistoric situations. Additionally, the Art Gallery in Ballymaclinton challenged imperial notions of Irish inferiority because it demonstrated sociocultural awareness, at least to many Europeans, of Irish advancements in this realm.  

Rains is correct in her analysis regarding the general intent of Brown and Son with Ballymaclinton. However, the Donaghmore-based soap works also manipulated traditional notions of Irish village life in order to sell their company's products; in this sense, then, Brown and Son, even though they were an Irish-based producer of luxury soaps, recognized the financial success to come from incorporating in their marketing strategy the simple and idyllic life so many people associated with Ireland's countryside. In short, Brown and Son relied on established Irish cultural tropes of ethnic display to increase awareness of their McClinton's Soap brand and therefore became active agents in the global commodification of Irishness.

By the time the 1908 Franco British Exhibition opened its gates to welcome fairgoers, most of those visitors could imagine how a typical Irish "village" display would appear; historic reproductions of well-known sites, cottage-made items for sale, the traditional thatched Irish abode, a map of Ireland made from the "ould sod," and the incorporation of "real" Irish workers demonstrating various crafts or activities enriched the "authentic" encounter one paid for without having to set foot in Ireland. Ballymaclinton was the grandest and most opulent spectacle of

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100 Rains, "The Ideal Home (Rule) Exhibition," 8-9.
Irishness to materialize at any national exhibition or world's fair in the transatlantic world by the early twentieth century. Its uniqueness, aside from its sheer size, concerns the fact that it was sponsored by an Irish-based company that exploited traditional notions of what it meant "to be Irish" for both commercial and nationalistic purposes. Brown and Son demonstrated, whether knowing or not, that Ireland's people and culture remained ethno-commercial commodities used to advance myriad objectives and agendas. The transformation of Ireland's population and lifestyle into a consumer good occurred through a complex metamorphosis that involved both Irish and non-Irish actors. By the time Irish interests began to take control of this dynamic, however, many recognized the futility of trying to completely rework contemporary ideas of Irishness; instead, those same tropes remained but on a much larger scale and it was this form of ethnic commodification that characterized how the Irish, under the stewardship of Brown and Son, partially "reclaimed" the ownership of Irishness in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Conclusion

By the turn of the twentieth century, multiple interests within the transatlantic community continued to use Irishness as a means to promote many objectives at local and international levels. Fair marketplaces remained contested areas for the display of Irishness yet they continued to attract large audiences that continually consumed portrayals of Ireland's heritage, products, and people within the manufactured reality of these transnational political spaces. In the United States, various American Irish organizations, such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians, still staged Irish Fairs as a catalyst to raise funds for their coffers or as a means to fundraise for a specific cause, such as the construction of a building to house and preserve the history and accomplishments of Irish descendants in major urban areas in America.
Internationally, however, certain Irish, specifically those of the entrepreneurial class in Dublin, began to assert increased agency when it came to the commodification of Irishness within the world's fair paradigm. The 1907 Irish International Exhibition was not supported by all of Ireland, especially those who considered themselves nationalists, and it paled in comparison to previous international exhibitions in size and profit. It was important, however, because it was the first time Irishmen directed and oversaw such activities on a scale of this magnitude.

The opening of the 1908 Franco British Exhibition brought to fair audiences the largest depiction of Irishness seen in the transatlantic world by the early twentieth century under the guise of Ballymaclinton, a "representative" Irish village paid for by a Donaghmore-based soap company, called Brown and Son, and run by Irish twin brothers. Although the primary benefactors of Ballymaclinton were Irish businessmen with nationalist leanings, they realized that drastically changing how an Irish "village" appeared in this type of venue would probably not be a winning formula; by this time, fairgoers expected gauche reproductions of Ireland's historic landmarks and relics and Irish "colleens" who performed cottage-based activities for their audiences. Even though Brown and Son included some new features, including a functioning post office, soap making demonstrations, and an informative Tuberculosis Exhibit produced by Lady Aberdeen's Women's National Health Association, their reliance on well-worn tropes of Irishness helped to perpetuate nostalgic notions of Ireland as a land partially frozen in time. Ultimately, Ballymaclinton increased the spectacle of Irishness to a new and unprecedented level; the "all-Irish" nature of this display from its inception provided a type of ethnocultural sanction within the public sphere. Ballymaclinton was the largest and most elaborate example of the commodification of Irishness at an exhibition thus far in history.
Domestic affairs in Ireland during this era remained complex. The final Irish home rule bill gained traction in 1912 but the outbreak of World War I in the summer of 1914 halted implementation of this legislation until hostilities on the European continent ceased. A group of Irish nationalists in Dublin, however, believed that the postponement of home rule action was yet another delaying tactic used by Parliament to hinder their freedoms. In spring 1916, these nationalists attempted to retake Dublin through physical force. Although they were not successful in their endeavors at this time, the actions of the Irish freedom fighters and the harshness of the British military in the aftermath of military operations helped to sway many Irish to the side of the nationalists. The early 1920s for Ireland witnessed the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, partition, civil war, peace, and a tense sociopolitical environment between those who supported the treaty and those who did not. In the aftermath of Ireland receiving dominion status and eventually becoming an independent nation in 1949, the presentation and commodification of Irishness at world's fairs began to evolve beyond the exhibits discussed so far in this dissertation. Although there would be a few missteps along the way, Irishness remained a valuable commodity throughout the twentieth century and it is to this story that we now turn.
Chapter Five

"Recapturing Irish": From Dominion to Republic

Introduction

The success of the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition at Shepherd's Bush, London became the catalyst for a series of imperial-themed events that occupied this fairground for the next three years. These smaller-scale extravaganzas included the 1909 Imperial International Exhibition, the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition, and the 1911 Coronation Exhibition.¹ The Irish section at the Imperial International Exhibition "made a gallant display of [Ireland's] varied industries." Readers of the Official Guide learned that Ballymaclinton "with its native industries and its ancient symbols, is again opened." Overall, Ireland's presentation was designed to make visitors reconsider their perceptions of the Emerald Isle as a place solely for agriculture; those who were skeptical received "a rude awakening after an inspection of the elaborate stalls and stands" with various items for sale that included "Soaps and perfumes, tobaccos and cigars, lace and linens, Irish homespun, and carpets[]." Many of the same tropes from 1908 remained; these included historic reproductions and "true" Irish workers who demonstrated craft-based industries. Profits from Ballymaclinton, once again, supported "the campaign against consumption in Ireland,

started by Her Excellency Lady Aberdeen."² Brown and Son remained steadfast supporters of Ballymaclinton for the 1909 and 1910 seasons before moving their model Irish "village" to Sydenham for the 1911 Festival of Empire.³

Although Brown and Son did not sponsor an Irish-oriented display at the 1911 Coronation Exhibition at Shepherd's Bush, the organizers and supporters of this event believed that providing spectators with a series of historical and nostalgic-tinged reproductions of various sorts, including an Irish Section, fit well with the empire-themed motif of this occasion.⁴ The Times (London) described this event as "a microcosm of the whole British Empire."⁵ Because this venue celebrated the crowning of a new British king (George V), it was not surprising that its exhibits supported notions of continuity and peaceful coexistence of His Majesty's subjects within the Empire. When it came to representing Ireland at this exhibition, predictable imagery prevailed and included partial reproductions of a round tower, cottage, idyllic scenery, and an Irish "colleen." In a fashion similar to the marketing strategy used by Brown and Son and their 1908 Irish "village" creation, the organizers of the Coronation Exhibition used photography and

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² Official Guide: Imperial International Exhibition London 1909, 3rd edition (Derby and London: Bemrose & Sons Limited, 1909), 9, 58-59. A new feature at the 1909 version of Ballymaclinton was the Irish Vegetarian Restaurant operated by the London-based J. Lyons & Co. This eatery was described as "A Delightful Rustic Cafe...with seating accommodation for a thousand people. The exterior is thatched, and the interior supported with huge rugged pine trunks. Massive pine beams also traverse the roof, from which are suspended baskets of native ferns and flowers. The public can use the restaurant without entering the village. The service has been reorganised, and is as efficient as could be desired. The Waitresses, who are Colleens brought expressly from Ireland for the purpose, lend an additional charm to the restaurant with their winsome manners and picturesque costumes." See Official Guide, 65.


⁴ The organizers and supporters of the 1911 Coronation Exhibition included numerous British politicians and businessmen. The Commission-General of this venue was Mr. Imre Kiralfy, a stalwart of the exhibition paradigm during this era. For a brief list of prominent individuals involved with this venue, see "The Coronation Exhibition," Times (London), February 3, 1911.

⁵ "The Coronation Exhibition," Times (London), November 8, 1910.
postcards to allow those who visited the fairgrounds an opportunity to purchase a piece of Ireland or mail it to friends and relatives.

In order to manufacture realistic scenes related to the British Empire, including Ireland, Scotland, India, and Uganda, the organizers of the 1911 Coronation Exhibition hired a small army of artists and designers to portray typical representations of life in these British-controlled territories. The sociocultural influence of these artists and designers reinforced contemporary perceptions of the Empire's "greatness" and "grandeur" within the public sphere for those who visited this exhibition. As Jeffrey Richards writes, "Myths and stereotypes are the essential elements of popular culture. These are far easier for audiences to identify and absorb than complex analyses of issues and historical problems." The dearth of complexity found within the artistic renderings of Ireland and elsewhere at the Coronation Exhibition emerge after examination of some of the postcards produced for this event. For example, a postcard titled "Irish Section, Dargle Bridge" showcased a replica of this County Wicklow overpass. An Irish colleen stood in the foreground dressed in a cloak and held a basket as she gazed at the environment around her. In the background was a small cottage made of stones and a partial reproduction of a round tower at the edge of a small stream. To add to the element of "realness," artists painted on large swaths of canvas a tranquil sky with billowing clouds and wooded scenery. Collectively, this postcard and others like it "transported" spectators to the idyllic environment of Ireland and other possessions of the Empire.

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7 Jeffrey Richards, "Ireland, the Empire and film," in *An Irish Empire*: Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire, ed. Keith Jeffery (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 25. Richards also argues, "The English domination of Ireland was the context from which the cultural images of Irishness sprang." See Richards, 27.
Although the Irish Section at the 1911 Coronation Exhibition was not as grand as previous displays of Irishness at the heart of the British Empire, it helped to reinforce notions of Ireland and other imperial territories as types of commodities for popular consumption. Writing about the authenticity of this exhibition's displays, the *Times* remarked "the whole of the Empire are represented with a prodigality and realism such as cannot fail to evoke wonder and admiration." The desire by advocates of empire to reproduce colonial holdings with as much detail as possible demonstrated their intent to "transport" viewers to other locations as a means to bolster national sentiment without having them leave London. Simultaneously, these exhibits also reinforced notions connected to empire and the tremendous power exerted by the metropole, especially when ethnic commodification occurred in the public sphere. In the decade after the

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8 "Coronation Exhibition," *Times* (London), May 17, 1911. In addition, this article stated, "The illusion is perfect, enabling any one who has not visited any of the places reproduced not only to see a faithful replica of the outlying cities and towns of the British Empire, but also to realize the atmosphere and workaday aspect of these places. Dark-skinned natives are busy plying their various crafts amongst the scenes, adding to the effect of reality. In fact, an Indian visitor in the early stages remembered, 'It is difficult to believe I am not in my own country again.'"
Coronation Exhibition, however, the "wonder and admiration" that many within Ireland felt had very little to do with a desire to please His Majesty or the British Parliament. In the aftermath of the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin, the political and cultural climate in Ireland shifted and helped to create the Irish Free State in 1922. Rampant nationalist sentiment continued to fray the sociopolitical fabric of the nation. Ireland remained a "reluctant dominion" for almost three decades until it formed an independent republic in 1949. regardless of internal strife in Ireland, however, the display of Irishness during the early and middle decades of the twentieth century persisted. The presentation of Irish culture, history, and heritage within the public sphere during this period remained malleable, thereby allowing for the continued commodification of Irishness by various groups. Although many of the traditional tropes of display persisted, by the 1960s it became evident to all who visited world's fairs that Ireland was now, in fact, its own nation representing its own people, society, and ideas.

It is the purpose of this final chapter to examine the shifting discourse that surrounded notions of Irishness as a valuable ethnic commodity at world's fairs and exhibitions between 1915 and 1965. Fair marketplaces remained contested areas regarding the display of Irishness but as the twentieth century progressed, especially by the 1930s, it became evident that the Irish government increased its control regarding portrayals of Irish heritage within the transnational political spaces of world's fairs. With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, organizers of the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) in San Francisco, California experienced difficulty regarding the display and incorporation of European-based goods and peoples. When it came to exhibiting Ireland at this fair, its organizers permitted a private concessionaire oversight with neither the British government nor the Irish themselves exercising

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much control over this display. The first part of this chapter discusses the disconnect regarding the presentation of Irishness at the PPIE in the guise of the "Shamrock Isle" and the problems it encountered shortly after opening that resulted in its complete failure. The second section of this chapter explores Ireland's exhibits during the 1930s at two prominent world's fairs in Chicago (the Century of Progress Exposition) and New York City (the New York World's Fair). During this era, Ireland held dominion status within the United Kingdom and the role of the Irish Free State regarding oversight and authority of Irishness at international exhibitions increased. By the mid-1960s, Ireland was a sovereign country. The first world's fair that Ireland participated in as an autonomous nation was the 1964-1965 New York World's Fair in Flushing Meadows, New York. This event marked the first time Ireland participated at a fair as an independent nation and it is this story that encompasses the final component of this chapter.

San Francisco's "Shamrock Isle"

The Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) opened on February 20, 1915 in San Francisco, California. Its purpose, aside from exhibiting the commercial, scientific, and artistic accomplishments of the United States and foreign nations, was to commemorate "the completion of the Panama Canal, which occurred in 1914." In addition, the PPIE showcased the spirit of revival that San Franciscans hoped to demonstrate to their national brethren in the wake of a devastating earthquake and fire in 1906. It was in this vein that the city's burgeoning business community championed San Francisco as the ideal setting for this international exposition; they believed that "it seemed logical to coordinate the timing of the fair with the completion of the canal." Events in Europe, however, initially stalled the celebratory demeanor of many

Americans when it came to the PPIE; in the summer of 1914, the First World War erupted and mired Europeans in armed conflict. Although the United States government remained "neutral" regarding Europe's descent into madness, the PPIE organizers used WWI as an opportunity to encourage Americans who usually sojourned to Europe to, instead, journey to America's West Coast and explore the Pacific region.  

Although the outbreak of the Great War hampered the initiatives of some European nations to participate fully in the PPIE, the British government actually decided in the summer of 1913 that it would not partake in the San Francisco fair. Some British observers argued that too many world's fairs occurred in the first part of the twentieth century thereby diminishing chances for profitability. Others asserted that the terms outlined by the U.S. government in its proposed regulation and imposition of tolls on ships passing through the newly constructed Panama Canal were unjust, especially as this concerned British maritime interests. Because of Ireland's sociopolitical status with Britain during this era, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland (an entity of the British Parliament and significant contributor to the Irish display at the 1904 St. Louis fair) declared that it would not participate at the PPIE either.

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13 “The Panama Exhibition,” Times (London), August 1, 1913; "Britain and the Panama Exhibition," Times (London), August 2, 1913; “Great Britain and the Panama Exhibition,” Times (London), August 4, 1913; and "Panama Exhibition," Times (London), August 16, 1913. Although Britain and Germany decided against official participation at the PPIE, both nations supported efforts by private interests in showcasing various industries from each country. See "The Panama Exhibition," Times (London), August 13, 1913; and "San Francisco Exhibition," Times (London), September 12, 1913.

14 J. L. Fawsitt, letter to the editor, Irish Independent (Dublin, Ireland), January 10, 1914. In this letter Fawsitt, secretary of the Cork Industrial Development Association, called the DATII's decision not to participate in the PPIE "regrettable" because "it is highly desirable that Irish exporting manufacturers should be represented" due to the lucrative nature of transatlantic trade, especially with the "markets in the Western States of America."
Therefore, it was up to enterprising San Franciscans of Irish lineage to champion the presentation of Ireland at this world's fair.  

Like its predecessors, the PPIE focused on education and entertainment-oriented elements. The main area of the exhibition consisted of various "palaces" within self-contained courtyards meant to highlight various subjects, including agriculture, transportation, machinery, and mines and metallurgy. The amusement section, referred to as the Zone, was located in the eastern portion of the fair grounds near the Van Ness Avenue entrance and included myriad displays with "the high point for visitors [being] a working scale model of the Panama Canal, complete with a description that fairgoers could hear on telephone receivers as they glided around the five-acre exhibit on moving sidewalks." Other attractions were reproductions of the Grand Canyon, a Cyclorama Battle of Gettysburg, Mohammed's Mountain, Yellowstone Park, and numerous ethnically-inspired displays. In short, the Zone, according to a contemporary 

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17 Fair America, 67. According to Frank Morton Todd, compiler and author of the first multi-volume scholarly work of the PPIE, world's fairs manifested an environment where entertainment seemed only natural. He wrote, "There are many dignified reasons for having an amusement district in connection with an international exposition; such as precedent (usually respectable), the need of the public for relaxation, the exhibition of strange peoples and customs as part of the subject-matter of education, or the promotion of a diverting night life under proper regulations. But we may as well admit the main reason, which is that people want to have some fun and there is no reason why they shouldn't have it to the profit of the undertaking." See Frank Morton Todd, The Story of the Exposition: Being the Official History of the International Celebration Held at San Francisco in 1915 to Commemorate the Discovery of the Pacific Ocean and the Construction of the Panama Canal, vol. 1 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), 170.
publication, promised that this area "will be a living color page of the world with attractions drawn from the ends of the earth."  

One of the "villages" located within the Zone was, not surprisingly, an Irish-inspired exhibit. Prominent Irish residents of San Francisco formed the Celtic Society of the Panama-Pacific Exposition (CSPPE) with the aim to entice Irish manufacturers to participate in this endeavor as many had done in previous exhibitions. According to the San Francisco Leader,

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18 The Exposition Fact Book (Third Edition): Panama-Pacific International Exposition at San Francisco, February 20 to December 4, 1915, 17; and Rydell, All the World's a Fair, 228-229.

19 Markwyn, Empress San Francisco, 107. In her monograph, Markwyn includes the term "International" when referencing this Celtic Society to the PPIE; however, the term "International" was not included as a descriptor in newspaper sources referring to this organization. Referencing Zone amusements, Markwyn examines Chinese, Irish, and African American communities and their endeavors "to claim space to assert their political and social goals" and with the start of the PPIE, "conflicts emerged over the representation of each of these groups on the
the aim of the CSPPE was to "erect a building known as the Irish Building" or, at the very least, "obtain a thoroughly representative showing of the industries and arts of Ireland." In remarks presented by a subcommittee of the CSPPE to the Directors of the PPIE about an Irish-oriented exhibit, "It would be a matter of gratification and pride to a great body of Californians and other Americans of the Celtic race to find their mother country properly represented." The subcommittee also intimated that Irish goods of various sorts "have won a high position in the industrial and commercial world" thereby attempting to assuage any concerns that PPIE officials might have regarding an Irish display on the fairgrounds.20 Due to PPIE regulations and Ireland's political status, however, it was not eligible to occupy space along the main fairgrounds.

Organizers of the PPIE remained cautious before they gave approval for an Irish-themed exhibit. Although the Irish displays at previous world's fairs in Chicago (1893) and St. Louis (1904) attracted large audiences, many remained skeptical about the appropriateness of those "villages." In hopes of preventing negative perceptions of San Francisco's abundant Irish and American Irish population at the PPIE, the exposition's organizers set out to gain approval from prominent Irish Catholics in the city to ensure that the content and quality of the Irish exhibit was suitable for audiences.21 By autumn 1913 newspapers in the United States and Ireland announced that an "Irish village" would have a place at the PPIE along the Zone and its official designation would be "Shamrock Isle."22

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20 “Ireland To Have A Big Exhibit in 1915,” Leader (San Francisco, CA), June 7, 1913.
21 Markwyn, Empress San Francisco, 115-116.
22 “Ireland in America,” Connacht Tribune (Galway, Ireland), August 30, 1913; "Ireland Will Exhibit," Kentucky Irish American (Louisville, KY), September 13, 1913; "Ireland in America," Kentucky Irish American (Louisville, KY), October 4, 1913; and Freemans Journal (Dublin, Ireland), October 9, 1913.

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The Kenneth Croft Amusement Company emerged as the primary concessionaire for Shamrock Isle. In an attempt to ensure that this exhibit included authentic Irish displays, Kenneth Croft traveled to Ireland over the summer in 1913 to entice Irish manufacturers to participate in this endeavor. Initial press coverage in Ireland of Croft's activities presented readers with assurances that Shamrock Isle "will not be a mere sideshow as at former expositions" and that, instead, it "will be a highly artistic and elaborate exhibit of all that is best and most beautiful of Irish manufactured products." Irish readers were also reassured that the Shamrock Isle "is in the hands of prominent Irishmen in California who will see that the section is a serious and earnest attempt to show what Ireland produces and makes for sale[]." To guarantee that this display achieved "absolute correctness," Irish readers also learned that "a small army of artists and architects [was] despatched to Ireland to make exact replicas of actual scenes of Irish life" and that these would "avoid any features that could be construed to be a burlesque on Irish life[]." In remarks made to the Connacht Tribune, Croft declared, "I do not want necessarily the most expensive commodities, but the most beautiful and the most redolent of the soil. It will be my earnest endeavour to make the section one of which Irishmen may well feel proud."24

By autumn 1913, however, some press reports questioned the validity of Kenneth Croft and his business enterprise regarding Ireland's display at the PPIE. Concern arose about the physical structures of the Shamrock Isle and the ideas about Irish culture and history transmitted to fairgoers from Croft's Zone concession. The Butte Independent questioned the positive

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23 Memos dated December 1, 1913; January 20, 1914; and April 6, 1914 to Kenneth Croft Amusement Co. from Assistant Director of Works of the PPIE regarding construction of Shamrock Isle concession, Panama Pacific International Exposition Records, BANC MSS C-A 190, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. (From this point onward, material from this specific collection is abbreviated as PPIE Records-Bancroft.)

24 "Ireland in America.; Freemans Journal (Dublin, Ireland), October 9, 1913; and "Irish Exhibit in San Francisco," Donegal News (Donegal, Ireland) October 18, 1913. The Society and Drama section of the Washington Herald reported, "Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Croft, of San Francisco, have arrived after a visit to Dublin." See Washington Herald, November 9, 1913.
articles that emanated from various Irish newspapers regarding Croft's inquiries in Ireland to secure Irish participation. This news outlet labeled the Shamrock Isle "a side show" that was "being exploited by an English individual, who has not received any sanction from the committee of gentlemen who are in charge of the Irish exhibit at the 1915 fair." Ultimately, the *Butte Independent* warned its readership to "Beware of fakers" and "traveling imposters."\(^{25}\) The *Irish Industrial Journal* championed the efforts of the CSPPE and lambasted those who came to Ireland hoping to replicate Irish charm and appeal for audiences at the PPIE. It reminded readers that the CSPPE was "composed of the most responsible people in the business world of San Francisco, and has steadfastly refused to have anything to do with demonstrations, amusement concessions or any money-making concerns connected with the Fair." When it came to descriptions regarding the activities of Kenneth Croft, this newspaper did not hold back. It referred to Croft as "simply a concessionary" who was "an Englishman who wishes to extract the big, round, juicy dollars from the Irish-American pocket." The article concluded that Croft's Irish attraction at the PPIE would be tantamount to "the concession for the Hairy Hottentots or the Blueberry Esquimaux" and "the whole thing has an ancient and mouldy smell of small graft."\(^{26}\)

As negative press reports arrived in San Francisco from Irish periodicals regarding the proposed Shamrock Isle concession at the PPIE, the CSPPE responded to assuage fears by their Irish brethren across the Atlantic. In fact, the secretary of the Cork Industrial Association, Mr. J. L. Fawsitt, wrote to the CSPPE (also referred to by some as the "Irish Committee") and inquired about the credentials of Mr. Croft and his association with the PPIE. Mr. Richard C. O'Connor, secretary of the CSPPE and thirty year employee of the Hibernia Bank in San Francisco,

\(^{26}\) Excerpts from *Irish Industrial Journal* printed in "The Irish Village," *Leader* (San Francisco, CA), September 27, 1913.
responded in early January 1914 to the *Irish Independent* about the questionable publicity wrought by Croft's visit to Ireland. O'Connor assured the Irish that Croft's concession was only one aspect of the proposed Irish exhibit at the PPIE and that the Shamrock Isle was a private, commercial enterprise that would be only a single component of the Irish exhibit. In his letter, O'Connor quoted from the contract between the Irish Committee and Mr. Croft: "The nature of the concession is a reproduction of an Irish Village showing all Irish sports, pastimes, handiwork, etc...in all Irish surroundings[]" The Shamrock Isle, as outlined in this contract, "is to be arranged and conducted in its last detail in accord with the strictest regard for the sensibilities of our Irish community[]" As a County Kerry-born Irishman, O'Connor assured the readers of the *Irish Independent* that no distortions of Irish life had a place at the PPIE and that "none of the vulgarity and caricature which were so offensive at the Chicago and St. Louis Exhibitions will be permitted." Although O'Connor did not provide details as to what made previous Irish displays at world's fairs offensive, his letter intimated that those specific events transmitted ideas that were incongruous with authentic Irishness and that exhibits of this sort could very easily reinforce harmful stereotypes of the Irish, especially within the United States.

In an effort to allay fears of Irish Catholics in San Francisco regarding the accuracy of the Irish exhibit at the PPIE, the newspaper of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, the *Monitor*, published a front-page article with the manager of the Shamrock Isle, Michael O'Sullivan, in its March 14, 1914 issue. O'Sullivan, described as a "Californian artist," reassured readers that this representation of Ireland would be tasteful, in part, because of his recent journey to Ireland

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27 "Contract with Mr. Croft," *Irish Independent* (Dublin, Ireland), January 10, 1914. Mr. O'Connor also wrote, "I have no desire to say anything to the detriment of Mr. Croft's enterprise; on the contrary, I shall do what I can to contribute to its success. But I hold the success of an Irish exhibit to be superior to that of any private enterprise, and, therefore, in reply to your inquiry I have endeavoured to place this matter fully before you." For a brief biography of Mr. Richard C. O'Connor, see Patrick F. McGowan, ed., *The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society* vol. 10 (New York, N.Y.: Published by the Society, 1911), 397.
where he collected items and information to showcase within the Zone concession. In his interview with the Monitor, O'Sullivan provided an overview of the various elements for the Shamrock Isle. These included, but were not limited to, replicas of St. Lawrence's Gate, round towers, cottages and workers representing "the Irish spirit" and a "pure Celtic" nature, and "Gaelic games, music, dances, [and] jaunting cars[.]" He emphasized that the exhibit would include "girls direct from Ireland with their rosy cheeks and happy faces" who were "ready to supply all comers with treasures and keepsakes of Irish manufacture." Not surprisingly, O'Sullivan's connection with Kenneth Croft did not appear in this article. Another omission, whether intentional or not, was the conflation that the Shamrock Isle, clearly labeled a concession by multiple Irish and U.S. news outlets, had become the primary display element for Ireland at the PPIE. Although the CSPPE promised to ensure a legitimate Irish-oriented exhibit, their efforts, ultimately, failed because they could not fulfill their promise of a non-Zone display of Ireland's culture, history, and industry.

A few weeks after the Monitor exposé, imagery appeared in San Francisco's Leader that called into question the intentions of Croft and the Shamrock Isle concession. Responding in a first page article about cartoons from the San Francisco Call, the Leader subtitled its article, "Panama Pacific Irish Exhibit on a Par With the Insults of Chicago and St. Louis Fairs See the Evidence." It described Croft as being the most "English of the English" and questioned his ability to oversee the Shamrock Isle. The Leader referred to Croft in derogatory terms throughout and, ultimately, described him as "all around Poobah of the 'Irish' exhibit[.]" The article concluded that the cartoons printed by the San Francisco Call were "intended for purpose of ridicule."  

28 "Ireland At The 1915 World's Fair," Monitor (San Francisco, CA), March 14, 1914.
29 "The "Shamrock Isle" Starts Caricaturing In Advance," Leader (San Francisco, CA), April 4, 1914.
The *Leader* deemed it important enough to re-print two of the offending images. The first cartoon showed a smiling Irishman wearing a top hat and fine dress atop a floating shamrock labeled "Shamrock Isle" while simultaneously brandishing a shillelagh and shield with the Irish "trademark" symbol; the "trademark" represented a marking that became common in the early twentieth century that was placed upon a product made specifically in Ireland to alert consumers to the legitimacy of the item. The captions read, "You can visit Ireland and return the same day" and described Ireland as "The only nation with a trademark." In the background stand stereotypical pictorial representations of leading nations, including "Uncle Sam" and "John Bull," who stare in bewilderment at the Irishman. The other drawing showcased a completed Shamrock Isle with castles, cottages, and round towers. An enlarged figure, meant to represent Kenneth Croft, tromps through the "village" holding a lantern and the dialogue balloon above his head read, "This is too good to be true." There is a harp in the foreground with the names of prominent members of the Executive Committee of the CSPPE in lieu of strings. Although a caption appeared that promised that no negative portrayals of Ireland would be evident at Croft's "village," some readers could have viewed the size discrepancy between Croft and the miniaturized village as representing the centuries long power struggle between Ireland and England. The *Leader* reinforced its perception of the hierarchical relationship between Croft and the CSPPE when it asked, "What do the 'Shamrock Isle' 'strings' think of their master now?"  

Although the harsh criticism of the *Leader* toward the CSPPE "strings" may have been warranted in the opinion of some, the CSPPE was a voluntary organization devoted to protecting Ireland's image at the PPIE. Even though the CSPPE was not successful in its endeavors, their actions matter historically because this group, composed of prominent San Franciscans of Irish lineage,  

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30 Ibid.
believed it important enough to take action to safeguard how their ancestry appeared within the public sphere.

During the time in which the above cartoons appeared in San Francisco newspapers, review of architectural plans for the Shamrock Isle by the Assistant Director of Works for the PPIE commenced. The Kenneth Croft Amusement Company emerged as a primary correspondent with PPIE officials about construction initiatives for this concession and early into the project's planning Croft's company received news that its architect's schematics were "in
good shape to the site granted for the purpose.\footnote{31} Although the Chief Structural Engineer and Assistant Superintendent for Building Construction for the PPIE sent notices to Croft's architect (Mr. Benjamin McDoughal) regarding some concerns about the installation of the Shamrock Isle, such as deficiencies "building the central tower for Drogheda Gate" and criticism that it may collapse "from a high wind" if not adequately reinforced, delays for its opening remained minimal.\footnote{32} In addition, the inclusion of two separate theaters within this concession demonstrated that Croft's company believed that staged, theatrical entertainment of various forms was of vital importance in order to garner profits from this exhibit.\footnote{33}

Although construction of the Irish display at the PPIE proceeded, generally, apace, the Shamrock Isle concession did have trouble when it came to "booking" acts of an Irish nature. In fact, as late as January and February 1915 advertisements appeared in \textit{Billboard}, a New York-based entertainment magazine that focused on live performances, that requested showmen's services for the Shamrock Isle. These ads, in part, asked for "Sub-Concessions," "Acts," and "Attractions" for the "Irish Village" at the "World's Fair, San Francisco." Also, these advertisements promised "Space for display or sale of novelties" and that "Attractive Booths and Cottages [were] now ready" for interested individuals who had a penchant for "Children's Theatre, Sports, [and] Pastimes."\footnote{34} The existence of these announcements is unique for various reasons: unlike previous displays of an Irish character at pre-1915 fairs, ads existed to entice fairgoers' attendance at "villages," not as a way of soliciting performers for those "villages"; these ads demonstrated that shortly before the Shamrock Isle opened at the PPIE, there were

\footnote{31} Memo dated April 6, 1914 from Assistant Director of Works to Kenneth Croft Amusement Co. regarding architectural specifications of the Shamrock Isle, PPIE Records-Bancroft.  
\footnote{32} Memos dated July 16, 1914 and July 31, 1914 regarding construction of the Shamrock Isle Concession, PPIE Records-Bancroft.  
numerous vacancies within it that required efforts to "book" its spaces; and, finally, these ads revealed that the discourse of the Irish "village" paradigm and interest in it was beginning to wane for American audiences and performers who might have viewed such displays by this time as anathema to ethnic pride and their perceptions of Irishness, especially when some news outlets within the transatlantic world initially questioned the intent of this display.

By the opening of the PPIE, however, the Leader halted its attack on the Shamrock Isle and emerged as a proponent of this exhibit's success. In its March 6, 1915 issue, the Leader profiled the Shamrock Isle and declared it the most "attractive feature" within the Zone and that "every effort has been made to faithfully present the best and most artistic of Ireland's historical landmarks." After a detailed description of this "village," the article focused attention on the items for sale; these consisted of "Beautiful and exclusive novelties" shipped "from Ireland" that were readily available for purchase "in thatched roofed cottages[.]" In addition, the Irish Theatre showcased "sweet voiced singers [who] present[ed] an attraction of unusual merit." The Leader concluded that this attraction was for the "young and old" and, ultimately, there was "a sense of culture and refinement" within the Shamrock Isle.35 It is unclear as to what accounted specifically for the newspaper's shifting perspective. One explanation is that once Croft's concession opened and reporters and "the public" investigated it, they concluded that the Irish "village" at the PPIE, like the ones in Chicago and St. Louis, romanticized and commoditized Ireland in a manner to which most fairgoers could relate.

35 "Irish Village At The World's Fair," Leader (San Francisco, CA), March 6, 1915. In this same issue, the Leader printed an advertisement for the Shamrock Isle that asserted all items were "faithfully and lovingly transported or reproduced." It enticed readers with the following: "Try the Rocky Road to Dublin, and let the genuine Jaunting Cars take you for a ride. A Theatre with Irish talent and Irish management. Get a lucky horseshoe from the village blacksmith, and then consult the infallible fortune teller. Why not have a sip of tea with your friends, and select some genuine Irish crochet to take home? None like it outside the Old Country." Ultimately, this advertisement described the Shamrock Isle as "a whole world in itself" and concluded, "The Zone without the Shamrock Isle would be like the world without Ireland."
It appeared that the height of interest in the Shamrock Isle materialized about six weeks after the PPIE opened its gates. Irish Day at the fair occurred on March 17, 1915 with record crowds. Media coverage emphasized the fervor of fairgoers: "Not since the opening day has there been such an enthusiastic demonstration as that which marked the celebration of St. Patrick's day within the portals of the exposition." The color green appeared everywhere at the PPIE, with even "the benches along the avenues and in the courts [painted] green." Public orations celebrated the spirit of Hibernians and their historical contributions to the United States. The main speaker for the day, attorney John J. Barrett, stressed the loyalty of the Irish and their descendants in America. He proclaimed, "We thank the God of nations and of battles today, first and foremost, that we are American citizens. Above our pride in our ancient lineage is our pride
in our citizenship in the American Republic." The fervor that engulfed the Shamrock Isle on Irish Day, however, did not last the duration of this world's fair.

Fairgoer's interest in the Shamrock Isle waned over the course of spring 1915. By early April, admission fees to enter the "Irish Village" disappeared. Reductions in sales and attendance forced the Kenneth Croft Amusement Company to take further drastic action. In late May, the San Francisco Chronicle reported that the Shamrock Isle, after some renovations, contained "two theaters, one with Gaelic singing and dancing and the other a vaudeville show[.]"

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37 Advertisement for "Irish Village," San Francisco (CA) Chronicle, April 3, 1915. A similar ad also appeared in the same newspaper on June 19 that enticed spectators, in addition to free admission, to see "Irish Lads and Lassies in Gaelic Singing and Dancing" and witness a "Sensational Boxing Exhibition[]." It reminded readers that the Shamrock Isle was "Where the Breath of the Shamrock Reigns." See Advertisement for "Irish Village," San Francisco (CA) Chronicle, June 19, 1915.

By mid-August, Croft submitted to the Executive sub-Committee for Concessions and Admissions a proposal to merge the Shamrock Isle with the Streets of Cairo concession. The sub-Committee rejected this initiative. It is not surprising that this committee refused Croft's request, particularly if one considers the initial concerns that appeared in 1913 and 1914 regarding the Irish display along the Zone. When planning for the PPIE began, its organizers recognized the importance of curtailing any public exhibits linked to Ireland that might disparage this group. Concern by Irish and American Irish in California and elsewhere that Ireland not be "burlesqued" at the PPIE remained an important point. According to the 1910 census, San Francisco's Irish-born population was 23,151 and its second-generation residents amounted to 43,633; the Irish, in short, represented the largest "ethnic" community in San Francisco.

Positive public perception of Ireland, especially due to the substantial numbers of American Irish who lived in the San Francisco area, remained vital to the leadership of the PPIE; anything done to dissuade individuals from visiting the fairgrounds was contrary to their overall mission.

Approximately two weeks later, Croft submitted another proposition regarding the Shamrock Isle. This time, the Executive sub-Committee approved. Croft asked that his Irish concession be renamed "Streets of All Nations." This new attraction aimed to reproduce an authentic trip for visitors to various countries without the inconvenience of ever leaving the United States. This transition helped Croft financially but as Frank Morton Todd concluded in

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39 Letter dated August 19, 1915 from the Executive sub-Committee to the Director of Concessions and Admissions, PPIE Records-Bancroft.
40 U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Population 1910," vol. 2, 162, https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html (accessed May 2, 2015). The Irish represented 23.5% of the "Foreign White Stock" population in the 1910 census for San Francisco with Germans (20.9%) and Italians (10.2%) comprising, respectively, the second and third largest groupings after the Irish.
41 Letter dated August 31, 1915 from the Executive sub-Committee to Director of Concessions and Admissions, PPIE Records-Bancroft.
his classic opus about the PPIE, Croft's exhibit "was no longer Irish."42 In fact, the Bakersfield Californian reported in early October 1915 that the California State Commission to the Exposition began proceedings to close the Shamrock Isle exhibit due to improper activities.43

Although it was common for concessioners in the amusement-oriented sections of world's fair to change the names of their exhibits or entirely revamp what appeared within them after a fair's opening, this particular instance warrants additional consideration. Until 1915, Irish displays and "villages" at world's fairs routinely made profits or, at the very least, garnered a high-level of popularity from fairgoers. The Shamrock Isle at the PPIE was the first instance that the traditional tropes linked to how Ireland, its people, and culture appeared at these international events no longer kept the sustained interest of fair attendees. Although millions of people journeyed to the PPIE, most, especially the American Irish, remained aloof when it came to "visiting Ireland" on the Zone.

Transatlantic troubles, such as the Great War and continued sociopolitical problems between Britain and Ireland during this era, no doubt contributed to the shifting discourse regarding how the Irish appeared at international exhibitions and, by default, within the global community. By spring 1916, Dublin became a temporary battle zone because a small group of Irish felt that self-government was too important to ignore. Although visitors to and commentators on the PPIE could not forecast events that transpired in Dublin, many openly questioned the strictly romanticized way that Ireland continued to be exhibited for international audiences. Ideas of Ireland's "quaintness" and "romantic" landscape succumbed to serious issues

42 Todd, The Story of the Exposition, vol. 2, 358-359. Todd recounted, "As an Irish Village the Shamrock Isle, with two theaters, failed to reach any very altitudinous position in the financial world. The public did not seem especially interested in Irish singing and clog dancing--at least not enough of the public to make it pay in that form." In addition, William Lipsky writes, "The Shamrock Isle, the Zone's only European village, fared poorly; its folk singers and clog dancers failed to bring in many patrons. The Streets of All Nations, which replaced it, did better, perhaps because the new concessionaires added a raised platform to the entrance, allowing passersby to watch as others filed into the attraction." See Lipsky, San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 95.
43 "Girl Shows at Exposition are to Be Closed," Bakersfield (CA) Californian, October 7, 1915.
that revolved around the notion of national self-determination that emerged in the wake of World War I.

Ireland returns to the United States

The trauma of the Great War did not destroy interest in international exhibitions. In the decade after World War I, six world's fairs occurred in locales that included Rio de Janiero, Wembley, Paris, and Philadelphia. These events, like others before, strove to reinvigorate local economies, champion human advancement in various subjects, and celebrate the history and culture of the global community. One of the grandest of these endeavors materialized with the British Empire Exhibition in 1924 and 1925 at Wembley. Its purpose was to "ensure the empire's stability after World War I" and "counter wide-scale unemployment and the threatening economic decline" in the wake of war.\textsuperscript{44} When it came to showcasing Ireland at Wembley, the display focused solely on the activities of County Tyrone in Northern Ireland. Although there was an Ulster Pavilion, it was evident that a north-south divide within Ireland existed. The participation of the Irish Free State did not transpire due to the financial burden associated with doing so but there was strong nationalist sentiment in "the south" to avoid all things linked to the British Empire so soon after the Irish Civil War. Although a few private Irish enterprises did display their commodities, the overall tone of the Ulster Pavilion concerned ideas of "loyalty" to His Majesty's Government.\textsuperscript{45}

By the early 1930s, the world experienced and suffered yet another cataclysmic event known as the Great Depression. National economies reeled from the weight of fiscal fallouts. Bankruptcies and the closure of multiple institutions, such as banks and railroads, weakened the

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{44} Alexander C. T. Geppert, "Wembley 1924-25," in \textit{Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions}, 231.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{45} Malloy, "Exhibiting Ireland: Irish Villages, Pavilions, Cottages, and Castles at International Exhibitions, 1853-1939," 186-188.}
economic resolve of all nations, including the United States. The turmoil wrought by this economic crisis forced nations to reevaluate their financial policies. In America, President Franklin D. Roosevelt introduced the controversial "New Deal" that expanded federal reach into the personal lives of most Americans. Although Roosevelt's policies did not, in and of themselves, "rescue" the United States from the Great Depression, his "can do" attitude buttressed by an expansion of executive-level authority began to reduce the devastation experienced by most of America.\textsuperscript{46}

As a way to celebrate American progress and to offer a form of escapism from the doldrums of the Great Depression, Chicago hosted A Century of Progress Exposition (CPE) between May and November 1933. Organized to celebrate Chicago's centennial, this event primarily focused on scientific and technological advancements. Hoping to attract significant international participation and attendance, organizers of the CPE used \textit{Progress} as its primary publicity outlet in the years that led to the opening of this world's fair. This periodical answered why international participation was so vital to the success of this event: "Chicago recognizes that its growth to greatness has not been due to factors which the city itself contributed, but to the efforts of many men in many different lands" and ultimately, the CPE "will provide an opportunity to demonstrate that progress knows no geography nor national frontiers; that the instinct of man to ameliorate the conditions of his fellow creatures is universal."\textsuperscript{47} As John E. Findling writes, "By the time the fair opened in 1933, the trauma of the Great Depression made

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\textsuperscript{47} "Why International?," \textit{Progress}, December 9, 1931, 2 in Hyde Park Historical Society Collection, Box 89 Folder 7, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago. (From this point onward, this collection is abbreviated as HPHSC, Box # Folder #, UChicago.)
\end{flushleft}
the positive, upbeat theme of scientific progress even more popular among visitors."48 The success of this event led its continuance for another season in 1934.

Although human advancement in the fields of science and technology occupied central billing, the committee that oversaw planning of the CPE knew that entertainment was just as important to fairgoers. Progress summarized the intent of the CPE to have a recreation-oriented section when it intimated "amusements are quite in order for those who will visit the Exposition in the holiday spirit." Additionally, it was "expected that the amusement zone of the coming Exposition will be as outstanding in its appeal and attraction for visitors as was the Midway Plaisance in 1893."49 Located in the center of the exposition, the Midway at the 1933 CPE included a roller coaster, games, magic, "wrestlers, fencers, sword fighters, and Egyptian diviners and jugglers" as well as displays that showcased foreign locales such as "Cairo, Damascus, Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers[.]"]50 The only European nation to have its own "village" was Belgium and its focus concerned historic reproductions. Its success spurred other European nations, including the Irish government, to construct similar model "villages" for the 1934 CPE.51

The Irish Free State chose the 1933 CPE as its first foray into the world's fair paradigm. Sensing the potential profitability of an Irish exhibit, CPE officials lobbied early for the Irish government to commit. In October 1931, Felix J. Streyckmans, Chief of the Foreign

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49 "Plan All Types Of Concessions For Exposition," Progress, October 7, 1931, 2 in HPHSC, Box 89 Folder 7, UChicago.
50 "Belgian Village To Be Built For Fair," Progress, September 14, 1932, 1 in HPHSC, Box 89 Folder 7, UChicago; and Findling, "Chicago 1933-1934," in Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions, 272.
Participation Division at the CPE, wrote to C. J. O'Donovan, Secretary Legation of the Irish Free State, Washington, D.C., that a Irish-oriented display at Chicago would be most welcome and that it "would be of great benefit in keeping thoughts of the fatherland fresh in the memory of the nationals of Irish origin living in [the United States]." 52 By late 1932, the Irish Free State declared it would participate in the CPE. The Irish display, located in the Hall of Nations section of the Travel and Transport Building, focused on presenting traditional arts and crafts in tandem with technological advancements. In a press release from the CPE, W. J. B. Macaulay, Irish Consul General to New York, declared, "At former expositions, Ireland reproduced its typical peasant life. We had Irish cottages, with women making lace at hand looms. But the time has come to show more important aspects of Irish life." He concluded, "Instead of the hand loom, we wish to show the development of our industries since 1922, such things, for instance, as the development of water power from the River Shannon." 53

Shortly before the CPE opened, Daniel J. McGrath, Irish Consul General in Chicago, made an address over the airways of WGN regarding his nation's participation at this event: "The contribution of my Country to the World's Fair marks a new departure, in that this will be the first time at which an Irish government has ever participated in a foreign exhibition." He referenced the types of commodities on display that included "handwoven tweeds and linens, our gold and silver ornaments, our stained glass, and our wood, enamel and leather work, our poplins, laces and knitwear." McGrath continued, the Irish Free State "[is] presenting to you at our exhibit a large collection of paintings by our great modern artists." 54 The Chicago Daily Tribune credited the art display in the Irish Free State exhibit as the catalyst for increased

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52 A Century of Progress records, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago, Box 61 Folder 2-1090. (From this point onward, this collection is abbreviated as COP Records-Ullinois-Chicago, Box # Folder #.)
53 COP Records-Ullinois-Chicago, Box 61 Folder 2-1092.
54 COP Records-Ullinois-Chicago, Box 61 Folder 2-1089.
awareness regarding cultural and artistic refinement along the grounds of the CPE.\textsuperscript{55} In addition, the Irish Free State demonstrated "how it transformed the River Shannon from a subject of sentimental songs to a great new power development."\textsuperscript{56} The model of a hydroelectric power plant demonstrated that Ireland was, in fact, a nation that offered more than Celtic quaintness and romantic landscapes.

Even though the Irish Free State occupied almost 2,000 square feet of space in the Hall of Nations exhibit, various entities emerged to champion an Irish-American Village at the 1933 CPE. Potential profits, no doubt, from this type of "village" influenced many in the Chicago area in their attempts to secure this specific concession. In the months before this exposition opened, many people wrote to CPE officials and inquired regarding the status of an Irish or Irish-American Village. The following example illustrates the type and style of their correspondence, particularly as it concerned the commodification of Ireland and the ritualization of its display: Stephen A. Mackey from Chicago wrote in late March 1933 to CPE officials and volunteered his ideas about an Irish-themed display and asserted, "If there is to be only one building it ought to be a reproduction and the interior walls should be a panorama of ancient Ireland. Familiar scenes will appeal to the average Irishman more than anything else. Literature and art will have their fans but paint and clay will be your greatest drawing card."\textsuperscript{57} Mackey's emphasis on historic Irish reproductions as the primary attraction for this display reinforced traditional tropes linked to the importance of material and visual culture to the "average" fairgoer during this era. As Charles Fanning states, the CPE "was the first focused public opportunity to define and display, on American soil, what 'Irishness' had come to mean since the Irish Revolution of 1916-

\textsuperscript{57} COP Records-Ullinois-Chicago, Box 61 Folder 2-1091.
1921 and the formation of the Irish Free State. Many in America simply could not pass up the opportunity for the chance to direct ideas of Irishness within the public sphere, especially within the confines of a world’s fair.

Officials of the Irish Free State, however, were less than enthusiastic about any attempt to sell non-sanctioned goods of an Irish nature or support the construction of an Irish-American Village at the 1933 CPE. The tension between the Irish and American Irish in this instance highlighted the complex and dynamic relationship in the Atlantic world regarding oversight of Irishness; by this time, the Irish government believed that it was the legitimate steward of presenting Ireland's heritage to the global community. The Irish Consul General to Chicago, Daniel J. McGrath, wrote to exposition officials expressing his concern; in late June, he informed them that he learned about some young ladies who sold "lace allegedly of Irish manufacture" and that these groups "tell a story to prospective purchaser that Lady Aberdeen is operating an 'Irish Village' within the Fair grounds. This, of course, is purely a racket.[.]" McGrath requested an official investigation and report and intimated that if this problem persisted, he would contact local law enforcement authorities. By mid-July, McGrath also wrote to CPE officials regarding attempts to secure an Irish Village concession. He stated, "I should judge from the title 'Irish Village' that it is their intention to have something of the type that is wholly out-moded in Irish life and perhaps of a character derogatory to our people." McGrath stressed that any American Irish group that attempted to undertake such action was not affiliated with the Irish Free State; he concluded, if their "proposed scheme goes through," he hoped the "concession is conducted in such a manner as will not reflect adversely on the Irish people." The reaction by the Irish Free

58 Charles Fanning, "Dueling Cultures: Ireland and Irish America at the Chicago World's Fairs of 1933 and 1934," New Hibernia Review 15, no. 3 (Fómhar/Autumn 2011): 95.
59 COP Records-Ullinois-Chicago, Box 61 Folder 2-1092.
60 Ibid.
State reinforced its desire to control how Ireland appeared at this world's fair and ensured all activities of an Irish character properly represented Ireland's people and heritage.

McGrath also penned an article for *Official World's Fair Weekly* in October 1933 that emphasized the Irish Free State's cultural sovereignty. He proclaimed that modern Ireland focused on reasserting its "cultural identity" through the preservation and expansion of language, music, and art. Realizing that this journey would not be an easy one for the Irish, McGrath argued, "there is genius sufficient within the race to give them warrant of hope for success few will deny" and, ultimately, "our kinfolk are resurgent, looking outward and upward." He concluded, "Enough interest has already been shown in the more mundane aspects of our display to assure a continuing interest in these products of our race after the World's Fair has ended."61 McGrath's language reflected the complicated socioracial discourse of the era; his emphasis on asserting Irish racial exceptionalism, particularly in the wake of the Irish Revolution, demonstrated his eagerness to alert readers of this periodical that Ireland, like other nation states, exhibited a perceived uniqueness that others needed to recognize. Historians Diana Selig and Matthew Pratt Guterl, however, remind us of the complex issues that surrounded notions of race during the early twentieth century. Selig argues that during the 1920s and 1930s in the United States the proliferation of the "cultural gifts" movement, supported by liberal thinkers and educators, helped to alleviate nativist sentiment. She emphasizes the importance of cultural relativism, the belief that "no race was inferior to another," and that "liberal thinkers explained that each group's characteristics emerged not from hereditary traits but rather from its social and cultural heritage." Ultimately, Selig concludes that cultural gifts helped to promote unity within the American public sphere. Pratt contends that in this same era, "American political culture was

almost single-mindedly focused on 'the Negro' and on race-as-color." By the early twentieth century, he writes, "Scientists, journalists, politicians, and cultural figures wavered between allegiance to one set of physical traits and to another, leaving a remarkable looseness of fit in the language of race."62

By late July 1933, records indicated that various individuals in the Chicago area, many with some type of familial linkage to Ireland, persisted in their quest for an Irish-American Village. In an inter-office correspondence, William E. Dever, Chief of the Legal Section at the CPE, wrote regarding an application for such a "village" from William E. Ray, Thomas Burke, Arthur F. Walsh, James Hughes, and Horatio Hackett. Dever concluded the CPE needed to approach this topic with extreme caution due to the delicate nature of this type of exhibit; he stressed, "it seems very advisable to me to suggest that some of the more prominent individuals of Irish descent in Chicago be consulted with reference to this project" and if they consent, "the proper endorsement at the start [will] eliminate the probability of future controversy."63 Like the organizers of the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition who worried about the respectability of the Shamrock Isle concession, some CPE officials believed that in order to avoid any possibility of objectionable representation of Ireland and its peoples and culture American Irish leaders in the Chicago area should be the final arbiters. Others, such as Felix J. Streyckmans, objected strenuously. He wrote, "Such a concession should not be given out without the consent of the Commissioner for the Irish Free State. If his consent is not given we may have some difficulties." Ultimately, an Irish-American Village did not materialize at the 1933 CPE. The reasons for its failure included an unrealistic timetable for completion of the

63 COP Records-Ulinois-Chicago, Box 267 Folder 1-8177.
"village," failure by its promoters to make a convincing case to CPE officials for its inclusion, and the redundancy of this type of display, particularly since other exhibits already existed that focused on foodstuffs and entertainment of an ethnic nature.64

Due to the financial success of the Belgian Village in the CPE's midway, however, exposition organizers decided to revamp ethnically-inspired displays for the 1934 fair by permitting the construction of myriad "village" displays along "a village concourse of nations."65 As Cheryl Ganz reminds us, however, most European nations chose not to construct pavilions or engage with the village paradigm due to the Great Depression. She writes, "Their disinterest in promoting and emphasizing their historical past or even romantic stereotypes at the fair created a void." Ultimately, Chicago-based "concessionaires saw opportunity and eagerly stepped forward to fill the gap. Inspired by profit rather than authenticity, they replaced most semblances of true ethnic culture with exoticism from the Streets of Paris to the Oriental Village."66 Interest by American Irish in the Chicago area to sponsor an Irish Village for the 1934 CPE was quite robust. The Irish Free State, however, chose not to recognize any actions linked with a concession of this type at the 1934 CPE.

By late 1933 submission of various proposals for an Irish-themed village for the 1934 world's fair materialized. In fact, Richard M. O'Hanrahan of Chicago began to write to exposition officials in February 1930 expressing his interest in an Irish Village concession. By November 1933, he informed the Director of Concessions at the CPE, "A movement is in force to make the Irish exhibit imposing for the year 1934[.]" Exposition officials responded to

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64 Ibid. In their application for an Irish-American Village concession, the Irish American Village Corporation (led by William E. Ray and James F. Hughes) promised to build this exhibit by August 1, 1933. The primary attraction was an Irish-themed restaurant with seating for 250 people. It was their hope to provide "music, dancing, and floor show entertainment" with specialization in "Irish dinners such as corned beef and cabbage, ham and cabbage and Irish stew." See COP Records-Ullinois-Chicago, Box 267 Folder 1-8177.
66 Ganz, The 1933 Chicago World's Fair, 129.
O'Hanrahan that if a proposal with "adequate financial backing and proper connections, both with Irish nationals and competent architects to construct an Irish Village" occurred, these would receive proper consideration. The CPE, however, declared, "We do not care to deal with anyone until the financial backing has been secured." To demonstrate his conviction, O'Hanrahan submitted a handwritten application that outlined his endeavors; in fact, he also labeled himself as an "Adviser on Celtic Art" and asserted it would cost "in the neighborhood of $120,000" to build his 1.5 acre Irish "village." The O'Hanrahan village, designed by the Chicago-based architectural firm McNally & Quinn, contained a theatre, Blarney Castle with "smaller stones from the actual Blarney Castle at Cork, Ireland," children's amusements, restaurants, a shamrock-shaped botanical garden, and other amenities. Hoping to place his village along the shoreline of Lake Michigan to mirror Ireland's reliance on the sea, O'Hanrahan welcomed the participation of the Irish Free State in his endeavor and assured CPE officials, "Nothing derogatory to the Irish Race or nation to be permitted within the confines of the Village or Pavilion."67

67 COP Records-Ullinois-Chicago, Box 267 Folder 1-8183. O'Hanrahan's perspective and his desire to not denigrate Ireland's heritage further buttresses the ideas presented by Diana Selig and her argument regarding the cultural gifts movement in the United States in the 1930s. See Selig, Americans All.
O'Hanrahan's vision for the reconstruction of an Irish village along the banks of Lake Michigan did not come to fruition. By March 1934, CPE officials began to direct inquirers for the Irish Village to Chicagoan and American Irish William E. Ray of the Irish Village Corporation. This organization informed the CPE, "our plans call for an immediate trip to Ireland for the purpose of bringing back original arts and crafts exhibits, actual scenic

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68 In a letter dated March 17, 1934 from Mrs. Kelly Burk Shay of Dixon, Illinois to the mayor of Chicago (Mr. Edward J. Kelly), Shay chastised the mayor when she wrote, "Are you going to let this chance go without doing something for the Irish [Free State]? This [the 1934 CPE] surely would be a wonderful chance to give them a break. They should have a village where the best of everything would be displayed. It need not be an expensive place and there is yet time if you are a true descendant of Irish Kellys. The Free State should have the best of everything that draws crowds, the most courteous attendants. Irish boys and girls carefully chosen." Mr. John Hicks of Concession Sales for the CPE replied to Shay and informed her that if she desired to write about suggestions for the Irish Village at the 1934 fair, she needed to direct her correspondence to "Mr. W. E. Ray, 110 South Dearborn Street, Chicago." See COP Records-Ullinois-Chicago, Box 267 Folder 1-8183. Also, the Irish Press reported that Ray's parents were both from County Mayo, Ireland. See "Irish Village in U.S. City," Irish Press (Dublin, Ireland), March 27, 1934.
beautifications, paintings, etc." In an effort to avoid issues of confusion or improprieties while Ray was in Ireland, CPE officials provided to him credentials "indicating that the [Irish Village Corporation] has a contract with A Century of Progress[.]" Shortly before Ray sailed to the Emerald Isle, the CPE issued a press release that announced "a group of prominent Chicagoans" formed a company backed by "more than a quarter-million dollars" to construct an Irish Village for the upcoming fair. The announcement also contained a declaration that Ray would acquire the Book of Kells and "secure a piece of the Blarney Stone, a 12th. century harp, jaunting cars and shamrocks." In addition, Ray would "employ a number of weavers to demonstrate the modern manufacture of Irish linen, poplin and lace[.]"69 Similar to previous manifestations of Ireland at world's fairs, the Irish Village Corporation adhered to the traditional tropes associated with the commodification of Irishness for mass consumption for the simple fact that they believed this type of display was what the American Irish of Chicago and the United States desired. The Irish Village Corporation, however, gravely overestimated its audience's appetite for faux "Irishness."

The groundbreaking ceremonies for the Irish Village, located on the Street of Foreign Villages, at the 1934 CPE occurred on St. Patrick's Day. Chicago Mayor Edward J. Kelly attended and was to "[turn] over the first spade of dirt."70 Inclement weather, however, forced Kelly, CPE officials, and members of the public to seek refuge in the Administration Building.71 Although Mayor Kelly, the CPE, and the Irish Village Corporation did not know it, this inauspicious beginning foreshadowed various maladies that hindered the success of this Irish-themed display.

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69 COP Records-Ullinois-Chicago, Box 267 Folder 1-8182.
70 Ibid.
Less than one month after Mayor Kelly officiated at the Irish Village ceremony, exposition officials began to alert all village concessionaires that their longevity "will depend upon the impression made upon visitors by the villages" and that "faithful representations of buildings" and native lifestyles were the primary ways to ensure success. The CPE warned, however, "If space is allocated, with a view to deriving immediate profit thereby, the project will be a failure." The Irish Village Corporation did not heed these words. Although it constructed a facsimile of a "typical" Irish Village that included numerous reproductions, such as Tara's Hall as a banquet facility, the Irish Village Corporation permitted numerous concessions that did not appeal to many visitors; for example, the chance for attendees "to have the opportunity of being photographed in costumes typical of Ireland" proved unpopular. The allure of "playing dress-up" with Irish clothing did not inspire confidence or widespread acceptance.

Shortly after the opening of the Irish Village, however, W. E. Ray of the Irish Village Corporation communicated concerns to CPE officials that excessive construction and advertising costs left the Irish Village in desperate financial troubles. Ray asserted, "The operations of the village have been set up to accommodate a tremendous amount of people, which did not come through the gate and for that reason our expenses have been heavy." The CPE estimated that the total cost of the Irish Village amounted to approximately $110,000, a sum that the Irish Village Corporation was unable to honor. By the end of June 1934, the federal court of Chicago

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72 COP Records-Ullinois-Chicago, Box 267 Folder 1-8182. In addition, the Irish Village Corporation received a reprimand from CPE officials because there were numerous items for sale within the "village" that did not adhere to "merchandise manufactured in and/or typical" of Ireland. These included souvenirs that commemorated the world's fair, canes, penny machines, rain capes, turtles, and vegetable garnishing knives. The CPE warned that they would continue to monitor merchandise sales within the Irish Village. According to the April 15, 1934 issue of the CPE's magazine Progress, "the Irish Village will be one of the most romantic spots on the Fair grounds. The village will turn back the pages of time a thousand or more years and show what Erin was like in days of old. The center of interest will be Tara Hall, famous in poetry and song. It will be a banquet hall and place of assembly, as was the original structure, which a thousand years ago stood on Tara hill. The villages will be enclosed by a Norman wall. Leaving Tara Hall, the visitor can roam through Kerry and Claddagh, past the leaning tower of Gort in Galway, through the old gateway of Fore in Westmeath, past Longford and by the Shrine of St. Dolough, older than Dublin, and through a score of other reproductions that will take the visitor to nearly every section of the Emerald Isle." See HPHSC, Box 89, Folder 10, UChicago.
appointed Mr. Evan Evans as trustee of the Irish Village Corporation to oversee the Irish Village "for the purpose of re-organization" and ordered that previous management no longer had authority over this exhibit.73

The Irish Village at the 1934 CPE re-opened in early July "with a host of new features and a general policy in keeping with Irish ideals and traditions." In an announcement to the press, the CPE promised that Trustee Evans would ensure the new exhibit "will be above criticism" and that Irish dancing would be an important addition to this display. Also, improved historic reproductions, such as St. Patrick's chair, the Lia Fáil ("stone of destiny on which Irish kings took their oath"), and Ogham stones "on which the first [Irish] alphabet was inscribed" would entice renewed interest in this "village." Trustee Evans criticized previous management of this site and asserted that it originally was a "night club with little or none of the real savor of Ireland" but "the public will now find that the Village is an honest replica of life as it is lived in Ireland." However, by late July Trustee Evans wrote to Nathaniel Owings, Director of Concessions, and alerted him to the need for additional positive press coverage in the hopes of increasing business to the Irish Village. Evans declared, "The one thing that the Irish Village needs is favorable press comments in sufficient volume to counteract the adverse publicity it has had in the past."74

In an effort to showcase the exhibits along the Street of Foreign Nations, the CPE issued in early August a twenty page press release that described this area, including the Irish Village, as the best way to visit the world in a matter of hours. When it came to the Irish display, the CPE emphasized the various historic replicas and mentioned the Irish Museum that contained "laces, weapons, fabrics, domestic utensils and other works of Irish craftsmanship, both ancient

73 Ibid.
74 COP Records-Ullinois-Chicago, Box 267 Folder 1-8181.
and modern." In addition, this public announcement mentioned that "the jigs, reels and other folk dances of its inhabitants" would transport visitors to the auld sod once more. This emphasis on linking "ancient and modern" Ireland materialized, no doubt, to lure American Irish to this exhibit with the hopes of reversing earlier, negative attitudes that manifested within the public sphere regarding the Irish Village. By late August, however, no amount of positive press releases could alleviate resentment by the American Irish community in Chicago and elsewhere when it came to this display; put simply, most American Irish felt that this type of for-profit concession was not a worthy way to celebrate Irishness. In fact, Samuel K. Wilson, president of Loyola University, wrote to CPE President Rufus Dawes about the lack of decency in the Irish Village. Wilson asserted, "I do know that the place has been boycotted to quite an extent by people of Irish antecedents on account of the coarse and vulgar exhibitions which have been shown there." Even though Wilson stressed that he communicated as a private citizen, Dawes and other CPE officials could not fail to notice that Wilson's letter arrived on official university stationary.

In mid-September, the new trustee of the Irish Village, C. M. Norris, recognized the dire financial situation of this exhibit. In an effort to entice fairgoers into this concession, Norris wrote to CPE officials and asked permission to use "the main floor of Tara Hall in the Irish Village for a freak animal show" for the purpose of boosting admissions. Exposition authorities eventually forbade such activity but it was only after the Legal Division wrote that the animal show was "not typical of Ireland and hence is contrary to terms of [the signed] contract" and that

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75 COP Records-Ullinois-Chicago, Box 23 Folder 14-174.  
76 COP Records-Ullinois-Chicago, Box 267 Folder 1-8181. In response to Wilson's letter, J. Franklin Bell (representing the CPE) wrote that exposition organizers did not involve themselves in the affairs of the village attractions because the CPE did not want to shoulder the financial responsibility and that they chose not to favor one exhibit over another. Bell concluded that CPE officials hoped Wilson and others would be pleased with the new management of the Irish Village and that this "will meet with the approval of people of Irish extraction[.]"

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such endeavors would make this exhibit "essentially a midway attraction...and we have tried to eliminate such from the villages."  

The proposal for a "freak animal show" in the Irish Village at the 1934 CPE demonstrated the absurd lengths that the administrators of this concession would go. Even after taking a series of small loans from the CPE, the Irish Village was unable to rebound from its fiscal follies. As Charles Fanning writes, "the Irish Village owed $7,000 to the Century of Progress Corporation. This was never paid." Like its 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition counterpart (the Shamrock Isle), the Irish Village at the CPE failed to turn a profit and highlighted the growing cultural disconnect between the usual tropes associated with exhibiting Ireland at world's fairs and what the Irish and American Irish communities desired. No longer would kitsch displays of Irishness find popular support along the fairgrounds of world's fairs. By the opening of the 1939 New York's World's Fair, the Irish Free State exerted all of its influence to control anything to do with Ireland at this event.

In fact, almost two years before the 1939 New York World's Fair opened, the Irish Free State made certain that its representatives had the final word regarding the display of Ireland's history, culture, and commodities at this site. In a memo from mid-August 1937 regarding foreign participation and regulations written by Mr. John Hartigan, the European Commissioner for the New York World's Fair, he reminded readers that regulations forbade "the operation of a

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77 Ibid.
78 Fanning, "Dueling Cultures," 106.
79 In her dissertation, Caroline Malloy briefly recounts a short-lived attempt by Scotsmen to operate a midway concession called "Giant's Causeway." Although geographically located above the Irish partition line, Irish officials did not find the reconstruction of this natural wonder obscene. What they objected to was "the use of the Blarney Stone in the southern county of Cork, the sale of 'Paddy' jugs, and the labeling of the growling fifty-foot giant at the entrance as Irish hero Fionn MacCumhal[.]" Irish officials threatened that if this exhibit was not closed they would withdraw from the fair. Diplomatic relations remained intact, however, because shortly after opening, this midway attraction proved economically disastrous. The actions of the Irish Free State in this matter, however, demonstrated their resolve to control all things of an Irish nature along the fairgrounds. See Malloy, "Exhibiting Ireland," 268-272.
concession or an exhibit which in any way reflects discredit upon the national characteristics of
the contracting country or which bears a misleading geographical appellation." Hartigan assured
the Irish Free State, "In this way the difficulties which arose about the Irish Village at the [1934]
Chicago Fair would be avoided." By December 1938, the Irish Free State decided to
participate and construct two separate exhibits for the upcoming fair. In correspondence from
Ireland’s Department of Industry and Commerce, plans materialized to have a display "of an
historical and cultural character and exhibits showing developments in Ireland in the economic,
education, social and other spheres within the last 15 or 16 years" and the other "devoted to trade
interests" that contained "in addition to a comprehensive tourist information service, exhibits
covering whiskey, stout, woolen fabrics, bacon, horse-breeding, poplin, and other goods for
which there is an actual or potential market in the United States." The estimated cost for both of
these exhibits amounted to £60,000. From the start, the Irish Free State wanted to showcase its
history and culture while it simultaneously renewed its trade interests with the United States.

At the time the 1939 New York World's Fair opened in April, the Great Depression still
raged on and the prominence of two Fascist regimes in Italy and Germany continued to
overshadow European politics; many feared that war was on the horizon. Meant to
commemorate the 150th anniversary of George Washington's inauguration, the 1939 fair (which
would operate for another season in 1940) existed in an environment in which "the sheer force of
the pressure of world events was notable" but its organizers and participants believed that the
show had to go on. "The theme of the first season was 'Building the World of Tomorrow with

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Archives of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland. (From this point onward, National Archives of Ireland is abbreviated NAI-
Dublin.)

81 Memo dated December 7, 1938, "World's Fair, 1939: Irish Participation," TAOIS/S 10133 A, NAI-
Dublin.
the Tools of Today,'" and it was with this concept that "58 nations and two international bodies," including the Irish Free State, approached their respective displays.82

The Irish cultural exhibit, known as the Irish Cultural and Historical Pavilion, proved popular with fairgoers. Located in the Hall of Nations Building, it displayed various items that celebrated Ireland's history. In this space the Irish Free State showcased "a pillar of Irish granite bearing a plaque of Patrick Pearse," the executed leader of the failed 1916 uprising in Dublin, and a stone from his headquarters in the General Post Office. Sections of the "Pearse Pillar" were "taken from some prison, fortress or battle-scarred building in which Irishmen fought, suffered and died for liberty." Two displays focused on reminding American Irish visitors of the connection of Ireland to the United States. The first was a replica "of the army order issued by Gen. Washington at Valley Forge directing that March 17 (St. Patrick's Day) should be a holiday for the troops under his command." The second was a large painting by Maurice McGonigal that showed "thirty or forty of the famous Irishmen who helped America win and hold her independence."83 Unlike previous Irish-oriented exhibits at world's fairs, the cultural exhibit organized by the Irish Free State did not rely on gaudy reproductions of large historical structures, such as Blarney Castle or the Drogheda Gate, but rather presented meaningful and thought provoking items to inform visitors of the complexities of Ireland's past and its transatlantic identity.

The Irish Pavilion, designed by Dublin architect Michael Scott, was "constructed of steel and glass and painted white" and was in the shape of a shamrock, a prominent symbol used by the Irish to designate their heritage. Exterior features, such as "dark green awnings that heighten

the effect of a four-leaf clover," added to the uniqueness of this building. Within the courtyard there was a small pool "filled with water brought from the River Shannon and the Lakes of Killarney" and a "green-tinted relief map of Ireland."84 To enter, visitors journeyed "through the 'stem' of the 'shamrock.'" Upon entering this structure, also known as the Irish Trade Promotion Pavilion, fairgoers saw "a tourist bureau which provides information on Irish travel and hotel facilities."85 As Caroline Malloy informs readers, an enormous mural by Irish artist Seán Keating occupied "nearly 3,000 sq. ft. in the Shamrock Pavilion. When completed, it dominated the entire building." Keating emphasized Irish modernity through his focus on incorporating technological advancements within Ireland. As Malloy writes, "one was greeted immediately by the airplane and the massive, blocky, steaming power plant [and] visitors could pause and stand and stare up at the wonders of modern technology unfolding in Ireland."86 On the main floor appeared displays of "Irish whisky, stout, pottery, smoking pipes, silverware, book-binding and printing and the one export of which Ireland is perhaps proudest, her thoroughbred hunters." On the upper-level one could find an exhibition of "Irish woolens, laces and linens, beautifully decorated church ornaments and vestments, rugs, blankets, handicraft furniture and stained glass windows." As a way to demonstrate to attendees that Ireland did, indeed, have a strong

84 "Glass to Dominate Irish Fair Pavilion," *New York Times*, July 8, 1938; Hennessy, "Audience Cheers La Guardia to Echo At Irish Pavilion,"; and "Double Irish Show Turns Clock Back."
86 Malloy, "Exhibiting Ireland," 263-264. Malloy provides an excellent description of Keating's mural when she writes, "Keating painted his massive tribute to Irish modernization with bold, heavy stroke and solid earth tones. He divided the mural into three sections, with the farmer, a few cottages, and a massive horse projecting off the wall to the lower left, the sprawling mass of the Ardnacrusha power plant, from the Shannon up through to the dam, and finally the power plant itself in the upper right hand side of the painting. In the lower left foreground, a crowd of Irish men and women mill in small groups and across various planes, on one of which is an Aer Lingus airplane appropriately christened Éire. The background that takes up nearly two-thirds of the wall is a giant map of Ireland reaching abstractly across the Atlantic to North America. Noticeably, the section of the Irish map containing the six counties of Ulster has been mostly cut off by the angle of the design."
connection to its history, placards in both the Irish and English languages appeared and described the items on display.  

Dedication of the Irish Pavilion occurred on May 13 with robust fanfare and numerous speeches by many politicians, including New York Mayor Fiorello La Guardia. The mayor informed the crowd of five hundred "that he was glad that at last Ireland had taken her place in the world as a sovereign state" and "what he liked about Ireland was that though deprived of freedom itself, her sons never hesitated to fight for the liberty of others and always had the courage to fight for it themselves." The primary Irish government representative was Sean T. O'Kelly, Vice President of the Executive Council of Ireland. He was the final speaker of this ceremony and he stated, in part, "by our presence here...Ireland was prepared to take its place in the world of tomorrow and play its part with the other nations of the earth in making that world a better world" and the Irish exhibit "is a gesture to the men and women of our own race in the United States." Given the uncertainty of the era, O'Kelly concluded his remarks by stressing the "blood tie" between the American and Irish people and he hoped that continued cooperation and transatlantic unity would forever manifest itself in the relationship between the two countries.  

The grandeur of the 1939 New York World's Fair enticed numerous dignitaries to visit, including British King George VI and Queen Elizabeth who attended almost one month after the opening ceremonies of the Irish Pavilion. Press coverage of their Majesty's trip overshadowed all other happenings. Their Highnesses made a brief visit to the Irish Cultural and Historical Pavilion. The New York Times reported that the queen seemed interested in the Pearse monument but she did not comment when the Irish Consul of New York, John M. Conway, "showed her the affixed text of the proclamation of the Irish Republic, and the inset stones" from

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87 “Double Irish Show Turns Clock Back.”
88 “Audience Cheers La Guardia to Echo At Irish Pavilion.”

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the 1916 Uprising in Dublin or the prison "where the rebels were executed". The journey of the reigning monarchs of Great Britain to the 1939 world's fair was "a first" in two ways: this was the first time that the British King and Queen traveled to the United States and it was the first time British royalty visited a world's fair display operated by the Irish Free State.

The 1939 New York World's Fair closed on October 31 but would reopen for a second season in early May 1940 and survive for approximately five months. During the interim period, the ravages of World War II solidified public opinion in Europe and the United States that this conflict would not be short-lived. In early February 1940 the execution of two young men of the outlawed Irish Republican Army by British authorities diverted Ireland's attention from Germany and toward its historical nemesis, England. James Richards, 29 and Peter Barnes, 32 were convicted of detonating an incendiary device in Coventry, England that killed five people in late August 1939. Prominent citizens in Dublin issued a statement that condemned the executions and asserted "their memory can best be served by working to achieve the ideals for which they died. Whatever may be said, the ultimate cause of their deaths is the aggression of England against Ireland. We call on all true Irishmen here in Ireland and all over the world to rally, to stand together, and to work until this aggression is ended." This event, like so many that followed, showed that the sociopolitical relationship between Britain and Ireland remained tenuous.

In response to the executions of Richards and Barnes, a group of American Irish, many of whom the press reported as sympathetic to the tenets of the Irish Republican Army, secured admittance to the closed fairgrounds to lay a wreath of remembrance "at the foot of the flagpole

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91 "Irish Cry Out In Anger And Grief At 2 Hangings," Chicago Daily Tribune, February 8, 1940.
at the Irish Pavilion" where the pavilion's flag "was lowered to half-staff."  The New York Times reported that the executive assistant at the Irish Pavilion, Michael McGlynn, "granted the request after being thoroughly satisfied by the men's appearance that they were bona fide organization representatives [of the Clan-na-Gael] and after checking with his superiors."

Approximately 100 mourners attended this impromptu gathering and the Irish Pavilion's flag remained at half-staff "until sundown." The decision by this small group of American Irish nationalists to use space controlled by the Irish Free State in the United States demonstrated the complex discourse surrounding notions of transatlantic national identity and the sociopolitical linkages that these individuals felt, especially during their time of grief and outrage. It was not until late February 1940 that the Irish Free State decided to participate once again at the New York World's Fair; however, their participation encompassed only a cultural exhibit and not a renewal of the "Trade Promotion Pavilion," referred to by some as the Shamrock Pavilion.  

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The Hall of Nations, once again, housed the cultural exhibit for the Irish Free State. The revamped display included elements from its previous manifestation at the 1939 fair and new additions, such as "ancient manuscripts, jewels and paintings of Irish history and culture" next to "linens, tweeds, woolens and whiskies of modern Ireland." In addition, "Ireland's giant electrification project" that used the River Shannon to create hydroelectricity received prominent space. Overall, the Irish Free State showcased "its story of progress in education and social welfare" for all visitors.95

95 "Exhibits: A World of Wonders," New York Times, May 5, 1940. Also, "Maps and pictures of the scenic wonders of Ireland" appeared. When Robert Brennan, Irish Minister to the United States, spoke to a crowd of about 10,000 on Ireland Day in mid June, he chose to focus less on Ireland's culture and history and, instead, on the pressing crisis of World War II and the possibility of Ireland's invasion by the Fascist regimes. Brennan stated, "Our
Controversy engulfed the 1940 New York World's Fair on America's Independence Day when a bomb exploded within the fairgrounds. On July 4, police removed a suspicious package from the British Pavilion "an hour and a half before [it] exploded in the faces of four detectives on the edge of the grounds at 5 P.M." Two died, two were critically wounded, and three sustained injuries when the device detonated. The New York Times reported that it was unknown "whether tampering by the detectives caused [the bomb] to go off prematurely, but, had it operated at the same hour in the [British] pavilion for which it was intended, it would have exploded when that place was at the peak of its tea-time holiday business." A small cadre of nationalist-oriented groups that operated within the United States emerged as suspects. These included "members of the communist party, German-American bund, and members of the [Irish Republican Army]." Some intimated that the IRA, a "violent anti-British group which has been responsible for railway station and bridge bombings in England," was responsible for the attack. The Chicago Daily Tribune wrote, "Police were investigating a report that dynamite stolen from a [Works Project Administration] project [in New York] was used by the I.R.A. for the attempted blowing up of the British pavilion." Although no group ever took responsibility for this act of terrorism and no one claimed the $26,000 reward for information that might help resolve this case, this event exposed the complex transatlantic dynamics associated with nationalist-oriented groups, even those of an Irish character, within an era that witnessed myriad human atrocities.

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The ravages of World War II crippled Europe and altered the pattern of world affairs. In the wake of this conflict, the United States and Soviet Union emerged as the leading powers and the Cold War engulfed the globe. By the late 1940s, the pattern of nations hosting world's fairs resumed; however, the Irish government would not participate in any meaningful way again until the 1964-1965 New York World's Fair.

A "free" Ireland in New York

The Republic of Ireland Act (1948) officially removed Ireland from the British Commonwealth and the new republic "was formally inaugurated on Easter Monday, 1949." Although the British government was less than keen to accept this measure, it had little choice. In the hopes of preserving a close trade relationship with the new Irish republic, Parliament recognized, albeit grudgingly, Ireland's new status. According to Thomas Hachey, Joseph Herron, Jr., and Lawrence McCaffrey, "postwar shortage and rationing in Britain prompted the Labour government to appreciate the value of Éire as a source of food and labor and as a market for British goods." When it came to participating in world's fairs in the post-World War II

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world, the new Irish government exerted complete control over its decisions and it chose not to take part in any international exhibition until the mid-1960s.

The 1964-1965 New York World's Fair marked two historical events: "the tercentenary of the English acquisition of the area from the Dutch in 1664 [and] the twenty-fifth anniversary of the 1939-1940 New York World's Fair." The force behind this initiative was Robert Moses. He desired to conclude decades of service to New York, most recently as "the head of the Triborough Bridge and Transit Authority," by ensuring that the site of the fair, Flushing Meadows Park, experienced significant infrastructural improvements. By the mid twentieth century, however, the Paris-based Bureau of International Expositions (BIE) emerged as the international body that officially sanctioned world's fairs; in short, if the BIE did not give its approval, it became very difficult to ensure the participation of foreign nations. Moses was not keen on placating the BIE in any way and he refused to agree to their guidelines. The BIE responded by not providing its blessing to this fair. Therefore, "foreign participation was greatly limited at New York," and when compared to its predecessor from 1939-1940, this event "was widely perceived as a colossal failure."\(^{101}\)

Although international involvement was minimal at the 1964-1965 New York World's Fair, the Republic of Ireland decided to participate. Deliberation by the Irish government over whether or not to partake in this event began in early 1961. A memo from Ireland's Department of External Affairs cited the Foreign Trade Committee as concluding that it could not sanction approval for Ireland's involvement in the New York fair because it believed that these types of

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\(^{100}\) The Irish Experience, 216. Parliament recognized the formation of the Republic of Ireland with the Ireland Act (1949); however, "Without consulting Dublin, the British added a proviso that Northern Ireland would never be detached from the United Kingdom without the consent of the Northern Ireland legislature."


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events "are not remunerative from the trade point of view." The document did, however, acknowledge "wider considerations" for Ireland taking part in this endeavor, and it listed eleven reasons for doing so. These included, in part, the importance of New York as a trading partner and its reputation as an international hub for finance, the potential benefit of enticing tourists and businesses to Ireland, the idea that New York City was "an 'Irish' city," and that if Ireland did not construct a pavilion it might injure its relationship with the United States (particularly from the viewpoint of American Irish interests) as well as its global prestige. Although the memo mentioned a few reasons against Ireland's participation at this fair, including "substantial cost" and the failure of the BIE to sanction it, the supporters of Irish involvement gained momentum.\(^\text{102}\)

In response to the report issued by the Department of External Affairs, the Secretary of the Department of Finance declared that it was not prudent to expend any sum on the New York fair. The Secretary reasoned that the U.S.-based promoters of the upcoming initiative "are still in the 1939 world when enormous expenditures of this kind for prestige reasons was still acceptable to public opinion." He argued, "It is out of accord with present-day concepts of social obligations in the international sphere" for nations to devote large sums for "prestige and self-glorification" and that using funds "to the relief of want" and "raising [the] standards in the undeveloped regions of the world" would better suit Irish interests.\(^\text{103}\) The Minister of External Affairs, however, asserted, "it would be very difficult for Ireland to justify a refusal to participate in an international manifestation of the magnitude and location of the proposed Fair" and that it would "be a setback to our national prestige and would almost certainly be resented by many

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people of Irish descent, especially in New York itself, and by other Americans.\textsuperscript{104} By late 1961, many within the Irish government supported some type of pavilion or installation within the New York fairgrounds. Those who championed Irish government involvement even went so far to argue that if the costs proved too prohibitive, Ireland could participate unofficially by urging Irish business and corporate interests to sponsor a display.\textsuperscript{105} The Republic of Ireland, in the end, paid for its national exhibit at the New York fair.

By late March 1962, plans began to materialize for Ireland's display at New York. A government memorandum stressed, however, that Ireland needed to take precautions with its exhibit. It stated, "in modern conditions, a lifeless exhibit of the museum type is not successful and that the public expect modern means of display to be used." Although it concluded "a very simple exhibit or pavilion" could work, the government needed to be careful to avoid overly traditional and stereotypical representations of the Irish national character, especially through "thatched cottages, round towers, and peat bogs" because these "could indeed create a wrong image if presented on their own[.]."\textsuperscript{106} This concern by Irish government officials to control how Irishness appeared within the public sphere at the New York fair demonstrated the Irish republic's resolve to avoid the traditional tropes and kitsch-like displays of Irishness so many people around the world had come to acknowledge as "Irish." The desire by Ireland to avoid the use of gaudy historical reproductions of multiple castles and cottages helped to solidify, from its perspective at least, that Ireland was more than a place with a rugged, romantic landscape and an underdeveloped economy.

The Minister for Industry and Commerce, John M. Lynch, explained to the Dáil Éireann (Assembly of Ireland) on December 6, 1962 that Ireland's display "will be a national exhibit" and that the government "entrusted responsibility for the design of the exhibit to a prominent Irish architect." Before the minister's proposal received acceptance, some members expressed concerns that protection of the Irish national character occur at all costs. In fact, a Mr. Sweetman declared, "when the exhibit is being planned, an attempt will be made to portray our country in a more dignified way than sometimes has been the case in the portrayal that has in some instances to be regarded as normal in the United States of America." He concluded, "Too often in the past it has been represented that the Irish were a wild and uncouth race of people, going [to America] to fill jobs and to carry out tasks and to occupy places not of the highest order." Sweetman's concerns, once again, help to prove that the Irish government took its duty of protecting the display of Irishness seriously and attempts to create a midway-like concession for Ireland at the New York fair would be met by staunch resistance by the republic's representatives.

When the New York World's Fair opened in spring 1964, the Republic of Ireland's pavilion appeared beside structures that belonged to India, the Republic of Korea, Argentina, and Thailand within the International area along the Avenue of the United Nations (North). The design of the Irish Pavilion amalgamated contemporary and traditional motifs. It used modern architecture with a reproduction of a coastal round tower "from which the ancients used to watch for Norman and Saxon invaders" as its centerpiece. Upon entering, visitors noticed two maps; "one of Ireland with familiar Irish names marked at the families' places of origin" and the other of the world that showed "the spread of Irish influence." A unique feature used a screen

mounted on the floor to play "A movie of the country made during a low-altitude airplane flight[.]" Various exhibits, such as "glass, harps and tweeds and manuscripts of George Bernard Shaw and Sean O'Casey," filled the pavilion. Finally, "a small outdoor theater for performances by Irish dancers and singers" showcased the cultural heritage of Ireland where one could enjoy, if they chose, an "Irish coffee" for a small fee.

In late May 1964, Eamon de Valera, the president of Ireland, journeyed to the United States to meet with President Lyndon Johnson and to tour the New York fairgrounds. After his meeting with President Johnson, Robert Moses, the head of the fair, welcomed President de Valera to Flushing Meadows where he inspected the Irish and U.S. pavilions. The Irish premiere lunched with various officials "at the fair's private Terrace Club." Journalists reported, "table decorations were in green and Irish music was played by a trio wearing flowery green bow

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ties."  Although de Valera probably frowned upon the use of garish table decorations for his luncheon at the Terrace Club, the Irish president's attendance at the New York fair showed his commitment to support his nation's endeavors at this highly publicized event while simultaneously fortifying the transatlantic relationship between Ireland and the United States.

Efforts by the Republic of Ireland to ensure that no stereotypical representations of its culture and people appear within the 1964-1965 New York fairgrounds did create, however, some unique interactions between visitors and Ireland's representatives. For example, Ms. Marguerite Ann O'Leary, a second generation American Irish from Hyattsville, Maryland, wrote a strongly worded letter to President de Valera that expressed her disappointment with the Irish Pavilion. She chastised the Irish president when she opined, "Your pavilion did not bring the spirit of Ireland to its visitors." Ms. O'Leary's main point of contention encompassed her inability to purchase the "marvelous products" of Ireland, specifically "Aran hand-knit sweaters, suits and coats of Irish tweed, the joy of Beleek, Waterford glass, pottery, etc." She informed the president that she "had saved money especially to buy something nice at the Irish Pavilion[.]"

Although visitors to the Irish Pavilion could see these items, nothing of a substantial nature was for sale. Interestingly, Ms. O'Leary also wrote, "People should know Ireland has other than shamrocks and leprechauns." She also informed President de Valera that it was a shame that no restaurant appeared within the pavilion: "Many other countries have restaurants and they do a booming business." Ms. O'Leary's concerns, however, continued. Because she viewed Ireland "as a vacation paradise," the Irish Pavilion needed to offer a special airline promotion to increase tourism. Ironically, although Ms. O'Leary wrote with such authority on Ireland and its pavilion, she concluded her letter to President de Valera by writing, "Although I myself have never visited

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Ireland, it is the mother country of my grandparents and I love the beauty of Ireland and the wonder and pride of her people."\textsuperscript{114}

Discussion of Ms. O'Leary's criticisms of the Irish Pavilion provides an appropriate opportunity for analysis. It is not known if President de Valera actually read this letter. What is certain, however, is that the language that Ms. O'Leary used throughout her correspondence revealed her perspective as someone who felt she had the authority and power to critique a head of state. She justified her remarks as legitimate because of a familial connection to Ireland, even though she never set foot on Irish turf. Although it is apparent that Ms. O'Leary was a woman who was very angry about not being able to purchase Irish-made goods, her letter also demonstrated the unique transatlantic power structure between Ireland and the American Irish. As mentioned above, one of the main reasons that Ireland decided to participate at the New York fair was to ensure that its relationship with its American cousins remained strong. The Irish government, no doubt, recognized that it could not please all visitors but it attempted to maintain at all costs a respectable presentation of Irishness. Ms. O'Leary's letter exposed, albeit in a minor way, the continued challenges of what was and what was not "Irish." Even though the Republic of Ireland exerted complete dominance in the way it decided to represent its history, culture, products, and people, Ms. O'Leary's words revealed the perpetual malleability of defining Irishness and who controlled it for commercial consumption within the public sphere.

\textsuperscript{114} Letter dated June 11, 1964, "New York World Fair, 1964/65," DFA/96/8/37, NAI-Dublin. Writing for the \textit{New York Times}, Richard J. H. Johnson informed readers that Irish Pavilion workers are "being constantly diverted by visitors who want to know where the 'little people' are kept, where the shillelaghs are to be found and where the shamrocks are sold." He argued that Ireland "is an agricultural-industrial nation" but at the New York fair, multiple pavilion visitors were simply too distracted in trying to capture and reinforce stereotypical diversions that many believed represented the "true" Ireland. According to Ted O'Reilly, spokesman for the Irish Pavilion, "more than one non-Irish visitor had asked in all seriousness if there were any leprechauns to be seen at the pavilion, and others wanted to know why no one connected with the exhibit [smoked] a clay pipe." See Richard J. H. Johnson, "Myths From Past Beset Ireland's Future at Fair," \textit{New York Times}, September 22, 1964.
Conclusion

Between 1915 and 1965, world's fairs showcased multiple manifestations of Irishness. Transatlantic definitions of Irishness and who directed the display of this concept within the public sphere remained contested. International exhibitions in San Francisco, Chicago, and New York during this era illustrated the complex relationship between competing notions of cultural and political nationalism, especially in the wake of World War I and the ensuing chaos of European events that followed. What is certain, however, is that the Irish government, by the mid-twentieth century, strove to recapture the reins of representing their heritage and people within the sociopolitically nuanced spaces of world's fairs.

The financial failures of the Shamrock Isle at the 1915 PPIE and the Irish Village at the 1934 CPE demonstrated that audiences, especially of Irish lineage in the United States, no longer desired kitsch-like displays and faux reproductions of Ireland. From 1939 onward, Ireland emerged as the primary steward of Irishness within the world's fair paradigm. This did not mean, however, that the American Irish relinquished control of how they internalized Irishness, either at world's fairs or in their own minds. What this showed was that Irish ethnic identity remained extremely pliable, particularly when one sought to use it to reinforce or demonstrate transatlantic cultural connectivity to Ireland. In sum, this dissertation demonstrates that those who controlled depictions of the Irish along various fairgrounds, such as "imperial mothers," the British Parliament, the American Irish, and the Irish, changed over time. Ultimately, each of these groups utilized, albeit in different ways, Ireland's heritage to commemorate, justify, and transform the meaning of Irishness in the transatlantic world.
Conclusion

A placard resides atop Blarney Castle in County Cork, Ireland that commemorates, in part, the Irish Industrial Exhibit at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase International Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri. Located a few yards from the actual Blarney Stone where travelers gather to kiss this ancient relic rumored to bequeath loquaciousness and wit, this sign imparts to viewers multiple discourses related to power and authenticity. First, it cautions castle visitors to "Beware of imitations" and reminds readers that at the St. Louis fair, "any Americans unable to visit us in person could imagine this view by visiting the World Fair in St[.] Louis Missouri where a replica of the Castle was built." Below this text is a photograph from the world's fair that shows reproductions of the castle and Cormac's Chapel from the Rock of Cashel in County Tipperary. Second, the poster informs sightseers that the Blarney Stone is not for sale at any price. The label reads, "In the 1940s, Blarney Castle was offered $1,000,000 to tour the Stone throughout the USA. The Blarney Stone stays in Blarney Castle. Beware of imitations."1 Finally, a portion of John Hogan's 1842 Blarney: A Descriptive Poem appears. Hogan succinctly encapsulated on the meaning of this stone to the Irish when he wrote, "And with the nation 'tis identified[.]"2 The

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2 For the full text of this poem, see John Hogan, Blarney: A Descriptive Poem (London: Samuel Holdsworth, 1842).
existence of this sign provides a unique example regarding the display and commodification of Irishness, ethnic memory, and the complexity associated with identity construction, all themes explored by this dissertation.

Defining Irishness, as this dissertation demonstrates, is a complicated matter. Since the nineteenth century, myriad groups of state and non-state actors within the Atlantic world, especially "imperial mothers," the British Parliament, the American Irish, and the Irish themselves, have claimed ownership over and manipulated depictions of what is and what is not "Irish." The message imparted by the Blarney Castle sign shows that the Irish today recognize that their heritage has been "up for grabs" for centuries, but they no longer accept gauche depictions of Ireland and, instead, focus upon reclaiming Irish history and culture for the Irish. The malleability and commodification of Irishness within the public sphere of international
exhibitions and fairs, I argue, allowed for pedestrian depictions of Irish culture and people that framed how the global community recognized and processed Irishness within the contested marketplaces of these events. The manufactured reality created by faux reconstructions of the Irish "village" provided a unique venue for state and non-state actors to showcase Ireland's heritage, products, and people along the controversial spaces of local, national, and international fairgrounds and demonstrated purposeful action by these groups regarding their quest to control Irishness. It was not until the mid-twentieth century that the Irish retook the reins of how their society appeared within the transnational political spaces of fairgrounds, and even then, some of the display tropes created by non-Irish agents continued to influence Irish exhibits and those who visited various Irish Pavilions.

The significance of this dissertation is that it contributes to transnational scholarship in three important ways. First, it demonstrates that state and non-state actors involved with the commodification of ethnicity, specifically Irishness, during the era under investigation engaged in deliberate public actions to control, albeit from different perspectives, how the transatlantic world understood Irishness. Second, this project shows the complexity linked to the history of transatlantic society by considering the affects of empire and historical memory construction for the Irish and American Irish communities, particularly within the contested sites of different fair marketplaces. Finally, this dissertation examines the power and communicative discourse associated with transnational cultural representations of Ireland by incorporating and analyzing the actions taken by British, American Irish, and Irish "actors" and assessing their influence on the formation and manipulation of an "authentic" Irish ethnic memory.
Identity, as this dissertation demonstrates, is a sociopolitical construct that remains in flux. Various factors contribute to how individuals and communities perceive themselves and how others categorize them. National catastrophes, for instance, often influence how a specific group understands itself and how "outsiders" comprehend the consequences of a traumatic event. Within Irish history, An Gorta Mór (the Great Hunger) of the mid-nineteenth century altered notions of Irishness for the Irish, their descendants, and others within the Atlantic world. A consequence of the Irish famine, aside from the horrendous loss of life, was the widespread dispersal of many Irish and this directly affected how Ireland's Atlantic "neighbors" viewed Ireland.

Mary C. Kelly argues in her recent work that the American Irish did not feel comfortable commemorating An Gorta Mór in the public sphere in any "real" capacity until they captured significant political agency within the United States. For this to occur, the American Irish had to "forget" their traumatic past because linkages to victimization portrayed weakness and were, in the minds of many, inherently "un-American." She asserts that it was only during the mid-twentieth century, particularly in the wake of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, that the American Irish finally came to terms with loss in a localized and transatlantic context.

This dissertation, however, interprets the actions of the American Irish from the late nineteenth century onward differently when considering ethnic memory. The American Irish embraced public commemoration of their heritage and the "trauma" associated with the exodus of so many from Ireland. Instead of ignoring this past (like so many did when it came to An

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4 See Jenny Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Her work concentrates on twentieth century atrocities and links notions of violence, politics, community, and memory to such events as the Great War, the Holocaust, and Vietnam.

5 Kelly, *Ireland's Great Famine in Irish-American History*. 
Gorta Mór), the American Irish responded by organizing "Irish Fairs" to celebrate their history throughout the United States to raise funds for numerous purposes, most commonly for the fiscal maintenance of churches or to aid destitute members of their community. Through their engagement with selective historical memory, the American Irish demonstrated their willingness to use the public sphere to "strengthen" Irishness. By the early twentieth century, this ethnic momentum by the American Irish resulted in the formation of American-based companies to have oversight of Ireland's display at the 1904 St. Louis fair. Although problems surfaced, the American Irish remained active agents when it came to asserting ideas in a transatlantic sense that they should be the stewards of how Irish heritage should appear. This mindset encapsulated their perspective for most of the twentieth century as well. Ironically, the American Irish, at times, failed to recognize that their actions of "protecting" the memory of the Irish homeland might hinder how those in Ireland interpreted Irishness, particularly when it came to the display of Ireland within multiple fairground spaces.

By the late nineteenth century, the Irish Diaspora created a mindset among a fledgling class of Liberal, primarily female, philanthropists who championed the "uplift" of the Irish, specifically through the celebration and, ultimately, commodification of Irish craft-based industry and heritage, as a way to "save" Ireland from complete socioeconomic collapse. Through their actions during the 1880s and 1890s, these "imperial mothers" contributed to transatlantic notions of Irishness by "inventing" and manipulating Ireland's past. Their actions became a primary catalyst for how the Irish in other nations and their descendants, as well as the non-Irish populations, "imagined" Ireland from the late nineteenth century onward. Therefore, activities linked to the display of Irishness within the public sphere, such as myriad manifestations of the Irish "village" model in Europe and the United States along various
fairgrounds, helped to forge within public memory key ideas associated with power, especially as this connected to authenticity, communicative discourse, and the performance of Irishness.

The manufactured reality of the Irish "village" paradigm coupled agrarian-oriented simplicity to Ireland by the late nineteenth century, but the paradox tied to this "new" Ireland ignored growing resentment by Irish nationalists who believed that armed insurrection was the only salve to heal Irish wounds. The actions of a group of nationalists in Dublin in spring 1916, and the response by British forces there, required that the Atlantic community recognize that Ireland was not, in fact, the idyllic environment portrayed to the public at local, national, and international fairgrounds. Ireland, like other nations, housed a plethora of ideologies and, ultimately, showed that there was no single or simple definition of Irishness. The post-World War I era in Ireland presented various challenges to the Irish, including partition, bloodshed, and bureaucratic dilemmas that came from being an official dominion of the Crown. By the mid-twentieth century, Ireland was a sovereign nation, but the tropes associated with the display of its heritage at world's fairs and similar venues, such as gauche reproductions of historic sites like Blarney Castle, cemented in the minds of many visitors stereotypical understandings of Ireland that remain in place even in modern times.

This dissertation asserts that anthropologist and world's fair scholar Burton Benedict is incorrect when he writes, "The display of people is essentially theatrical and can be analyzed in theatrical terms." Benedict assumes that "villagers" along midways (i.e., the displayed) possessed equal footing with those who oversaw and controlled these "villages," but he does not take into consideration the complex power dynamic associated with empire. Instead, midway performances were not about perpetuating equality but, rather, emerged as conduits for normalizing and spreading ethnic stereotypes from a "western" perspective, especially during the

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late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As evident from the discussion above regarding the Irish "village" paradigm, separating ideas linked to power and display result in a distorted and simplistic understanding of empire and "performance." Myriad state and non-state actors in the Atlantic world contributed to the creation of a "new" Ireland; however, this process occurred with minimal input of the Irish and it took several generations before the Irish controlled the official representation of their heritage. This dissertation illuminates the challenges linked to the formation of a transatlantic Irish identity when one considers the numerous "actors" involved in the formation of Irishness during this era: "imperial mothers"; the British Parliament; the American Irish community; and the Irish themselves.

The manufactured reality of Irish "villages" that this dissertation investigates relied upon theoretical constructs associated with the ritualization of heritage and ethnic memory. The public sphere emerged as a vital linking component that united diverse elements within the transatlantic world, particularly when notions of power and the use of space for the display of cultures and peoples occurred. The ways in which state and non-state actors created, controlled, changed, and authenticated popular depictions of Irishness within several fairgrounds proved that these individuals acted with deliberate purposefulness. The sociopolitical environment from the late nineteenth century onward permitted for the manipulation of cultural representations of Ireland's history and helped to legitimize for many fairgoers the "traditions" associated with the Irish "village" model. The writings of Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger, and Benedict Anderson provided vital theoretical foundations regarding the importance of public depictions of ethnic identity and political community. Work by John Bodnar and Tony Bennett enhanced my understanding of historical memory and ideas linked with commemoration. Finally, Jeffrey Alexander's scholarship illuminated the consequences of public performance for both the "actor"
and the "audience" and how this process can either reinforce or dismantle the notion of legitimacy for all participants.\textsuperscript{7} This project's theoretical contribution is that it connects ways in which the Irish, American Irish, and non-Irish state and non-state actors approach, use, and distort ethnic memory and community constructions, especially within a transnational context.

The purpose of the first two chapters of this dissertation revealed the origins associated with the complex relationships that existed by the late nineteenth century between the Irish, British, and American Irish communities and that, ultimately, the spaces of fairgrounds emerged as culturally contested areas that developed into important commercial venues for depicting "the Other." The third chapter highlighted a vital period of transition regarding the stewardship of Irishness within the Atlantic world by focusing upon the activities of imperial mothers, such as Lady Aberdeen and Alice Hart, and the ways in which their actions influenced the American Irish to, eventually, work with Parliament to showcase Irishness as the 1904 St. Louis fair. The final two chapters examined the deliberate actions of the Irish during the twentieth century to regain "ownership" of their heritage regarding the display of Irishness along multiple fairgrounds and the challenges they encountered during this process of recapturing ethnic identity and memory.

The sources consulted for this dissertation included an extensive examination of "ground level" primary sources linked to the material culture of fair ephemera that included catalogs, pamphlets, brochures, picture books, photographs, specialty newspapers produced during particular fairs, postcards, maps, and letters. In addition, "traditional" primary sources also constituted an important cache of material consulted and included government reports and documents, prominent newspapers and periodicals, as well as institutional and personal records.

and papers. Finally, the use of monographs, scholarly articles from referred academic journals, and unpublished dissertations and theses formed the core of a vast secondary literature utilized.

Today, international exhibitions, referred to simply as "expos," are regulated by the Paris-based Bureau International des Expositions (BIE). Since 2000, Ireland's participation at BIE-sanctioned expos has brought wide acclaim. The Ireland Pavilion at the 2000 Hanover Expo, "designed by a consortium led by [Dublin-based] architects Murray O Laoire," enticed visitors with "limestone at the entrance [that was] etched with placenames in Irish, English and German[.]" Portraying the Irish climate proved essential to exhibit designer Orna Hanly and Luke Dodd with "interactive features" that permitted "the estimated 10,000 visitors a day to dip their hands into a letterbox to 'feel' Irish rain." In addition, "Two large video screens [showed] an accelerated sequence of Atlantic fronts sweeping over the island, while another set of screens [projected] images ranging from currachs and cows to Dublin traffic." The Ireland Pavilion at the 2010 Shanghai Expo in China continued to demonstrate Irish inventiveness. The use of digital effects and imagery at the Ireland Pavilion in Shanghai enthralled visitors, especially the "Atlantic Light" exhibit where "the life cycle of an Irish rain shower [was] projected on the floor to present the successive elements of wind, cloud, rain, river, and sea."

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8 http://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/bie/our-history (accessed June 29, 2015). The BIE formed in 1929 and began official activities related to regulating international exhibitions in 1931. As stated on its website, the BIE's mission "is to guarantee the quality of Expos and protect the rights of their organizers and participants. Since its creation, the BIE has placed education, innovation and cooperation at the core of Expos, thus changing their reason for being. From showcases of industrial innovation, they have become global discussion platforms aimed at finding solutions to the biggest challenges of humanity. Over 50 Expos have been organized under the auspices of the BIE and their success attracts new Member States each year. Today, 168 countries are members of the BIE."


Most recently, Ireland participated in the 2015 Milano Expo in Italy that opened on May 1 and closed on October 31. The theme of this event was "Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life" and it showcased "the challenge the world faces of providing the growing population with safe, high quality, sustainable food supplies for generations."\(^{11}\) The Ireland Pavilion, a rectangular, three story structure that occupied "a 1,175 square metre site," engulfed visitors through its "Wild Atlantic Way" exhibit, an "immersive filmic experience which aims to bring each visitor on a tour through Ireland to encounter the breath-taking seascapes and inland waters, the biodiverse countryside and the bountiful grasslands."\(^{12}\) This "journey," accomplished by the use of large screens and projected Irish imagery, provided pavilion guests with an interactive experience that did not rely on the traditional tropes associated with previous displays of Irishness as discussed in this dissertation. Another important function of the Ireland Pavilion was to entice expo sightseers to visit this island nation.\(^{13}\)

The commodification of Irishness remains persistent. Within the United States, for example, the Irish Fair tradition, begun in the late nineteenth century, continues. In New York City, "The Great Irish Fair of New York" (GIF) regularly attracts thousands of visitors. Started in 1982 by the Brooklyn chapter of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, this event is "all about having fun and enjoying Irish culture."\(^{14}\) Like its Irish Fair predecessors, the GIF donates all of its proceeds; specifically, the GIF gives the Brooklyn Diocesan Catholic Elementary Schools its revenue.\(^{15}\) Irish music and dancing provide a large segment of GIF entertainment and in 2014 thirteen Irish-themed music bands, including Andy Cooney, Derek Warfield and the Young Wolf

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Tones, and Jameson's Revenge, performed. Because the GIF is a family-friendly venue, children's activities abound and include traditional fair activities such as magic shows, face painting, balloon art, and various rides. The GIF also capitalizes on heritage-inspired consumerism, especially for the American Irish population, by providing for purchase from many vendors Irish-themed and Irish-made goods, including apparel (t-shirts and sweaters), music, videos, jewelry, toys, art, and stained glass. The manufactured reality provided by the GIF, albeit without any of the tropes associated with the Irish at world's fairs discussed in this dissertation, demonstrates that the American Irish remain actively connected to the public display of Irishness.

An Irish-based business, the Auld Sod Export Company (ASEC), also profits from the affinity of the American Irish community through the commodification of Irishness. The ASEC started in response to requests from members of the Irish community in America for real Irish soil to use to commemorate or to mark a special occasion or event - such as a birth, a wedding, christening, house move, funeral or simply to use to grow favourite plants as a reminder of home. The Official Irish Dirt brand of the ASEC "is sourced from sources approved by the

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19 According to its Facebook page, the 2015 GIF will take place on September 26 and 27. See https://www.facebook.com/GreatIrishFairOfNewYork/timeline?ref=page_internal (accessed June 29, 2015). The GIF, however, is not the only Irish Fair held each year in the United States. In fact, dozens of cities throughout the nation host these types of events that include Dallas, Texas, Eugene, Oregon, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Ireland, West Virginia, Burlington, Vermont, Dublin, Ohio, among others. See http://www.angelfire.com/folk/irishcelts/festivals_by_dates.html (accessed June 29, 2015). Another way that the American Irish disseminate Irishness within the public sphere is in the form, according to Natasha Casey, of heritage-inspired stores. She argues that Irishness "is firmly embossed on the U.S. cultural psyche" and that this concept "continues to adapt, accommodate, and appeal to remarkably diverse audiences, indicating that its popularity is unlikely to fade any time soon." See Natasha Casey, "The Best Kept Secret in Retail: Selling Irishness in Contemporary America," in The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture, ed. Diane Negra (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 84-85. For a historical examination of the "ethnic revival" of Irishness in the United States since the late nineteenth century, see Christopher Damien Rounds, "Ireland For Sale: The Marketing and Consumerism of the Irish-American Identity since 1880" (Ph.D. diss., University of South Carolina, 2008).
Irish Department of Agriculture, processed in County Tipperary and packed in Ireland prior to being bulk shipped to [its] distribution center near Burlington, Vermont.

The ASEC asserts, "Our products represent a small, simple way to regain the powerful mystical connection to Irish land, delighting the senses and the imagination." The cost of one pound of Official Irish Dirt is $14.99 plus shipping and handling. Once purchased, a buyer can print a "Certificate of Authenticity" and "show [one's] friends that [one is] a bona fide Irish land owner!"

In addition, individuals interested in expanding their "authentic" Irish experience can likewise purchase a shamrock seed set (with or without dirt), a "Flower Pot Growing Kit, a "Forever Irish Canister," and a "Belleek Shamrock Gift Set." Prices for these ASEC gifts cost between $5.99 and $44.10.

Although the activities of the ASEC are not unique, especially when one considers the display (and eventual sale) of Irish soil at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and the 1897 and 1898 Irish Fairs in New York City and San Francisco, they demonstrate that the desire to "own" an authentic piece of Ireland remains robust today, especially for the descendants of the Irish in America.

The ASEC is not the only Irish-based venture to promote an authentic Irish experience. Various companies in Ireland dedicate their efforts to designing, constructing, and transporting the "Irish pub" to locations across the globe. The Irish Pub Company and Ól Irish Pubs Ltd., both headquartered in Dublin, Ireland, and Love Irish Pubs, located in New Ross, County Wexford, specialize in recreating the traditional Irish pub experience. The website for Ól Irish Pubs Ltd. succinctly encapsulates the purpose of these businesses when it states, "Beautifully

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authentic Irish pubs, built on time and to budget is what we do! No matter where in the world you are, we can recreate your true Irish haven. From the solid bar tops through to comfy lounge chairs, each element of every bar we produce is sourced and produced in our Irish workshops. Be it your favourite local pub in Kerry or a Victorian style Dublin pub, we can create your vision and make it a reality.”

As these Irish companies attest, the manufactured reality provided by the commodification of Irishness for the contemporary global marketplace proves that "selling" Ireland remains profitable.

The continued commodification of Irishness demonstrates that ideas linked to ethnicity and heritage remain powerful constructs. As shown in this dissertation, the transnational political spaces of multiple fairgrounds between the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries permitted myriad groups of state and non-state actors in the Atlantic community to control the display of Irish history, culture, and people. Central to this discourse concerned unequal power relationships in the process of creating a manufactured reality linked specifically to Irishness. Although the Irish gradually gained control of how Ireland appeared to the world at international exhibitions, many of the tropes that originated during the era that this dissertation examines continued to influence how the Irish and those who "visited" Ireland at these venues perceived Irishness. In many ways, as witnessed by the discussion above of contemporary notions of commercialism, the stereotypes of Ireland created during the late nineteenth century by "imperial mothers," the British Parliament, the American Irish and the Irish themselves, remain very much...

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24 An example of the global allure of the Irish pub experience is the existence in Dubai, UAE of "The Irish Village." Located in the Dubai Tennis Stadium complex, this "village" opened in 1996 and remains a popular meeting place. The staff is Irish and, according to its website, "The Irish Village" can accommodate 3,500 patrons. "The Irish Village" in Dubai advertises itself as "The only real Irish experience in the heart of Dubai!" See http://www.theirishvillage.com/ (accessed June 30, 2015); and Brendan Cronin, "Gathering together at the Irish village," Irish Times (Dublin, Ireland), October 20, 2002.
alive. In fact, the placard atop the Blarney Castle should be a warning to all to, indeed, "Beware of imitations."
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