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Portraits of the City

Representations of Dublin in Visual Art

A Thematic Case Study

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Trinity College Dublin
2015

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School of Histories and Humanities
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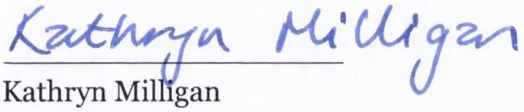

Kathryn Milligan

Table of Contents

Declaration
Summary
Acknowledgements
List of Figures
Introduction 1

Ceremony and Spectacle: Identity, Politics, and Dublin 44
1.1 Royal Spectacle in Dublin 45
1.2 Nationalist Spectacle: The O'Connell Centenary, 1875 56
1.3 The Visual and Material Culture of the O'Connell Centenary 70
1.4 Spectacle and Destruction in Dublin 80

'a person of metropolitan experience': Walter Osborne and Dublin, c.1886–1903 91
2.1 The Artist in the Wider World 93
2.2 To Market, To Market: Exploring the Dublin Street 103
2.3 Away from the Back Streets: Osborne and the Wider City 116
2.4 Osborne and the Dublin Art World 123

Man of the Crowd: Jack B Yeats and the Urban Scene 132
3.1 Yeats' Early Dublin Paintings, 1912 - 1923 134
3.2 Locating Jack B Yeats in Dublin, 1923–1937 145
3.3 Painting Modern Dublin? 151
3.4 River, Quays and Streets: Moving through the City 166

Harry Kernoff: Representing Life in Dublin 174
4.1 Radical Times: Harry Kernoff in 1920s Dublin 176
4.2 Life, Labour and the Left 184
4.3 Cityscapes: Walking through Dublin 197
4.4 Raising a Glass: Kernoff and the Dublin Pub 204

Vanishing Dublin? Artists, the city and illustrated books 214
5.1 Illustrated Books and Guidebooks: Contexts and Precedents 217
5.2 Picturesque Dublin': Rose Barton and the Late Nineteenth Century City 227
5.3 The Glamour of Dublin: Estella Solomons' etchings of Dublin 236
5.4 Flora H Mitchell and 'Vanishing Dublin' 244

Conclusion 254

Appendices

Bibliography

Illustrations

Summary

This thesis examines the representation of Dublin in visual art, as produced by a range of artists working in Ireland during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thematic in its approach, the artists and artworks discussed encompass a broad time period, spanning the period 1821–1966. From the appearance of the city on grand ceremonial occasions, its destruction during periods of warfare and unrest, to the negotiation of personal identity and belonging through a representation of its streets, bridges, and buildings, the information contained within this volume demonstrates how urban life in Ireland's capital city has captivated artists for decades. Through a discussion and scholarly examination of these artworks, it is shown that the city has been an important subject for artists in Ireland, despite the predominance of the rural landscape in the wider 'canon' of Irish art.

Throughout the analysis, artworks representing different aspects of Dublin life are considered in relation to the history of the city, looking to the different social, economic, political, and cultural contexts that these works were created in, as well as being considered within the broader field of the city in art created outside of Ireland, chiefly in America and Britain, but with some reference to other European artists. This approach is informed by previous art historical writings on the city in visual art, and by the varied literatures on different aspects of Dublin, its history, and its visual and material culture. The methodology of the project was informed by approaches to social art history, space and place, and concepts of modernity and modernism. Further to this, full use was made of archival sources and repositories in researching the findings presented here.

The Introduction outlines in detail the motivation and parameters of the research project, as well as looking in detail at the extant literatures which have informed its themes and approach.

Chapter One examines a range of artworks that show different incarnations of 'spectacle' in Dublin city, ranging from royal visits, nationalist commemorations, to the Easter Rising and Civil War. The symbolic use of the urban landscape on these occasions is outlined, in addition to an examination of how artists responded to a wider visual and material culture which surrounded these events.

Chapters Two, Three, and Four continue with a thematic approach to the subject but focus on the work of three different artists who were working in the city at different stages in the late nineteenth and early-mid twentieth centuries. Walter Osborne, Jack B Yeats, and Harry Kernoff, all shared an interest in the representation of everyday life in Dublin, painting its markets, streets, buildings, bridges, pubs, and people.

Chapter Five returns to a more expansive thematic approach, and explores the different uses of artist's views of the city in illustrated books and guides. These are discussed in relation to concepts of nostalgia and loss, and the notion of depicting 'Old Dublin.'

Finally, the Conclusion offers a discussion of the themes and issues raised by the research presented in the preceding chapters, examining how they contribute to a wider understanding of the representation of Dublin in the history of Irish art. Overall, the findings of this research project, as discussed in the concluding chapter, suggest that the representation of Dublin by visual artists in Ireland is a rich and important constituent part of Ireland's art history.

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge my supervisor, Dr Yvonne Scott, for her support, assistance, and generous encouragement from the outset of this research project.

I am also thankful for the advice, encouragement, and support received during the past three years from all of the staff in the Department and History of Art and Architecture, Trinity College Dublin: Dr Christine Casey, Dr Peter Cherry, Dr Laura Cleaver, Dr Angela Griffith, Dr Philip McEvansoneya, Dr Rachel Moss, Professor Roger Stalley. My thanks also to Clare Canavan, Executive Officer, and Ruth Sheehy, Photographic and Slide Librarian.

My thanks to Trinity College Dublin for enabling this research project through the benefaction of an Ussher Postgraduate Award, 2011–2014. Additional travel and research was made possible through the generosity of the Trinity Trust Travel Grant Award Scheme, and the Thomas Dammann Junior Memorial Trust.

To Dr Martine Cuypers and Dr Joseph Clarke for their valuable critiques and guidance during the annual review process.

To the staff of Trinity College Library, with special mention to Simon Lang and Helen McGinley (Early Printed Books), and Jane Maxwell (Manuscripts and Archives).

To Anne Hodge and Niamh McNally (Prints and Drawings), Donal Maguire (CSIA), Louise Morgan (Rights and Reproductions), and Dr Brendan Rooney (Curator, Irish Art) at the National Gallery of Ireland.

To Mary Broderick and Honora Faul, Prints and Drawings Department, National Library of Ireland.

To Jennifer Fitzgibbon and Donna Romano at NIVAL, NCAD.

To Dr Éimear O'Connor HRHA, who supervised my MPhil thesis on Harry Kernoff, and who offered continual support through this process, with many welcome cups of coffee and slices of cake along the way. Dr O'Connor also facilitated access to the papers and minutes of the Royal Hibernian Academy, in her role as archivist to that institution.

I am extremely grateful to my fellow research colleagues, especially those who I have been lucky enough to share the welcoming and collegial environment of the Provost's Stables with: Dr Myles Campbell, Dr Tomás Irish, Caroline McGee, Alexandra Murphy, Dr Conor Lucey, Dr Karen Ralph Dr Fergus Robson, and Dr Ellen Rowley.

To Dr Patricia Stapleton, Dr Sue O'Neill, Dr Ciarán Wallace, and all of the Semester-Start Up team, School of Histories and Humanities, TCD.

To Dr Niamh Nic Ghabhann, University of Limerick for her sage advice, wisdom, and timely Father Ted quotes.

To Myles Campbell and Lisa Towell, once more I say 'many thanks' for being so supportive and encouraging, and for always being willing to share in an evening of gin and Eurovision.

To Grace Madigan BL for her constant support and patience in listening to endless tales of Dublin's history, as well for locking me out of Twitter during busy writing periods.

My parents, Lou and Henry, deserve special thanks for their continual support and interest in my art-historical endeavours. Many thanks also to Jen, Donal, Rick, and Kate for their encouragement and care.

Introduction

Figure 0:1 James Mahony, *Dublin from the Spire of St George's Church, Hardwicke Street*, 1853-54, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.
Figure 0:2 Details from Mahony, *Dublin from the Spire of St George's Church, Hardwicke Place*. 1853-54, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.
Figure 0:3 Map of Dublin City. The black outline indicates the area defined as the 'city' for the purposes of this research project.

Chapter One

Figure 1:1 William Turner de Lond, *George IV of England, Entering Dublin*, 1821, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.
Figure 1:2 William Turner de Lond, *George IV at College Green, Dublin*, 1821, watercolour and oil, Glin Castle.
Figure 1:3 Joseph Haverty, *Entry of George IV into Dublin*, 1821, Government Art Collection, UK.
Figure 1:4 *Sackville Street as it appeared on the day of his Majesty's Public Entry into Dublin*, J.S Alpenny, 1823, British Museum.
Figure 1:5 George Mounsey Wheatley Atkinson, *Queen Victoria's Visit to Queenstown*, 1849, oil on canvas, 1851, National Maritime Museum, UK.
Figure 1:6 George Mounsey Wheatley Atkinson, *Queen Victoria's Visit to Queenstown*, 1849, oil on canvas, 1851, National Maritime Museum, UK.
Figure 1:7 *Procession through Mardyke, Cork*, from the *Illustrated London News*, 11 August 1849.
Figure 1:8 *Illuminations on Sackville Street*, from the *Illustrated London News*, 11 August 1849.
Figure 1:9 James Mahony, *The Visit by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to the Fine Art Hall of the Irish Industrial Exhibition, Dublin*, 1853, watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.
Figure 1:10 James Mahony, *The Visit by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to the Fine Art Hall of the 1853 Dublin Great Exhibition*, 1853, watercolour on paper, NGI.
Figure 1:11 Percy William French, *Queen Victoria's Entry Through Dublin's City Gate, a temporary replica of Baggotrath Castle, Leeson Street Lower Bridge, April 1900*, 1900, watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.
Figure 1:12 Robert French, City Gates, erected for the visit of King Edward VII, 1903,

Lawrence Photograph Collection, National Library of Ireland.

Figure 1:13 Charles Russell, *The O'Connell Centenary Celebrations, 1875*, 1875, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 1:14 *Laying of the Foundation Stone*, 1864, from the *Illustrated London News*, 8 August 1864.

Figure 1:15 Letter from Peter Paul MacSwiney to the People of Ireland, O'Connell Centenary National Committee Minute Book, National Library of Ireland, Ms 1408.

Figure 1:16 Michael Angelo Hayes, *Sackville Street, Dublin,* c.1853, watercolour over pencil with gum arabic and white highlights on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 1:17 *O'Connell Centenary Record: Published by the authority of the O'Connell Centenary Committee*, Dublin: Joseph Dollard, 1878.

Figure 1:18 Route of the O'Connell Centenary Procession, from the *O'Connell Centenary Record*, Dublin: Joseph Dollard, 1878.

Figure 1:19 *Scene in Sackville Street - The O'Connell Centenary Celebration in Dublin*, from *The Graphic*, 14 August 1875.

Figure 1:20 *The O'Connell Centenary at Dublin: Mr O'Sullivan, M.P., addressing the people in Sackville Street*, from the *Illustrated London News*, August 1875.

Figure 1:21 *Ireland - Le Centenaire de O'Connell*, from *Le Monde Illustré*, 21 August 1875.

Figure 1:22 Chancellor and Son, photograph of the O'Connell Centenary Procession, 6 August 1875, O'Connell Centenary National Committee Minute Book, NLI, Ms 1408.

Figure 1:23 W B Samuel, photograph of the O'Connell Centenary Procession, 6 August 1875, from the O'Connell Centenary National Committee Minute Book, National Library of Ireland, Ms 1408.

Figure 1:24 Detail of trade banners from Russell, *The O'Connell Centenary Celebrations, 1875.*

Figure 1:25 Images from the Wolfe Tone Centenary, from *Black and White Magazine*, August, 1898.

Figure 1:26 Kathleen Fox, *The Arrest*, c.1916, Niland Collection, The Model, Sligo. Figure 1:27 Photograph showing the arrest of Michael Mallin and Constance Markievicz outside the Royal College of Surgeons, 1916, Cashman Collection, RTÉ. Figure 1:28 The Royal College of Surgeons, from *Dublin after the Six Days Insurrection: Thirty one pictures from the camera of Mr T W Murphy*, Dublin: Mecredy, Percy & Co., 1916.

Figure 1:29 General Sir John Maxwell and his staff, 1916, Kilmainham Goal Archives, 17PC-1A44-11, from Liz Gillis' *Revolution in Dublin: a photographic history 1913–1923*, Cork: Mercier Press, 2013.

Figure 1:30 Photograph of a Sinn Fein Prisoner, from *Dublin after the Six Days*

Insurrection: Thirty one pictures from the camera of Mr T W Murphy, Dublin: Mecredy, Percy & Co., 1916.

Figure 1:31 Photograph of the 7th Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers marching out of the Royal Barracks, from the website of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers.

Figure 1:32 Recruitment Poster, *Farmers of Ireland Join Up and Defend Your Possessions*, c.1914-1918, paper and coloured ink, World War One Recruiting Collection, Trinity College Dublin.

Figure 1:33 Recruitment Poster, *The Call of Arms, Irishmen Don't You Hear It?*, c.1914-1918, paper and coloured ink, World War One Recruiting Collection, Trinity College Dublin.

Figure 1:34 Recruitment Poster, *Come Into the Ranks and Fight – Don't Stay in the Crowd and Stare*, c.1914-1918, paper and coloured ink, World War One Recruiting Collection, Trinity College Dublin.

Figure 1:35 W D Hogan, The Four Courts, 30 June 1922, National Library of Ireland.

Figure 1:36 Kathleen Fox, *The Four Courts*, 1922, oil on canvas, University College Dublin, Newman House.

Figure 1:37 Kathleen Fox, *The Ruins of the Four Courts*, 1922, oil on canvas, private collection.

Chapter Two

Figure 2:1 Photograph of Walter Osborne in his studio, Walter Osborne Archive, Centre for the Study of Irish Art, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 2:2 Walter Osborne, *Tired Out*, c.1886, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 2:3 Walter Osborne, *Small Girl with a Cat*, c.1885, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 2:4 Walter Osborne, *Boy Blowing Bubbles*, c.1885, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 2:5 Walter Osborne, *Little Boy Asleep*, 1887, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 2:6 Walter Osborne, 'Lenister Market, Hawkins Street, Dublin', pencil on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 2:7 Photograph of the Leinster Market, Walter Osborne Archive, Centre for the Study of Irish Art, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 2:8 Walter Osborne, *Interior of St Patrick's Cathedral*, c.1887, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 2:9 Walter Osborne, *Children in Church*, c.1889, oil on panel, private collection.

Figure 2:10 Walter Osborne, *Near St Patrick's Close, an Old Dublin Street*, 1887, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 2:11 Walter Osborne, *A Bit of Old Dublin*, 1891, pastel, private collection.

Figure 2:12 Walter Osborne, *The Fishmarket, Patrick Street*, 1893, oil on canvas, Dublin City Gallery The Hugh Lane.

Figure 2:13 Walter Osborne, *Life in the Streets: Hard Times*, 1892, pastel on paper, Tate Gallery.

Figure 2:14 View of Patrick Street, Walter Osborne Archive, Centre for the Study of Irish Art, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 2:15 View of Patrick Street, Walter Osborne Archive, Centre for the Study of Irish Art, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 2:16 View of Patrick Street, Walter Osborne Archive, Centre for the Study of Irish Art, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 2:17 Walter Osborne, preparatory sketch for *Life in the Streets: Hard Times,* 1892, pencil on paper, private collection.

Figure 2:18 Walter Osborne, *Street Market*, c.1892, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 2:19 Victor Gilbert, *The Maubeuge Market, Paris*, 1877, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 2:20 William H Jobbins, *The Fish Market, Venice*, 1881, oil on canvas, Nottingham City Museums and Galleries.

Figure 2:21 Richard Toovey, *Breton Market*, 1885, oil on canvas, Lemington Spa Art Gallery & Museum.

Figure 2:22 Percy Robert Craft, *'Hevva Hevva'*, 1887, oil on canvas, Penlee House Gallery & Museum.

Figure 2:23 Walter Osborne, *Cherry Ripe*, 1889, oil on canvas, National Museums of Northern Ireland.

Figure 2:24 Walter Osborne, *The Dublin Streets: A Vendor of Books*, 1889, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 2:25 Walter Osborne, *Daffodils*, 1888, pastel on paper, private collection. Figure 2:26 William Logsdail, *St Martin-in-the-Fields*, 1888, oil on canvas, Tate. Figure 2:27 Walter Osborne, *In Stephen's Green*, c.1895, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 2:28 Walter Osborne, *In a Dublin Park: Light and Shade*, c.1895, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 2:29 Transcript of letter sent to Alexander Williams, President, Dublin Sketching Club, announcing resignation of members, including Walter Osborne, 2 March 1886. Dublin Sketching Club Archives, National Library of Ireland, NLI ACC 4786.

Figure 2:30 Copy of reply from Alexander Williams, President, Dublin Sketching Club, in response to resignation members, 11 March 1886. Dublin Sketching Club Archives, National Library of Ireland, NLI ACC 4786.

Figure 2:31 Photograph showing the Dublin Arts Club Exhibition, Walter Osborne Archive, Centre for the Study of Irish Art, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 2:32 Page from *The Magazine of Art* with examples from exhibition of French posters held in London and Dublin, 'The Chronicle of Art', *The Magazine of Art*, January 1895, 117.

Chapter Three

Figure 3:1 Alice Boughton, photograph of Jack B Yeats, 1904, Charles Scribner's Sons Art Reference Department, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian, Washington DC.

Figure 3:2 Jack B Yeats, *The Tatooer's Shop on the Quays of Dublin*, from *A Broadside*, 6, no.3, August 1913.

Figure 3:3 Jack B Yeats, *The Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, from *A Broadside*, 6, no. 11, April 1914.

Figure 3:4 Jack B Yeats, *The Dublin Quays*, from *A Broadside*, 7, no. 5, October 1914.

Figure 3:5 Figure head from the HMS Calcutta, show at the Tate British Folk Art Exhibition, 2014. 1831, teak, National Museum of the Royal Navy, Portsmouth.

Figure 3:6 Jack B Yeats, *The Scene of A Tragedy*, from *A Broadside*, February 1915.

Figure 3:7 Jack B Yeats, *A Dublin Newsboy*, 1912, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 3:8 Jack B Yeats, sketch of a newsboy, Dublin, 1905. From sketchbook 106 [52], Yeats Archive, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 3:9 Jack B Yeats, *Bachelor's Walk, In Memory*, 1915, private collection, on loan to the National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 3:10 Jack B Yeats, sketch of O'Connell Bridge and Street, 12 May 1913. From sketchbook 138, Yeats Archive, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 3:11 Jack B Yeats, *A Westerly Wind*, 1921, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 3:12 Jack B Yeats, *Dublin Newsboys*, 1923, oil on panel, private collection.

Figure 3:13 Jack B Yeats, *In Capel Street*, 1923, oil on panel, Crawford Art Gallery.

Figure 3:14 George Bellows, *Stag at Sharkey's*, 1909, oil on canvas, Cleavland Museum of Art, Hinman B Hurlbut Collection.

Figure 3:15 Robert Henri, *Street Scene with Snow (57th Street New York City)*, 1902, oil on canvas, Yale University Art Gallery, Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.

Figure 3:16 John Sloan, *Sixth Avenue and 30th Street, New York City*, 1907, oil on canvas, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Figure 3:17 Robert Henri, *Yeats at Pepitas'*, 1910–c.1914, oil on canvas, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

Figure 3:18 Jack B Yeats, *The Liffey Swim*, 1923, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 3:19 Jack B Yeats, *In the Tram*, 1923, oil on panel, National Gallery of Ireland.
Figure 3:20 Jack B Yeats, *A Full Tram*, 1923, oil on canvas, private collection.
Figure 3:21 Jack B Yeats, *O'Connell Bridge*, 1925, oil on canvas, private collection. Figure 3:22 Jack B Yeats, *From the Tram Top*, 1927, oil on panel, private collection. Figure 3:23 Jack B Yeats, *Morning in A City*, 1937, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.
Figure 3:24 Still from 'Percival Mackey and Hs Boys', with dance by Monti Ryan, British Pathé, 1933.
Figure 3:25 Jack B Yeats, *A Flower Girl, Dublin*, 1926, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.
Figure 3:26 Jack B Yeats, *The Merchant's Arch,* oil on canvas, private collection. Figure 3:27 Jack B Yeats, *Jazz Babies*, 1929, oil on canvas, private collection.
Figure 3:28 Jack B Yeats, *The Railway Bar*, 1924, oil on panel, private collection. Figure 3:29 Jack B Yeats, *Boys and Girls*, 1925, oil on canvas, Smurfit Art Collection. Figure 3:30 Jack B Yeats, *People in a Street*, 1936, oil on canvas, Waddington Galleries, London.
Figure 3:31 Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Friedrichstrasse, Berlin*, 1914, oil on canvas, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart.
Figure 3:32 Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Street, Berlin*, 1913, oil on canvas, MoMA.

Figure 3:33 Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Potsdamer Platz*, 1914, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.
Figure 3:34 Jack B Yeats, *Three Traders of Dublin*, 1927, oil on canvas, private collection.
Figure 3:35 Jack B Yeats, *Paper Bag for Hats*, 1925, oil on canvas, oil on panel.
Figure 3:36 Jack B Yeats, *From the Metal Bridge*, 1923, oil on panel, private collection.
Figure 3:37 Jack B Yeats, *Crossing the Metal Bridge*, 1928, oil on panel, private collection.
Figure 3:38 Jack B Yeats, *Lingering Sun, O'Connell Bridge*, 1927, oil on canvas, private collection.
Figure 3:39 Jack B Yeats, *The Bus by the River*, 1927, oil on canvas, private collection.
Figure 3:40 Jack B Yeats, *Dublin, Number One Ferry*, 1927, oil on canvas, private collection.
Figure 3:41 Jack B Yeats, *The Readers*, 1928, oil on panel, private collection.
Figure 3:42 Jack B Yeats, *Dancing on the Deck of the Royal Iris*, 1932, oil on panel, private collection.

Chapter Four

Figure 4:1 Photograph of Harry Kernoff, taken at Romoff Photographic Studio, London, c.1921.

Figure 4:2 Harry Kernoff, *Harcourt Street Station Nocturne*, 1926, oil on panel, CIÉ.

Figure 4:3 Harry Kernoff, *Georgian Houses, Harcourt Street*, 1926, oil on panel, private collection.

Figure 4:4 Harry Kernoff, set design for Georg Kaiser's *Gas* Act 3 'The Worker's Hall', National Library of Ireland.

Figure 4:5 Harry Kernoff, costume design for Karel Capek's *R.U.R*, National Library of Ireland.

Figure 4:6 Harry Kernoff, set design for Seán O'Casey's *The Shadow of a Gunman*, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 4:7 Harry Kernoff, set design for *Easter Week, 1916*, pencil on paper National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 4:8 Grace Oscroft [member of the East London Group of Artists], *Bryant and May's, Bow*, undated, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 4:9 Humphrey Spender, William Coldstream painting 'Worktown' [Bolton], April 1938, Bolton Worktown, Photography and Archives from the Mass Observation Project, Bolton Council.

Figure 4:10 Raphael Soyer, *East Side Street*, 1928, oil on canvas, private collection.

Figure 4:11 Harry Kernoff, *Yonah Shimmel's Knishe Bakery*, 1939, watercolour on paper, private collection.

Figure 4:12 Edmund V Gillon, *Yonah Shimmel Knish Bakery, 137 East Houston Street*, c.1977, Museum of the City of New York.

Figure 4:13 Harry Kernoff, *Bend in the Road, near Richmond, Surrey*, 1947, oil on board, National Museums of Northern Ireland.

Figure 4:14 Harry Kernoff, *Liberty Hall, Night*, 1928, ballpoint pen, ink and graphite on card, mounted on board, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 4:15 Harry Kernoff, *Liberty Hall, Summer's Evening*, 1934, watercolour on paper, private collection.

Figure 4:16 Harry Kernoff, *On the Dublin Quays - Johnny Forty Coats*, 1945, watercolour on paper, private collection.

Figure 4:17 Photograph of P J Marlow, 'Johnny Forty Coats', 1943, National Library of Ireland.

Figure 4:18 Harry Kernoff, sketch for *Forbes Street, On the Dublin Quays*, 1935, pencil on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 4:19 Harry Kernoff, *Misery Hill*, c.1936, pastel on board, private collection.

Figure 4:20 Harry Kernoff, sketch for *Misery Hill*, 1936, pencil on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 4:21 Maurice MacGonigal, *Dockers*, 1933-34, oil on canvas, Dublin City Gallery The Hugh Lane.

Figure 4:22 Harry Kernoff, *Unemployed*, date, medium, and location unknown. Figure 4:23 Harry Kernoff, *Unemployed*, from *Woodcuts*, Dublin: Cahill, 1942.

Figure 4:24 Harry Kernoff, *The Guinness Brewery*, 1928, from *A Book of Dublin: Official Handbook*, Dublin: Dublin Corporation, 1929.

Figure 4:25 : Harry Kernoff, Jacobs Biscuit Factory, 1928, from *A Book of Dublin: Official Handbook*, Dublin: Dublin Corporation, 1929.

Figure 4:26 Harry Kernoff, Great Grain Silo of the Merchant's Warehousing Co, Ltd, 1928, from *A Book of Dublin: Official Handbook*, Dublin: Dublin Corporation, 1929.

Figure 4:27 The Great Grain Silo of the Merchants' Warehousing Compnay, Alexandra Basin, Dublin, 1926, from *The Port of Dublin: Official Handbook*, 1926.

Figure 4:28 Harry Kernoff, *Dublin Dockyard*, 1930, oil on board, private collection.

Figure 4:29 Paul Henry, *The Grand Canal Dock, Ringsend, Dublin*, 1928, charcoal on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 4:30 Paul Henry, *The Customs House, Dublin*, 1929, oil and charcoal on board, private collection.

Figure 4:31 Harry Kernoff, *Dublin Docks*, 1931, charcoal on paper, private collection.

Figure 4:32 L S Lowry, *Coming from the Mill*, oil on canvas, 1930, The Lowry Collection, Salford.

Figure 4:33 Harry Kernoff, *St Stephen's Green,* 1935, watercolour on paper, private collection.

Figure 4:34 Harry Kernoff, *Winetavern Street*, 1934, oil on panel, Dublin City Gallery the Hugh Lane.

Figure 4:35 Harry Kernoff, *Winetavern Street*, c.1940, oil on board, private collection.

Figure 4:36 Harry Kernoff, *Winetavern Street*, c.1940, watercolour on paper, private collection.

Figure 4:37 Harry Kernoff, *Red Seat Near Baggot Street Bridge*, 1947, oil on board, Dublin City Gallery the Hugh Lane.

Figure 4:38 Harry Kernoff, *Boland's Mills*, 1931, watercolour on paper, private collection.

Figure 4:39 Harry Kernoff, *Boats at Anchor - Grand Canal Quay*, 1937, watercolour on paper, private collection.

Figure 4:40 Harry Kernoff, *On the Liffey, South Wall, Dublin*, undated, oil on board, private collection.

Figure 4:41 Harry Kernoff, *Portobello Harbour*, undated, gouache and oil with pencil,

private collection.
Figure 4:42 Harry Kernoff, *Summer's Day, Leeson Bridge*, 1936, oil on panel, private collection.
Figure 4:43 Harry Kernoff, *Leeson Street Bridge, Dublin*, undated, watercolour on paper, private collection.
Figure 4:44 Harry Kernoff, *Huband Bridge, Grand Canal, Dublin*, 1936, oil on panel, private collection.
Figure 4:45 Harry Kernoff, *The Peppercanister from Percy Place*, c.1939, watercolour on paper, private collection.
Figure 4:46 Alan Reeve, *Dublin Culture*, 1940.

Figure 4:47 Harry Kernoff, *A Bird Never Flew on One Wing*, 1947, oil on board, private collection.
Figure 4:48 Harry Kernoff, *The Twins (There's Only a Few of Us Left)*, c.1936, oil on board, private collection.
Figure 4:49 Harry Kernoff, *In Davy's Back Snug*, 1936, oil on board, private collection.
Figure 4:50 Harry Kernoff, *In Davy's Parlour Snug, portrait with Davy Byrne and Martin Murphy*, c.1938, oil on board, private collection.
Figure 4:51 Harry Kernoff, *Study for In Davy's Parlour Snug*, 1941, watercolour on paper, private collection.
Figure 4:52 Harry Kernoff, *Self-Portrait of the Artist in his Studio*, 1929, oil on paper, private collection.
Figure 4:53 Emil Armin, *Self-Portrait*, 1928, woodcut on paper, The Art Institute of Chicago.
Figure 4:54 Raphael Soyer, *Self-Portrait with Self-Portraits of Rembrandt, Corot and Degas*, 1959, oil on canvas, location unknown.
Figure 4:55 Harry Kernoff, *Davy Byrne's Pub, Dublin, from the Bailey*, 1941, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.
Figure 4:56 Harry Kernoff, Sketch for *Davy Byrne's Pub, from the Bailey*, 1941, pencil on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.
Figure 4:57 Harry Kernoff, *Study for Davy Byrne's Pub, from the Bailey*, 1941, watercolour on paper, private collection.
Figure 4:58 Harry Kernoff, *Study for Davy Byrne's Pub, from the Bailey*, 1941, watercolour on paper, private collection.

Chapter Five

Figure 5:1 Section from floor plan of the 1892 Masonic Bazaar, showing 'Old Dublin'.

From *The Book of the Centenary*.

Figure 5:2 Stuart, Thomas, ed. *Book of the Centenary of the Masonic Female Orphan School of Ireland, including the Official Catalogue*. Dublin: Wilson, Hartnell, & Co., 1892.

Figure 5:3 Composite photo showing attendees of the Masonic Bazaar. Note the 'Old Dublin' buildings in the background. From *200 Years of a Future Through Education: a History of the Masonic Girls' Charity* (Dublin: Dublin Masonic Girls' Benefit Fund, 1992).

Figure 5:4 Poster from the Masonic Bazaar, Freemason Archive, Grand Lodge of the Freemasons' of Ireland, Molesworth Street, Dublin.

Figure 5:5 Henry Bryne, *The Interior of the Royal Exchange*, 1834, watercolour over ink on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 5:6 James Malton, *View of Capel Street, Dublin, with the Royal Exchange in the Distance*, c.1760-1803, watercolour on paper, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figure 5:7 James Malton, *The Tholsel, Dublin*, 1792, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 5:8 George Petrie, *Post Office Dublin*, engraved by Benjamin Winkles. From *Ireland Illustrated in a Series of View of Cities, Towns, Public Buildings, Streets, Docks, Churches, Antiquities, Abbeys, Castles, Seats of the Nobility &c. &c.* London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1829.

Figure 5:9 James Fraser, *Hand Book for Dublin and Its Environs with Map of the City, and Street-Maps on an Entirely New Plan*. Dublin: James McGlashan, 1853.

Figure 5:10 W F Wakeman, *Dublin: What's to be Seen and How to See It with Excursions to the Country and Suburbs*. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1853.

Figure 5:11 Samuel Frederick Brocas and Henry Brocas Jnr, *View of the Lying-in Hospital and Rutland Square, Dublin*, c.1820, etching and line (coloured), National Library of Ireland.

Figure 5:12 Rose Barton, *College Green*, 1887, watercolour heightened with white and scratching, private collection.

Figure 5:13 Rose Barton, *College Green*, 1887, watercolour on paper, private collection.

Figure 5:14 Rose Barton, *Going to the Levee*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.

Figure 5:15 Rose Barton, *Going to the Levee,* 1897, watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 5:16 Rose Barton, *College Green*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.

Figure 5:17Rose Barton, *Mountjoy House*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin:*

Old and New, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.
Figure 5:18 Rose Barton, *Aldborough House*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.
Figure 5:19 Rose Barton, *Powerscourt House*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.
Figure 5:20 Rose Barton, *Moira House*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.
Figure 5:21Rose Barton, *St Patrick's Close, Dublin*, 1887, watercolour and body colour on paper, National Museums of Northern Ireland.
Figure 5:22 Rose Barton, *The Weaver's hall, with Statue of George II*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.
Figure 5:23 Rose Barton, *Huguenot Houses, Weaver's Square,* from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.
Figure 5:24 Estella Solomons, *Self-Portrait*, undated, pencil on paper, Estella Frances Solomons Papers, Trinity College Dublin.
Figure 5:25 Estella Solomons, *Two Boys on a Height*, c.1918, oil on canvas, private collection.
Figure 5:26 Estella Solomons, *Street Urchins and a Bird Cage*, c.1918, oil on canvas, private collection.
Figure 5:27 Estella Solomons, *The Leinster Market, 1915*, from *The Glamour of Dublin*, Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928.
Figure 5:28 Estella Solomons, *The King's Inns*, from *The Glamour of Dublin*, Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928.
Figure 5:29 Estella Solomons, *Carlisle Court*, from *The Glamour of Dublin*, Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928.
Figure 5:30 Estella Solomons, *Winetavern Street*, from *The Glamour of Dublin*, Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928.
Figure 5:31 Estella Solomons, *Hoey's Court, the Birthplace of Dean Swift*, from *The Glamour of Dublin*, Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928.
Figure 5:32 Estella Solomons, *The Merchant Tailor's Arch*, from The Glamour of Dublin, Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928.
Figure 5:33 Estella Solomons, *The Quay, South Wall*, from *The Glamour of Dublin*, *The Glamour of Dublin*, Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928.
Figure 5:34 Estella Solomons, *The Hell Fire Club,* from *The Glamour of Dublin*, *The Glamour of Dublin*, Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928.
Figure 5:35 Publicity Boards from The Talbot Press, showing etchings by Estella Solomons included in *The Glamour of Dublin*, National Library of Ireland.
Figure 5:36 Flora Mitchell, *Tom Moore's Birthplace*, ink and watercolour on paper,

National Gallery of Ireland .Included in *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.

Figure 5:37 Flora Mitchell, *Winetavern Street*, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland .Included in *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.

Figure 5:38 Flora Mitchell, *The West Side of Bride Street*, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included in *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.

Figure 5:39 Flora Mitchell, *York Street*, 1964, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.

Figure 5:40 Eleanor Wiltshire, photographs of York Street during protests against evictions, 1964, National Library of Ireland.

Figure 5:41 Flora Mitchell, *Dominick Street, Dublin*, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.

Figure 5:42 Flora Mitchell, *Dorset Street*, 1965, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.

Figure 5:43 Flora Mitchell, *Paradise Court*, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.

Figure 5:44 Flora Mitchell, *Henrietta Street*, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.

Figure 5:45 Flora Mitchell, *Hamilton Lane*, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.

From the top of the steeple of St George's Church, Hardwicke Place, the city of Dublin stretches out across the canvas in a maze of streets and houses (fig 0:1). Black, skeletal watercolour ships trace their way to-and-fro across the bay and up the river, carrying goods and people into the heart of the conurbation, while hazy blue mountains lie on the horizon, connecting land, sea, and sky (fig 0:2). On close examination, the mass of rooftops and chimneys separate out into recognisable forms; the viewer of this painting can identify some of the city's eighteenth century squares – Mountjoy, Parnell, and Merrion Square – the Rotunda Pleasure Gardens, the park land of Trinity College and St Stephen's Green, the broad sweep of Sackville Street, and the curve of College Green. Looking closer still, sculptural and architectural features emerge from the canvas; Nelson's Pillar rises up beside the portico of the General Post Office on Sackville Street; equestrian monuments of William III and George II are seen on Dame Street and in Stephen's Green, along with the Campanile in Trinity College, and the Rutland Memorial Fountain on Merrion Square. In addition to landmark buildings like the Custom House and Rotunda Hospital, the glass dome of the exhibition hall, constructed for the Irish Industrial Exhibition in 1853, extends along Leinster Lawn.

With the geography of the city mapped out, the artist draws our eye to the people of the city. Sackville Street (as it was then, now known as O'Connell Street) is filled with carriages and outside-cars, a troop of red-coated soldiers march in formation, while people stroll in the Rotunda Pleasure Gardens. Smaller and narrower streets reveal people at work and leisure, with social demarcations made visible though the character of the street and the activities taking place within its environs. In parts of the canvas the dense warren of streets merges into abstract areas of ink and watercolour, with simple geometric shapes giving a mere suggestion of windows and rooftops with chimneys emitting gentle eddies of grey smoke. Painted by James Mahony in 1853–54, *Dublin*

from the Spire of St George's Church, Hardwicke Place captures the geographical and physical life of Dublin, the city whose streets, buildings, and people are at the heart of this research project.

This thesis examines how Dublin was represented in the work of visual artists in Ireland, whether native or visiting. The main hypothesis that it proposes to counter is the prevailing view that urban subjects and themes were overlooked by artists in Ireland. This perception is grounded on wider attitudes towards cities and urban identity in Ireland, indelibly shaped by the promotion of rural identity and agrarian life as the true 'Irish' identity from the nineteenth century onwards. As Mary Daly has proposed, '[t]he identification in the Gaelic revival of Irishness with peasant culture [...] served to confuse attitudes towards the city. Urbanization and urban problems fitted uneasily with the strongly rural ethos of the newly-independent Ireland.'[1] In a recent publication, Linda King has reiterated this view, suggesting that through the processes of cultural nationalism and (de)colonisation, cities in Ireland were generally thought of as 'the seat of occupation, cultural inauthenticity and affluence.'[2]

Supporting this common position is the tendency within Irish art historical scholarship to concentrate on two themes; either the engagement of Irish artists with aspects of international modernism, or the creation of a 'national' school of painting, based largely on the representation of rural life in the west of Ireland. As Jane Eckett has identified, artists 'who did not engage with debates on national identity have been summarily shunted out of view.'[3] Through its focus on representations of urban life in Dublin, the information provided in this thesis will serve to demonstrate that through

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[1] Mary Daly, *Dublin, the Deposed Capital: A Social and Economic History, 1860–1914* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1984), 1-2.

[2] Linda King, '(De)constructing the Tourist Gaze: Aer Lingus Tourism Posters, 1950–1960,' in *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity, 1922–1992*, eds. Linda King and Elaine Sisson (Cork: Cork University Press, 2011), 183.

[3] Jane Eckett, 'The life and career of an Irish flower painter, Moyra Barry (1885–1960): Flower painting and cultural conservatism in early twentieth century Ireland' (MLitt Diss., Trinity College Dublin 2006), 16.

the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, artists in Ireland were cognisant of the city around them and responded to this environment in their artistic practice.

From the beginning this research project has taken a thematic approach to the subject under consideration. At its broadest, the time period covered by the project is 1821–1966, with the earliest artworks discussed in detail being the different representations of the visit of George IV in 1821. At the other end of this scale, Chapter Five concludes with a discussion of Flora Mitchell's *Vanishing Dublin*, published in 1966. Within this broad expanse, a more focused period can be identified – 1875–c.1940 – when the majority of artworks discussed were created. While the breadth of these dates might initially seem ambitious, it should be remembered that the overall approach taken is thematic rather than strictly or forensically chronological; therefore the choice of artists and artworks considered within this period has been highly selective rather than all encompassing. The inclusion of artworks produced both prior to and after this core period serves to demonstrate a sense of continuity, even when the artistic and cultural contexts have changed significantly.

The difficulty experienced in placing a specific time period on this research points to a number of factors that needed to be taken into consideration, including the fact that cities themselves continuously evolve and change, with each generation responding to what came before. Furthermore, the artists discussed in this thesis were also operating within the wider traditions and history of painting, and often respond to the work of their predecessors and the established conventions of the medium. In addition to the common theme of the city, the artists discussed here are also bound together by their continued use of a representational technique, although this is pushed to its limits in the work of Jack B Yeats. By placing the work of these artists who painted Dublin at different moments through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries side-by-side, new connections and readings emerge, enriching our understanding and

knowledge of Irish art history.

Aims, Methods, and Methodology

The primary aims are twofold. In the first instance, this thesis seeks to offer a substantial, scholarly examination of how Dublin was represented in visual art during this period, a subject overlooked in previous Irish art historical scholarship. Secondly then, it seeks to explore how visual representations of the city intersect and interact with the range of social, economic, and political issues facing the city from the early nineteenth century onwards. The central research question posed reflects these two aims, asking 'to what extent was Dublin represented by visual artists in Ireland, and how do these artworks relate or respond to different contexts in which they were created?' In answering this central question, this thesis will offer the first detailed account of the response of artists in Ireland to the subject of Dublin in this period, in addition to original analysis of how these works can be seen and understood in a wider historical, cultural and art-historical context. By exploring these themes and issues in some depth, this thesis makes an original contribution to the wider knowledge of Irish art and cultural history, revealing a previously untold story that illuminates attitudes and responses to urban life in Ireland.

Analysing the development of Irish art history as an academic discipline to date, Niamh Nic Ghabhann has posed a number of questions to consider in relation to the historiography, methods, and methodologies of the discipline, for example:

> [w]hat models of scholarship have been adopted and used to date? Where do its disciplinary alliances lie, and what does it uniquely have to offer to a broader, multivalent understanding of Irish culture and history, or to the history of art and visual studies more generally?[4]

[4] Niamh Nic Ghabhann, 'Introductory essay: writing Irish art histories,' *Journal of Art*

In addition, Nic Ghabhann notes that to think 'critically about Irish art history as a discipline, it is important to question the terms of its value judgements, its audience, the conditions of its production, and its disciplinary boundaries [...].'[5] These criteria can also be applied to the subjects (artists and artworks) that make up the discipline of Irish art history, evaluating, for example, how artists and their works were received by critics, the audience who viewed or bought them, how and when they were made, and how they interacted with wider artistic developments outside of Ireland.

The methods used in the research presented here have centred on a number of principal components. Primary among these is the close examination and reading of the artworks themselves, signalled in the text by description of the subject and features of the painting, drawing, print, or illustration under discussion. For each chapter primary source and archival research has been carried out, looking at a range of materials from collections of artist's papers, including letters and diaries, to the minute books and records of different committees, exhibiting societies, and artistic institutions. The findings of this research have then been considered in relation to existing research as found in secondary reading on the historical, political, social and cultural conditions of the period under discussion, and the wider art historical context in relation to the representation of the city. Where this project differs from much of the existing scholarship in Irish art history is through its strong engagement with the theme of the city and urban identity, overlooked to date in preference to the themes of rural representation and national identity.

The starting point for this research was to survey the collections of a number of national cultural institutions to identify artworks that represented Dublin (see

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Historiography 9 (2013): 3.
http://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/nicghabhann-intro.pdf

[5] Ibid. In her recent text, Fionna Barber briefly considered the 'turn' in Irish art history in relation to Irish Studies and the emergence of the 'New Art History' in Britain in the 1980s, noting a shift away from 'canonical accounts of Irish art [...]. See Fionna Barber, *Art in Ireland since 1910* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 11.

Appendix I). This research was supplemented by a review of exhibition catalogues for three of the main exhibiting groups: the Royal Hibernian Academy, the Watercolour Society of Ireland, and the Dublin Sketching Club (Appendix II). Through this primary research, a number of artists and themes were identified, forming the basis for the structure of the study that follows this introduction. This research was then supplemented by further archival and primary source research at a number of libraries and institutions in Dublin and London, including the National Library of Ireland, the National Gallery of Ireland, Trinity College Dublin, NIVAL – the National Irish Visual Art Library at NCAD, the National Archives of Ireland, the Royal Hibernian Academy, Tate Gallery Archives, the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the British Library. To supplement this documentary research, a range of contemporary newspapers were consulted to seek additional information on events discussed in the course of the thesis, as well as to examine reviews of relevant exhibitions of the artists discussed.

The general methodological framework of this project is generally predicated on established modes of art historical investigation, and social art history more particularly. Writing on this approach to visual art, T.J. Clark commented that '[w]hat I want to explain are the connecting links between artistic form, the available systems of visual representations, the current theories of art, [...] social classes, and more general historical structures and processes.'[6] He continues that what this form of art historical analysis should discover is 'what concrete transactions are hidden behind the mechanical image of 'reflection', to know *how* 'background' becomes 'foreground'; instead of analogy between form and content, to discover the network of real, complex relations between the two.'[7] This research project will seek to make use of this thorough and investigative methodology, looking beyond the immediate associations between an artwork and the context in which it was created, to seek out the more complex and

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[6] T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* , 3rd ed. (1973; repr., London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 12.
[7] Ibid.

meaningful relationship between the two.

In addition, the methodology of the project is underpinned by different notions of space and place, the use of such concepts in cultural geography in general, and in relation to the city in particular. The theories of space and place seek out ways of examining how we interact with the space around us, and through this exploration aim, as Tim Cresswell notes, to pose the question 'how does a space become a place?'[8] Responding, Cresswell states that this transition occurs when a space is made meaningful: 'places must have some relationship to humans and the human capacity to produce and consume meaning.' [9] Outlining a space/place approach to the study of cities and the specificity of place, Martyn Lee has argued that space should not be considered 'as mere neutral ground – a convenient, unquestioned location upon which things happen [...]', but rather as 'a historically determined site upon which the effects of prior social relations produce a complex array of meanings.'[10] As evidenced in the literature review section of this introduction, notions of space and place have played an increasingly important role in the writing of Dublin's histories, with important texts being produced as part of the *Making of Dublin City* series, and by individual authors such as Yvonne Whelan.

As will be discussed at various points through this thesis, concepts of modernity and modernism have been understood and interpreted in different ways at different times. As Susan S. Friedman outlines,

> [o]nce upon a time, literary and art critics used *modernism* [...] to delineate movements in the arts based in loose affiliations or parallel developments. In contrast, social theorists, historians, and social scientists used *modern*, *modernity*, and *modernization* to refer to historical periods, conditions, and processes. But

[8] Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 7.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Martyn Lee, 'Relocating Location: Cultural Geography, the Specificity of Place and the City Habitus,' in *Cultural Methodologies*, ed. Jim McGuigan (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 126.

> now such disciplinary boundaries have ceased to function, as people appropriate all forms of the root concept to serve their different purposes.[11]

Over the course of her article, Friedman outlines a number of different approaches that can be taken in seeking a definition or definitions of these terms, concluding however that:

> [t]he lifeblood of modernity's chaos is its order. The impulse to order is the product of chaos. Modernism requires tradition to "make it new". Tradition comes into being only as it is rebelled against. Definitional excursions into the meanings of *modern*, *modernity*, and *modernism* begin and end in reading the specificities of these contradictions.[12]

Keeping in mind Friedman's warning that while definitions set out to 'to fence in, to fix, and to stabilize', they 'often end up being fluid, in a destabilized state of ongoing formation, deformation, and reformation that serves the changing needs of the moment', it is useful to consider briefly how the terms modernism and modernity have previously been interpreted, an in the process seeking, if not a definition, a general rubric for how they are to be used in the context of this research project.[13]

Although primarily writing about the visual arts, Terry Smith's analysis of 'modernity' brings together historical and art historical definitions. For Smith the term 'modernity' refers to the 'cultural condition in which the seemingly absolute necessity of innovation becomes the primary fact of life, work and thought.' Processes of innovation and change are understood as the 'forces of modernization', with modernity as the 'accumulating impact of these forces [...] on individuals, societies and environments.' These notions of modernity and modernization were an important influence on art and

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[11] Susan Stanford Friedman, 'Definitional Excursions: The Meanings of Modern/Modernity/Modernism,' *Modernity/Modernism* 8, no. 3 (2001): 498.
[12] Ibid., 510.
[13] Ibid., 497.

literature from the seventeenth century. and from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, Paris was established as the 'key site of modernity' through the writings of Charles Baudelaire and Walter Benjamin. Prominent among modernity's attributes is its 'dialectical ambivalence', or ability to encompass several opposing ideas – for example – to 'recoil from the past while also being embroiled in searching for the future with in it'. In visual culture, the uses of mass production to create a proliferation of '[a]dvertising, entertainment, propaganda and fashion' can be seen as 'the primary vehicles for an imagery of modernity [...].'[14]

In relation to visual art, the term 'modernism' can be understood to refer to 'the invention and the effective pursuit of artists' strategies that seek not just close but essential connections to the powerful forces of social modernity.'[15] A broad understanding of modernism in visual art encompasses a range of responses to the processes of modernization and modernity, from 'picturing the environments, artefacts, styles and attitudes of everyday life in the modern world', to securing 'a space for unbridled creativity, for pure possibility; promoting abstraction as an inevitable historical unfolding; highlighting the separateness of the arts or mixing them in startling ways [...].'[16] From this broad church of interpretations, from the 1960s 'modernism' came to imply a narrower field of artistic production, most notably through the writings of Clement Greenberg.[17] Modernism in the visual arts was understood as relating to a number of abstract movements in painting and sculpture, which could trace their lineage back to Édouard Manet as 'the initiator of a sequence of formal innovation, particularly those that lessened illusionism in painting [...].'[18] This interpretation of artistic modernism has since been challenged and criticised for its

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[14] Terry Smith, 'Modernity.' *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online.* Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T058788.
[15] 'Modernism.' *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online.* Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T058785.
[16] Ibid.
[17] See, for example, Greenberg's essay 'Modernist Painting' (1960-65), *Art and Theory 1900 – 2000: An Anthology of Changind Ideas*, edited by Charles Harrison and Paul J. Wood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2nd ed, 2003), 773-779.
[18] 'Modernism', *Grove Art Online.*

exclusionary nature, based for example, on geographical, cultural, and gendered readings.

In addition to the visual arts, different interpretations of modernity and modernism can be found in other cultural fields. Modernist literature, for example, has been 'chiefly characterized by a rejection of 19th-century [*sic*] traditions [...]. Modernist writers tended to see themselves as an *avant-garde* disengaged from bourgeois values, and disturbed their readers by adopting complex and difficult new forms.'[19] This change and disruption was echoed in poetry and in drama, where 'new forms of abstraction' appeared 'in place of realist and naturalist representation.'[20] A shared factor between modernist art and writing then, is the often deliberate move away from representation and experimentation with non-representational or abstract forms, and this has often been central to discussions on art, literature, and modernism. The artists and artworks discussed in this thesis are united by their continued use of representation, even when this is pushed to its furthest boundaries. Therefore, for the purposes of the research presented in this thesis incarnations of 'modernity' and 'modernism' in visual art will be understood as referring to depictions of 'modern' life in a broad sense, not restricted to an engagement with abstraction or formal experimentation. Allied to this, a general understanding of the terms 'modern', 'modernity', and 'modernism' as processes of change and flux informs the analysis here, remaining open to how these elements are made manifest in both local and general terms.

Literature Review

A recent publication noted that 'Dublin's awareness and knowledge of her own portrait is weak. [...] most Dubliners can call to mind few, if any, of the great paintings of

[19] Chris Baldick, 'Modernism.' *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Oxford University Press, 2008. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199208272.001.0001/acref-9780199208272-e-737.
[20] Ibid.

Dublin.'[21] This statement summarises the motivation behind one of the key questions of this research project, that is, to assess to what extent artists did turn to the city for their subject matter and subsequently, where these paintings might be found. The information gathered and presented in the two appendices of this thesis offers some tentative points to consider in answer to this, detailing the extent to which such works are found in public collections in Ireland, and a census of 'Dublin' paintings that were included in three series of annual exhibitions from 1875–1940.[22] The information in Appendix I indicates that a total of sixty-eight oil paintings and many more works on paper, including watercolours, sketches, and different kinds of prints, can be found in public collections across Ireland. While the majority of these works are located in Dublin institutions, such paintings are also well represented in galleries outside the city. The variety of subjects presented across this range of artworks demonstrates that paintings of the city take many forms, ranging from topographical views, depictions of particular locations, or representations of specific events in the city.

Through the period 1875–1940, Dublin scenes were exhibited continuously, albeit in small numbers. The artists who engaged with the city in this period are representative of wider cultural circles at the time, ranging from enthusiastic amateurs to those who can be considered as professional painters. The annual exhibitions surveyed were those of the Royal Hibernian Academy, the Watercolour Society of Ireland, and the Dublin Sketching Club. Each of these groups held a slightly different remit in the Irish art world at this time. For example, the RHA was representative of the 'official' art establishment, patronised and connected to the British administration in Ireland, andwas often associated with such social and political circles after

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[21] Gillian O'Brien and Finola O'Kane, 'Portrait of the city: framing the significance of urban landscapes,' *Portraits of the City: Dublin and the Wider World*, eds. Gillian O'Brian and Finola O'Kane (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), 19.

[22] Appendix I was compiled using print and online catalogues from the different institutions. Jennifer Mongan at Model Sligo kindly provided a spreadsheet of the collection for this task. Information for Appendix II was gathered from extant exhibition catalogues in several different repositories, including TRIARC – Irish Art Research Centre, the ESB Centre for the Study of Irish Art at the National Gallery of Ireland, and the National Library of Ireland. This listing was limited to works which clearly referenced Dublin, and as a result other works based on different urban themes may have also been exhibited.

independence. The Watercolour Society was founded in 1870 by 'a group of ladies in Lismore and Clonmel [...]', initially forming under the title of the Irish Amateur Drawing Society (1870), then the Irish Fine Art Society (1878) before becoming the Watercolour Society in 1887–88.[23] As explored further in chapter two, the Dublin Sketching Club was formed in 1874 by artist Alexander Williams, with the aim of uniting 'artists, amateurs and gentlemen interested in Art, in friendly and social intercourse promoting a taste for the fine arts in Dublin'.[24] Notable among Irish arts groups is that there was a wide cross- pollination between them, with many artists exhibiting with at least two of these groups, taking every advantage to exhibit and potentially sell their work given the limited market. As with the works found in public collections, the titles of the works exhibited in these venues suggest that artists in Ireland drew on wide range of urban themes and subjects.

When jointly considered, the returns of these two surveys provide an interesting basis for this research project. It suggests that if Dubliners, or others for that matter, are not familiar with 'the great paintings of Dublin', it is not because these works are not available in public collections or that in the core period of this research, such works were absent from public exhibitions. Rather, the results of this 'census' show that the representation of Dublin was a consistent (if minor, given the modest numbers) theme at exhibitions of art in Ireland through the period 1875–1940, as well as being present in national and public collections from the late nineteenth century.

As will be seen in the analysis that follows below, previous scholars have on occasion come close to exploring representations of Dublin in painting. However, this focus has then been diverted from urban themes to landscape views made in county

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[23] Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *The Watercolours of Ireland* (London: Barrie & Jenkins), 1994, 221.
[24] Catalogue of the first Dublin Sketching Club exhibition, quoted in Shirley Armstrong, 'Late Nineteenth Century Sketching Clubs in Ireland,' (BA Diss., Trinity College Dublin, 1984), 9.

Dublin or to other examples of material and visual culture.[25] Perhaps the fragmentary nature of the research material (for example, many of the artworks produced and exhibited are hidden away in private collections), has contributed to a lack of scholarly enquiry into the subject. This may be further compounded by the fact that the representation of the city is not as common as other subjects favoured by artists in the same period. That a thorough exploration of paintings of Dublin does not appear in the extant literatures points to a significant omission in the Irish art historical record and in the general history of the city.

In placing this research project within the wider discourse of art history, writings on the general representation of the city in visual art, particularly in painting, provide an important framework, as well as offering an insight into the methods and approaches of previous scholars to the subject. The art historical literature review examines both the theoretical approaches taken by different scholars when considering the topic of the city, as well as providing an overview of how artists have approached the city in different ways. Furthermore, a review of keys texts on the general history of Dublin, and on other cultural representations of the city, reveals the more specific context of the city itself. The texts discussed in this literature review are a representative selection from what is an extenstive and ever expanding field of scholarly enquiry. This collection was selected on the basis of their methodological, thematic, and critical approaches to the subject of the city in art, and the written history of Dublin.

In defining what is meant by the term 'the city', this thesis draws on Dana Arnold's description of the urban space. Arnold's research has focused primarily on early nineteenth century representations on London, reading such artworks in the context of urban development and emergent modernity.[26] In her introduction to *Re-presenting the*

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[25] See Finola O'Kane and Gillian O'Brien, eds., *Portraits of the City* and Justin Carville, ed., *Visualizing Dublin* discussed in literature review below.

[26] Arnold has also considered the architectural history of the city at this time, bringing together artistic, architectural, social, and cultural readings and interpretations of the city. See Dana Arnold, ed., *The Metropolis and its Image: Constructing Identities for London, c.1750–1950*

Metropolis, Arnold outlines that

> [t]he city is not just [...] a set of buildings in a specific geographical location – the dialectic between architecture and the city and their interrelation is an indicator of metropolitan identity which is an agglomeration of histories, geographies, social relationships, production, consumption and governmental institutions. In this way the city becomes a representation of an imagined community or environment which encompasses the symbol or metaphor and the discourses through which notions of modernity and urban experience can be expressed or explored.[27]

Arnold's perception of the city as a place where 'different kinds of identities relating to gender, class and nationhood' can be expressed and understood finds correlation with the approach of cultural geographers such as Brady, Simms, and Whelan discussed elsewhere in this literature review.[28] The understanding of the city as a multi-layered and meaningful place, as described by Arnold, informs the research presented in this thesis.

Throughout this thesis, the terms 'Dublin', 'Dublin city', or 'city centre' are used trefer to the area within the Grand and Royal canals and the circular roads (north and south), excluding the Phoenix Park (fig 0:3). Within this definition, identified views of streets, buildings, or other landmarks are recognised as representations of Dublin. Within this, 'urban life' is taken to mean the everyday life of the city, encompassing street life (for example, outdoor markets, street trading, street entertainments), commercial and leisure activities found in cities, in locations such as shops, dance halls, and cabarets. The other physical entities that combine to form the city space, from architectural and structural features such as public buildings, bridges, houses, parks,

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Dana Arnold, *Rural Urbanisms: London Landscapes in the early nineteenth century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005) and Dana Arnold, 'Panoptic Visions of London: Possessing the Metropolis,' *Art History* 32, no. 2 (2009): 332-350. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8365.2009.00665.x.

[27] Dana Arnold, *Re-presenting the Metropolis: Architecture, urban experience and social life in London 1800–1840* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), xix.

[28] Ibid., xv.

and other green spaces, as well as public sculpture, are also considered key aspects of the city.

Art History: Painting the City

A well-established theme in the history of art, the depiction of the city has persistently adapted its form to reflect the concerns of the time and culture in which it was created. As Tarnya Cooper has explained, when printed views of the city began to be produced by artists and publishers in the late fifteenth century, they 'provided some of the first widely available constructions of urban space that could serve as more than mere badges of a civic site.'[29] Over the decades and centuries, Cooper continues:

> city views [...] came to serve antiquarian, artistic, and military interests. [...] representations of cities commissioned and produced from within the city depicted, directed and reflected particular local and regional agendas, playing a vital role in the formation of collective civic identities.[30]

Cooper's analysis of the development of urban views in visual art demonstrates that in representing the landscape of the city, such paintings served a variety of purposes including the formation of urban identity and civic pride.

Teasing out this issue at little further, Stuart Blumin has explored in detail the representation of the city in seventeenth-century Europe. In seeking to answer the question of why artists turned to the city, Blumin argues that to a twenty-first century audience the answer should be clear:

> [a]n urban revolution spreading over two centuries, with deeper roots in the age of pre-industrial capitalism, has transformed our world and most of the ways we live within it. Should not cities, then, have come to occupy painters and graphic

[29] Tarnya Cooper, *Paper Cities: Topography and Imagination in Urban Europe c.1490–1780* (London: UCL Art Collections, 2003), 1.
[30] Ibid.

> artists who interpreted the visual world during the earliest phases of this revolution [...]?[31]

Key to Blumin's analysis is the understanding that the artistic turn towards the city in the seventeenth century was not limited to one city, such as Amsterdam, or even one 'type' of city: for example, capitalist Amsterdam is compared to 'parasitic' Rome, that relied on the 'incomes from property, absorbing more and more of a possibly declining regional surplus.'[32] Rather, Blumin suggests, the growth of interest appeared simultaneously across a number of cities in the same period, stimulated by a variety of different factors. [33] Looking towards the eighteenth century, a driving influence was the rising number of tourists in Europe who 'wanted images of cities, and of places within cities [...].'[34] For Grand Tourists in the eighteenth century, to 'acquire a set of Italian city views was [...] but a natural extension of the traveller's more serious purposes, and a natural addition to whatever other collections he was forming for his gallery and cabinet [...].'[35]

While the bulk of Blumin's text is dedicated to the seventeenth and eighteenth-century city views, an epilogue briefly examines representations of the city in nineteenth and twentieth century art. Tracing the move away from the topographical 'veduta' of the previous centuries, Blumin concludes that

> the artists of Whistler's generation and beyond gave new force and meaning to the depiction of cities [...]. The traditions of topographical representation [...] could not serve painters and draughtsmen intent on exploring the possibilities and perils of modern city life [...].[36]

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[31] Stuart Blumin, *The Encompassing City: Streetscapes in Early Modern Art and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 1.
[32] Ibid., 4.
[33] Ibid., 4.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., 7.
[36] Ibid., 199.

The increasing importance of the city as a place of work, industry and leisure across Europe in the nineteenth century was noted by artists and writers who documented the changes wrought by the processes of industrialisation and modernity. Theda Shapiro has proposed that '[w]ith the triumph of realism after 1850, coupled to the rapid urbanization then taking place [...], the city view was revalorized as an important subject in art.'[37] Importantly, Shapiro highlights that it was not just the subject of the city that was important to artists. For artists, Shapiro suggests, the city 'was the only acceptable place to live – because of its centrality to buyers and dealers, because of their need for continual dialogue with other artists, writers and critics, because of the unparalleled visual stimulation offered by the urban scene, and because of the privacy that the big city afforded.'[38]

In her article 'Everyday Life in Motion: The Art of Walking in Late-Nineteenth-Century-Paris', Nancy Forgione has considered how the act of walking through Paris became important after the changes made by Baron Haussmann throughout the city centre. Forgione argues that, in this altered city space, walking 'provided a manageable way to come to know the new environment – a necessary process for making an unfamiliar or, in this case, defamiliarised, place start to feel like home.'[39] By partaking in this activity, and then portraying it in their art, artists such as Pierre-Auguste Renoir and Jean Béraud recorded and interpreted the lifeworld around them, and as Forgione concludes, they 'reminded viewers of the fundamental power of everyday practices at the same time that it allows them [...] access into the particular

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[37] Theda Shapiro, 'The Metropolis in the Visual Arts: Paris, Berlin, New York, 1890–1940,' in *Metropolis 1890 – 1940*, ed. Anthony Sutcliffe (London: Mansell, 1984), 97.
[38] Ibid. For more on the economic aspects of art production in the nineteenth century city, see Ann Bermingham, 'Urbanity and the spectacle of art,' in *Romantic Metropolis: The Urban Scene and British Culture, 1780–1840*, eds. James Chandler and Kevin Gilmartin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) and Pamela Fletcher, 'Shopping for art: the rise of the commercial art gallery, 1850s–90s,' in *The rise of the modern art market in London, 1850–1939*, eds. Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
[39] Nancy Forgione, 'Everyday Life in Motion: The Art of Walking in Late-Nineteenth-Century Paris,' *Art Bulletin* 87, no. 4 (2005): 669.

nature of that experience for late-nineteenth-century Parisians.'[40] The act of observing the city is a common thread through much of the reading on this period. As Forgione's text suggests, it is possible to consider this idea of urban observation and mapping in a more conceptual way, and in a manner that can potentially increase our understanding of depictions of the city.

Prominent among discussions of the city in nineteenth century representations of the city in art is the figure or idea of the *flâneur*. The *flâneur* emerged initially from newspaper caricatures of new Parisian 'types', but was further developed in artistic and poetic terms in the writings of Charles Baudelaire, and was conceived as a man who fully immersed himself in city life, watching and observing the life around him. For Baudelaire, the *flâneur* was 'a mirror as vast as the crowd itself [...]', and who marvelled 'at the eternal beauty and the amazing harmony of life in capital cities [...].'[41] The explanation and description of the activities of the *flâneur* was continued by Walter Benjamin, who noted that to the *flâneur* 'the shiny, enamelled signs of business are at least as good a wall ornament as an oil painting is to a bourgeois in his salon.'[42] Walking in a leisurely way through the city's streets was key to *flâneurism*, observing but remaining separate from the general crowd. While the figure of the *flâneur* has played a central role in analyses of the modern city, modernity, modernism, and the work of the Impressionists, it has also been widely criticised for limiting the existence and potential of other kinds of urban observer or viewer of everyday life.[43] David Peter Corbett has also proposed that the 'French tradition beginning with Baudelaire's writings on art and the work of Manet has seemed to generations of scholars to be the most compelling

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[40] Ibid., 684.
[41] Charles Baudelaire, 'The Painter of Modern Life' (1863), in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. and ed. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon 1995), 10.
[42] Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: NLB, 1973), 37.
[43] Feminist critiques of the *flâneur* have been particularly strong. See, for example, Griselda Pollock, *Vision and difference: feminism, femininity and the histories of art* (London: Routledge, 2003) and Aruna D'Souza and Tom McDonough eds., *The invisible flâneuse: gender, public space and visual culture in nineteenth century Paris* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006). Rebecca Zurier has outlined the case for an alternative view of the urban observer in the modern city in her text, *Picturing the city: urban vision and the Ashcan School*, which is discussed later in this literature review.

modernist work there is.'[44] As a consequence, Peters Corbett suggests, this focus has created 'a historiographical hesitancy about the status of modern visual art made in other places and under other circumstances.'[45]

Scholarship on the city in nineteenth and twentieth century art has tended to focus almost exclusively on the 'big city', or the main centres of modernity and modernism: London, Paris, Berlin, and New York. Given the differences in its development (most notably in regard to industrialisation, to say nothing of the ongoing political situation) Dublin presents quite a different case when compared to these vast metropolitan centres. However, the themes and issues which emerge in the representation of these urban spaces have relevance in contextualising the work of artists in Ireland. Fintan Cullen has recently commented that in Irish art historiography, 'the main cultural connection, it has been repeatedly argued, was with England and in particular London. That is all very well. However, additional insight can be gained by placing Irish visual material in a wider context.'[46] While Cullen's comment perhaps reveals ennui with the connections made with London, the relationship between the two cities, and between their artistic worlds, is hugely important throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. That said, Cullen is correct in stating that the production of artists in Ireland should be considered in a broader visual context, and to that end, through the course of this thesis, reference will be made to artists in the United States of America also concerned with urban themes, principally in the first half of the twentieth century. Recent research, such as that by Cullen, and other on-going projects reveal the connections through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries between Ireland and America, especially in relation to the exhibition of Irish art in American cities.[47]

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[44] David Peters Corbett, 'Seeing in Modernity: Walter Sickert's Music Hall Scenes, c.1887–1907 and English Modernism,' *Modernism/Modernity* 7, no. 2 (2000): 285.
[45] Ibid., 285-286.
[46] Fintan Cullen, *Ireland on Show: Art, Union, and Nationhood* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 125.
[47] For example, see Éimear O'Connor, 'America Called: The Helen Hackett Gallery and the Irish Art Rooms, 1924–1934,' *New Hibernia Review* 15, no. 4 (2011): 16-33.

There is a vast range of writing on the representation of London in visual art, often with an emphasis on the Victorian and mid-late nineteenth century city. The work of Alex Potts, Dana Arnold, Caroline Arscott, and Nancy Rose Marshall has been particularly useful in marking out the parameters of this research project. In an article for *History Workshop* titled 'Picturing the Modern Metropolis: Images of London in the Nineteenth Century', Potts provides an overview of the different ways the city was represented including painting, engraving, and other print media. From J M W Turner's 1809 painting *London from Greenwich Park* (oil on canvas, Tate) which views the distant city from a pastoral deer park, through numerous published topographical accounts, illustrations in the printed press, and the emergence of clear social and class divides in depictions of the city, Potts' account provides a well-written and critical overview of the period. His discussion of illustrated publications is of particular interest in relation to chapter five of this thesis which addresses the contribution of visual artists to various publications on Dublin.[48]

Caroline Arscott's contribution to the *Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Volume III, 1850–1950* examines the theme of the city in visual art by looking to repeated motifs within this subject. These are 'the river', 'urban folk', and 'cleisure and consumption'.[49] At the outset, Arscott identifies a central characteristic of the city through this period, namely that of its inherent duality. 'The modern city could be celebrated as a unique source of invention and harmony [...]', she notes, '[f]or others pride and wonder gave way to feelings of disquiet. Awe could tip into terror if the massed population seemed uncontrollable or the environment seemed so huge and complex that the individual was dwarfed or lost.'[50] In addition to these contrasting approaches, other dualities can be noted: for example, the divide between rich and poor, between city and

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[48] Alex Potts, 'Picturing the Modern Metropolis: Images of London in the Nineteenth Century,' *History Workshop* 26 (1998): 25-56.
[49] Caroline Arscott, 'The representation of the city in the visual arts,' in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Volume III, 1850–1950*, ed. Martin Daunton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 811-829.
[50] Ibid., 811.

suburb, and simply between those who 'had' and 'had not'. Tracing the changing approaches of artists to this complex environment, Arscott notes a that the 'balance between celebration and despair could be said to shift decisively by the 1880s to a fairly bleak vision of urban alienation The early period, up to 1845, is characterised by a marked confidence in the achievements of urban development [...]. In the later 1840s and 1850s there was a growing middle-class awareness of social problems [...].'[51] From the 1880s until the pre-war years however, there was 'a gloom and anxiety about the state of urban life', occasionally offset by 'the emergence of utopian schemes for paternalistic or state-managed urban development.'[52]

The thematic approach to Victorian London taken by Nancy Rose Marshall was strongly influential on the structure of this research project. Over nine chapters Marshall moves from the general to the specific, focusing on the different elements and themes that constitute nineteenth century paintings of the 'most amazing and glorious spectacle ever presented to the human eye'.[53] With this text, Marshall seeks to challenge a number of prevalent (and in her view erroneous) perceptions about the place of the city in British art at this time, and the place of such artworks within the development of modern British art. Like Peters Corbett, Marshall explores the theme of modernity and modern painting outside of Paris, and emphasises what she sees as London and Britain's uniquely modern characteristics: 'a novel awareness of Victorian Britain's position relative to particular concepts of the past, and its own active assertions of the uniqueness of the present [...]'; 'the prevalence of critical debates about a modern civilisation's attitude towards its poor and disadvantaged [...]', and 'an acute anxiety about the ways in which debates about class and race related to the country's imperial

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[51] Ibid., 813.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Marcus Fall [R Dowling, pseud.], *London Town: Sketches of London Life and Character*, vol. 1 (London: Tinsley Bros, 1880), 2. Quoted in Nancy Rose Marshall, *City of Gold and Mud: Paintings of Victorian London* (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2011), 1.

aspirations and its definitions of metropole/colony relations.'[54] Additionally, Marshall considers the form and content of the artworks under discussion, along with seeking to understand them in the context of when they were created – '[t]he artwork itself is a component of history [...]. [...] pictures and the discourses surrounding them can reveal fragments of co-existing currents of thought, beliefs, ideologies, perceptions, ethics, desires, or hatreds.'[55]

In the early-mid twentieth century, artists' approaches varied widely echoing the multiple styles, techniques, and '–isms' that characterise the period. The city was often at the heart of avant-garde artistic groupings, providing a space where artists from a diverse range of backgrounds could meet, discuss, and disseminate their ideas. While nineteenth century approaches to the city can be characterised by a changing set of attitudes towards the urban space, a more central concern in the twentieth century were formal approaches (which had their roots in the nineteenth century avant-garde) – what style or technique could adequately express what it was like to live in the city and the everyday experience of that place? Answering this question led to differing forms of visual art: that which depicted the city using the non-representational styles of the avant-garde, and that which continued to use representational, albeit often non-traditional, painting styles. The former of these approaches can be identified in Ludwig Meidner's essay 'Instructions for Painting Pictures of the Metropolis', written in 1913 and published in 1914. For Meidner, as more and more people began to live in urban centres, it was crucial that artists began

> to paint the home where we live, the metropolis that we love [...]. With feverish scrawling hands we must cover canvases without number [...] with everything that is strange and splendid, everything that is monstrous and striking, about our

[54] Rose Marshall, *City of Gold and Mud*, 2.
[55] Ibid., 5.

great avenues and railway stations, our towers and factories.[56]

Meidner dismissed Impressionist depictions of the city, rhetorically asking, 'can one really paint the teeming confusion of houses and boulevards in the same transparent stippling style, as if they were brooks and flower-beds?'[57] For him, a city street was not

> made up of tonal values, but something which bombards us with sizzling rows of windows and humming beams of light dancing among vehicles of all kinds, a thousand undulating globes, the shreds and fragments of individuals, the signboards, the roaring tumult of amphorous masses of colour.[58]

Finally, Meidner called on artists to stop looking to the art of the past for their inspiration, asking '[w]hy on earth should we imitate the manners and outlooks of earlier ages [...]?'[59] Meidner did follow his own advice, and his paintings of Berlin 'celebrate the dynamism and tumultuousness of contemporary life', rather than 'portraying the alienation of the metropolis [...].'[60] Meidner was one of several artists associated with German Expressionism who was interested in the city as subject in the years before the First World War, and the work of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner is considered in chapter three of this thesis.

In contrast to the highly Modernist style and language of Meidner, pre-war artists in England and American interpreted urban life using representational styles, influenced by earlier realist painters, Impressionism and post-Impressionism. Both the Camden Town Group in London and the Ashcan School in New York sought to convey

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[56] Ludwig Meidner, 'Instructions for Painting Pictures of the Metropolis,' in *Art and Theory 1900–2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, eds. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 168.
[57] Ibid., 169.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid., 170.
[60] Shulamith Behr, 'Meidner, Ludwig.' *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T056549.

everyday life in the modern metropolis.[61] The Camden Town Group was composed of sixteen artists, led by Walter Sickert, who exhibited between 1911 and 1914. In addition to nudes and portraits, the group turned their attention to the streets, parks, and lanes of the area around Fitzroy Street, where Sickert's studio was located. An online research project produced and published by Tate in 2012 has examined the work of the group thematically providing analysis by established scholars along with access to images of artworks, archival sources, and other contemporary printed material through an online portal. Discussing the history and reception of the group, Ysanne Holt has outlined that while there was no unifying aesthetic among the group of exhibitors and the works were based on a variety of themes in addition to the city, there was, as the *Athenæum* noted, 'a taste for low-class surroundings – for unpretentious subjects [...].'[62]

In *Picturing the City: Urban Vision and the Ashcan School*, Rebecca Zurier explores the work of the Ashcan School in New York during the Progressive Era, 1895-1917. As Zurier comments these artists were 'committed to creating a modern urban realism [...] amidst the city's many images.' In addition to outlining the careers of the Ashcan painters, in this text Zurier outlines her concept of 'the city on paper', which takes in 'the novels, newspapers, guidebooks, magazine articles, social surveys, comics and movies that flooded the city: the popular forms of urban representation [...].'[63] These new forms for representing the city which evolved around the turn of the century point

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[61] David Peters Corbett has published two articles on the relationship between the Camden Town Group and the Ashcan School, detailing their different views of the modern city. See David Peters Corbett, 'Camden Town and Ashcan: Difference, Similarity and the 'Anglo-American' in the Work of Walter Sickert and John Sloan,' in *Anglo-American: Artistic Exchange between Britain and the USA*, eds. David Peters Corbett and Sarah Monks (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2012), 152- 173 and David Peters Corbett, 'City Visions: The Urban Scene in Camden Town Group and Ashcan School Painting,' in Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, Jennifer Mundy, eds. *The Camden Town Group in Context*, Tate Research Online Publication, May 2012. http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/david-peters-corbett-city-visions-the-urban-scene-in-camden-town-group-and-ashcan-school-r1104351.

[62] 'The Camden Town Group,' *Athenæum*, 14 December 1912, n.p. Quoted in Ysanne Holt, 'The Camden Town Group: Then and Now,' in Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, Jennifer Mundy, eds. *The Camden Town Group in Context*, Tate Online Research Publication, May 2012. http://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/ysanne-holt-the-camden-town-group-then-and-now-r1105679#f_1_37.

[63] Rebecca Zurier, *Picturing the City: Urban Vision and the Ashcan School* (Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2006), 9.

to significant changes that were taking place in *how* the city was viewed, how the sights of urban life could be manipulated to different forms of 'gaze', and as Zurier explores particularly, the way in which New York was presented to tourists through tour literature and guidebooks. In terms of its wide ranging scope and methodology, Zurier's text is extremely interesting in the context of this project. By examining the different ways that the city was represented, through tourist images, photography, journalism and fine art, Zurier creates a complete depiction of the different modes and methods used to represent the city during this time.

In the period after the First World War, artists in America and Britain continued to paint the city, developing the everyday themes found in the work of the Camden Tow and Ashcan painters but often imbuing them with a strong sense of social and political consciousness. These developments in American art have been documented, for example, by Edward Lucie-Smith and Andrew Hemingway.[64] In volumes on the Euston Road School and William Coldstream, Bruce Laughton details the corresponding changes in British painting. The continued use of a non-academic realist aesthetic, an interest in leftist politics across these different artistic groups, teamed with a commitment to portraying the often grim reality of the post-war city by artists in America and Britain make for an stimulating comparison with the work of Harry Kernoff in the 1930s, discussed in detail in chapter four of this thesis.

This section of the literature review has outlined both the general developments in the artistic representation of the city, with an emphasis on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and some of the different approaches and concerns of different scholars. From the earliest depictions of the city space, such representations have been considered as important places which mark and reflect notions of civic pride and

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[64] See Edward Lucie-Smith, *American Realism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002) and Andrew Hemingway, *Artists on the Left: American Artists and the Communist movement, 1926– 1956* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002).

identity, as well as being inscribed through time with wider societal concerns or political ambitions. Through the nineteenth century the life in and fabric of cities changed rapidly with the onslaught of industrialisation and modernisation, with the different processes leading to a wide variety of social and cultural experiences within a shared urban environment. This overview also suggests how artistic developments began to alter how artists perceived the city, made manifest through the plurality of styles and techniques used by a wide range of individuals and groups, often spanning geographical boundaries

Dublin: Historical and Cultural Contexts

In a review of David Dickson's recent publication on Dublin's history Dermot Bolger commented that '[t]he city is fortunate in not having been built on water, like Venice, or on sand, like Amsterdam. Otherwise its foundations would have sunk by now under the weight of the books written in recent years about aspects of its history.'[65] As implied by Bolger's comment, the city has become the focus of many texts, including scholarly publications taking the form of single author texts, edited collections, and journal articles. The approaches of the different authors have been as numerous as the publications themselves, creating a varied and rich historiography of the city. As this thesis considers artistic representations of the city within a range of different contexts, for example, social and political, this review will highlight the key texts which influenced and shaped this approach..

A text that must be considered a major influence on the renewed interest in the city and its history, and on this thesis, is *Dublin The Deposed Capital: A Social and Economic History 1860–1914*, first published in 1984. In this text, Mary Daly examines the history of Dublin from the mid-nineteenth century until the outbreak of the First World War. This text is comprehensive in its coverage of the central concerns, setting stall for many of the themes and issues considered by subsequent scholarship. These encompass political and economic conditions, the social consequences of these

[65] Dermot Bolger, 'Cornucopia of Dublin: Dublin: The Making of a Capital,' review of *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* by David Dickson, *Irish Times*, 21 June 2014, 11.

factors, and the nature of Dublin's suburban growth and municipal politics. Daly's analysis is extrapolated from the evidence provided by various census records and other statistical sources, and this is reflected in the extensive listing of primary source material in the bibliography. Using these sources, the imbalance between inward and outward migration in the city in the late nineteenth century is assessed, as the rural poor entered the city in search of employment while the wealthy and growing middle classes vacated the city centre for the newly built suburbs. Daly's thorough analysis of the foundation of the new suburbs considers the roles of the speculative builders, the landowners and local politicians and a detailed breakdown of the finances involved. The developments are also considered within the context of the growing railway systems, linking the disparate areas of the city and county.[66]

The political history of Dublin at this time is also considered by Daly, and certainly during this period it is difficult to disentangle the complex relationships between political beliefs, religion and social class. An understanding of these connections though, Daly notes, 'provides an essential key to understanding attitudes towards health, housing and other municipal matters.'[67] In the later decades of the nineteenth century, the rise of nationalistic politics and wider political concerns drew attention away from municipal matters such as improvements in gas and water supplies, which 'firmly established Dublin Corporation as a body with wider political interests [...]', a substitute for the 'lost Parliament of College Green.'[68] Wider political events such as the Land Wars, the growth of the Home Rule movement and in the trade union movement, also impacted on the actions and outlook of the corporation. Ultimately, as Daly notes, the political beliefs of individuals 'took priority over the welfare of the city or

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[66] Further recent research of the history and development of Dublin's suburbs in the nineteenth century includes: Eve McAulay, 'The origins and early development of the Pembroke estate beyond the Grand Canal 1816–1880' (PhD Diss., Trinity College Dublin, 2004); Ciarán Wallace, 'Local politics and government in Dublin city and suburbs 1899–1914' (PhD Diss., Trinity College Dublin, 2010) and Susan Galavan, 'Architecture and Aspiration: Building Dublin's Victorian Suburbs' (PhD Diss., Trinity College Dublin, 2013).
[67] Daly, *Dublin, the Deposed Capital*, 203.
[68] Ibid., 208.

its people', with the 'most obvious offender' being Dublin Corporation and the wealthier inhabitants of the city 'securely cocooned in their independent suburbs.'[69]

Throughout this text, Daly compares the Dublin situation to other cities in the United Kingdom, such as Liverpool, Glasgow and Manchester. This highlights the large differences between Dublin and other regional cities during this period, with a lack of new industries in Dublin, and a general reliance in Ireland on agricultural production arguably having the greater effect. The lack of municipal funds in Dublin hindered any significant investment in metropolitan improvements, a central feature of British cities in the nineteenth century, as well as a focus in Dublin Corporation on national, rather than local, political concerns. It is only from the 1930s, Daly notes, that significant changes led to improvements in social and political life in the capital. In her conclusion, Daly revisits her earlier question surrounding the lack of interest around the city in Irish history, emphasising the key role Dublin played in the fight for political independence.[70] Daly concluded the text with the hope that with the growth of urban society and the gradual shift from an agricultural to service-based economy, there would be a renewal of interest in urban heritage and the city's role in the formation of an Irish national identity.[71] This is certainly reflected in the many texts that have stemmed from this study.

Looking to the living conditions in the city centre, the causes behind the growth of Dublin's nineteenth and twentieth century slum areas are revealed in Jacinta Prunty's *Dublin Slums 1800–1925: A Study in Urban Geography*. In the foreword to the text, Emmet Larkin described the results of Prunty's research as an 'impressive, if a very sad story. Impressive because of the importance of the subject and the great professional care with which it is handled. Sad because it is also the story of a deadly

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[69] Ibid., 239.
[70] Ibid., 323.
[71] Ibid., 324.

urban disease that was allowed to run its course.'[72] In this text Prunty outlines the full history of the slum crisis in Dublin, in addition to considering this record in a wider international, theoretical, and scholarly context. Through her research and analysis, the author identified the key threads that combined to exacerbate and prolong the existence of slums in Dublin. These are:

> contagious disease, poor sanitation both public and domestic, multiple occupancy and overcrowding of old building fabric, moral and physical 'degradation', vagrancy, begging, homelessness, and the policing, control and relief of the poor by state and charity organisations, all set against a backdrop of (initially) worthless local government and endemic poverty.[73]

The historical findings of Prunty's research are interpreted through the frameworks of urban geography, noting how the crisis played out in different areas of the city and how it was influenced by the movement of people into and around the city.

Dublin through Space and Time, edited by Joseph Brady and Anngret Simms is one of five thematic texts in a series titled *The Making of Dublin.* Spanning the period c.900–2000 and examining different aspects of the city's development in a geographical and historical framework, this text is composed of chronological entries by a variety of authors. In their introduction, Brady and Simms note that '[c]ities are not only economic and social entities; they exist in time and space and need to be understood from this perspective'.[74] This statement lays down the methodological emphasis of the series, which

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[72] Emmet Larkin, foreword to *Dublin Slums 1800–1925: A Study in Urban Geography* by Jacinta Prunty (1998; repr., Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2011), ix

[73] Prunty, *Dublin Slums 1800–1925: A Study in Urban Geography*, 337. Two additional essays by Prunty are informative on the subject of housing and tenements in nineteenth and twentieth century Dublin. See Jacinta Prunty, 'Improving the urban environment: public health and housing in nineteenth century Dublin,' *Dublin Through Space and Time*, eds. Joseph Brady and Anngret Simms (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 166-220; Jacinta Prunty, 'The town house as tenement in nineteenth–and early twentieth-century Dublin,' *The Eighteenth Century Dublin Town House: Form, Function and Finance*, ed. Christine Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 149-173.

[74] Joseph Brady and Anngret Simms, eds., 'Introduction,' *Dublin through Space and Time* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 9.

is grounded in the principles of cultural and human geography, and which seeks to provide a narrative of the city in a wide ranging and inclusive context. In a further introduction to the section of the text examining the nineteenth century city, the editors re-establish the main concerns of the city at this time, and here the text finds parity with Daly's. They consider the state of industry, politics, social life and housing in the city, and how with the growth of the suburbs '[t]he city, as controlled by Dublin Corporation, was left with an unbalanced social and rateable structure.'[75] Interestingly, the editors also note that in Dublin at this time there were 'two urban environments; that occupied by the poor and that used by the better off' and that while 'these environments overlapped spatially to a large degree [...]' they were 'used in quite different ways with very limited interactions between them.'[76]

In the same volume Brady's chapter, 'Dublin at the turn of the century', examines the development of new facilities in the city, which relate in many ways to developments in other European cities during this period. These improvements, Brady outlines, happened not only in terms of water supply and road works, but also in terms of civic buildings, providing services and cultural education, with the opening of the General Post Office, the National Museum of Ireland, National Library of Ireland, National Gallery of Ireland and the Natural History Museum. Railway buildings were also developed, along with other buildings for businesses, while there were new additions to the streetscape through public monuments, such as Nelson's Pillar and the O'Connell monument. Importantly, Brady also outlines a plan for the improvement of the city centre that would have created more monumental changes along the lines of Paris or Vienna.[77]

To match this development of new public buildings in the city, the rise of consumer and commodity culture in Dublin is explored in more detail by Stephanie Rains in

[75] Joseph Brady and Anngret Simms, 'Dublin in the Nineteenth Century: An Introduction,' *Dublin through Space and Time*, 160.
[76] Ibid., 161.
[77] Joseph Brady, 'Dublin at the turn of the century,' *Dublin through Space and Time*, 259-260.

her text *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850–1916*. In a thorough and detailed study, Rains traces the rise of the department store and middle- class spending through the period, while also examining the different industrial exhibitions and bazaars that were taking place in urban centres. This development is analysed in relation to the growth and unionisation of workers in department stores. These events are examined in the context of the growth of the middle class suburbs, and the ways in which the new wealthy were travelling into and making use of the city centre. Rains links her argument to the wider discourse of modernity, considering how this manifested itself in Ireland, Dublin specifically, stating that although 'modernity was perceived and enacted in a variety of ways [...]' the engagement of the urban/suburban population with 'the specifically urban cultures of distraction, cosmopolitanism and above all consumption was one of its defining characteristics.'[78]

In her analysis, Rains highlights how Dublin differed from other capital cities at this time, namely that its slums were generally recognised as the worst in the British Isles, and that for such a divergence between rich and poor the geographic area of the city was exceptionally small.[79] She outlines the development of the different department stores, such as Cleary's and Switzer's, as well as tracing the development of the temporary exhibitions from 1853–1907, and the themed bazaars run predominantly by middle-class women in the 1880s. Rains highlights the technological and 'modern' displays at these events, and how many spectacles had also been seen at larger World's Fairs. The development of nationalistic politics is traced through these events, with their growing emphasis on national manufactures and the political divisions between the business and political leaders who organised the events.[80] Like the other authors discussed here, Rains is deeply aware of the social divisions present in the city, and in her discussion of the looting of department stores which occurred during the 1916 Rising

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[78] Stephanie Rains, *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850–1916* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010), 4.
[79] Ibid., 56.
[80] Ibid., 105.

she comments that 'the city's working class were financially excluded from the commodity culture that surrounded them, but would hardly have been immune to the lure of the commodities around them.'[81]

Moving away from these more historical accounts of the city, the proliferation of public sculpture and monuments during the nineteenth century is discussed by Yvonne Whelan in her publication *Reinventing Modern Dublin: streetscape, iconography and the politics of identity*. Whelan notes the sense of duality that existed within the city, where it is not simply a division between class and wealth. Dublin, Whelan argues, was a 'canvas upon which the British administration and loyal agents set out to paint a picture of union and loyalty', while also being 'a city under the local government of the strongly nationalistic Dublin Corporation which attempted to assert a tangible sense of Irish national identity upon the urban landscape.'[82] Like Brady and Simms, Whelan also approaches her subject matter through the lens of cultural and historical geography. Her conceptual approach is predicated on the notion of the constructed landscape of the city, which is 'shaped by a set of agents [...] caught up in a web of economic, social, cultural and political circumstances'.[83] Through this lens, Whelan demonstrates how the city streets became a contested landscape in the nineteenth century. For example, public sculpture such as Nelson's Pillar and equestrian monuments of monarchs inscribed the narrative of empire and British identity onto the streets, while in the later decades of the century works commemorating nationalistic figures such as Daniel O'Connell and Charles Stewart Parnell highlighted the cause of Irish independence.[84]

Whelan's text brings the study of Dublin into the art historical realm through her concentration on monuments and public sculptures in the city. However, a survey of previous art historical scholarship in Ireland shows that the representation of the city

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[81] Ibid., 209.
[82] Yvonne Whelan, *Reinventing Modern Dublin: streetscape, iconography and the politics of identity* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2003), 7.
[83] Ibid., 233.
[84] Ibid., 54.

itself is a much neglected subject. *Portraits of the City: Dublin and the Wider World* is an edited collection of proceedings from an eponymous conference held in Dublin in 2010, and signifies a first step towards greater recognition of visual representations of Dublin. In their opening chapter, editors Gillian O'Brien and Finola O'Kane argue that 'Dublin [...] has had to re-evaluate her landscape many times and yet Dublin's portrait has not been exhaustively analyzed.'[85] Furthermore, they add, this task is difficult as 'Dublin has no substantial collection of its own visual images. [...]. Visual sources are in the minority when compared with documentary sources and the bias painter, client and subscriber have on point of view renders them frequently suspect.'[86] This statement points to two key issues that must be navigated in a study of the depiction of Dublin: first, that it is difficult to gather together a representative collection of images to undertake such research; and second, that paintings or other visual representations of the city are not necessarily historical documents, and any attempt to read them as such must be undertaken with caution. Despite O'Brien and O'Kane's interest in this topic, none of the authors included in this volume begin to remedy this scholarly deficit in relation to artist's representations of Dublin, although the wider landscape of the city is explored.

Another collection of essays which skirts around the subject of artist's representations of Dublin is *Visualizing Dublin: Visual Culture, Modernity and the Representation of Urban Space*, edited by Justin Carville. While this text was only published in 2014, and was not influential on the formative years of this research project, the topics and themes of the essays included are relevant to this thesis and have latterly proved useful in considering this thesis in a wider field of emerging scholarship. Like *Portraits of the City,* this text also stems from a conference held on the same theme, and in his introduction Carville notes that the text is concerned with the 'cultural history of the city as it intersects with a visual culture that attempts to project a unitary

[85] O'Brien and O'Kane, 'Portrait of the city: framing the significance of urban landscapes,' 19.
[86] Ibid., 19.

geographical representation of Dublin in colonial, post-colonial and global contexts.'[87] Carville also astutely notes how the study of Dublin in relation to culture has often been limited to literary sources, and a stated aim of this text is to 'begin to move out of the shadows cast by the literary tradition that dominates perceptions of Dublin explored in Irish studies scholarship [...].'[88] The volume contains several essays which touch on visual or art historical subjects; for example Carville's own essay on the 'Darkest Dublin' photographs, or Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch's chapter on political sculpture.[89] Like *Portraits of the City* however, responses to the city in paint or print in the early to mid-twentieth century are not considered.

As Carville has identified, literary studies have been to the fore in regard to the scholarly consideration of cultural or artistic representations of Dublin. In the context of this research, representations and consideration of the city in fiction, drama, and poetry offer an important comparative to the study of visual depictions of the city. While both Declan Kiberd and Fintan O'Toole have considered the attitudes to the city more generally in fiction and drama, others take a more systematic approach to the subject.[90] Stemming from a conference of the International Association for the Study of Anglo-Irish Literature, a number of essays considering different aspects of the representation of the city in Irish literature and drama were published in *The Irish Writer and the City*. In his introduction, editor Maurice Harmon noted that the city was a 'relatively recent subject in Irish writing [...]', but that the approaches and critical perspectives offered in

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[87] Justin Carville, 'Introduction: Visual Culture and the Making of Modern Dublin,' in *Visualizing Dublin: Visual Culture, Modernity and the Representation of Urban Space*, ed. Justin Carville (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014), 1.

[88] Ibid., 5.

[89] See Justin Carville, "The Glad Smile of God's Sunlight,' in *Visualizing Dublin: Visual Culture, Modernity and the Representation of Urban Space*, 181-202 and Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch, 'Political Sculpture in Twentieth Century Dublin: Art as a Barometer of Political Expression,' in *Visualizing Dublin: Visual Culture, Modernity and the Representation of Urban Space*, 203-220.

[90] See Declan Kiberd, 'The City in Irish Culture,' *The Irish Writer and the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 289-302 and Fintan O'Toole, 'Going West: The Country versus the City in Irish Writing,' *The Crane Bag* 9, no.2 (1985): 111-116, http://www.jstor.org/stable/30059831.

the volume mark it out as 'an increasingly important one.'[91] The first two essays in the collection offer succinct overviews of the representation of Dublin in Irish fiction and Anglo-Irish drama, noting the chief examples and central thematic concerns of these texts and plays.

In his discussion of the city in nineteenth century fiction, Julian Moynahan noted that Dublin is the only Irish city that 'had a substantial presence in 19th century Irish fiction.'[92] In framing his discussion, Moynahan outlined the cultural conditions of the city after the Act of Union (using Maurice Craig's phrase 'Whose Dublin?' as a starting point), as well as adding that to consider the representation of the city at this period, one needs 'a bit more than inner Dublin, the city between the two main canals and the North and South Circular Roads. Add in Kingstown and Bray to the south, the northward curve of the bay to Howth, and the Phoenix Park [...]. Add in also some of the Dublin mountains, and a fair distance up the Liffey to Lucan and Chapelizod.'[93] From the literature of the period Moynahan examined texts by Maria Edgeworth, Robert Charles Maturin, John Banim, Joseph Sheridan LeFanu, George Moore, and Somerville and Ross.

In light of the analysis drawn from these examples Moynahan ends the essay with four tentative concluding points, raising interesting topics for further consideration. In the first instance, he reiterates that from a literary standpoint in the nineteenth century, 'Ireland has one city, Dublin. The rest is country.' Second, Moynahan suggests that nineteenth century texts prefigure or anticipate twentieth century texts; comparing for example, the walks taken Gerald Blount in Banim's *The Anglo-Irish of Nineteenth Century Ireland* with similar routes taken by Stephen

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[91] Maurice Harmon, 'Introduction,' *The Irish Writer and the City*, ed. Maurice Harmon (Gerrads Cross: Colin Smythe; Totowa: Barnes and Noble Books, 1984), viii.
[92] Julian Moynahan, 'The Image of the City in Nineteenth Century Irish Fiction,' *The Irish Writer and the City*, 1.
[93] Ibid., 2.

Daedalus in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.[94] Third, Moynahan identified that the view of the city is 'in the eye of the beholder, and the beholder's viewing is in turn hostage to the political and social climate of the time.' Finally a number of tropes within the texts examined were noted, comprising:

> [t]he constant inconstancy of fortunes of the middle class and the constant verbal resourcefulness of the populace. The high distinction of the city's built environment since the end of the seventeenth century, including architecture and the urban plan. The indestructible charm of the city's physical situation – its relation to the river, the park, the mountains, the tumultuous sky overhead, the sea, and the sweep of the sea shore.[95]

These concluding points recognise some of the issues already discussed in relation to this research project, for example the centrality of walking through the city space, and the influence of the social and political conditions. The recurrent tropes also offer scope for an interesting comparative, including the emphasis on the principal buildings of the city, and the wider environmental setting.

Heinz Kosok's chapter in the same volume offers some interesting perspectives on the portrayal of the city on the Irish stage from the eighteenth century onwards. Once more, Kosok prefaces his discussion with the claim that there 'is a vague notion that, with the exception of O'Casey, Dublin did not figure prominently in Anglo-Irish drama until quite recently.'[96] To counter this, at the time of publication Kosok had identified about one hundred and twenty plays, written in English by Irish playwrights, that had 'a recognizable Dublin setting for at least some of their scenes.'[97] Clarifying his criteria further, Kosok noted the different variations present in how these plays made use of the

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[94] The representation of Dublin in the work of James Joyce is discussed in more detail in chapter three – *Man of the Crowd: Jack B Yeats and the Urban Scene*.
[95] Moynahan, 'The Image of the City in Nineteenth Century Irish Fiction,' 16.
[96] Heinz Kosok, 'The Image of Dublin in Anglo-Irish Drama,' *The Irish Writer and the City*, 18.
[97] Ibid., 19.

urban setting ranging from 'the purely accidental to the central thematic concern of the play [...]', to Dublin being 'a recognizable and highly individual stage personality, unmistakable in its specific characteristics and not interchangeable with any other background.'[98]

Like Moynahan, Kosok profiles and explores the work of a number of playwrights demonstrating the different ways the city was featured. In the twentieth century he notes, 'the activities of the Irish Dramatic Movement seem to have directed the attention of playwrights to Dublin not only as the place where they might have their works produced [...] but also as a setting for plays themselves.'[99] Furthermore, Kosok notes the predominance through the twentieth century of the tenement setting, or the view of 'an eighteenth-century city that is rapidly being shattered by the onslaught of modernity, of twentieth-century social problems and the ravages of a *Waste Land* society.'[100] A more recent study complements Kosok's essay, focusing more specifically on the representation of urban settings on the stage of the Abbey Theatre. Elizabeth Mannion explored this topic in both her PhD thesis and an article for the *New Hibernia Review*, with her primary research aim being 'to establish the existence of an urban repertoire at the Abbey Theatre, specifically the repertoire as it existed during the years the Abbey was housed in its original building on the corner of Marlborough and Abbey Street (1904–1951).'[101]

Surveying the portrayal of a range of cities in the urban repertoire, Mannion noted that a consistent theme was found in that fact that regardless of the setting, urban plays 'tend to be full of references that assume in the audience an intimate knowledge of their locales.' Additionally, Mannion traced changes in how the city was portrayed either side of independence, notably that in the years post-independence there is a 'willingness

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[98] Ibid., 19
[99] Ibid., 27.
[100] Ibid., 34.
[101] Elizabeth Mannion, 'Beyond the trilogy: the urban repertoire of the Abbey Theatre (1900–1951) (PhD Diss., Trinity College Dublin, 2006), ii.

to set plays in Dublin merely as a backdrop – with no substantive social criticism – is accepted', and that there was also an 'increase of the factual and the emergence of the autobiographical, reflecting in both instances a willingness to reclaim the urban as an Irish locale apart from English dominance.'[102] Outside of the domestic or private tenement setting, the 'primary public settings [...]' of these plays were 'those that house the arts and government or judicial bodies, with the most social of all Dublin institutions, the pub, also making a strong showing.' Furthermore, Mannion suggested that when these settings were used, it was to 'draw attention to the role these places perform in Dublin, if not Irish, society. They all reflect some component of the nationalistic project and critique its relationship with the public.'[103] It was however, the tenement setting that allowed playwrights to examine a wide range of social and economic issues, as well as 'drawing attention to the class divisions in the city.'[104]

Further complementing the subject of this thesis is the wealth of scholarship on Dublin's built heritage. Maurice Craig's seminal text, *Dublin 1660–1860*, originally published in 1952, covers the changing dynamics of the city's architecture and culture from the Restoration to the 1860s and 1870s, a time which he states in relation to architectural development, 'nothing particular was happening [...].'[105] While the period under consideration pre-dates that which is the subject of this thesis, Edward McParland's *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680–1760* focuses on the construction and functions of some of Dublin's key buildings in the Georgian period. Christine Casey's *Dublin: the city within the Grand and Royal Canals and the Circular Road with the Phoenix Park* also provides invaluable histories of the streets and buildings that comprise the built environment of the city. The focus of writings on Dublin's architectural history has been predominantly on eighteenth century developments in

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[102] Ibid., 26.
[103] Ibid., 131.
[104] According to Mannion, over 25% of the Dublin plays were set in tenement buildings. Elizabeth Mannion, 'The Dublin Tenement Plays of the Early Abbey Theatre,' *New Hibernia Review*, 14, no. 2 (2010): 70.
[105] Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660–1860* (London: Penguin Books, 1992), 305.

public and domestic architecture or on modernist projects in the wake of independence in 1922. As mentioned above, the creation and expansion of the suburbs in the nineteenth century has been the subject of recent scholarship. The development of the city centre in the period after the Act of Union still remains to be more fully explored.

This varied collection of texts is representative of the wider body of literature that exists on the different aspects of Dublin's history and culture. The social and economic histories of the city reveal the simultaneous decline of inner-city housing conditions and growth of middle-class suburban dwellings, drawing development away from the city centre. Allied to this, the growth of consumer and commodity culture alongside continuing poverty and unemployment further exposes the social divide between many of the city's citizens. These divisions were made present in literature and drama based on the city, while different political allegiances and beliefs were further inscribed on the cityscape through public sculpture and monuments. Linking these literatures to the concerns of this research project, through the consideration of different aspects of the city's history, development, and culture the contextual structure is established. Many of the texts discussed also draw on the methods and methodologies of cultural and urban geography, placing an emphasis on the symbolic nature of the city environment.

Overview and Outline

To reiterate, the purpose of this project is to establish how artists in Ireland represented Dublin in visual art, primarily oil painting, but also incorporating works in watercolour and print mediums. Where relevant, reference is made to the use of photography as it was utilised by artists in the creation of artworks. However, the subject of the representation of the city in photography lies beyond the scope of this thesis, in addition to having been considered by other scholars.[106] The research presented here is

[106] See for example, Justin Carville, 'The City and the Body in the Archive: Photography, History, and the Representation of Dublin 1860–1922' (PhD Diss., Dublin City University, 2005), http://doras.dcu.ie/17331/1/justin_carville_20120705094806.pdf and Justin Carville, 'Mr Lawrence's Great Photographic Bazaar,' *Early Popular Visual Culture* 5, no.3 (2007): 263-283.

ambitious in its scope, ranging over a long time period as well as a number of artistic styles, techniques, and contexts. The changing historical (encompassing the political, social, economic, and cultural) contexts of Ireland through this period mean that the broader framework for the study of these artworks is often in flux, mirrored in many ways by the ever changing story of art and artistic practice through the modern period.

Despite the extensive span of this project, it is useful to note at this stage the boundaries and limitations of the research undertaken. As evidenced by the information provided by the appendices, a larger number of artists depicted the city than are discussed in the following chapters. As such, the artists that are included were deemed to be representative of this larger picture. Criteria for their inclusion were based on a number of factors including, but not limited to: their standing in the survey of collections and exhibitions, the themes addressed in their work, the availability of archival and primary source material, and the relevance of their corpus to wider contextual concerns. An additional influence on the choice of artists and artworks was the desire to represent a range of artistic approaches and styles in order to engage with wider art historical themes.

A further limitation of the research presented here is that in its examination of urban life on the island of Ireland it focuses solely on Dublin, to the exclusion of other centres such as Cork, Limerick, Galway, and Belfast. The reasons for focusing on Dublin for this project are relatively straightforward: its history as a centre for trade, society, and administration, amongst other attributes, are inscribed on Dublin's landscape. Its transition from 'second city of the empire' in the eighteenth century when it was the fifth largest city in Europe, to 'dear dirty Dublin' and its perceived decline following the Act of Union, to the capital city of an independent Irish state makes evident the cycles of the city's history while also signifying the different contexts that artists' depictions of the

doi:10.1080/17460650701633629.

space should be considered in.[107] Dublin's importance as a centre for the Irish art world was also influential: annual exhibitions were held in the city, it was the main location for national cultural institutions and artists' societies, and it was also a centre for the more commercial aspects of art production, housing dealers, smaller galleries and exhibition spaces, photography studios, print sellers, and artists' colourmen and supply shops.

The core chapters of this thesis are thematic in nature. Through this approach it is anticipated that the material will simultaneously provide an overview of how the city was represented in visual art via representative examples, as well as in-depth examination of the concerns and approaches of individual artists. Chapter one, *Ceremony and Spectacle: Identity, Politics, and Dublin*, examines a select number of paintings dating from 1821–1922 which depict occasions of ceremony and spectacle, encompassing displays of royal, nationalist, and military power and ambition. In this chapter the symbolic potential of the city is foregrounded, examining how the built environment can be used to promote or support the identities of different groups, or indeed as a target used to attack or undermine these identities.

Chapter two, *'a person of metropolitan experience': Walter Osborne and Dublin*, explores the late nineteenth century city through the career and art of Walter Osborne. Foregrounding Osborne's artistic approach to the subject of the city and his involvement in artistic life there in the period c.1886–1903, the material presented here reveals the connections between artists in Ireland and Britain at the turn of the century. As will be discussed, Osborne focuses on different parts of the city, such as markets, quays, and parks, moving from the general cityscape into more confined areas and locales. This use of the city space is also presented in the work of Jack B Yeats, the focus of chapter three *Man of the Crowd: Jack B Yeats and the Urban Scene.* Bringing the discussion firmly

[107] The origin of the phrase 'dear, dirty Dublin' is attributed to the author, Lady Sidney Morgan. It was also used by Joseph V O'Brien for his text *Dear, Dirty Dublin: A City in Distress, 1899–1916* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1982).

into the twentieth century, the material covered here outlines Yeats' depiction of Dublin (and the urban world more generally) bringing to light an aspect of his oeuvre often overlooked in favour of his representation of rural Ireland. Tracing the development of this subject from Yeats' early contributions to *A Broadside* up to *A Morning in the City* – painted in 1936 – these works are considered in relation to attitudes towards modern life in Ireland after independence and artistic approaches to the city in modernist painting.

Chapter four, *Harry Kernoff: Representing Life in Dublin,* overlaps somewhat with the time period discussed in chapter three, focusing on the period c.1925–1941. However Kernoff's style of painting contrasts strongly with that of Yeats, offering a different view of Dublin during the late 1920s through to the early 1940s. Influenced by his political beliefs and interest in the working life of the city, Kernoff's depiction of Dublin is empathetic to the harsher realities of life in Dublin at this time, while also reflective of his own status as an immigrant. Like Osborne and Yeats, specific areas of the city interest him – for example, the docks, canal banks, and public houses. Remaining cognisant of international developments in art, the changing status of realism is considered here, comparing and contrasting the work of Kernoff with his international contemporaries.

Finally, chapter five returns to a thematic approach to the subject at hand and is titled *Vanishing Dublin? artists, the city and illustrated books.* In assessing how artists approached the topic of the city, this chapter turns to a different medium by looking at the contribution of three artists to guidebooks and illustrated books on the city. The artists examined here are Rose Barton, Estella Solomons, and Flora Mitchell, whose work was published in such texts in 1898, 1928, and 1966 respectively. The discussion of these artists is foregrounded by a brief examination of older examples of this type of book, viewing the work of James Malton and George Petrie as important precursors to the later publications. Present though out the chapter is a consideration of how the city

was characterised through the use of terms like 'vanishing Dublin' or 'old Dublin', looking to the past, rather than exploring the present or even future of the city.

Following these thematic chapters, the thesis will close with a discussion of the central findings and conclusions of the research undertaken. Through its thematic approach, each chapter of this thesis emphasises a different aspect of the city revealing the myriad ways that artists responded to life in Dublin. While the lines of Louis MacNeice's *Dublin* evoke a sense of an almost colourless city, with '[g]rey brick upon brick,/Declamatory bronze/On sombre pedestals-', the paintings discussed within illuminate the colour of the city's streets and people, while also capturing Dublin's chequered history so vividly expressed by MacNeice.[108]

[108] Louise MacNeice, 'Dublin,' *If Ever You Go: A Map of Dublin in Poetry and Song*, edited by Pat Boran and Gerard Smyth (Dublin: Dedalus Press, 2014), 7-8.

In an introduction to a volume of essays on ritual and ceremony, David Cannadine has proposed that '[p]ower is like the wind: we cannot see it but we feel its force. Ceremonial is like the snow: an insubstantial pageant, soon melted into thin air.'[1] This comment captures the ephemeral and evanescent nature of ceremonial events, temporary, or fleeting spectacles, while also bringing together the two ideas of power and ceremony. However, Cannadine's statement omits a consideration of how such occasions were witnessed and recorded, for example by artists. By capturing enduring images of often transient or ephemeral occasions, artists' representations of such events can contribute to the wider understanding of ceremony and spectacle. With the notions of power, ceremony, ephemerality, and representation in mind, this chapter will explore different interpretations of ceremony and spectacle as depicted in the work of visual artists in Dublin in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. An in depth consideration and evaluation of how these occasions were represented by artists is closely interrelated to the broader theme: that images of the city can be seen as symbolic, and revealing political, ideological, and other social tensions.

In this analysis, the terms 'ceremony' and 'spectacle' are used to refer to important occurrences in the city which attracted the attention and involvement of the citizenry, and that enticed crowds and spectators to the city's streets. While 'ceremony' can be understood as 'a formal act or ritual, often set by custom or tradition, performed in observation of an event of anniversary', the content of this chapter will evaluate the more spectacular aspects of such occasions.[2] While theoretical discussions of 'spectacle' have been most closely aligned to the writings of French theorist Guy Debord, in sections

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[1] David Cannadine, 'Introduction: divine rites of kings,' *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, eds. David Cannadine and Simon Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1.

[2] *Collins English Dictionary*, s.v. 'Ceremony,' accessed 21 May 2014. http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/ceremony?showCookiePolicy=true.

1.1–1.3 of this chapter, the term is understood to refer to

> any form of public display put on for the entertainment and benefit of a large crowd of spectators. It is created consciously by manipulating space, landscape, or objects to produce displays that draw a powerful emotional response from an audience of spectators.[3]

With the broader concerns of this thesis in mind (as outlined in the introduction), the content of this chapter will examine different forms of ceremony and spectacle in Dublin, encompassing royal visits and nationalist celebrations in the nineteenth century, and the spectacle of rebellion in the early twentieth century. Additionally, the text focuses in more detail on the O'Connell Centenary, 1875, as is befitting of its significance in the pantheon of national events at this time. This is a representative rather than exhaustive exploration of the subject, selecting the most prominent visual sources for each of these themes. Thus, the first section will focus on royal visits to Dublin, concentrating chiefly on the visit of George IV in 1821. In light of this analysis, sections two and three will focus on the 1875 centenary; examining how it was organised, the response of one artist to it, as well as the wider visual culture which surrounded it, all allied to the growth of nationalist politics and expression in nineteenth century Ireland. The final section will evaluate Kathleen Fox's imaging of events during the Easter Rising in 1916 and the spectacle (albeit in a somewhat different form of interpretation) that this event created on Dublin's streets.

1.1 *Royal Spectacle in Dublin*

Among the most spectacular ceremonial occasions in Dublin during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a number of royal visits, which occurred

3 John R Gold and Margaret M Gold, *Cities of Culture: Staging International Festivals and the Urban Agenda, 1851–2000* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 15. Guy Debord was the author of *The Society of the Spectacle* (New York: Zone Books; London: Rebel Press, 1994), first published in 1967, and *Comments of the Society of the Spectacle*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Editions Gérard Lébovici, 1988; London: Verso, 1998).

sporadically from 1821 onwards. Although ceremony and spectacle had long played an important role in demonstrations of monarchical and imperial power, such display reached an apex in the mid-late nineteenth century.[4] In Ireland, as was the case in other parts of the British Empire such as India, ceremonial displays were used to further impress the power and might of the ruling power on the local population. As Nancy Rose Marshall has noted, these occasions of '[r]itual and display' were about 'the visual manifestation of power [...]' particularly when they related to the British monarchy.[5] 'Public pageantry', she wrote, 'was designed to unite the spectators into a single identity of a British subject, instilling them with a sense of common origin and history.'[6] Ceremony and processions linked to the viceregal administration occurred throughout each calendar year, but the level of spectacle and pomp was significantly raised for royal visits. This section will offer a consideration of the format, organisation and symbolism of these occasions, as well as outlining how imperial spectacles and ceremonial occasions made use of the city space.

The visit of George IV to Dublin in 1821 was the first of several high profile royal visits to Ireland through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. James Loughlin has noted that the occasion was 'remarkable for a number of reasons', touching on the political, economic, and social contexts of Ireland at the time.[7] In ceremonial terms, this visit was among the most spectacular of the royal visits to Ireland, and set a precedent for future occasions. It was the first visit of a reigning monarch to Ireland since that made by William III under very different circumstances, in 1690 following the Battle of the Boyne. Both the Protestant establishment and Catholic leaders united in welcoming the monarch to Dublin; Daniel O'Connell, for example, made a formal presentation of loyalty to the King during the visit, which took the form of an address

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[4] See Jan Morris, *The Spectacle of Empire: Style, Effect and Pax Britannica* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1982).
[5] Marshall, *City of Gold and Mud*, 69.
[6] Ibid., 70.
[7] James Loughlin, *The British Monarchy and Ireland: 1800 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 19.

to the monach during the King's ceremonial arrival in the city[8] The political context was, of course, the ongoing effort to achieve Catholic Emancipation, led by O'Connell, and the visit was seen as an opportunity to further this effort, and to begin to sort out other political grievances.[9]

The death of the King's estranged wife, Queen Caroline, in the days prior to his visit to Ireland resulted in the postponement of the public welcome at Dun Laoghaire (it was re-named 'Kingstown' at the end of the monarch's visit), but on the 17 August, he entered Dublin in a large, very formal, and ceremonial procession. The convoy included two hundred carriages ranked in a strict order of precedence, and the grandeur and symbolism of the occasion was ably captured by artists, most notably William Turner de Lond (1789–1862) and Joseph Patrick Haverty (1794–1864). The eagerness of artists to depict this visit can be attributed in part to a competition run by the Royal Irish Institution, which proposed to pay £500 for the 'best picture on the subject of his Majesty's arrival and landing'.[10]

One reporter, for the *Freeman's Journal*, used loquacious terms to describe the entry of the King and his cavalcade into Dublin. He wrote that

> [t]he magnificent entry of the British monarch into the capital of his kingdom of Ireland, Dublin yesterday exhibited a display of pomp and pageantry, and pride, unsurpassed by anything in modern London – unequalled by anything we read of ancient Athens, Rome or Lacedaemon. The occasion was too big, the scene too

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[8] Ibid., 26.

[9] Ibid., 15-38.

[10] Royal Irish Institution,' *Freeman's Journal*, 8 August 1821. This was a vast sum of money to offer, and would have been a major prize for any artist in Ireland given the poor opportunities for sales and patronage in the country at that time. Strickland notes that the Royal Irish Institution had raised £12,000 to create 'a national testimonial in honour of the visit of George IV [...]',. The name of the successful artist and artwork is not recorded. See Walter Strickland, 'The Royal Irish Institution,' *Dictionary of Irish Artists*, vol. II (Dublin and London: Maunsel & Company Limited, 1913, 607-608. In 1828, King's Bridge, a national testimonial for the visit of George IV, was unveiled. The bridge spans the Liffey, connecting Kilmainham with the Phoenix Park. In 1941 it was renamed 'Sean Hueston Bridge'.

> grand for utterance, no expression can express – no description can describe it – [...].[11]

As the recent coronation of George IV in London had been one of the most extravagant royal ceremonies in recent history, this account reads as high praise indeed. As well as the carriages of dignitaries and officials, members of the trades formed part of the procession; the 'Silk, Ribbon, Stuff, and Tabinet Weavers', for example, marched 'each man dressed or ornamented with the fabric of his trade, and carrying a small flag.'[12] One later account described how, after his arrival at Dublin Castle, the King also had a chance to survey the spectacle of the procession, as he watched

> the procession of the Nobility, the Gentry, the Country Gentlemen, Parishes and Trades, four abreast, amounting as near as it was possible to compute them, to about forty thousand, following the order prescribed to them, entering by the upper, and retiring by lower Castle yard, cheering his Majesty enthusiastically as they passed.[13]

While undoubtedly exaggerated and embellished, these accounts do suggest something of the spectacle that heralded the King's official arrival, and the reception that he received from the public at large.

Described by William Laffan as 'a jobbing painter who earned a living painting scenes he thought would sell [...]', few other details of William Turner de Lond's biography are certain.[14] English by birth, the artist visited Ireland in the 1820s, completing paintings of Dublin, Limerick and Ennis. Laffan notes that de Lond painted 'at least four, rather different, works [...]' of the visit of George IV in 1821, two of which

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[11] 'His Majesty's Entry,' *Freeman's Journal*, 18 August 1821, 2.
[12] 'The King's Public Entry,' *Freeman's Journal*, 18 August 1821, 3.
[13] 'Triumphal Entry of His Majesty into Dublin (further particulars),' *Freeman's Journal*, 20 August 1821, 4.
[14] William Laffan, 'George IV at College Green, 1821,' in *Painting Ireland: Topographical Views from Glin Castle* (Tralee: Churchill House Press, 2006), 197.

depict the ceremonial procession of the monarch through the city.[15] *George IV of England, Entering Dublin, 1821* shows the procession entering the city through a temporary triumphal arch erected for the occasion, at the top of Sackville Street (now O'Connell Street) (fig 1:1). The painting shows people crowded on rooftops and at windows, as well as lining the street and foreground of the canvas. The Royal entourage dominates the middle ground of the composition, and the monarch is pictured standing in the carriage while he is officially granted access to the city. Above the temporary arch, de Lond shows a large version of the Royal Standard, containing a version of the Union flag, as well as what seems to be an allegorical representation of Ireland, personified as Erin with a golden harp. In addition, a crown, modelled on St Edward's Crown, sits at the highest point of the arch. On either side of the arch are two portrait plaques, one of which presumably represents the monarch. The use of impermanent structures for ceremonial occasions was a well-established tradition dating from antiquity. The temporary triumphal arch was one of the most common structures used for these occasions, and was frequently adorned with allegorical statues and symbols such as those seen in de Lond's painting.[16]

The erection of this temporary arch was not the only alteration made to the architecture of the city during the visit of George IV. In his discussion of *George IV at College Green, Dublin, 1821,* Laffan draws on a contemporary account of the procession which notes that 'the pediment of Trinity College was covered by a large transparency by Joseph Peacock showing the King enthroned in his coronation robes' and other decorations altered the façade of the Bank of Ireland on College Green (fig 1:2).[17] In addition to the municipal decoration of public buildings, individuals also placed transparencies in their windows or on their houses, examples of which were reported in

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[15] Ibid.
[16] J.D Loach, 'Pageant and festival arts,' in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol.23, ed. Jane Turner (New York; Grove; London; distributed by Macmillan, 1996), 767. The erection of a temporary arch proved popular for ceremonial occasions in Dublin through the twentieth century, notably for the visit of Edward VII in 1907 when an ornate arch, designed by Sir Thomas Drew PRHA, was erected at Leeson Street Bridge (fig 1:12).
[17] Laffan, 'George IV at College Green,' 192.

the press. For instance, a Mr Foley of Capel Street showed a transparency of 'his Majesty on his favourite white horse, surmounted by a splendid crown, exceedingly brilliant, with the rose and shamrock', while a Mr Murphy, 108 Townsend Street showed '[a] full length figure of Hibernia lamenting the loss of that great patriot Henry Grattan.'[18] Other businesses used gas light to draw attention to their buildings: 'Home's Royal Arcade, and Spadacini's Royal Hotel and Coffee House, College-green were again most showily lighted with gas, and various devices', and 'The Kildare Street Club House,' 'was brilliantly lit with lamps, George Rex, Crown &c.'[19]

This second of de Lond's depictions of the ceremony in Dublin, of which the artist also created a larger, now unknown, version in oil, shows a later stage in the procession of the King through the city centre. Yet again, the train of carriages can be seen in the middle ground, while spectators line the route, and many take advantage of the roof space on top of the buildings. The passing of the procession by the Bank of Ireland, formerly the seat of the Irish Parliament, has been read as symbolic of the changed relationship between Britain and Ireland; with Laffan noting that the 'building stands as a mute reminder of the loss of Irish sovereignty.'[20] Laffan suggested that de Lond neglected to include the transparency that decorated the Bank of Ireland, and attributes this either to a lack of artistic skill, to a purposeful omission to display the architecture more prominently.[21] It was an omission on de Lond's part, but not for either of the reasons suggested by Laffan. Rather, de Lond was merely recording the appearance of the building on the occasion of the procession: according to an article in the *Freeman's Journal*, in the days before the event the Bank authorities decided to remove the transparency so that the King would 'have a full and perfect view of the noble Portico of that magnificent Building fronting College-green'.[22]

Joseph Patrick Haverty also chose the moment George IV entered Dublin

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[18] 'Illuminations,' *Freeman's Journal*, 20 August 1821, 4.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Laffan, 'George IV at College Green,' 193.
[21] Ibid.
[22] 'The King's Entry,' *Freeman's Journal*, 17 August 1821, 2.

through the triumphal arch as the subject for his painting, *King George IV's Triumphal Entry into Dublin, 17 August 1821* (fig 1.3). However, despite the shared subject matter, Haverty's rendering of the scene is markedly different to that by de Lond. In Haverty's image, the triumphal arch is located further down Sackville Street and appears to be constructed from laurel or other foliage, rather than the more solid looking structure shown by de Lond. Before the procession, the arch had been described as being in the 'classical character [...] calculated to please the refined and elegant taste of the Monarch [...].'[23] In Haverty's painting there is no flag on the laurel arch, although there does seem to be a royal insignia of some kind on top of the structure. Looking across to the buildings on Parnell Square East at Sackville Street, the artist paid considerable attention to the onlookers of the procession, showing them at every window and roof, waving enthusiastically and carrying various different flags. In his seminal text, *A History of Irish Flags from earliest times*, G.A Hayes-McCoy notes that the only flags displayed on this occasion were either blue, or showing the royal arms in different variations of the Royal Standard. As will become apparent, the green flag with the golden harp was deemed appropriate for the O'Connell centenary in 1875, but not for the occasion of the visit of the Monarch.

These paintings of George IV on Sackville Street demonstrate how the city space was used to create a symbolic spectacle in the city on ceremonial occasions. The use of temporary structures and ephemeral decorations, such as banners and transparencies, to adorn and decorate the city added an additional symbolic layer to the city's streets, and Loughlin has suggested that through these '[a]ll the usual visual, architectural and sculptural signifiers of divisive political allegiance were overshadowed [...] expressing a hegemonic theme of British power [...].'[24] The decorations used during the royal visit served to further impose a sense of British identity and allegiance onto Dublin's streets, and was further inscribed, wittingly or otherwise, by artists who chose to paint such

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[23] Ibid. However, a laurel arch was used on the occasion to mark the city and county boundaries, so it is possible that Haverty based his inclusion this. See 'Reception of His Majesty,' *Freeman's Journal*, 11 August 1821, 4.
[24] Loughlin, *The British Monarchy and Ireland*, 25.

scenes.

Aside from the oil paintings produced by de Lond and Haverty, the royal visit initiated the production of other visual and commemorative material, which was made at the time of the visit itself and for some years afterwards. Numerous souvenir medals, for example, were produced prior to and after the visit, and sold at jewellers and outfitters though the city.[25] A number of prints were also produced, and were later included in Ephrim MacDowell Cosgrave's catalogue of Dublin prints and engravings, published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries in 1907. These comprised, for example, an engraving of Haverty's view of the King entering Dublin, discussed above, and his departure from Kingstown engraved by Robert Havell, the elder (*fl* 1800–1840). A view of *Sackville Street as it appeared on the day of his Majesty's Public Entry into Dublin* by John S Alpenny (1787–1858) was produced in 1823 (fig 1:4). Views of the King on his way to Dublin Castle were also produced by William McCleary, Nassau Street (undated) and by N Chaytor & Co. The latter of these, Cosgrave notes, was taken from a drawing by Sir T Hammond, and published by Colnaghi & Co, London, in 1822.[26]

Despite the apparent success of George IV's visit, as suggested by the celebratory images that record the event, it was to be twenty-eight years before another British monarch visited Dublin. When Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visited Ireland in 1849, the political, social, and economic context had shifted and most notably, the country was in the midst of a devastating famine.[27] While the royal party were conscious of the

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[25] 'Medals to Welcome His Majesty to Ireland,' *Freeman's Journal*, 11 August 1821.
[26] Ephrim MacDowel Cosgrave, 'A Contribution Towards a Catalogue of Nineteenth-Century Engravings of Dublin (Continued),' *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 37, no.1,(1907): 43, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25507586.
[27] Following the success of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, the 1830s and 1840s in Ireland were marked by a number of wider societal and political changes, including electoral reform and a notable rise in sectarian politics. Foremost among the political issues of the day however, was the Repeal Movement, led by O'Connell, the rise of land politics and in the 1840s, the formation of the Young Ireland movement. In 1847, a number of Young Ireland members succeeded from a previously close relationship with O'Connell and the Repeal Movement, forming instead the Irish Confederation. A failed uprising in 1848 led to the transportation of the leaders. For an overview of these issues, see Christine Kinealy, 'Ireland: politics and administration, 1815–1870,' in *Emancipation, Famine and Relgion: Ireland Under the Union, 1815–1870*. UCC Multitext

situation, as Margarita Cappock has noted, the organisers of the visit were keen to ensure that the visitors were 'spared having to witness the unpalatable horrors.'[28] A formal committee was established in Dublin to decide how the visit of Victoria and Albert would be celebrated. To fund the celebrations, the committee invited subscriptions from members of the public, with the promise that a list of such people would be published.[29] The decision of the committee to request 'general illumination of all the houses in the city', was in contrast to other cities around the country, notably Cork and Limerick, where a decision was made not to spend money on such decorations given the ongoing famine. Opposition to Dublin Corporation's decision was voiced in the press, with one commentator declaring that 'Dublin throws herself not upon her knees to Majesty, but on her face. She spreads, not her cloak [...] but gives *herself* to be the gangway. Proud to be the step of Majesty as she tramples on her [...].'[30] The debate overwhether it was appropriate to spend money on illuminations, and other decorations, for the visit is just one example of the political tensions raised by the occasion.[31]

In contrast to the visit of George IV, there was no competition or movement to represent that of Victoria and Albert on a large scale. The most complete visual documentation for the occasion can be found in the *Illustrated London News* along with a pair of works by Wheatley Atkinson showing *Queen Victoria's Visit to Queenstown, 1849* (figs 1:5, 1:6). Their tour encompassed trips into Cork city, Belfast and Dublin, and the illustrations show that in each of these cities the visit of the royal party was celebrated with the construction of ephemeral architectural features, such as a triumphal arch, and by crowds of people gathered with flags and bunting, echoing the ceremonial devices used for the visit of George IV (fig 1:7). In Dublin, the visit was further marked

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Project in Irish History,
http://multitext.ucc.ie/d/Ireland_politics_and_administration_1815ndash1870.

[28] Margarita Cappock, 'Pageantry or Propaganda? The Illustrated London news and Royal Visitors in Ireland,' in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook,* 16 (2000), 87.

[29] 'The Queen's Visit,' *Freeman's Journal*, 1 August 1849, 1.

[30] 'Illuminations: The Lord Mayor's Proclamation,' *Freeman's Journal*, 2 August 1849, n.p.

[31] For a full account of the political context see Loughlin, *The British Monarchy and Ireland*, 57-77. See also 'The Royal Visit – Aggregate Meeting of Trades and Citizens,' *Freeman's Journal*, 6 August 1849, n.p.

by the illumination of the Four Courts by gas light, and Nelson's Pillar by electric light, as shown in the *Illustrated London News*, in the image *Illuminations from Sackville-Street, Dublin, The Eternal Light on the Nelson's Column* (fig 1:8). In contrast to the plethora of prints and commemorative items produced after the 1821 royal visit, nothing of this nature was advertised after Victoria's visit, despite the apparent wide interest in the event.

In spite of the ongoing problems of famine and mass emigration, Victoria and Albert's second visit to Ireland took place in what outwardly appeared, at least, to be quite different circumstances, when they travelled to the Irish Industrial Exhibition in 1853 which took place in the grounds of Leinster House, then the headquarters of the Royal Dublin Society. Organised by William Dargan, the exhibition sought to rejuvenate the Irish economy in the context of the economic and social deprivation caused by the potato blight. The second Royal visit was recorded in the *Illustrated London News* as a series of illustrations, akin to those produced in 1849. The event was also recorded by James Mahony who did a series of four watercolours that depict the Royal family within the setting of the Exhibition hall itself (fig 1:9, 1:10). In doing so, he created an important chronicle of the event, if not a fully accurate one, as the artist borrowed different elements and displays from the wider exhibition to create a composite view.[32] These depictions of the royal family at the exhibition hall moved the focus away from the city itself, where they had followed the same processional route though the city as in 1849, and echo instead representations of the opening of the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace in 1851. The exhibition was a celebratory event which sought to promote Ireland as a place of business and industry, while many attendees were more interested in the opportunities for entertainment and amusement that the indoor spectacle provided.[33]

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[32] Nancy Netzer, 'Picturing An Exhibition: James Mahony's Watercolours of the Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853,' in *Visualizing Ireland: National Identity and the Pictorial Tradition*, ed. Adele Dalsimer (Boston and London: Faber and Faber, 1993), 91.

[33] Stephanie Rains notes that organisers of the exhibition, through its daily newssheet the *Exhibition Expositor and Advertiser*, were dismayed and frustrated that 'visitors, especially the middle-class and upper-class season ticket holders, were treating the exhibition as a place of

The positive vision put forward by the organisers overlooked the continuing problems of ongoing famine and mass emigration.

Subsequent royal visits to Ireland, including Victoria's last visit to Ireland in 1900, and those of Edward VII in 1903, and George V in 1911 also went largely undocumented by artists. On the other hand, while nationalist and republican opposition to such visits became more vocal, the royal parties were consistently welcomed by large crowds of people who lined the streets to see the carriages travel to Dublin Castle, or to the Vice-Regal lodge in Phoenix Park. Ceremonial processions and welcomes into the city remained a key part of the itinerary, marked by a similar level of spectacle as in previous visits.[34] Events such as the Diamond Jubilee in 1897, and the coronations of 1903 and 1911 were widely celebrated in Dublin and across Ireland. But rather than large scale oil paintings, these visits were recorded in photography, newsreels, the illustrated press, or occasionally, small watercolours (figs 1:11, 1:12).[35]

This shift away from large depictions of ceremonial occasions in Dublin reflects social, political, and artistic changes in Dublin, as well as developments in modern technology that made communication of such events far easier, and faster. Moreover, there was a decline in patronage the arts in Ireland as the nineteenth century progressed, which may have given artists pause for thought in completing such works.[36] In

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amusement, spectacle and *flâneurism*, rather than as a source of education and improvement.' See Rains, *Commodity Culture and Social Class*, 39.

[34] See Chantal Deutsch-Brady, 'The King's Visit and the People's Protection Committee, 1903,' *Éire-Ireland* 10, no.3, (1975): 3-10 and Senia Pašeta, 'Nationalist responses to two royal visits to Ireland, 1900 and 1903,' *Irish Historical Studies* 31, no. 124 (1999): 488-504.

[35] On the occasion of the royal visit in 1900, Percy William French (1854–1920) depicted the temporary structure erected on Leeson Street Bridge for Victoria's entry into Dublin.

[36] Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin have outlined the difficult situation faced by Irish artists in the nineteenth century, noting that many of those in a position to purchase art, 'bought old Masters' rather than supporting native artists. In 1866 Michael Angelo Hayes had further outlined the situation in his testimony to a Select Committee examining Art Union Laws, noting the poor levels of patronage and indeed, interest in art in Ireland. He noted that, '[t]he richer classes do not support art very much, it is principally the middle class. With reference to our exhibitions, you do not find on the opening day there are many purchases made.' Hayes commented on the injurious effect photography had made on artist's in Ireland, stating that 'a large portion of the income of young artists has been diminished by the operation of photography', while also mentioning that 'Alderman McSwiny [*sic*], when Lord Mayor of Dublin,

addition, the increasing support for nationalist causes in Ireland may have made images that celebrated the monarchy unpopular with potential buyers. This is all the more apparent when it is considered that the same period saw the development of the Celtic Revival, and interest in 'national' artistic themes and forms.

An examination of ceremonial occasions connected with royal visits to Ireland evidences how the city was used for these great events, and how Dublin's citizens responded to them. It has been shown how architectural structures (whether permanent or temporary) and decorations were used to suggest or ascribe a distinct identity upon the urban landscape, in the cases described here, to demonstrate loyalty to the crown. Paintings, prints, and other commemorative items offered the general public an opportunity to mark and record these events, and created a lasting memento of the ephemeral spectacle. The changing social, economic and political landscape of Ireland throughout this period of royal visits was important in shaping the reception and reaction to these visits, and offered the people of Ireland an opportunity to express both allegiance and opposition to the crown. Keeping these events in mind, the next section of this chapter will consider the pomp and ceremony surrounding the O'Connell Centenary in 1875, and how the ceremonial forms established by royal spectacles were appropriated for nationalist spectacle.

1.2 Nationalist Spectacle: The O'Connell Centenary, 1875

While the scene it depicts took place in 1875, the earliest written mention of Charles Russell's *The O'Connell Centenary Celebrations, 1875* (fig 1:13) dates to 1928, when it was included in the catalogue of the National Gallery of Ireland (NGI). Thomas

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attempted to set a precedent by making purchases of pictures; but his successors have not followed the example.' See Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *Ireland's Painters 1600 – 1940* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 199. For Hayes testimony see *Report from the Select Committee on the Art Union Laws*, 1866 (332) (332-1), House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online, 32, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.882004&res_dat=xri:hcpp&rft_dat=xri:hcpp:rec:1866-042029.

Bodkin, then director of the gallery, noted that the painting showed the 'laying of the foundation stone of the O'Connell monument [...]', while the title acknowledged the Centenary.[37] He also noted that the painting was of particular interest as it was 'the best record in existence of the chief street in Dublin before its almost complete destruction in Easter Week, 1916'.[38] While Bodkin's text shows confusion over the actual occasion depicted, his reference to the Easter Rising is a reminder of the destruction of the city centre at this time, and how representations of the city could be seen as historical records for the changing cityscape and political landscape. This section will consider Russell's painting within the wider context of the centenary, looking at the organisation and significance of the event within the changing political environment of Dublin at this time.

The NGI acquired *The O'Connell Centenary Celebrations* in 1927. It was purchased by Bodkin from Henry Naylor, an antiques dealer on Liffey Street, Dublin, for £20.[39] When the work was acquired, it was noted in the Board Minutes under the title 'Trade Procession through Dublin, August, 1875.'[40] Since its purchase, the painting has been attributed to Charles Russell, although the painting itself is unsigned. There are no extant sources for the painting's creation or indeed any papers belonging to Russell which firmly attribute the painting to him and the painting is unusual when compared to other works by the artist.[41] Despite this, the painting cannot be firmly attributed to another painter working in Dublin at this time, and as will be discussed, there is compelling evidence to suggest Russell's involvement in the creation of the work.

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[37] Thomas Bodkin, 'The Celebration of the Centenary of the Birth of Daniel O'Connell,' *Catalogue of Pictures and other works in the National Gallery of Ireland and the National Portrait Gallery*, (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 1928), xiv.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Peter Somerville-Large, *1854–2004 The Story of the National Gallery of Ireland* (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 2004), 321.
[40] National Gallery of Ireland Board Meeting, 5 October 1927, Minute Book 1916–1929, National Gallery of Ireland Archives, 242.
[41] Listings of Russell's other exhibited works show that he was predominantly interested in portraiture and rural landscape scenes. He also exhibited ceramics. See Aisling Molloy, 'Vodrian Pottery,' *Irish Arts Review* 4, no.1 (1987): 33-36 and 'Frederick Vodrey's Ceramic Designs for the 1880s Dublin Exhibitions.' *History Ireland* 13, no.2 (2005): 28-32.

Very little is known about Charles Russell's early background and artistic education, except that he was Scottish. In 1869 works by an artist of the same name were exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy, from an address, presumed to be his, in Scotland.[42] Walter Strickland notes that in 1874 Russell moved to Dublin permanently, when he took a position with John Chancellor of Chancellor and Son, Sackville Street, leaving the artist well placed to familiarise himself with his adopted city.[43] Russell was employed, according to Strickland, to paint 'portraits from photographs [...].'[44] In January of the same year, painter E. Rosenthal (dates unknown) had advertised in the *Irish Times* that he was resigning from his position as '[p]rincipal Artist to Messrs Chancellor and Son [...] where he had the honour of painting portraits [...].'[45] It is possible therefore, that Russell took on a similar role to Rosenthal as a portrait painter with Chancellor, and he is known to have specialised in portraiture after his time with the photography firm. An active member of the Dublin Sketching Club, and part of the splinter group that formed the Dublin Art Club in 1886, Russell was a keen photographer, with a large selection of lantern slides taken by the artist. These lantern slides have survived and they provide a tantalising glimpse into the concerns of the artist at the time.[46]

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[42] Charles Russell was born in Dumbarton, Scotland, the son of painter John Bucknall Russell (1819–1893).

[43] Chancellor and Son had been present on Sackville Street as a retailer of watches and jewellery from the early nineteenth century, but expanded the business to include photography in the 1860s. The first commercial photographic studio had opened in Dublin in 1841. From this date, the medium grew in popularity in the city, with many of the studios opening on the two main streets – Sackville Street (which earned the nickname 'Photographer's Mile') and Grafton Street. Portraiture and *cartes-de-visites* were among the most popular services provided by the studios. Newspaper advertisements for these photography firms show that many of them often operated as a photography studio, gallery and as sellers of art supplies, print-sellers and printers, publishers and frame makers – bringing together different aspects of the commercial art world. See Edward Chandler, *Photography in Ireland: The Nineteenth Century* (Dublin: Edmund Burke, 2001), 46.

[44] Walter Strickland, 'Russell, Charles, R.H.A,' *A Dictionary of Irish Artists, Vol II L – Z*, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989), 313.

[45] 'Special Notice, Mr E Rosenthal,' *Irish Times and Daily Advertiser*, 5 January 1874, 1.

[46] Glass plates and lantern slides taken by Charles Russell are in the Patrick Healy Collection in the South Dublin Libraries. I am grateful to Brendan Rooney for bringing this collection to my attention. These may have been used by the artist to illustrate a lecture he gave to the Dublin Art Club on 7 December 1893 titled 'The Dodder from Ringsend to its Source,' see *Freeman's Journal*, 8 December, 1893. Events based around the display of plates and lantern slides were popular in Dublin through the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. See Kevin Rockett and Emer Rockett, *Magic Lantern, Panorama and Moving Picture Shows in Ireland, 1786–1909*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011).

The composition of *The O'Connell Centenary Celebrations, 1875*, takes in Carlisle Bridge (now O'Connell Bridge), and pans out to include the buildings on either side of the thoroughfare, stretching past Nelson's Pillar and the General Post Office towards the Rotunda, with the spire of St George's Church on Hardwicke Place visible in the distance on the right hand side. The central boulevard is filled to capacity with people, and they occupy every inch of the street, as well as the viewing platform of Nelson's Pillar and the rooftops of buildings. In the middle and foreground of the composition, Russell has included banners and flags held by the different unions and groups who made up the procession. Various themes can be identified on the banners such as allegorical figures of Hibernia or Erin, and depictions of O'Connell himself. Also visible at the centre foreground is the platform used by officials, on the right hand side of which the back of a marble bust can be distinguished. This is a bust of O'Connell by sculptor John Hogan, purchased by the O'Connell Centenary Committee in July 1875.[47] The platform also surrounded the foundation stone of the controversial and long-awaited O'Connell Monument, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

Russell managed to convey the sheer scale of the centenary procession. By emphasising elements of the streetscape, such as the flanking rows of buildings and Nelson's Pillar, the scene is instantly recognisable to viewers familiar with the city. The banners and flags emphasise that it is a day of ceremony and celebration and by and large, the atmosphere portrayed by the artist appears jovial and well-spirited. What is noticeable however, on close inspection of the painting, is that the crowd itself is rendered in very little detail. While the figures at the edge of the crowd on Carlisle Bridge are an exception, the majority of the spectators and participants in the procession are simplified to small suggestive dabs and strokes of paint, hinting at a sea of top hats and caps amongst the banners and flags.[48] This is particularly obvious in the centre

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[47] Newspaper clipping, 27 July 1875, O'Connell Centenary National Committee Minute Book, Ms 1408, National Library of Ireland, n.p.

[48] Since its creation, the paint surface has deteriorated, and this may account for some loss of detail. Source: Brendan Rooney, NGI, in conversation with the author.

middle ground of the painting where, just in front of Nelson's Pillar, a lamppost and banner rise from the crowd. No figure in the painting has been picked out for consideration by the artist, and neither is the viewer's attention drawn to any particular aspect or narrative within the overall scene. Rather the perspective of the street itself draws the eye in, placing the viewer's focus on the spectacle of the occasion.

The genesis of the O'Connell centenary arose from a meeting of the O'Connell Monument Committee on 19 August 1874 when they 'resolved that it shall be carried out with all the dignity and splendour that such an occasion demands from the Irish nation.'[49] The planning of the O'Connell monument had emerged out of a broader shift in commemorating Irish figures through public monuments, responding to the concurrent growth in support for nationalist political groups.[50] Indeed, the two issues were linked by the committee overseeing the campaign to have a monument erected. The influence and legacy of O'Connell had been recognized in two previous monuments in Dublin; first, a statue by John Hogan which stood outside City Hall, commissioned by the Repeal Association during his lifetime; and second, the round tower erected in Glasnevin Cemetery over his place of burial. Outside Dublin, memorial statues had also been erected in Limerick and Ennis, Co Clare. However, the proposed monument on Sackville Street was to be seen as a national commemoration of O'Connell, further recognising not only his work and legacy, but imposing a distinctly national or 'Irish' identity on the urban landscape. This fact was intensified in some ways by the fact that the proposed site of Carlisle Bridge had been considered for a memorial to Prince Albert.[51]

As a barrister, politician and nationalist leader, O'Connell's achievements during his lifetime ensured a lasting legacy both in Ireland and internationally. In the early

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[49] O'Connell Centenary Minute Book, National Library of Ireland, Ms 1408, 3.
[50] Paula Murphy, Nineteenth Century Irish Sculpture: Native Genius Reaffirmed (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and Yale University Press, 2010), 226.
[51] Ibid., 188. This text also offers a full discussion of the John Henry Foley and the O'Connell Monument.

nineteenth century he had established his legal practice in Dublin, also working on the Munster circuit. At this time, he also became involved with the Catholic Committee, and later the Catholic Association, who worked to further the rights and interests of Catholics, with a central goal of removing oaths which prevented Catholics from becoming members of parliament, known as 'Catholic emancipation'.[52] From the 1820s, O'Connell appealed to the wider Catholic population of Ireland for support, introducing what was known as the 'Catholic rent', a small monthly contribution, to support the movement. As Gearóid Ó'Tuathaigh has outlined, O'Connell's successful involvement in the emancipation movement not only raised his profile in Ireland, but also internationally, especially as his 'political movement was based upon popular support and the mobilisation of the mass of the people, while yet being non-violent and orderly'.[53] Although his later campaign for the repeal of the Act of Union was not successful, O'Connell continued to build on the methods of mass participation he had used during the 1820s, including the calling of 'monster meetings' at various locations around the country. It was these events that subsequent commemorations of O'Connell sought to build on, which is reflected in the rhetoric of the organising committee.[54]

The laying of the foundation stone for the proposed monument took place on 7 August 1864, and in some respects can be considered a precursor to the later centenary celebrations with a large procession of trades also taking place through the city centre (fig 1:14).[55] The monument was originally at the heart of the Centenary committee's

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[52] Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, 'O'Connell, Daniel,' in Dictionary of Irish Biography, edited by James McGuire and James Quinn. Cambridge University Press in collaboration with the Royal Irish Acadmey : 2009. http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6555.

[53] Ibid.

[54] For a full account of the life and career of Daniel O'Connell see Patrick Geoghegan, *King Dan: the rise of Daniel O'Connell, 1775–1829* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2010) and *Liberator: the life and death of Daniel O'Connell, 1830–1847* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2010) by the same author.

[55] The ceremony around the laying of the foundation stone was not without its controversies. An exchange between members of the Dublin Corporation in the week preceding the ceremony revealed tensions between the members of the Corporation, when Sir John Gray put forward the motion to formally invite the Lord Mayor to take part in the event. The *Freeman's Journal* reported that 'Alderman Bonasall objected to the resolution being passed by the council, as the effect of it would be to compromise those who did not concur in the sentiments expressed by Sir John Gray. It was felt in the city to be a sectarian proceeding [...] the programme of the proposed procession was framed as if it was a purely Roman Catholic proceeding.' See 'The Corporation,'

plans, and they deemed it essential that it would be completed in time - 'Mr Foley [is] requested to make every exertion to have the work finished, by that day'.[56] However, later that month the Committee received a letter informing them that John Henry Foley had died, leaving the Monument unfinished.[57] This did not prevent the Committee in continuing with their plans for a celebration, and by the 30 March 1875 the minutes note that '[a]ttention was called to the gratifying progress of the movement all over the country [...].'[58]

On the 9 March 1875, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Peter Paul MacSwiney, issued a public letter to the people of Ireland, coinciding with a conference at the Mansion House during which trades and other organizations met to formally put in motion the planning of the centenary celebrations. In this letter, which was reproduced as a poster (fig 1:15) and likely to have been advertised around the country, he laid out the aspirations of the national committee, as well as asking for donations and subscriptions to fund the event. '[i]t is your glorious and envied fortune,' he wrote, 'inheriting, and as Guardians of, the traditions of your Race and Nation, to commemorate the Centenary of the Birth of O'Connell, one of the greatest Irishmen that ever lived.' Continuing, MacSwiney emphasised the importance of the centenary as a world event, rather than something confined to Ireland, saying '[i]t is your Duty – nay, more it is your Privilege [...] to add a new lustre to your Name, your Race, and your Traditions, before the World, by a fitting Celebration of the O'Connell Centenary'. MacSwiney considered that the eyes of the world would be on Ireland during the Centenary, and that 'the world will judge, whether as a Nation, we are worthy of such a Liberator.' Finally, MacSwiney invited the 'scattered elements of the Irish Race and our Friends, dispersed over the Globe [...]' to return to

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Freeman's Journal, 2 August 1864, 4. More serious problems arose in the aftermath of the ceremony, with sectarian rioting broke out in Belfast, following the return of those who had travelled to Dublin for the occasion. See Murphy, *Native Genius Reaffirmed*, 188-190.

[56] O'Connell Centenary Minute Book, 3-4.

[57] Ibid., 20.

[58] Ibid., 20.

Ireland for the occasion.[59]

The sentiments invoked by MacSwiney and the language used in his letter can be linked to the growing nationalist movement in Ireland, and they also correlate to MacSwiney's own politics. The Lord Mayor was characteristic of a new generation in Dublin politics; a businessman, he ran a lavish department store on Sackville Street known as the 'New Mart', the success of which led to his election as a city councillor in 1862 (fig 1:16).[60] During his first term as Lord Mayor in 1864, MacSwiney had overseen the laying of the O'Connell Monument foundation stone, and had been involved with the Monument Committee from its inception. Politically, MacSwiney aligned himself with the Catholic hierarchy, particularly the archbishop, Cardinal Paul Cullen. Both men were opposed to the Home Rule movement, especially its Protestant leader, Isaac Butt, and instead based their nationalism on a strongly Catholic identity for the Irish nation.

Both the minute book of the committee and the *O'Connell Centenary Record*, published in 1878, illustrate the wide range of international interest in the centenary (fig 1:17). The Committee invited high-ranking members of the Roman Catholic Church across the globe including Pope Pius IX, and members of the royalty and nobility from across Europe. Although many did not attend due to the distance involved in travelling to Ireland, the respondents seem to have been unanimous in their support for the Centenary, with many stating their admiration of O'Connell and his legacy. The Reverend Dr Otto from Paderborn, Prussia, for example, wrote at length that O'Connell was 'Ireland's greatest patriot, orator and statesman [...]' and that

> [n]o king ever felt for his people, no general for his army, no shepherd for his flock, nay scarcely a father for his children, a love more deep, more tender, more

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[59] Peter Paul MacSwiney, 'Address to the People of Ireland,' *O'Connell Centenary Record*, (Dublin: Joseph Dollard, 1878), 18.

[60] McSwiney's store, the 'New Mart' can be seen in Michel Angelo Hayes' painting of Sackville Street (fig 1:16). A large white building on the right-hand side of the painting, the department store was located where Cleary's is today.

careful and generous than O'Connell for his dear countrymen.[61]

The list of those who travelled is printed in the *Centenary Record*, and includes senior members of the Pope's household, a Prussian-Polish Prince, members of the Prussian and German parliaments, and senior French bishops.

The sentiments of these high-ranking individuals are echoed in the correspondence of the more ordinary citizens who contributed to the committee's coffers; from those who subscribed substantial amounts of money, to those who gave what little money they had to spare, often the product of a small church collection such as that from the parish of Ballyvourney, Co. Cork. Patrick Foley, the Parish Priest, wrote:

> [e]nclosed is a small post-office order for £2 from this parish in aid of the funds for the O'Connell centenary. This small sum is a very inadequate exponent of the profound and undying feeling of respect entertained here for the great and illustrious Leader.[62]

Similarly, the students of a Christian Brothers school wrote, in sending their contribution:

> [w]e wish to contribute our humble mite in honouring the illustrious O'Connell, to whom, under God, we are chiefly indebted for the inestimable blessing of a good, free, Catholic education, which we enjoy.[63]

From reading these letters, it becomes clear that the Centenary celebration was particularly meaningful and significant to the Roman Catholic population, a fact further emphasised by the involvement of the church and the clergy. The Committee often stressed that it was to be a non-sectarian celebration, and highlighted that 'O'Connell's

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[61] Letter from Rev Dr Otto, Paderborn, Prussia, *O'Connell Centenary Record*, 45.
[62] Newspaper clipping in the O'Connell Centenary Minute Book, 72.
[63] Ibid.

sense of justice and his charity knew no creed, no caste, no colour, no clime'.[64] While this sentiment may not have ultimately rung true (as will be discussed later) it can be seen that the Centenary did at least, on the surface, have a unifying effect on those who wished to mark the occasion. The global reach of the event and the involvement of diverse individuals is perhaps illustrative of the power such commemorative occasions and public spectacles.

In addition to the national committee, a specially formed 'ceremonial committee' had responsibility for the organisation of the procession, banquets and all that they entailed (fig 1:18). They also liaised with those organising the religious ceremonies, and the Reception Committee, who had charge of meeting and looking after foreign guests and dignitaries.[65] Chaired by MacSwiney, the ceremonial committee included other political, trade, professional and religious figures, as well as the artist Michael Angelo Hayes (1820–1877). Although Hayes had painted other ceremonial occasions, it seems that his role in the committee was purely organisational. Strickland erroneously stated that Hayes married one of MacSwiney's sisters and he became the Lord Mayor's secretary on his election in 1862, and a city marshal in 1867.[66] The chosen route for the procession covered over seven miles of the city centre, starting at Stephen's Green, passing places that held significance in the history of O'Connell's life, and ending at the site of the O'Connell monument on Sackville Street. In July 1875, concerns were raised about how the crowds would be managed along the route, with particular attention given to Carlisle Bridge which, they felt, 'was by no means safe

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[64] 'Letter from Peter Paul MacSwiney', *O'Connell Centenary Record*, 6.

[65] Details on the planning committees for the centenary are included in the O'Connell Centenary Minute Book and *The O'Connell Centenary Record*.

[66] Strickland, *Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 463. The claim that Hayes married one of MacSwiney's sisters is incorrect: an announcement in the *Freeman's Journal* recorded the marriage of 'Michael Angelo Hayes, Esq., of this city, to Ellen, youngest daughter of Terence Lalor, Esq., of Clonmel'. See 'Marriages,' *Freeman's Journal,* 7 August 1846, 4. The unusual name of the artist makes it unlikely that this announcement could refer to another. In addition, Delia Millar notes that the artist was survived by his wife, Ellen. See Delia Millar 'Michael Angelo Hayes,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press, 2004. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/12761. However, reports of the artist's funeral in the *Irish Times* note the presence of 'Peter Paul McSwiney, J.P., brother-in-law'. See 'Funeral of Mr Michael Angelo-Hayes, R.H.A,' *Irish Times*, 4 January 1878, 4. In fact Hayes and McSwiney were married to sisters, Ellen and Anne Lalor.

[...] as the sides were in extreme danger of falling out on pressure [...].'[67]

The centenary celebrations officially began on Thursday, 5 August, with the authors of the *Centenary Record* writing that on the previous night there were 'few found at rest, in Dublin, at midnight, on Wednesday [...] when the gladsome peals, from many a spire and tower, joyously rung in the National Celebration [...].'[68] The first day of the Centenary opened with a Mass at the Pro-Cathedral, followed by two musical events: at three in the afternoon, there was a recital of Mendelssohn's 'Elijah', in the Exhibition Palace; and then at eight that evening, a concert of Irish music with a performance of the *O'Connell Centenary Ode*, written for the occasion by Denis Florence-MacCarthy (1817–1882). It was the events of Friday, 6 August, however, that marked the high point of the centenary celebrations. The *Centenary Record* notes that '[t]he appearance of the City was such as it had never been exhibited. At midnight, the Church chimes, with merry peals, again stirred the hearts of the populace with their gleesome strains [...]. Even at that hour, the crowded Metropolis was in the throes of bustle and busy preparation [...].'[69] Those taking part in the procession gathered at St Stephen's Green at ten o'clock, before beginning the long route through the city, before assembling on Sackville Street. By the time they had all assembled, the street had become 'one solid impenetrable block of human beings [...]', while the 'roofs and parapets of the Houses, and the windows, had every inch of standing room fully occupied.'[70]

The *Freeman's Journal* gave a vivid description of the arrival of the procession on Sackville Street, describing how:

> the superb area of Sackville-street opens to receive the multitude, which bursts into it like an ocean let into the empty bed of a lake. Straight on, roaring hugely, with the melody of a hundred tempests, the inundation rolls and thunders. The

[67] Newspaper clipping, O'Connell Centenary Minute Book, 74.
[68] Ibid., 87.
[69] *O'Connell Centenary Record*, 144.
[70] Ibid., 357.

> steep side of the enclosure it threatens to flood literally seems to crawl with living beings so thickly do the beholders literally cling at roof and window. Nelson's Pillar,that in the distance like a tall bully lifts its head and brags – not without reason – is occupied a top by a lucky few [...].[71]

The description of Nelson's Pillar in this report seems particularly apt as it is certainly a dominant feature of Russell's painting. The contrast between the colourful nationalist imagery of the trade banners, and indeed the sentiment of the Centenary itself, with the towering grey 'bully' is striking; providing what can be considered to be a symbolic distinction between nationalist aspiration and imperial power.

Despite the careful planning of the Centenary Celebrations, and the celebratory tone of the official *Centenary Record*, numerous problems arose: including bad weather which led to delays, cancellations, and postponements on the last two days of the festivities. More seriously as the procession approached King's Bridge (built to mark the visit of George IV in 1821), a group of 'malcontents [...] were wending their dismal way [...] with the design on heading the Procession – bearing in its front not the portrait of the Liberator, but the black flag, the chains, and mourning emblems.'[72] This was a delegation from the Amnesty Association, and included Isaac Butt, MP and leader of the Home Rule Party.[73] Although they tried to join the procession at King's Bridge the group was unsuccessful, although they later reformed on Sackville Street claiming a position close to the dais. This group can be seen in Russell's painting, holding a black banner with 'Amnesty' written across it.

The Centenary Oration was to be read by Lord O'Hagan (1812–1885), a barrister who had worked alongside O'Connell. However on the day itself he was prevented from

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[71] 'O'Connell: The Centenary Celebrations,' *Freeman's Journal*, 7 August 1875, 3.
[72] [A Member of the O'Connell Centenary Committee], *Ireland and O'Connell* (Dublin: John F. Fowler, 1876), 16.
[73] The Amnesty Association was formed in June 1869, being a new incarnation of the Irish Liberation Society. Led by Butt, the group sought an amnesty for Fenian prisoners. See Alan O'Day, *Irish Home Rule 1867–1921* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 25.

taking part, apparently due to illness. Instead, it was decided that a section of his oration would be read by MacSwiney. However, as MacSwiney began to speak, he was drowned out by shouts and calls for Isaac Butt. Unable to continue, MacSwiney left the dais, and his place was taken by the Amnesty Association, with Butt and other members making 'Nationalist and Home Rule speeches.'[74] Later that evening, the Amnesty Association and Home Rule supporters further disrupted the Grand Banquet at the Exhibition Palace, drowning out MacSwiney as he attempted to introduce Charles Gavan Duffy (1816–1903) to give a toast. In embarrassment, and perhaps frustration at the disruption caused by his political opponents, MacSwiney called for the gas lamps to be extinguished, and the crowds to be dispersed.[75]

Further problems arose in the months following the celebrations. While there had been attempts at a more inclusive remit for the centenary, MacSwiney's intentions were rather unfortunately revealed in the weeks after the celebration. In a circular note to high-ranking Catholics involved with the centenary, including the hierarchy in Ireland, and which was later leaked and printed in the national press, MacSwiney wrote that 'the spirit of piety and patriotism, awakened by the centenary celebrations, should be availed of to give practical effect to the principals [*sic*] of O'Connell [...] these principles are rooted in the Irish heart [...].'[76] He saw this as an opportunity to create a new political body which would continue to further the interests of Catholic and nationalist causes in the tradition of O'Connell, so that 'the eternal interests of the people he loved so well, may be carried out to their full development.'[77]

MacSwiney however, had misjudged the feelings of the masses he sought to gather together in this new endeavour. When the circular was printed by the *Freeman's*

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[74] Emmet Larkin, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Emergence of the Modern Irish Political System, 1874–1878* (Dublin: Four Courts Press; Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 408.
[75] The scene at the banquet was captured by an illustrator for the *Illustrated London News*, see 'The O'Connell Centenary at Dublin,' *Illustrated London News*, 14 August 1875, 165.
[76] Peter Paul MacSwiney, letter to Cardinal Cullen, quoted in Larkin, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Emergence of the Modern Irish Political System,* 409.
[77] Ibid.

Journal, the country's largest Catholic, nationalist paper, there was an immediate backlash against the Lord Mayor. The editor of the paper wrote a response to the letter, asking 'what does it mean [...]. It means that the Lord Mayor proposes to degrade the Centenary to sectarian ends – to found in connection with that event and under the great name of *O'Connell* [*sic*] a political association to which none but Catholics are to be admitted, and from which the Protestant Irishman is to be excluded.'[78] 'To weld Ireland into a nation,' the editor continued, 'to unite on the same platform Catholic and Protestant, to banish sectarian feuds [...] to make all Irishmen feel they are brothers – these are the healthy ideas now coursing through every artery of the Irish body politic [...].'[79] In the context of the Centenary, the article hit a surely heavy blow to MacSwiney, stating '[t]he Centenary was a success in spite of and not on account of the Lord Mayor [...].'[80] Furthermore, Cardinal Paul Cullen did not publically endorse MacSwiney's circular, and later in September made a contribution to the subscription fund for a public memorial in Dublin for Sir John Gray (1815–1875), a Protestant who had been associated with O'Connell and the Repeal movement.

The interventions made by Butt and the Amnesty Association, together with the subsequent controversy caused by MacSwiney's circular meant that the centenary celebrations did not have quite the unifying effect the committee had, in word at least, hoped to achieve. Rather, it marked an interesting juncture in Irish politics where the sway of popular opinion, and the liberal press, favoured a truly inclusive vision for the future of Irish nationalism, based on the involvement of both Roman Catholics and Protestants. After the row died down, power lay in the hands of Butt and the Home Rule party to build on these events and the public anger caused by MacSwiney's views. Unsurprisingly, when the *O'Connell Centenary Record* was published three years later in 1878, there was little or no mention of these subsequent events.

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[78] Dublin: Thursday, Sept. 16, 1875,' *Freeman's Journal*, 16 September 1875, 5.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.

1.3 The Visual and Material Culture of the O'Connell Centenary

On Saturday, 7 August, the day after the procession, the *Freeman's Journal* reported that there had been an 'invasion of pen and pencil', into Dublin, from the '[p]ress pictorial serial and as well as journalistic [...]. The combined talent and industry of so many chroniclers of the time will very likely enable us to see ourselves [...].'[81] The illustrated press, encompassing newspapers, magazines and periodicals had grown in popularity through the nineteenth century. A wide-ranging market was catered for, from specialised journals catering to professional or academic audiences to more generalist publications, covering popular culture and current affairs.[82] Illustrations of the Centenary appeared in at least five publications in Ireland, Britain and France, and due to the international coverage of the event, perhaps even more widely.[83]

In Ireland, the *Weekly Freeman*, a sheet associated with the *Freeman's Journal*, published two special illustrated editions showing scenes both from O'Connell's life and the centenary of his birth. *The Nation*, another nationalist journal, run by Gavan Duffy who had been involved with the organisation of the Centenary, also published illustrations. Both *The Graphic* (fig 1:19) and the *Illustrated London News* (fig 1:20) included illustrations the week after the Centenary, showing scenes from the centenary events. *The Graphic* included five illustrations of the centenary covering the 'The Religious Service in the Pro-Cathedral, Marlborough Street', the 'Trades Assembled on St Stephen's Green for the Procession', 'The Procession Passing the Four Courts', and a 'Scene in Sackville Street'. The depiction of trade banners in these illustrations along with cheering crowds further underline the celebratory mood on the day of the procession,

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[81] 'O'Connell: The Centenary Celebration,' *Freeman's Journal*, 7 August 1875, 3.
[82] Patricia Anderson, 'Illustrations,' in *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, eds. J Don Vann and Rosemary T VanArsdel (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1994), 127-128.
[83] The *O'Connell Centenary Record* notes the different cities and countries that celebrated the occasion. Around America parades were held in New Haven, Connecticut; Pawtucket, Rhode Island; Louisville, Kenntucky; Kansas City, Missori; Savannah, Georgia; Des Moins, Iowa and Columbus, Ohio, as well as in many other locations around the country. In Canada the Centenary was celebrated in Montreal, Toronto, and Ottowa. The Irish community in Halifax, Nova Scotia, also held a parade.

Le Monde Illustré, a French newspaper also published two illustrations – one of the opening mass in the pro-cathedral and the other of the procession – as well as giving a detailed account of the celebrations (fig 1:21). Overall, these illustrations are general descriptive pictorial accounts of the procession, although they do contain some interesting variations and inclusions. Close examination of the images from *The Graphic* and the *Illustrated London News* reveals that that the artist has, for some of the figures anyway, used the simian features common among Victorian representations of the working class in cartoons.[84] In the French illustration of the procession, there are a number of features which are not found in the other examples; for instance the dais is not included and there are rows of trees along the thoroughfare, which suggests that the illustration was created from written descriptions rather than actual observation. In this example, the crowd is shown in far less detail and the simian features seen in the British examples are absent.

The illustrations of the crowd featured in the *Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* make for an interesting comparison with Russell's painting. Instead of adopting an aerial or panoramic view, the artists of the illustrations have placed themselves among the attendees. Rather than Russell's homogenous crowd the illustrators show different individuals or 'types', from the simianised working-class to well-to-do gentlemen in suits and top-hats, and in the case of the *Illustrated London News*, gossiping women in the right-hand corner.[85] As in the painting, the trade banners are given prominence, but there is also more emphasis on the intervention of the Amnesty Association. Both journals included the large black banner although there are variations in its rendering, again suggesting perhaps a reliance on written sources. A

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[84] Simian features were often used to indicate working-class status generally, although scholarship has drawn attention to the relationship between this and the depiction of the Irish. See L Perry Curtis Jnr, *Apes and Angels: the Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1997).

[85] For further analysis of the depiction of the crowd in Victorian painting see, Mary Cowling, *The artist as anthropologist: the representation of type and character in Victorian art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

close reading of the larger *Illustrated London News* image suggests that the moment shown is after the Amnesty Association had taken over the speaking platform (a man beside the speaker holds a small banner which reads 'still in chains'), and the Lord Mayor's carriage is slowly making its ways through the crowds.

Returning to the issue of the artist that painted *The O'Connell Centenary Celebrations*, the *Centenary Record* also noted that 'Chancellor, the eminent Photographer, secured a magnificent view of the street at the close of the proceedings, which will enable posterity to realise [...] a National Assemblage unprecedented in majesty and vastness.'[86] A mounted copy of the photograph, as well as another by a different photography firm, are included in the minute book of the centenary committee (fig 1:22, 1:23). Chancellor's photograph captures the scene running over the bridge and up the street, taking in the crowds and the multitude of trade banners and flags. Although the print is over exposed and damaged in places, it is possible to gain a real sense of the crowds that filled the street, including the movement and bustle. In an effort to fill in some of the detail that the image lacks, an attempt has been made to pencil in some of these omissions, such as the flag on the dais and the outline and buildings and banners. That this photograph and Russell's painting are viewed from the same vantage point is immediately apparent and when the two images are compared, it seems likely that Russell depended on this image rather than other sketches or memory aids to complete his painting. This assumes of course, on examination of the evidence, that Russell was, in fact, the artist, given that he had a working relationship with the photographer in question.

As one of the major photographic firms in the city, Chancellor and Son had also photographed the laying of the foundation stone for the O'Connell Monument on Sackville Street in 1864, however this image does not seem to have survived.[87] A

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[86] *O'Connell Centenary Record*, 358.

[87] Chancellor and Son also photographed the unveiling of the monument in 1882, although this was reportedly taken from the firm's building on Sackville Street. A new firm, Lafayette, captured

photograph by another firm was used by the *Illustrated London News* as the basis for their illustration of the event and as Brendan Rooney has noted, this uses the same vantage point as Russell's painting.[88] The photograph used by the *Illustrated London News* was taken by a 'Mr W.H. Mooney, of 22 Westmoreland Street'.[89] Arguably, this initial photograph and illustration set a pictorial precedent for views of Sackville Street and occasions associated with the O'Connell Monument, as evidenced by the use of the vantage point for images of the Centenary. The Dublin Street Directory for 1864 notes that at this time 22 Westmoreland Street was vacant, although this would surely not have prevented a photographer from using the building to photograph the event. Subsequent listings in the Dublin Street Directory show that the London Metropolitan Photographic Company were among the building's tenants.

When the Centenary celebrations had finished, Chancellor and Son advertised in both the *Irish Times* and the *Freeman's Journal* their 'finely executed photographs [...] of the scene in Sackville Street at the close of the great O'Connell centenary Procession [...].'[90] The author of a short article on the photographs in the *Irish Times* praised them for their 'faithfulness which is really astonishing considering the great extent of the view and the ever-surging movement of the masses [...]'; they also noted that '[a]s the prices are only 1*s* and 2*s* they may be considered within the reach of all.'[91] The *Freeman's Journal* also noted that Chancellor's planned to have the photograph 'stenotyped, a process equal in every sense to a fine line engraving [...] the chief, and, indeed, most important characteristic of the stenotype is that its results are in fact, unlike the photograph, permanent.'[92] The marketing of these photographs, and potentially prints, of this occasion demonstrates the public appetite for commemorative

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this later ceremony from their studio 'facing the O'Connell Bridge', and although an example of this image has not survived, it may be assumed that it was similar in composition to the view seen in Russell's painting. See 'The O'Connell Monument,' *Freeman's Journal*, 22 August 1882, 5.

[88] Brendan Rooney, *A Time and A Place: Two Centuries of Irish Social Life* (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 2006), 150.

[89] *Illustrated London News*, 20 August 1864, Vol. XLV July – December 1864, 202.

[90] 'Views of the O'Connell centenary Procession,' *Irish Times*, 10 August 1875, 5.

[91] Ibid.

[92] 'The O'Connell Centenary Journal,' *Freeman's Journal*, 12 August 1875, 5.

imagery. The centenary celebrations also gave rise to a broad range of commemorative objects being created, ranging from medals and illustrated supplements to special centenary editions on the life, work and speeches of O'Connell.

In the examination of the visual and material culture of the 1875 centenary, the colourful trade banners seen in Russell's painting can also be considered (fig 1:24). The involvement of different trades and professional bodies was profoundly important in the centenary celebrations, and some of the banners that they carried were historically significant. A newspaper clipping in the minute book states that at the Committee meeting on 3 May 1875 an offer from a man in Clare 'to send to Dublin two banners for the processional celebration, one carried in the memorable Clare election in 1828, the other by the Clare Volunteers in 1782' was accepted, thereby bringing the artefacts of O'Connell and the broader nationalist movement to the heart of the centenary celebration. In addition to these older examples, it is likely that some trades may have commissioned new banners to be carried on the day. The commissioning of a banner was a significant investment on the part of the trade union, and was an important signifier of both the history and status of the group.

Examination of the comprehensive notes that appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*, has revealed the identity of the groups Russell placed in the foreground of the painting from their banners. Included on the right-hand side of the painting are two banners painted by John Fergus O'Hea (1838–1922), the first made for the Ropemakers', and the second for the Stonecutters' associations. The Ropemakers' banner shows the figure of Erin, one of the most popular images on the trades' banners, with:

> her left arm clinging to a cross, significant of her faith; in her right hand she bears a crown which has been raised out of a tomb [...] on the right of the chief figure is an Irish harp, the strings entwined with briars [...]. The border is oval, the inner line being of cable pattern, and in the sections of each corner are the

arms of the four provinces.[93]

The banner of the Stonecutters was equally detailed, showing 'the spirited and exciting scene wherein Brian Boiroimhe leads on his victorious legion [...].'[94] The author of the *Freeman's Journal* evidently held the work of O'Hea in great esteem, praising both of these banners in the highest terms. An interesting artistic figure, O'Hea was known as both a painter and for his illustrations for contemporary journals and magazines. In the descriptions of the procession for the laying of the foundation stone for the O'Connell Monument in 1864, the *Freeman's Journal* notes that on this occasion the Stonecutters also used a large banner showing Brian Boru, although from the description, that of the Ropemakers seems substantially different from that used during the Centenary procession.[95] The commissioning, painting and weaving of banners for trades is an interesting aspect of the artistic traditions involved with the staging of processions and ceremonial events, and constitutes an important aspect of this occasion.[96] Looking at the material and visual culture around the Centenary, it can be seen that banners and flags carried by the trade unions in the procession were used to create further links to O'Connell, for example, by reusing banners carried at the 1828 Clare election, and also to show allegiance to the nationalist cause through the use of certain imagery and references to Ireland's history. This imagery appealed to the idea of a commonly shared and ancient Irish history, prior to colonisation, thus supporting the political purview of the occasion. The Irish diaspora abroad also invested heavily in having banners made for the Centenary. This indicates their importance as some the most significant artworks associated with the centenary, particularly when allied to the idea that they would be used and re-used on other ceremonial occasions, such as later centenaries and St Patrick's Day celebrations.[97] These artworks thus played an

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[93] 'The Ropemakers',' *Freeman's Journal*, 7 August 1875, 6.
[94] 'The Stonecutters',' *Freeman's Journal*, 7 August 1875, 6.
[95] 'The Trades of Dublin,' *Freeman's Journal*, 9 August 1864, 6.
[96] See Lisa Godson, 'Irish Trade Banners in Context, 1830–1900', (BA diss., Trinity College Dublin, 1994).
[97] For example, the Charitable Irish Society in Halifax, Nova Scotia spent $560 on a banner to

important role in the ritualistic nature of these events, creating, or inventing, new traditions in the history of the union that they were associated with.

In considering the groups who funded the creation of these banners, we might also reflect on who Russell's painting was for, or if it was intended for a specific buyer. Given that the exact genesis of Russell's painting is unknown, only speculative proposals can be made in trying to establish its intended audience. From the research undertaken here, three suggestions could be put forward in response to this: first, that the painting was completed for Chancellor and Son for exhibition or display in their store; second, that the painting was completed for an individual client as a private commission, based on Chancellor's photograph, and third, that the painting was commissioned by one of the trades which featured in the procession.

If we consider that this painting was commissioned for a customer of Chancellor and Son, this highlights an interesting aspect to the commercial production of large artworks, more akin to the reproduction of engravings or other commercial prints.[98] In this light the painting can be seen as being more revealing about the growing consumer-based society it was created in and perhaps indicative of the changing composition of shop displays or perhaps, of the growing middle-class who wished to furnish their homes with paintings depicting Irish or Irish-interest subjects. The vogue for *cartes-de-visites* and photographic portraits was driven by this emerging bourgeoisie, as they sought to replicate and imitate the traditional oil portraits of the upper classes. By having this cheaper and quicker version translated to canvas, by an artist such as Russell, the process of imitation became more complete.

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carry in their O'Connell Centenary procession. See Robert P Harvey, 'Black Beans, Banners and Banquets: The Charitable Irish Society of Halifax at Two Hundred,' *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 6, no.1, (1986): 16-35 http://novascotia.ca/archives/virtual/CIS/charitableirish.asp. Similar celebrations were held in Australia, with events and parades particularly taking place in parts of New South Wales and Victoria. In Melbourne, a hotel which opened in 1875 still bears the name 'O'Connell's Centenary Hotel'. These global celebrations for the O'Connell Centenary signify the importance and impact of the man who was being commemorated, as well as offering an illustration of areas with a large Irish diaspora communities.

[98] In 1868 Chancellor and Son exhibited a painting by John Fergus O'Hea of the scene at Punchestown Races during the visit of the Prince of Wales. Chancellors had also photographed the event, and later advertised these photographs for sale.

Similarly, while supporters of Dublin Castle and the imperial administration may have wished to purchase a painting of a contemporary event, for example, Michael Angelo Hayes' representation of the installation of the Prince of Wales as a Knight of St Patrick, a more modest homeowner wishing to display their nationalist beliefs, could feasibly purchase a lasting record of an important nationalist event.[99] In addition, this painting could also be considered as a more political expression of identification and support of Irish nationalism, allied particularly to the trade union movement or to political figures such as MacSwiney who espoused a particular vision of an ancient, and Catholic, Irish identity. The foregrounding of particular trade banners, which contain potent nationalist imagery, can arguably be seen as indicative of this political bias. Taking into account Hayes' evidence on the state of patronage in Ireland in the nineteenth century, it seems unlikely that Russell would have completed the painting, especially given its scale, without the assurance of being paid for his work.

The fervour for souvenir and commemorative items is echoed throughout the range of different centenary celebrations that took place in the period 1875–1898, centred on nationalist figures. The O'Connell centenary was one of at least seven significant centenaries or other ceremonial occasions were held in this period, and it is interesting to note that there are no known paintings of these events. Instead, visual records take the form of illustrations in newspapers or other journals or as photographs. These are accompanied again by special commemorative editions of essays, histories or musical scores. The most significant ceremony after the O'Connell celebration was that of the 1798 Rebellion and the death of Wolfe Tone in 1898. In visual terms, the celebrations on the 15 August 1898, when the foundation stone for a Wolfe Tone memorial was laid, were recorded by photographers rather than painters, with images by both Chancellor and Lafayette reproduced in the *Black and White*

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[99] Hayes' depiction of the installation of the Prince of Wales as a Knight of St. Patrickwas exhibited at the RHA in 1876 and was priced at £1,200 in the catalogue. The painting now hangs at Farmleigh, Dublin.

magazine (fig 1:25). The production of these items was not restricted to nationalist celebrations; other ceremonial occasions, such as royal visits, were celebrated with souvenirs and photographs.

An examination of *The O'Connell Centenary Celebrations* raises interesting questions about both the remit and the role of depictions of ceremonial occasions, especially during this period when photography began to challenge the traditional place of painting. In some respects, the circumstances in which both Russell, Turner de Lond, and Haverty created their artworks were similar. Both looked to capture the scene within the city on a day of important pageantry and ceremony, and presumably both hoped to profit in some way from those who wished to remember the occasion through a lasting object. It is clear that Russell did not wish to create a narrative painting, one that was to be read and deciphered by the viewer, who might look for important personages or small happenings through the composition. Instead, his painting was to capture the display and spectacle of the occasion.

As noted above, through the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the city streets continued to play host to ceremonial and processional occasions – both unionist and nationalist – with both being met with cries of protest and resistance from the opposing side. Even a cursory glance through contemporary newspaper reports reveals the increasingly politicised nature of these events, with demonstrations and protests being formed by different groups associated with the wider nationalist and unionist movements, for example the Land League, the Amnesty Association, the Orange Order, and political parties such as the Irish Parliamentary Party and Sinn Féin. From these reports it is also clear that unrest over working conditions and labour were also to the fore, with frequent demonstrations being held by workers' groups, leading up to the labour crisis in 1913. What these reports also reveal is the willingness and interest of Dubliners to come out and watch these events as spectators rather than participants.

In considering the impact of the outbreak of the First World War in late July 1914, Padraig Yeats noted that the city 'barely reacted' to the announcement of war, suggesting instead that Dubliners were still coming to terms with the incident at Bachelor's Walk in July 1914.[100] While this may have been the case in some quarters, nationalist groups across the city, county, and country were becoming more organised and militarised with the creation of the Irish Volunteers in 1913, and other groupings such as the Irish Citizen Army, and Cumann na mBan. The war heightened the existing tensions between unionists, loyalists, and nationalists in the city, and again newspaper accounts demonstrate how the city's streets continued to be a contested space used by contrasting groups to further their causes. This can be seen in the array of recruitment parades and marches held in support of the war effort, and on the other hand, in events held to celebrate nationalist figures, such as Charles Stewart Parnell. In the weeks leading up to the Easter Rising, the ambition of nationalist groups was visibly demonstrated in Dublin with the 'review' parade of Irish Volunteers in the city centre on St Patrick's Day.[101]

In her account of the Easter Rising and the buildings seized by the Volunteers and others, Margaret Skinnider noted that '[t]he names of these places do not sound martial. Jacob's Biscuit Factory, Boland's Bakery, Harcourt Street Railway Station, and Four Courts are common enough, but each has been chosen for the strategic advantage it would give those defending Dublin [...].'[102] The taking of the General Post Office added to this strategy (a centre of communications and telegraphic exchange), and Skinnider comments that she knew the takeover had been successful as no communication had

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[100] Padraig Yeates, *A City in Wartime: Dublin 1914 – 1918* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2011), 26. In July 1914, three people had been killed when the King's Own Scottish Borderers had opened fire on a crowd gathered on the quay. The incident had occurred after Irish Volunteers had unloaded arms from a yacht (Erskine Childer's *Asgard*) at Howth, in response to a similar gun-running operation by the Ulster Volunteers the previous year.

[101] For events on St Patrick's Day, 1916, see 'Volunteer Parades in Ireland,' *Irish Times*, 18 March 1916, 6; 'Festival in Dublin,' *Freeman's Journal*, 18 March 1916, 6, and 'Home Celebrations,' *IrishIndependent*, 18 March 1916, 3.

[102] Margaret Skinnider, *Doing my Bit for Ireland* (New York: The Century Company, 1917), 103, https://archive.org/details/doingmybitforir00skingoog.

reached Beggar's Bush or Portobello barracks, where '[e]verything remained quiet'.[103] Re-reading the events of the Easter Rising through the frameworks of space and place, it can also be suggested that these buildings had a symbolic purpose, representing in some instances, centres of colonial power and control. With this in mind, the final section of this chapter will consider the representation of events in the city in both 1916 and 1922, and the new kind of spectacle that unfolded in Dublin's streets during this time.

1.4 Spectacle and Destruction in Dublin

In the opening of *War and Cinema*, Paul Virilio stated that '[w]ar can never break free from the magical spectacle because its very purpose is to *produce* that spectacle: to fell the enemy is not so much to capture as to 'captivate' him [...].[104] In contrast to the pomp and ceremony displayed in the paintings already discussed in this chapter, this final section will explore the theme of spectacle in relation to images of the Easter Rising in 1916, and the Civil War (1922–1923). Understandably, perhaps, these subjects were not widely popular among artists, and few examples are known today. Research into the visual record of this period shows that while some artworks depicting contemporary events in Dublin were created, they were often not exhibited publically, or they were destroyed. In addition, newspaper reports also suggest other works that were exhibited, but which have now disappeared. In 1923, for example, the *Freeman's Journal* described a number of watercolours by Clare Marsh (1875–1923) that showed the 'desolate Dublin streets in 1916 [...].'[105] Further descriptions of Marsh's works also suggest the difficulty in producing artworks that show the effects of warfare; The *Irish Times* noted that the 'misty "atmosphere"' of her 'two little sketches of Easter 1916 [...] is very pleasant.'[106] While this statement may also have implications for the medium used and the gender of the artist, it also indicates how the reality of the city ruins had been 'aestheticized' by the artist to make the scenes more palatable for the viewer. Finally, it

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[103] Ibid., 102.
[104] Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), 5.
[105] M F McH, 'The Pictures Live: Exhibit of Work of Late Miss Clare Marsh,' *Freeman's Journal*, 4 October 1923, 8.
[106] 'Picture Exhibition: The Late Miss Clare Marsh's Art,' *Irish Times*, 4 October 1923, 6.

must also be considered that the artist was working from memory, or perhaps from photographic sources, given the conditions in the city both during and after the Rising.[107]

The most striking painting related to the Easter Rising is *The Arrest* by Kathleen Fox (1880–1963) (fig 1:26). Painted on a comparatively large scale, the artist depicts the surrender and arrest of Michael Mallin and Countess Markievicz in front of the Royal College of Surgeons on Stephen's Green. Fox stated that she witnessed this scene first-hand, and her recollections were recorded in an interview with Nora Niland in 1963. According to Fox, when sent out from her family home for a message in the city centre, she was told at a checkpoint

> that there was a Rising but that did not mean anything to me. Out of curiosity I went out, walking through Harcourt Street onto the Green and I was overwhelmed by this great cloud of khaki, yellow soldiers and in the centre, a little streak of dark green.[108]

The artist then 'pulled out anything I happened to have in my pocket and made thumbnail sketches of relative groups and heights, and just this little stretch of green surrounded by yellow [...] and then the crowd looking on and pointing [...].'[109] From these sketches the finished painting is a dramatic rendering of the scene outside the College of Surgeons, using the architecture and crowds to create a stage-like or theatrical view of the event. Given the nature of the uprising, and the conditions around the College of Surgeons at the surrender, the veracity of Fox's account could be questioned,

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[107] An interesting group of paintings of Dublin during the Easter Rising was created by Edmund Delrenne (dates unknown), a Belgian refugee living in Dublin at the time. Research into Delrenne and this group of artworks is ongoing.
[108] Kathleen Fox in interview with Nora Niland, 1963, from Deirdre Kelly, 'Defining an Irish Identity through the visual response to the 1916 Rising,' (MA Diss., University of Limerick, 2009), 71.
[109] Ibid., 73.

and will be compared with other accounts later in this discussion.

A close examination of the painting reveals the different groups and vignettes that Fox used to bring the composition together. Mallin and Markievicz stand to the left hand side of the canvas, surrounded by soldiers with bayonets, and other participants in the Rising, many with injuries, are visible behind them. In contrast to the khaki uniforms of the surrounding troops, they are shown as wearing a deep green. In the extreme left hand corner, two rather rotund army men with bristling moustaches stand watching the arrest. The impressive façade of the College looms over the scene, and in front of it, an army troop parades in formation. On the right of the canvas, spectators line the railings of the green, closing with a group of figures in the right-hand corner, in which, along with trench-coated men, a woman and her children, the figure of the artist is included, looking out to the viewer, identified by a straw-boater. An upturned bicycle lies on the road in front of these figures, along with other detritus, and an open-top car similar to vehicles seen in Dublin at this time, gleams in the middle-ground.

In her interview with Niland, Fox gave some detail as to how the final composition for *The Arrest* was settled. Describing how she worked towards the final composition, Fox noted that she made many smaller studies for it and studied every soldier in his correct uniform and as the scene would have been presented militarily and I had expert opinion as to what uniforms they wore and how they conducted themselves and so on. [...]. Then I took months to make the drawings, posing the men and correct drawing, correct sketches of the buildings [...]. [110] In addition to the more detailed preparatory sketches made by Fox from her initial notation of the scene, it is suggested here that she may have also relied to some extent on photographic sources, including well-known, and publically available, images taken during the Rising. While this analysis relies solely on visual evidence, rather than other primary sources, it has already been demonstrated in this chapter that photographs could be an important

[110] Ibid., 74.

source for artists when representing significant events and occasions.

As had happened with the earlier royal visits and centenary celebrations in Dublin, the events of Easter Week 1916 produced a large number of commemorative materials, including books, pamphlets, photographs, prayer cards, and illuminated addresses. The execution of many of the signatories of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic created a more niche line of commemorative objects, while in general terms photographic books and printed records were among the most popular items produced to record the event. The photographic volumes produced around 1916 have been discussed in more detail by Justin Carville however a consideration of these items, along with other photographic sources, is important for fully understanding Fox's painting.[111]

The arrest of Mallin and Markievicz was captured by photographer Joseph Cashman (fig 1:27).[112] When compared with Fox's painting it is evident that the pose of the central figures is identical, from the details of both uniforms to the outward turn of Mallin's leg. The photograph also shows the two rebels flanked by armed soldiers but instead of the imposing College the background shows comparatively nondescript housing, suggesting that it may have been taken elsewhere. As one of the main sites of the Rising, a photograph of the College of Surgeons appeared in *Dublin after the Six Days Insurrection*, with the most notable exterior damage to the building being the broken glass on the first floor windows (fig 1:28). This image, or another like it, could have served as a visual aid to Fox for *The Arrest*. Fox has accurately shown the architectural details of this building, such as the sculptural figures on the pediment and tympanum, and the three lamps along the range the façade. The photograph also shows what Fox omitted from the finished painting, for example the advertising boards on the side of buildings leading down towards Grafton Street. Other instances where

[111] Justin Carville, 'The City and the Body in the Archive: Photography, History and the Representation of Dublin 1860–1922,' (PhD Diss., Dublin City University, 2005), 304-359.
[112] I am grateful to Dr Brian Hughes, DRI Postdoctoral Research, 1916 Letters Project, NUI Maynooth, for bringing this image to my attention.

Fox may have used photographic sources include the motor car, seen on the left hand side of the painting, and the two moustached army figures in the right corner, who bear some resemblance to the high-ranking army officials in Ireland, such as Sir John Maxwell and his staff (fig 1:29).

If we consider Fox's representation of the large group of soldiers in formation, it can be surmised that she may have drawn on other sources for this inclusion. In the first instance, Fox came from a military family. Her father, Captain Charles Henry Fox had served in the King's Dragoon Guards, and her three brothers all served in the British Army. In addition, she noted that her brother-in-law 'was commanding a regiment here [...]' during the Rising.[113] Furthermore, Fox herself married a British Army officer, Lieutenant Cyril Pym, who was killed in action in 1918, just a year after their marriage. Given her strong military background, it is likely that Fox was acquainted with military procedure, as well as suggesting how she was in a position to study military uniforms and personnel at length, as suggested by the artist in her interview with Niland.

In addition to this personal knowledge, Dubliners would have been familiar with the sight of troops parading in the city, and instances of this would have increased with the outbreak of war in 1914 and during the Easter Rising (figs 1:30, 1:31). As well as troops marching to the docks to join their regiments; parades were also used to raise awareness of the war and to encourage new recruits to join up.[114] In addition to these actual events, the figure of the marching soldier or brigade often featured in recruitment posters, which covered hoardings and advertisement spaces across the city. Examples of such posters in Irish repositories show how the image of a co-ordinated and uniformed troop on parade was used to encourage new recruits, whether in the countryside, as in *Farmers of Ireland* and *The Call to Arms* (fig 1:32, 1:33), or in the city, as seen in *Come into the ranks and fight* (fig 1:34), where an orderly parade is shown marching in front

[113] Kathleen Fox in interview with Nora Niland, 1963, from Kelly, 'Defining an Irish Identity through the visual response to the 1916 Rising', 78.
[114] For example see 'War Week in Dublin: Recruiting Meetings,' *Irish Times*, 7 August 1915, 8.

the Bank of Ireland. As the inclusion of this group in the painting seems inconsistent with written records of the event itself, perhaps it was included to suggest or reinforce the idea of military strength in the face of rebellion.

Although Fox commented to Niland on the large number of British troops present at the arrest, the group shown here is incongruous with written descriptions of the event. Seamus Kavanagh described how he and the other rebels were 'marched out of the College of Surgeons' and directed 'down Grafton Street, Dame Street, and into Dublin Castle.'[115] William Oman also later explained how the surrender of the building unfolded, and how the rebels exited the College into York Street:

> [a]t the appointed hour, we marched out into a double line of troops, with an advance party of about twenty and rear party of the same number. We proceeded from York Street into Stephen's Green, down Grafton St. where the mob attempted to attack us.[116]

Rose Hackett, a member of Cumann na mBan, was also among those arrested at the surrender, and she also recalled the 'terribly hostile' crowd as they 'were marched off [...] to the Castle, men and women, under heavy escort.'[117] An onlooker rather than a participant, like Fox, Mary Josephine Mulcahy witnessed the surrender describing how '[a]s we came to the College of Surgeons, they were just surrendering – just being marched to their places by British Tommies. We were let talk to the prisoners.'[118]

The handwritten Army Field Books of Major Harry de Courcy-Wheeler of the 8th King's Royal Rifle Corps, who took Mallin and Markievicz's surrender, confirms more details of the episode. He wrote, 'there were no troops [picketed in?] this portion of the city and I had only twenty-five men in Grafton Street [...] I had to delay their march out

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[115] Seamus Kavanagh, Bureau of Military History Witness Statements, WS Ref #: 1670, 43.
[116] William Oman, Bureau of Military History Witness Statements, WS Ref #: 421, 14-15.
[117] Rose Hackett, Bureau of Military History Witness Statements, WS Ref #: 546, 9.
[118] Mary Josephine Mulcahy, Bureau of Military History Witness Statements, WS Ref #: 399, 21.

until the escort had made a cordon across both sides of the street to keep the crowds back.'[119] He continued that

> [w]hen the rebels marched out there was a great demonstration by the crowd which surged in from all sides and as I could not spare any of the twenty-five man escort I sent to the picket for four men and one officer to hold the College until a stronger guard could be obtained. The crowd followed the prisoners down Grafton Street and I was obliged to run on in front to get the remaining [picket?] to form across at Harry Street & keep them back with fixed bayonets.[120]

The writings of de Courcy-Wheeler suggest that rather than the large number of troops seen in Fox's painting, there was instead a shortage of soldiers when the surrender and arrest took place.

Fox's painting has been described as 'an excellent detailed visual account of what happened and fully conforms to the conventional demands of history painting.'[121] This statement invites a discussion about what these 'conventional demands' might be, and in addition, we can question the veracity of the statement, given the written and oral accounts of the same event. In its traditional definition, history painting is the 'depiction of several persons engaged in an important or memorable action, usually taken from a written source [...].'[122] From the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it could 'equally be one of factual record or fable. [...] history painting could include religious events, or

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[119] Army Field Message Book of Major H E de Courcy-Wheeler, De Courcy Wheeler Papers, NLI, p.5892, 77. Versions of de Courcy-Wheeler's notes later appeared in *The Record of the Irish Rebellion 1916* (Dublin: Irish Life, 1916) and in the *Daily Express* in March 1966. Excerpts were also included in Alex Findlater, *Findlaters: the story of a Dublin merchant family, 1774–2001* (Dublin: A & A Farmer, 2001).

[120] Ibid., 79-81.

[121] Sighle Bhreathnach-Lynch, 'Framing Ireland's History: Art, Politics, and Representation 1914–1919,' *When Time Began to Rant and Rage: Figurative Painting from Twentieth-Century Ireland*, ed. James Christian Stewart (London: Merrell Holberton in association with the University of California, Berkeley Art Museum), 44.

[122] History painting.' *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T038306.

depictions of monumental recent events [...].'[123] In the late nineteenth century, definitions of history painting shifted once more to recognise how it could 'exemplify the power of the historical form to give voice to otherwise inarticulated national feelings [...].'[124] Elements of each of these statements can be recognised in Fox's painting, but they also suggest how an artist could manipulate or adjust their representation of real-life events.

Based on the reading of the painting outlined above, it is submitted here that Fox drew on both her own observations and contemporary sources to create a dramatic and spectacular vision of the surrender and arrest of Mallin and Markievicz. Through the placement of figures within the picture space, the artist presents a panorama of those involved in the Easter Rising, moving from the corpulent army officers, the ill-equipped rebels led by two striking commanders, the obedient troops brought into the city to suppress the rebellion, to the spectators who witnessed the fighting – whether they be well dressed official-types, a mother surrounded by her excited brood, or an artist who happened upon the scene. As a painting of the city *The Arrest* acts both as a document of events in the city, and as an example of how artists responded to the more spectacular and unusual events of urban life. Additionally, the dominant presence of the Royal College of Surgeons further demonstrates how such buildings could be considered as representative of a particular identity, and how that was challenged by the Rising.

The targeting of landmark buildings as site of rebellion continued during the War of Independence, when the Custom House was targeted, and in the opening phases of the Civil War, 1922–1923 (fig 1:35). The opening phase of the Civil War took place in Dublin, and Liz Gillis has described how

[a]t 4.10 a.m. on the morning of 28 June, the sound of rifle and machine-gun

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[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.

fire, followed by the thud of bombs exploding, reverberated throughout the city. The Civil War had begun, and there was no going back on either side.'[125]

The fighting concentrated on the Four Courts (occupied by anti-Treaty forces since April 1922) and the stronghold did not surrender until the 30 July. Later that day a large explosion went off in the Public Record Office building at the Courts, destroying its contents and causing 'the works of a thousand years to waft slowly down.'[126] Fighting also occurred on Sackville Street, destroying many of the buildings only recently reconstructed after the Easter Rising.

In contrast to the theatrical scene depicted in *The Arrest*, two more understated urban landscape paintings by Fox record the view looking down-river towards the Four Courts, both before and after the devastating explosion in July 1922. Despite their very different representations of the landmark building and its environs, discussion of Fox's painting is marred by confusion. When discussing *The Four Courts*, Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch noted that it shows 'the Courts dramatically outlined against a sky of ominous clouds and black smoke emanating from behind the dome.' (fig 1:36)[127] Additionally, Bhreathnach-Lynch noted in a footnote that '[a] painting entitled *The Ruins of the Four Courts*, exhibited at the RHA in 1923, may be a second version of the subject.'[128] After remaining in the collection of one family from 1943, this second painting had disappeared from public view for many decades (fig 1:37).[129] Now that Fox's two paintings of the Four Courts can be compared however, it is clear that it is only this second painting, rather than the one discussed by Bhrathnach-Lynch shows the effect of

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[125] Liz Gillis, *The Fall of Dublin: 28 June to 5 July 1922* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2011), 50.
[126] Nicholas Allen, *Ireland, Modernism and Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 2.
[127] Bhreathnach Lynch, 'Framing Ireland's History: Art, Politics and Representation 1914–1929,' 46.
[128] Ibid., f.n. 33, 51.
[129] See catalogue notes for 'Ruins of the Four Courts', Important Irish Art, Adam's Auctioneers, 5 December 2012, http://www.adams.ie/45752/Kathleen-Fox-1880-1963-Ruins-of-the-Four-Courts-1922-Oil-on-canvas-50-8-x-68-6cm-20-x-27-Signed-and-dated-1922-Provenance-Purchased-by-the-current-owners-father-from-Leo-Smith-The-Dawson-Gallery.

the Civil War.

Close examination shows that the painting discussed by Lynch does not tally with her description. Rather than showing the Four Courts destroyed, in this painting the dome is clearly intact, as are the buildings in the right-hand foreground. On the left-hand side of the painting the quays are covered in a layer of white, suggesting that the thick clouds above are heavy with snow, rather than smoke. Additionally, the trees along the river bank are bare, further identifying this as a winter scene rather than one painting at the height of summer. In contrast, *The Ruins of the Four Courts* shows the decapitated dome of the building, the absence of the green copper cap immediately apparent. The brown stone buildings seen in the earlier painting have been replaced with shards of exposed brickwork and half-demolished structures, and the trees along the river bank are in full leaf. There is no sense of ceremony or celebration in this painting, instead the thick greys and browns suggest the sad spectacle of the destroyed building and a city plunged once more into turmoil.

Conclusion

The information offered in this chapter has examined how occasions of ceremony and spectacle in Dublin were represented by artists in Ireland at intervals through the period 1821–1922, taking in royal visits, nationalist celebrations, the Easter Rising, and Civil War. In outlining the response of the city and its artists to the visits of British monarchs, it was demonstrated how the landscape of the city was used symbolically to display or express a particular identity. Following on from this, a discussion of the organisation and representation of the O'Connell Centenary indicated how similar techniques could be used to exhibit the beliefs and loyalties of another group within the same space, as well as exploring in more detail how the changing forms of artistic media responded to large scale events. Moving in to the twentieth century, the final section of this chapter explored a different kind of spectacle – that of warfare and the destruction

of the city during the period 1916–1922.

Through the discussion of these artworks, this chapter has established the idea of the city as a type of stage where different events, each with their own attendant meanings, associations, or identities, could be exhibited and displayed. Within the fraught political and social contexts of Ireland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these paintings attest to how the city became a battleground (both figuratively and literally) in the struggle to claim it as either imperial or national. By viewing these tensions through the representation of large-scale events, it is possible to see how these struggles were made real in a very public way. In contrast to the broad sweep of paintings discussed here, the following chapter will focus on the work of one artist, Walter Osborne, painting in Dublin in the late nineteenth century. While Osborne's work brings us closer to contemporary artistic concerns, the tensions discussed here continue to form an important context for the discussion of how Dublin was represented in visual art.

'a person of metropolitan experience': Walter Osborne and Dublin, c.1886–1903

In 1920, Thomas Bodkin noted that Walter Osborne's paintings of Dublin 'show careful detached observance: but it is the trained, detached observance of an intelligent foreigner. For all his interest in humanity, he never seems to see Dublin with native eyes.'[1] In 1978, this reading of Osborne's Dublin paintings was echoed by Ciaran MacGonigal who noted that they 'lack a sense of nationality, in as much as they could have been painted in any urban environment.'[2] Both of these statements raise interesting questions about how artists, including Osborne, chose to represent the city in their painting, as well as raising the wider issues of what the viewer should expect to find in these works, with an emphasis here on an 'authentic' vision of the Dublin, made unique by the artist's nationality. In the previous chapter, issues around identity and the city were explored through artistic representations of ceremony and spectacle, encompassing the symbolism of the different events and the wider cityscape. In contrast to this approach to paintings of the city, the material discussed in this chapter offers a more intimate response to the sights and sounds of late nineteenth century Dublin.

In the period c.1886–1903 Walter Osborne was one of the foremost painters working in Dublin, and frequently turned his attention to the city streets around him (fig 2:1). In addition to this focus in his painting, a study of Walter Osborne's career also presents an interesting overview of an Irish artist who openly sought and cultivated strong connections to his peers in England, while also seeking to stimulate and contribute to artistic life in Dublin. As will be shown in the following discussion, through Osborne's representations of Dublin it is possible to begin to move away from the stark political divisions of the time and begin to consider the wider artistic world that Irish artists were operating in. However, tensions over nationality and identity were never far from the surface, particular when dealing with an artist such as Osborne, who frequently

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[1] Thomas Bodkin, *Four Irish Landscape Painters* (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1920), 43-44.
[2] Ciaran MacGonigal, 'Walter Osborne RHA 1850–1903,' *Irish Times*, 16 June 1978, 10.

moved between Dublin and London, and as will be seen, who refused to be publicly drawn on his political affiliations.

As outlined in the introduction to this thesis, in the 1880s there was a shift in how artists began to view the city around them. Such artworks had begun to move away from the 'sentimental dramas' offered by 'themes of poverty, charity and vice [...]' which had been popular through the Victorian period.[3] The influence of artistic training in France and Belgium, as well as realist and naturalist painting filtered through, resulting in a shift towards subjects grounded in scenes of everyday life, without the moralising features of earlier narrative paintings. As Julian Treuherz has identified, from this time the 'artificially arranged subjects of social realism were rejected by the younger artists, although 'they retained a deep interest in the observation of the humble and commonplace'.[4] This observation holds true in relation to Osborne's representation of Dublin, however as the content of this chapter will demonstrate, Osborne's interaction with the city went beyond his depiction of its street and citizens. As well as providing subjects and themes for artworks, the city was also the focus for Ireland's artistic world, providing venues for exhibitions, meeting places for artists' groups and societies, models for the studio and classroom, as well as an important network of patrons and supporters.

The first section of this chapter will outline Osborne's early career and training in Dublin and Antwerp, signalling the importance of this time in the development of his oeuvre and network of artists beyond Ireland's shores. The next section will offer an evaluation of his depiction of the markets around Patrick Street and of St Patrick's Cathedral, one of the defining motifs of Osborne's 'Dublin' paintings. Moving away from that part of the city, the analysis provided in the third section of this chapter will consider later paintings by Osborne in which he moved away from the depiction of run-down areas of the city, towards the leafy environs of Stephen's Green. Finally, an

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[3] Arscott, 'The representation of the city in the visual arts,' 822.
[4] Julian Treuherz, *Hard Times: Social realism in Victorian Art* (London: Lund Humphries with Manchester City Art Galleries), 109-110.

examination of Osborne's involvement with artistic groups and societies in Dublin and abroad will ultimately offer an assessment of his method of operation within the wider Dublin art world. In contrast to the public spectacles discussed in the first chapter, the artist and artworks considered here represent a more intimate and personal engagement with Dublin. The underlying context for this analysis was the ongoing social and political issues facing the city in relation to, for example, housing, poverty, unemployment, along with the continuing debates over Irish nationalism and Home Rule. While Osborne did not explicitly involve himself in these issues or causes, they form an important framework for any discussion of his work.

2.1 The Artist in the Wider World

Born in 1859, Osborne lived and worked at the Osborne family home at 5 Castlewood Avenue, Rathmines. Part of the original Pembroke Estate, Rathmines was one of the earliest suburbs to be developed, and in the nineteenth century witnessed many additions to its housing stock. As an independent township, the area was predominantly Protestant and unionist in its government.[5] The artist's father, William Osborne (1823–1901) first appears as living on Castlewood Avenue in 1859 and the family remained there until after Walter's death in 1903.[6] Osborne attended Rathmines School, before attending the schools of the Royal Hibernian Academy from 1876. He achieved many successes in his early career, being awarded a Taylor Prize on four occasions and the Taylor Scholarship in 1881. It was this honour that afforded Osborne the opportunity to travel to the Académie Royale des Beaux Arts in Antwerp, a period of study which would strongly influence his painting style and technique, but also marked Osborne's introduction to a broader network of artistic peers.

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[5] A further discussion on the politics of the Dublin suburbs can be found in Ciarán Wallace, 'Fighting for Unionist Home Rule: Competing Identites in Dublin 1880–1929,' *Journal of Urban History*, 38, no. 5 (2012): 932-949. doi: 10.1177/0096144212449144 .

[6] Details for occupancy of 5 Castlewood Avenue can be found in Thom's Dublin and County Street Directory, 1864–1904.

Osborne initially travelled to Antwerp with two other Irish students: Nathaniel Hill (1860–1930) and Joseph Malachy Kavanagh (1856–1918). The Académie Royale was popular with art students from across the British Isles, who saw it not only as an alternative to the South Kensington system, but also the studio system in Paris which was still strongly focused towards history painting and the annual Prix de Rome.[7] In contrast, the Académie Royale was 'long established; strict discipline was enforced; most of the teachers spoke English; there were good museums; entry to the schools was free of charge; living in Antwerp was cheap and student life there was pleasant.'[8] Classes in Antwerp were divided into two categories; *antiek*, which focused on drawings from the antique, and *natuur*, drawing and painting from the living model.[9] Perhaps more significant in the context of Osborne's artistic development however, was that in 1843 the Académie had introduced clothed models (both as single figures and in groups) for the benefit of genre painters.[10] Sheehy notes that the encouragement given to genre painters at the Académie, as well as the provision made for landscape and animal painting, made it a good alternative choice to a more restrictive classical training.[11]

Osborne entered the *natuur* class in the winter term of 1881. Students were expected to reach a certain level of proficiency in the *antiek* class before progressing to *natuur*, and of the three that had travelled from Dublin, Osborne was the only member of the Irish trio to be promoted directly to the *natuur* class on arrival at the Académie.[12] Also in the school was William Teulon Blandford Fletcher (1858–1936), known as Blandford Fletcher, with whom Osborne became friendly and later travelled with in England. Fletcher had first attended the Académie in the summer term of 1880, having studied at the South Kensington School of Art where his contemporaries included well-

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[7] Jeanne Sheehy, 'The flight from South Kensington: British Artists at the Antwerp Academy 1877–1885,' *Art History* 20, no. 1 (1997): 126.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid., 128.
[10] Ibid., 131.
[11] Ibid., 139.
[12] Ibid., 130. Hill and Kavanagh progressed to the more advanced class after two weeks at the Académie.

known British artists George Clausen (1852–1944) and Hubert von Herkomer (1849–1914).[13] In her biography of Fletcher, Nancy Hood has noted that in the summers of 1881 and 1882, Fletcher joined 'joined the pilgrim band of young English painters to Brittany: Landerneau, Quimperlé, Pont Aven, Dinan and Mont St. Michel.'[14] Osborne travelled to Brittany a little later (it is unclear if he was part of a group), spending a year there in 1883, visiting Dinan, Quimperlé and Pont Aven.[15] This period of travel in France brought Osborne into contact with a wide circle of artists, and Sheehy suggests that Stanhope Forbes (1857–1947) and Henry La Thangue (1859–1929) would have been among those whom Osborne met.[16]

This time abroad, and opportunity to meet artists outside of Ireland's limited pool, marked a pivotal period in the development of Osborne's career, both stylistically and in terms of constructing a network of like-minded and supportive peers. In the 1880s, artists in Antwerp and Brittany followed in the stylistic and thematic path of French realist and naturalist artists, for example Jules Bastien Lepage (1848–1884), working on predominantly rural and everyday settings and subjects. In his discussion of naturalism, Gabriel P. Weisberg outlines that the loose artistic movement was '[r]ooted in themes drawn from both rustic and city life' and that 'this tendency was based on an objective rendering of facts and a highly standardized, impersonal attitude, which made it possible for painters to share their method with other artists.'[17] Weisberg also points out how naturalist artists negotiated the boundaries between a new style of painting with the need to exhibit and sell their work, utilising both the established exhibitions, such as the annual Royal Academy or Paris Salon, along with

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[13] Nancy Hood, *William Teulon Blandford Fletcher 1858–1936, A Painter of Village Life* (Oxford: R.Fletcher, 1986), 3.
[14] Ibid., 5.
[15] Jeanne Sheehy, 'Walter Osborne,' (M.Litt Diss., TCD, 1971), 38.
[16] Ibid., 39.
[17] Gabriel P Weisberg, *Beyond Impressionism: The Naturalist Impulse in European Art 1860–1905* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 8. Weisberg's approach to this topic has been challenged, see for example, John House, 'Unrevisionist Visions,' *Art History* 17, 2 (1994): 258-264.

new and emerging professional societies and organisations.[18] The need to combine old and new methods, Weisberg outlines, is also evident in the techniques used by naturalist painters. Generally speaking, artists were formally trained in the academic tradition (as evidenced in the *antiek* and *naatur* classes at Antwerp), but were also willing to embrace new methods and mediums, such as working *en plein air* and using photography and photographic methods in the construction of their compositions.

After his time in Belgium and France, Osborne established a base in Dublin, but continued to travel widely in England, capitalising on the friendships and connections made in Antwerp and Brittany. In 1884, he spent time in at Walberswick, Lincoln and Evesham with Hill and Edward Stott (1859–1918). During the next seven years to 1891, Osborne had also spent time in the predominantly rural environs of Wells-next-to-the-sea, Southwold, Andover, Stratford-upon-Avon, Romsey, Winchester, Newbury, Uffington, Rye and Hastings. In addition, travelling with Blandford Fletcher in 1887 and 1888, it is likely that Osborne made connections with other artists working in these areas at the same time, for instance Sheehy records that he met Philip Wilson Steer (1860–1942) at Walberswick in 1885.[19] Perhaps unusually, Osborne does not seem to have visited the active and prolific colony at Newlyn, led by Stanhope Forbes, an artist that Osborne, Sheehy suggests, was 'more than likely' to have met in Brittany in 1881.[20]

In accounts of Dublin life at this time, Osborne appears as a peripheral figure in the reminiscences of other cultural figures. In *Experiences of a Literary Man*, Stephen Gwynn recalled the 'home of old William Osborne [...]' where he made 'the friendship that I valued most.'[21] Similarly, George Moore counted Osborne among his friends and visitors: '[t]he bell rang and we wondered who the visitor might be. Walter Osborne?

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[18] Ibid.
[19] See 'Plate 1: sketch map showing areas of England in which Osborne worked, with approximate dates', in Sheehy, 'Walter Osborne', n.p.
[20] Ibid., 39.
[21] Stephen Gwynn, *Experiences of a Literary Man* (London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 1926), 70.

John Eglinton? Hughes? Which of our friends?'[22] After Osborne's death, Moore wrote to Mark Fisher about the artist, saying 'I'm heartbroken, [...]. He was one of my greatest friends and cannot be replaced [...].' [23] He later stated that after Osborne's death in 1903 'Dublin had become a little too small [...]', suggesting that Osborne brought a certain sense cosmopolitanism to the Irish city.[24]

The time Osborne spent painting in England was evidently productive for the artist, based on the extant work of this time. In letter to his father in October 1884 from North Littleton, where he was working with Hill and Edward Stott (1855–1918), Osborne reported that he had finished one painting and was working on another.[25] He also included descriptions and anecdotes of the people in North Littleton, revealing more about how he passed his time there, and the people he met. He wrote, 'I have met with such quaint people here, some almost aboriginal in their ideas about painting.'[26] The rural, backward, nature of the area seems to have been a draw to the artist, and he continued in his letter that;

> [i]t is great fun for me to go into the little Inn [...] and sit by the fire an odd evening over a glass of beer and a pipe and listen to these old village oracles. The fireplace in this Inn is really where all the wit and learning of North Littleton centres itself. The House of Lords receives little mercy at these meetings and would be dispatched in a rather summary manner if these old politicians had

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[22] George Moore, *Salve (Hail and Farewell)* (Evergreen Review Inc, 2011), Kindle Edition. 'John Eglinton' was the pen-name of William Kirkpatrick Magee, an essayist and librarian. See Nicholas Allen, 'Magee, William Kirkpatrick ('John Eglinton'), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a5335.) John Hughes (1865–1941) was a sculptor. See Diarmaid Ferriter, 'Hughes, John', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a4145.
[23] Letter from George Moore to Mark Fisher 24 April 1903, quoted in Adrian Frazier, *George Moore 1852–1933* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 327.
[24] George Moore, *Vale (Hail and Farewell)* (Evergreen Review Inc, 2011), Kindle Edition.
[25] The paintings Osborne mentions in his letter are *Temptation* (1884, oil on canvas, private collection) and *Feeding the Chickens* (1884, oil on canvas, private collection). Letter from Walter Osborne to William Osborne, 12 October 1884, Walter Osborne Archive, Centre for the Study of Irish Art, CSIA/OSB/3/1/1.
[26] Ibid.

their way.[27]

Osborne's writing reveals the artist's interest in the observation of everyday life, and the small events and arguments that contribute to it. This letter also suggests that this type of interaction and observation was something Osborne was unused to, suggesting that his freedom to frequent inns and public houses in Ireland was more limited, perhaps as a result of his middle class background. While written tongue-in-cheek, the artist is careful to remind his father that 'you must tell Old Muddy [...] that I do not spend all my evenings drinking beer in a country inn but read until there is nothing more for me but sweet sleep and dreams.'[28]

Throughout the letter, the artist seems to reiterate the social gap between himself and the people around him; he cannot credit them with understanding or appreciating art, and although he is willing to observe and listen to their discussions in the inn, he declines an invitation to join in, stating that 'they sometimes appeal to me as a person of metropolitan experience [...]. They seem to think painters even more mystical beings when I tell them they never talk about politics.'[29] Osborne's reluctance to discuss the politics of the day reveals something of how he saw the role of the artist in society. In the case of the time he spent in North Littleton, he seems to have placed himself in the role of the observer and recorder of village life. The role that Osborne created for himself is perhaps reflected in the objective vision of his paintings, created from detailed sketches and preparatory drawings, and in some instances, photography.

As mentioned previously, and demonstrated in chapter one, the use of photography was becoming more widespread among artists in the late nineteenth century, as they used it as a medium to help construct and complete a finished composition. Artists could use photographs in their selection of landscape settings, for

[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.

recording the pose of the model, as aides-memoir or in the processes of working out and refining a composition's structure.[30] In Weisberg's view, the objective and almost scientific nature of the photograph made it an essential tool to the naturalist artist, removing them from their subject and creating a sense of detachment rather than invoking sentiment.[31] Here, the camera is seen as separate to the artist, and as it is mechanical, the images it produces are 'dispassionate and accurate', unlike an artist's sketch, which could be subjective and have stronger personal or emotional qualities.[32]

Photographs in the Walter Osborne Archive document his travels around Belgium, France and England. An early example of the artist using photography as an aide-memoir is in the painting *A View in Antwerp* (c.1881, oil on panel, private collection), where the composition draws on a view of Antwerp in Osborne's photograph album, showing the canal and cathedral.[33] The album shows his interest in recording his surroundings, with views of streetscapes and buildings often featuring among his photographs. In a small number of images of Brittany, the artist has captured portraits of the poor, including children in ragged clothing and an elderly man, who sits with his work tools and holds rosary beads, while his hollow eyes look straight down the lens of the camera. Despite the potentially emotive nature of the subjects the images captured by Osborne remain closely observant rather than sentimental, while also revealing more of his interest in depicting the rural and urban poor. These images established Osborne's concern in the built environment around him, and the concentration on picturesque urban scenes foreshadows his interest in Dublin. This interest can be considered within the wider context of Osborne's depiction of the urban environment, as it is evident that he employed and used models from working class and tenement areas of Dublin.In a diary for 1892, maintained while the artist was completing *Life in the Streets: Hard*

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[30] Weisberg, *Beyond Impressionism*, 24.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Walter Osborne Photograph Album, Walter Osborne Archive, CSIA/NGI, 3. For a further discussion of Osborne's photographs of Brittany, see Julian Campbell, 'Postcards from Brittany: Walter Osborne's Wallet of Photographs,' *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, 17 (2010): 150-155. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20493177.

Times (fig 2:13), Osborne details the names and addresses of the models he used. For that year, his models include two boys aged ten: Thomas Walsh and Louis Marc Antonio; and four other models: Michael O'Neill, Katie Kane, Maggie Kavanagh and Mary Brophy.[34] In the case of the two younger models, a comparison between the addresses given for the models and *Thom's Official Directory* for the same year shows that both lived in tenements.[35] The address given for Michael O'Neill was John Long & Co, a family grocer and wine merchants, which was flanked by tenement buildings.[36] Osborne lists Kane as living at '13 Angelsea St' and this could either refer to South Angelsea Street on the south side of the city, or Angelsea Fruit Market (from Little Green Street – Angelesea Row) on the north side. It is more likely that the model's address was the latter of these, where a 'Mrs. Kane, fruit dealer' is listed as living at number 13.[37] Both Kavanagh and Brophy were resident in the suburbs and neither is listed in their own right in the directory. In Upper Milltown, Kavanagh's address, there are two entries for a Michael Kavanagh and one for Thomas Kavanagh, so perhaps Maggie was connected to one of these. There is no record for Lawlor's Cottages, Milltown, the address of Mary Brophy. The details of these models used by Osborne show that he sought out 'authentic' sitters for his paintings of the Dublin poor. Unfortunately no record exists to show how much, or even if, Osborne paid these models for their time spent in the studio.

The use of models from urban areas and, given the nature of the work, poor economic backgrounds was common at this time, as evidenced by the practices of Osborne's peers and contemporaries. In France, Weisberg notes that Jules Adler (1865–1952) 'took all his models from all sections of the vast working class of Paris'.[38] In London during the 1800s and 1890s, as Martin Postle outlines, Edward Linley Sambourne (1844–1910) used models who 'journeyed to Sambourne's home in

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[34] Walter Osborne Archive, CSIA/NGI/311/5.
[35] *Thom's Official Directory*, 1892, 1419 and 1372. It is interesting to note that Chancery Lane was noted at the time for being home to a number of Italian immigrant families. Given his name, it is possible that Louis Marc Antonio came from such a background.
[36] Ibid., 1360.
[37] Ibid., 1344.
[38] Weisberg, *Beyond Impressionism*, 92.

Kensington from slum dwellings in Holloway, Euston and Fulham – a reminder of [...] their wretched existence beyond the studio.'[39] Certainly for Osborne, the cost of hiring studio models would have been a factor in his choice, as well as more artistic or aesthetic concerns. Like those travelling to Sambourne's studio, the models who travelled from the tenements in places like Gloucester Street and Chancery Lane to Osborne's studio in Castlewood Avenue or later to 6 St Stephen's Green, would have moved through the different spheres of life contained within the city. To date, only limited study of artist's models in the Irish context has been completed and little information seems to have survived on how models were sourced by artists at that time.[40] However, using the isolated example of Osborne, it seems that his method of using models from poor social and economic backgrounds was consistent with practices in England and France at this time.

In 1886, Osborne's work was included in the Royal Academy annual exhibition for the first time, with a painting titled *Tired Out* (fig 2:2). A painting of the same title was exhibited at the RHA and in Liverpool the following year. As will be seen, the artist often continued to exhibit works until they were sold. *Tired Out* shows an injured and sickly looking boy sitting in a chair, propped with a pillow, looking out to the right hand side of the canvas, where light from an unseen window falls on his face and surroundings. Osborne included detailed studies of a cat, which appears to be sitting on a magazine with colour reproductions, and a collection of loose sheets that also have colour reproductions. A toy soldier, an apple and an open wooden box also lie on the table, while a drawing or poster can be seen pinned to the wall, alongside a birdcage and a bunch of yellow daffodils. The Art Journal described the work as 'a pathetic rendering of a sick lad weary of his playthings [...]', but, at the same time, the artist also uses the painting to demonstrate his skill in depicting both living and inanimate still life

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[39] Martin Postle, 'Behind the Screen: The Studio Model,' in *The Artist's Model from Etty to Spencer*, eds. Martin Postle and William Vaughan (London: Merrell and Holborton, 1999), 62.
[40] See Isabella Evangelisti, 'The Nude in Modern Irish Art: Tradition and Transgression,' (PhD Diss., Trinity College Dublin, 2013).

subjects.[41] The tonal range of the paintings suggests discrepancies between the boy's appearance and his surroundings; for example, shading around his hands and fingers suggest that his skin is dirty, along with similar markings on his clothes, indicating suggesting poverty while the items around him indicate a wealthier setting – visually suggesting the artist's practice of using paid models in his own studio.

Comparison with three other works by the artist, *Small Girl with a Cat*, *Boy Blowing Bubbles* and *Little Boy Asleep* shows that all of these paintings share elements with *Tired Out*, such as the cat, bird cage, and reproductions pinned to the wall, as well as the use of a child model (figs 2:3, 2:4, 2:5). While these paintings do not explicitly depict the urban landscape, the inclusion and probable use of models drawn from the city's population demonstrates the wider artistic economy that existed in Dublin, as well as showing clear similarities between Osborne's artistic practice and his naturalist contemporaries across Britain and France. Furthermore, it reveals a more practical element of Osborne's artistic practice, as representations of sickly children, waifs, or 'street arabs', held popular appeal with the sentimental art-buying public of Victorian Britain. For the bourgeois attendee of the annual RA exhibition, such imagery 'could set in play a sentimental mode that stirred a self-congratulatory pity for the poor [...].'[42]

An examination of these early years of Osborne's career draws out some important aspects into how he went about the business of being an artist. His exposure to wider artistic trends in Europe was influential on the development of his style and technique, establishing his use of a naturalist idiom, including the use of photography as part of his process. This period of learning also introduced the artist to a wider network of artistic peers across Britain, something that he would draw on throughout his career.

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[41] 'Exhibitions and Art Notes,' *Art Journal, 1839–1912* (1887): 255-256, http://search.proquest.com/docview/7062089?accountid=14404.
[42] Marshall, *City of Gold and Mud*, 146. These paintings are in stark contrast to Osborne's commissioned portraits of middle and upper-class children, or of his niece, Violet, with her friends in the garden of Castlewood Avenue.

Additionally, this section has outlined how the artist was keen to exhibit in Britain, and was both aware of and willing to engage with the popular genres of Victorian painting. This adaptation to the demands of the art market demonstrates Osborne's pragmatic approach to the development of his artistic career. With these themes and issues in mind, the next section of this chapter will return to Dublin, and explore the artist's representation of street markets around Patrick Street and its environs.

2.2 To Market, To Market: Exploring the Dublin Street

Painting Patrick Street

A scribbled note on a sketch of the Leinster Market hints at what drew Osborne to the subject of Dublin's market streets (fig 2:6). On a sketch of three women, one sitting at a small market stall, Osborne has written

> [c]ome someday and I will show you the good things in that street / There are about 50 pictures in it/ Do you know the Lenister [*sic*] Market?[43]

Although Osborne does not seem to have developed this theme into a finished painting, the existence of this sketch and a number of photographs of the area suggest that at one time at least, this was his intention (fig 2:7). In a similar manner to his enjoyment of being an onlooker to the humble life of rural England, Osborne's depiction of markets and street stalls also express an interest in the simplicities of everyday life. Through the 1880s and early 1890s, the market area around St Patrick's Cathedral and Patrick Street formed a key subject in Osborne's work. This section will focus on these works, considering how they relate to similar works by Osborne's contemporaries, and to the wider practice of painting the city.

Diaries from 1878 and 1892 indicate that Osborne was familiar with the

[43] Walter Osborne, 'Lenister Market, Hawkins Street, Dublin', pencil on paper, NGI #2996.

neighbourhood around Patrick Street, as he regularly attended services in St Patrick's Cathedral. Around the same time as he began to paint Patrick Street, the artist also depicted the interior of the cathedral, in *Interior of St Patrick's Cathedral* (fig 2:8). In addition to showing the Boyd monument, an example of the cathedral's stained glass, and its medieval interior, the inclusion of two dozing figures in the foreground recalls Osborne's figure studies, including those of children in his studio. Another later view of the cathedral interior, *Children in Church* further shows Osborne's interest in both the building and in painting children (fig 2:9). It is also interesting to note the standing female figure, holding a baby in her arms, as Osborne also include this figure in *The Dublin Streets: A Vendor of Books.*

Moving outside of the cathedral itself, *Near St Patrick's Close, an Old Dublin Street* marks the beginning of the artist's interest in the streets of the area, incorporating themes and motifs that he would continue to use in later depictions of the same place (fig 2:10). The view represented here is from Patrick Street itself, looking down towards the tower and main façade of the cathedral. While a street called St Patrick's Close ran parallel to the side of the cathedral, in the painting title Osborne uses 'close' to refer the wider cathedral precincts. Osborne's painting shows the narrow market street with buildings in various states of dilapidation, alongside various stalls and shops. While the young boy with a tin whistle in the foreground of the painting may initially attract the viewer's attention, along the left hand side of the street the artist has included details of the fish stalls, as well as other details such as a bundle of clothing, pots and baskets. On the opposite side of the canvas, a horse and donkey wait outside various shops and meat stalls.

These stalls also feature in *A Bit of Old Dublin* exhibited at the RA and Walker Art Gallery in 1891 (fig 2:11) although the composition and perspective differs greatly from *St Patrick's Close*. This painting focuses on a section of the street, showing a shop front with street stalls in front of it. The artist has again included a detailed

illustration of the pots, pans and baskets offered by the stall holders. The similarity between the shop frontage and the meat hanging behind the stalls, suggests that this view corresponds with the left-hand side of *Near St Patrick's Close*. Osborne indicates the poverty of the streets through the inclusion of several barefoot children, and also shows the uneven and muddy ground that makes up the street.

Another view of this collection of shops and stalls is offered in *The Fishmarket, Patrick Street* (fig 2:12). When it was exhibited at the RA in 1893, this painting was titled *Life in the Streets: Musicians*, referring to the barrel organ on the right hand side, which has attracted a group of attentive listeners. In the foreground of the painting, a fish stall is shown in more detail, attended by a woman and a child, who approaches with a basket of fish. Among the stock presented, a large ray is visible alongside smaller fish while bunches of spring onions are shown in vibrant green. As in the two previous works, still life details can be found in the margins of the painting – for instance the bowl and basket in the foreground and in the background the detail of baskets hanging from a shop front, and on the left hand side, a stall of different hats can be seen. A close examination of the painting shows that the stall is rendered in an almost impressionistic manner, with areas of thick impasto applied to the canvas. The mix of colours used to convey the contents of the stall is repeated in the basket carried by the girl. Overall, Osborne created a highly textured canvas, capturing the atmosphere and movement of the market place.

That Osborne first exhibited this work as *Life in the Streets: Musicians* may be significant when it is considered alongside a work the artist had completed the previous year,titled *Life in the Streets: Hard Times* (fig 2:13). Given the similarity of the two titles, it can be suggested that the artist intended to create a series of works around the subject of 'life in the streets'. In contrast to the works just described, this pastel looks towards the spire of Christchurch, which is just visible in the background. The main subject of the pastel is a man sitting in the foreground with a pipe, behind him market

stalls and shops can be seen winding up the street. The shop fronts on the right hand side of this pastel correspond to those on the left of *Near St Patrick's Close*, and perhaps the stalls shown in *Bit of Old Dublin*.

Since its creation, *Life in the Streets: Hard Times* has suffered significant damage and many details of the composition are now obscured.[44] The pastel was purchased from the Royal Academy in 1892, by the trustees of the Chantrey Bequest, founded to purchase works by artists from or working in Britain, and was later presented to the Tate Gallery. In 1892 Osborne's pastel was one of seven works acquired by the Chantrey trustees, and was one of many naturalist artworks in the collection. In previous years, the trustees had also acquired work by British naturalist artists, Frank Bramley, George Clausen and Henry Scott Tuke. In a number of articles on the Chantrey Bequest, D.S MacColl criticised the choices of the trustees and was particularly scathing about works purchased in 1892, stating that 'we will not discuss the exact class of mediocrity into which all these works fall.'[45] The perceived reticence of the trustees to look beyond the RA, or to purchase works by artists such as James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903) was at the heart of MacColl's criticism, and this can perhaps be a useful tool for contextualising Osborne's pastel within the wider art market of the 1890s. In addition, MacColl's frequent assertions that the Bequest enabled the purchase of works by artists of 'any nationality, with the one condition that they must have been executed and completed in Great Britain', as well as the fact that the trustees seemed to favour living British artists (with few exceptions), is also a further reminder that Osborne was operating within the British art world.

When considered as a series of works, similarities between these four paintings emerge, not least because of their concentration on a specific area within the city. By looking at the street from different vantage points and using the two cathedrals to frame

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[44] Sheehy attributes the damage, caused by damp, to a flood in the Tate store in 1928, see Sheehy, 'Walter Osborne', 95.
[45] D S MacColl, *The Administration of the Chantrey Bequest* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), 25.

either end of the street, the artist had the opportunity to take an in-depth look at the location. Surviving sketches, photographs and diary entries show that the artist based these artworks on his own observations and explorations of the area.[46] In the Walter Osborne Archive, there are three different photographic views of Patrick Street, each containing elements found in Osborne's paintings (figs 2:14, 2;15, 2:16). These images are printed on thin, brownish paper, and contain no stamps or marks to suggest that they were taken by a professional studio. Peader Slattery has suggested that these were taken by an amateur photographer, if not by the artist himself.[47] Surviving photographs of his earlier travels, all neatly annotated by the artist, serve as evidence that he was capable of taking and processing his own photographs, and Julian Campbell has also noted that he was doing so when he travelled to Galway in 1893.[48]

The last of these three photographs bears the strongest resemblance to *Near St Patrick's Close*, looking down a stretch of the street with the cathedral in the background on the left hand side. It is clear the Osborne directly translated elements of the photograph directly into the composition; for instance the horse, donkey and carts on the left hand side, and a bulging bag of rags, just visible on the right hand side of the photograph behind the child, has been brought into the right hand foreground of the painting. It is also clear that the artist altered part of the scene for the painting; the hoarding on the right hand side of the photograph has been omitted, and replaced instead with shop fronts more akin to those seen in the first photograph. In addition, Osborne has included two 'Dutch Billy' style houses, a clear change from the photograph. The shop fronts on the left hand side correspond exactly with those seen in the third photograph, with distinctive uneven and overlapping wooden awnings.

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[46] Later photographs of the Patrick Street can be found in the papers of John Millington Synge. These are discussed by Justin Carville in 'With his 'Mind Guided Camera': J M Synge, J.J Clarke, and the Visual Politics of Edwardian Street Photography,' in *Synge and Edwardian Ireland*, edited by Brian Cliff and Nicholas Green, 186-207 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
[47] Peader Slattery, 'The Uses of Photography in Ireland, 1839–1900' (PhD Diss., Trinity College Dublin, 1992), 134.
[48] See Julian Campbell, *Walter Osborne in the West of Ireland* (Dublin: James Adam Salesrooms, 2004).

While none of these photographs correspond so directly with *A Bit of Old Dublin* or *The Fishmarket*, it is possible that they were used as reference points, as they encompass the same stretch of the street. Osborne's use and re-use of these photographic images, either as direct sources or reference points, demonstrates the importance of these images to his artistic practice.

While no corresponding photographic record survives in the artist's papers for *Life in the Streets: Hard Times*, there is an extant paper record for the creation of the pastel (fig 2:17). Through Osborne's diary for 1892, we can follow the creation of this artwork from the initial sketch, completed on Patrick Street on the 11 January 1892, when he '[m]ade first sketch for a pastel of Patrick Street'.[49] He returned to Patrick Street the following day, noting that this time he 'brought a drawing board.'[50] Work on the pastel continued through February and March, until he noted on the 17 March, '[f]inished pastel.'[51] By the 19 July 1892, he had received a cheque from the Chantrey trustees for the purchase of *Hard Times*.[52] A preparatory sketch for *Hard Times* is extant, and corresponds closely to the finished pastel. Another painting by the artist, *Street Market*, also uses this view point, with the tower of Christchurch just visible (fig 2:18). In this case however, the main subject of the painting is a man with a basket, surrounded by barefoot children. Behind him, the busy market can once again be seen.

In a review of a Dublin Arts Club exhibition, Osborne's depiction of an unidentified market scene was noted with praise. Titled *Music Hath Charms* (medium, dimensions, and location unknown), the *Irish Times* noted that

> Mr Walter Osborne is to be congratulated [...]. His pictures show much originality and individuality, and this will be especially observable in 'Music Hath Charms', which is decidedly expressive and admirable in colouring. It depicts faithfully the street humours of a poor and largely populated locality, such as we

[49] Walter Osborne Archive, CSIA/NGI/311/5.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

find about Moor [*sic*] street or Nicholas street.[53]

This praise was echoed by the *Irish Daily Independent* where it was observed that the painting depicted

> an old fashioned market place, where women and girls are busy chattering and parading their various wares for sale. An itinerant group of musicians strike up some catching tune, and the picture shows us the scene as the noise subdues, and all are intent on listening to the air.[54]

Although none of the press reports suggest that this artwork depicted the area around Patrick Street (although Nicholas Street and Patrick Street were adjoined), it is interesting to consider that this work potentially shares some of its subject matter with *The Fishmarket* (exhibited in 1893), for instance the 'itinerant musicians' could be akin to the organ grinder. From a report given in the *Freeman's Journal* it is clear that Osborne exhibited another street scene in 1894, titled *In the Streets*. This work they wrote 'will irresistibly recall the work of Victor Gilberte [*sic*], whose pictures were often a great attraction at the Hibernian Academy.'[55]

Victor Gilbert (1847–1935) was a French naturalist painter who exhibited at the RHA annually between 1877 and 1881. Gilbert's address was listed as 16 Avenue Trudaine, Paris and this address was also given for several other French artists around the same time, suggesting perhaps that this was an agent or dealer in Paris.[56] The paintings he exhibited at the RHA included market and other urban scenes.For example, in 1878 he exhibited a work titled *The Maubeuge Market, Paris*, possibly the work illustrated in figure 2:19, or a similar work of the same subject. . Through the period he exhibited in Ireland, Gilbert's paintings were generally well received by the public and

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[53] 'Dublin Arts Club Exhibition,' *Irish Times*, 15 January 1894, 5.
[54] Review of Dublin Arts Club exhibition, *Irish Daily Independent*, 18 January 1894, quoted in Sheehy, 'Walter Osborne', 117.
[55] 'The Dublin Arts Club,' *Freeman's Journal*, 15 January 1894.
[56] Other artists exhibiting from this address include Alexander Defaux (1826–1900), Michael De Lay Hay (dates unknown), Bruck Lagos (dates unknown) and Lanfant De Metz (1814–1892). See Ann M Stewart, *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts: index of exhibitors, 1826–1979*, vols. 1-3 (Dublin: Manton Publishing, 1987).

press and in 1879 he was elected an honorary foreign member of the RHA.[57] As a regular attendee of the annual RHA exhibition Osborne was surely aware of Gilbert's painting. However, while the two painters both shared an interest in market scenes and the observation of city life, their colouring and techniques are markedly different.

Market scenes appeared regularly in the work of artists working during 1880s and 1890s. To the naturalist painter, the subject offered the scope to include humble and everyday subject matter as well as maintaining the subdued and earthy colours used to depict rural scenes. While *The Fish Market, Venice* by William H Jobbins (c.1840–1893) predates Osborne's depiction of a similar scene, both artists show the people and produce of the market place (fig 2:20). In addition, Jobbins also includes in some details the dilapidated nature of the city's buildings. Rather than using the lighter tones more associated with the depiction of Venice, Jobbins uses darker tones of brown and grey, completed by a heavily overcast sky. A strong tonal contrast can be found in Richard Toovey's *Breton Market*, where the women crowd around a market stall in a composition similar to *A Bit of Old Dublin* (fig 2:21). Toovey's palette however, along with the crisp white fabrics and spotless floor tiles are markedly different to the women and the street shown in Osborne's painting.

Roughly contemporary with Osborne's depiction of Patrick Street is *'Hevva Hevva'* by Percy Robert Craft (1856–1934) (fig 2:22). While Craft's painting references a specific event (the arrival of a shoal of pilchards), the viewpoint and palette are suggestive of *Near St Patrick's Close*. Craft was affiliated with the Newlyn School, working in Cornwall. Craft's inclusion of details such as the small vegetable stall on the right hand side of the composition, the shoeless boy in ragged clothes and the detailed representation of the fishermen's buoys on the left hand side, echo the details found in Osborne's market scenes. Osborne's later depiction of a street scene in the south of

[57] 'Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts,' *Freeman's Journal*, 6 May 1879, 5.

England, *Cherry Ripe*, also echoes the vantage point used in *Near St Patrick's Close* and *'Hevva Hevva'* (fig 2:23). This can also be seen as a reminder of his continuing interest not only in the subject of streets and markets, but also his continuing awareness of trends in British painting.

In considering Osborne's depiction of Dublin market and street scenes, it is evident that he treated the city with the same objective gaze as he did the same subjects in other cities. In Antwerp, Quimperlé, Dublin and Galway, Osborne seems to have been drawn to market areas that provided opportunities to depict the everyday life of the area, as well as buildings (often dilapidated) and different market produce and objects. Such works span his career, although the recurrence of these themes dropped during the mid – late 1890s when he focused more on portraiture.

Patrick Street and Philanthropy

While Osborne's depiction of the Dublin poor and slum areas comes across as impartial in his paintings, archival evidence suggests that he was concerned about the city's plight, although this was more related to the fabric of the city itself, rather than the people who had to find shelter there. An undated letter from Osborne is included in the papers of Dermod O'Brien (1865–1940), a fellow Antwerp trained artist and friend; here Osborne invited O'Brien to become involved in 'a small committee being formed in Dublin with the object of protecting the old streets and buildings of the city, and assisting in the improvement of [the] slums'.[58] The group was to be called the Dublin Protection Society, and its proposed aims included (Osborne wrote);

- To prevent destruction of the good streets and old homes.
- To urge that new public buildings be erected as far as possible, in places where these will be [to?] the [best?] advantage of a fine building, and the clearing out of our more crowded and unsanitary places.

[58] Letter from Walter Osborne to Dermod O'Brien, Papers of the Family of O'Brien of Cahirmoyle, Co. Limerick, NLI, Ms 36, 870/5.

- To help with advice in the erection of new monuments, buildings etc. The idea is that it should be as largely artistic as possible so as to give more weight to any protest we might [deem?] it expedient to make.[59]

He continued that

> [m]ost foreign cities as you know have some absolutely controlling force of the kind, such as in Paris, Brussels, Vienna and other cities but here we seem to be [...] at the mercy of the Board of Works, and the Corporation. [60]

Osborne gave a full list of others that were being approached to form the Society. The list included Sir Thornley Stoker, Lord Ardilaun, Lord Iveagh and the Lord Mayor, as well as Laurence Waldron, George Moore, and artists Nathaniel Hone, John Hughes, Oliver Sheppard, John B. Yeats and James Brenan. Finally he concluded that '[w]e are anxious to exclude as far as possible the official and Departmental world here and of course the Society will be non-political.[61]

While the proposed Dublin Protection Society does not seem to have evolved beyond early plans, this fragment provides a rare glimpse into, and supplements what little is known about Osborne's activities outside the art world proper, although there was an artistic element to the Society. Osborne's letter demonstrates that there was an awareness of, and an admiration for, city planning in Europe, as well as a desire to improve the urban environment in Dublin. Given the disdain expressed for official channels, such as the Dublin Corporation, it is difficult to see how the Society would have made any impact on decisions made to city planning or planned improvements without deigning to co-operate on some level with these bodies. The listing of those also being asked to come on board is interesting; it clearly shows that the initial committee

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[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.

was aware of the philanthropic work carried out by Arthur and Edward Guinness (both of whom were staunch unionists), while also trying to keep a balance; Laurence Waldron, for example, was a prominent business man and philanthropist, and was also later an M.P for the Irish Parliamentary Party.[62]

The declining standard of housing in Dublin city centre in the nineteenth century has been well documented. Jacinta Prunty has dated the trend for converting houses intended for single family occupancy into tenements to 'at least the eighteenth century'.[63] The inward migration of people from the countryside into the urban environment during the famine years in the mid-century exacerbated the already acute problem, leading to more and more overcrowding. As Prunty has also noted, the uneven flow of people moving from the city centre to the new suburbs also exacerbated the problem in the city centre; very few working class families moved to the new suburbs, and houses made vacant by the departing middle class were converted for either business use or subsumed into the tenement housing stock.[64] Chief among these vacant houses were the city's large Georgian townhouses, the spacious rooms of which provided ample opportunity for subdivision, creating accommodation for several families. The extent of the crises for the working and artisan classes in Dublin and around Ireland were well documented and discussed; between 1804 and 1900 twelve reports were published outlining the situation and possible remedies. However no concerted and widespread effort was made to solve the situation until the 1930s. However, one exception to this was the redevelopment of the Patrick Street area, funded by the Guinness family, in the late 1890s.

The philanthropic association of the Guinness family with the Patrick Street area can be dated back to the 1850s, when Benjamin Lee Guinness undertook the restoration

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[62] See David Murphy, 'Waldron, Laurence Ambrose,' In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8841. Waldron later became an important patron of the arts, most notably encouraging and commissioning work from Harry Clarke in the early years of his career.
[63] Jacinta Prunty, 'The town house as tenement', *The Eighteenth-Century Dublin Town House*, ed. Christine Casey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 153.
[64] Ibid., 155.

of St Patrick's Cathedral. This project was brought to fruition by his son, Arthur Edward, later Lord Ardilaun, who also oversaw the restoration of the adjacent Marsh's Library, laying out of St Stephen's Green and was the president of the Artisan's Dwelling Company. Together with his brother Edward, later Lord Iveagh, substantial changes were made to the wider Patrick Street environs, physically and dramatically changing the landscape from that depicted in Osborne's paintings. As employers, the Guinness family had been well regarded for the manner in which they looked after their employees, including the provision of suitable housing. They were also singled out by the 1885 commission as providing one of the few opportunities of employment for women in the city through the opening of a cloth and woollen factory.[65] Andy Bielenberg suggests however, that their efforts around Patrick Street also had a secondary motive, particularly in the case of Edward Guinness who sought to 'expand and develop his philanthropic plans and social ambitions, which became increasingly inter-connected.'[66] In 1889, he formed the Guinness Trust to fund the development of working class housing. Of the £250,000 available eighty per cent was to be spent in London, and the remaining twenty per cent to be spent on housing in Dublin. As Bielenberg notes, '[i]t was a matter of little surprise therefore that very shortly after [...] he was raised into the peerage as Lord Iveagh.'[67]

The listing for Patrick Street in *Thom's Official Directory* for 1887 (the year Osborne first exhibited a painting of the street) offers a sense of the economic and social conditions of the area. Of the eighty-three buildings that make up the street, twenty-eight are classified as tenements, and one as 'ruins'.[68] It is also possible to get a sense of the sights, sounds, and smells of the street from this listing: there are nine victuallers, nine spirit and wine dealers and merchants, a size and glue manufacturer, two tallow

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[65] Third Report of Her Majesty's commissioners for inquiring into the housing of the working classes in Ireland, HC 1885, 4547, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:hcpp&rft_dat=xri:hcpp:fulltext:1884-061417.
[66] Andy Bielenberg, 'Later Victorian Elite Formation and Philanthropy: The Making of Edward Guinness,' *Studia Hibernica* 32, no.3 (2002): 142.
[67] Ibid., 144.
[68] *Thom's Official Directory*, 1887, 1463-1464.

candle chandlers, as well as numerous grocery and provision dealers.[69] In addition to these, street stalls and marketers would have added to the day-to-day bustle and atmosphere of the street. The large number of tenements on Patrick Street was not unusual for the poorer areas of Dublin at this time. In 1885, Sir Charles Cameron, the medical superintendent officer of health for the city gave evidence to a House of Commons commission on working class housing in Ireland, and when asked to comment on the number of families living in a single room, he replied that '[t]here are about 32,000 families out of about 54,000'.[70]

In 1899 the joint project of Lord Ardilaun and Lord Iveagh was enabled by the passing of the Dublin Improvement (Bull Alley Area) Act. This enacted sweeping changes to the area around St Patrick's Cathedral and Patrick Street, clearing away the area around St Patrick's Close, and many of the ruinous and tenement houses on Patrick Street to create St Patrick's Park, blocks of model dwellings and public amenities such as a swimming pool and concert hall. To clear the street of market stalls, provision was also made for the building of the Iveagh Market on Francis Street. F.H.A. Aalan has noted that this scheme 'entailed the total demolition of one of the oldest and most historically significant areas of the city', with the 'warren of crooked lanes, alleys and yards [...]' replaced with 'new straight, wide streets and a regular arrangement of compact blocks'.[71] As a result of these vast changes to the area Osborne's paintings and drawings of Patrick Street unintentionally became part of the historical record, depicting a part of the city that had been destroyed. By the time of the Franco-British Exhibition in London in 1908, the title of *The Fishmarket* had been extended to 'The Old Fishmarket, Patrick Street (now demolished for Lord Iveagh's improvements)'.[72]

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[69] Ibid.
[70] Third Report of Her Majesty's commissioners for inquiring into the housing of the working classes in Ireland, HC 1885, 4547, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:hcpp&rft_dat=xri:hcpp:fulltext:1884-061417.
[71] F.H.A Aalan, 'The Working-Class Housing Movement in Dublin, 1850–1920,' *The Emergence of Irish Planning 1880–1920*, ed. Michael J Bannon (Dublin: Turoe Press, 1985), 158.
[72] Ann M Stewart, *Irish Art Loan Exhibitions 1765–1927: Index of Artists*, vol. II (Dublin: Manton Publishing, 1990), 533.

2.3 Away from the Back Streets: Osborne and the Wider City

Writing about nineteenth century paintings of London, Nancy Rose Marshall called attention to the fact that the 'flower seller was by far the most depicted of the Victorian street traders, suggesting that this figure was deeply satisfying to the consumers of nineteenth century visual culture [...].'[73] The appeal of such pictures, Marshall outlined, lay in their 'affirmation of the existing class structure [...] in gratifying oppositions: wealthy, urban, superior purchaser confronted with poor, inferior female associated implicitly with the natural world.'[74] In 1889, Osborne diverted his attention from Patrick Street and turned it instead to Aston Quay and O'Connell Bridge in *The Dublin Streets: A Vendor of Books* (fig 2:24). The figure of the flower seller, placed just off-centre in the composition, is shown holding a baby with a basket of yellow flowers by her side, with another child (perhaps her daughter) shown at the book stall, proffering daffodils to the oblivious men, browsing the tattered volumes. The child is barefoot, and the older woman's face is drawn and gaunt. Amid the dark grey and brown tones of the canvas, the yellow flowers draw the viewer's attention to the two figures. In this painting, the artist has identified the social divide between the flower seller and the customers of the book stall, thus affirming Marshall's statement on the appeal of such paintings.

While this painting repeats many of the motifs found in the artist's other depictions of market stalls, this painting offers a wider and more expansive view of the urban environment. In contrast to his representations of Patrick Street, in *The Dublin Streets* the artist depicts the blend of social classes present in the city; from the flower seller and her children, the middle-class gentlemen at the book stall as well as a soldier in the uniform of a Gordon Highlander.[75] The detail of the soldier gives the viewer the most tangible reminder of Dublin's status as an imperial city at this time, with the flower seller and the straw strewn streets also a reminder of the social problems experienced by

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[73] Marshall, *City of Gold and Mud*, 198.
[74] Ibid., 200.
[75] The soldier's uniform was identified by Rita Brown, 'Painting the Military–Art into History, Ireland 1780–1930,' (M.Phil Diss., Trinity College Dublin, 2008) 68.

many who lived there. Although they share the same pavement, their different situations in life are indicated through their occupations, and their clothing. The bustle and busy streets surrounding the flower sellers, and the imposing façade of the Custom House behind them, further suggests their isolation within the city streets.

Osborne had focused in more detail on the figure of the flower seller in *Daffodils* (fig 2:25). The headdress of this figure is more suggestive of traditional Breton or English peasant dress, as Osborne would have seen during his time in both countries. Sheehy has suggested that this work was completed in either Oxfordshire or Berkshire during the spring of 1888.[76] In contrast to the grey and earth tones present in *The Dublin Streets: A Vendor of Books*, the pastel is highly and delicately coloured, with the blues and yellow contrasting warmly. The contrast between the palettes of these two paintings can perhaps be read as indicative of the rural/urban divide suggested by Marshall, with *Daffodils* representing the more wholesome (rural) flower seller depicted in strong and bright colours, contrasting with the drab and grey surroundings of the Dublin quays. A later pencil sketch, *A Dublin Flower Girl* shows the artist's continuing interest in this subject, despite his growing concentration on portraiture.

Although smaller in its scope and scale, it is interesting to compare Osborne's *The Dublin Streets* with William Logsdail's *St Martin-in-the-Fields* which had been exhibited at the RA in 1888 and purchased by the Chantrey Bequest trustees in the same year (fig 2:26). Set against the backdrop of Trafalgar Square, Logsdail's painting depicts a child selling daffodils and other bouquets, from a basket balanced by a thin string over her shoulders. Immediately to her left we see a well-dressed lady and her child, with the clothing of the two young girls contrasting strongly. Elsewhere in the painting, the artist has included a newspaper seller, a fruit stall, a mounted policeman as well as other carriages and carts. As in Osborne's painting, a wide range of social classes are

[76] Jeanne Sheehy, catalogue notes for *Daffodils*, Gorry Gallery 'Irish Paintings', October 1994, 5.

represented, showing the overlapping spheres and worlds that met in the social spaces of the city. Like Osborne, Logsdail had attended the Academié Royal at Antwerp, and while he did not commit fully to the naturalist style evident in Osborne's oeuvre, he was later heavily criticised for his use of colour which was perceived to have developed out of his Belgian education.[77]

Around 1895 Osborne began to use a studio at 6 St Stephen's Green, where artists Bingham McGuiness and John B Yeats had previously had their studios.[78] This brought a new focus to Osborne's depiction of Dublin city centre, away from the rundown market stalls and into the leafy environs of the Green itself. In this setting, the artist could observe the city's residents at rest rather than at work. Both *In Stephen's Green* and *In a Dublin Park: Light and Shade,* depict a group of people resting on a bench in the park's leafy surroundings from different viewpoints (figs 2:27, 2:28). These works visibly demonstrate changes within Osborne's painting style and technique from that employed in his representation of the Patrick Street market area, and show that the artist was moving away from the muted colours of the naturalist palette, introducing vibrant blues and greens into his compositions. Additionally, these two paintings demonstrate Osborne's use of a looser technique combined with a thick application of paint, more suggestive of impressionism than naturalism.

In 1880, Stephen's Green opened to the public after being purchased, redeveloped, and presented to the Board of Works, through the sponsorship and generosity of Lord Ardilaun. Rather disappointingly, little fanfare heralded the occasion, with *The Graphic* noting that '[it] was thrown open to the public on Tuesday without any inaugural ceremony.'[79] While a souvenir booklet was produced to mark the opening by Lord Ardilaun, on the day the patron was 'unfortunately prevented attending, owing to

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[77] See Marshall, *City of Gold and Mud*, 101.
[78] Theo Snoddy notes that Osborne went to this studio in 1895, having taken it over from John B. Yeats. However, *Thom's Official Directory* shows that Yeats had not used the studio after 1887, and Osborne is only listed as an occupant from 1897.

[79] 'A New Park for Dublin,' *The Graphic*, 31 July 1880, n.p.

sudden indisposition.'[80] 1880 marked a difficult year for Ardilaun due mainly to his well-known unionist and conservative political views, and disagreements over tenancy rents on his estates in Galway caused him to leave Dublin for a period in that year. In describing the generous gift of Lord Ardilaun to the people of Dublin, the *Freeman's Journal* commented that '[w]e differ from Lord Ardilaun on the most public questions, and have never hesitated to express that difference in decided language.'[81] Despite this however, the paper was willing to concede that the opening of Stephen's Green was not only beneficial from a 'sanitary and moral aspect [...]', being both 'a boon to the wealthy classes [...]' and

> a priceless gift to their poorer neighbours. No man could yesterday walk through the Green and see the hundreds of little children playing about, with a look of unaccustomed pleasure in their poor, pale, pinched little faces, without feeling his heart touched, or without realising how much the poor will benefit by having such a place of healthy, harmless recreation in their midst.[82]

This report of the opening of Stephen's Green intimates the different types of people who used the city centre park, ranging from the well-to-do to the down-at-heel. As will be seen, this blend a social classes is reflected in Osborne's painting of the park.

The creation of urban parks and green spaces for the public proliferated throughout nineteenth century urban planning. In Paris, as Robert L. Herbert has noted, in 1848 municipal parks totalled only forty-seven acres, but by 1870 this had grown to four thousand five hundred acres.[83] In Britain, the growth of industrial cities and increasing urban populations led to concerns over the well-being of city dwellers, and thus the development of city centre parks. As Hazel Conway has outlined, many of the

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[80] 'Opening of St Stephen's Green,' *Irish Times*, 31 July 1880, 5.
[81] Untitled article, *Freeman's Journal*, 28 July 1880, 4.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Robert L Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 142.

promoters of urban parks fervently believed in the power of green spaces to 'improve' the working class populations; parks would be instrumental in removing other recreations enjoyed by the working classes, such as frequenting public houses, thus inducing them to 'become thrifty, industrious, docile and moral, in other words like the middle class themselves.'[84] America also followed a similar trend, and as Dorceta E. Taylor has discussed, these projects were guided by a complex set of social, moral, and class related issues.[85] In addition to being a kind of sanctuary in the city's heart, the urban park was also a place for recreation – for example if the park was large enough, it could host horse races, polo fields, or zoological gardens.[86] Artists across these cities responded to this new urban space, depicting parks as a kind of oasis at the heart of the city. While artists could merge the representation of these spaces with new artistic styles, for example as seen in the work of Claude Monet (1840–1926), the portrayal of the different people in the park, concentrating perhaps on women or on different social classes, is a common feature.[87]

As noted already, Osborne's paintings of Stephen's Green show some adjustments in his painting style. *In Stephen's Green* shows this change most clearly, creating a richly coloured and textured canvas, capturing a sense of the light and atmosphere of the verdant park. Under the shade of the trees, Osborne shows people relaxing, observing the people around them, or engrossed in books or newspapers. In the bright sunlight on the left hand side, two children play with a hoop, and another loosely painted figure suggests a woman in white carrying a pink parasol. Many of the figures

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[84] Hazel Conway, *People's Parks: The Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 34.
[85] See Dorceta E Taylor, 'Central Park as a Model for Social Control: Urban Parks, Social Class and Leisure Behaviour in Nineteenth Century America,' *Journal of Leisure Research* 3, no. 4 (1999): 420-477.
[86] In Dublin, the Phoenix Park fulfilled these functions.
[87] The representation of women, and by implication, their social class, in urban parks has been a particular focus for scholarship to date. See, for example, Greg M. Thomas, 'Women in Public in the Parks of Paris,' in *The invisible flâneuse? Gender, public space, and visual culture in nineteenth century Paris*, eds. by Aruna D'Souza and Tom McDonough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 32-48.

seen sitting on the bench in this painting are repeated in *In a Dublin Park: Light and Shade*. Here, Osborne has used brown tones found in his earlier works, alongside more vibrant green foliage. The figures are reminiscent of those found in Osborne's earlier depictions of the city. Like the resting figures in *In St Patrick's Cathedral*, this painting shows a range of different figures enjoying the park – ranging from a small boy, a mother with a young baby, and two sleeping gentleman. While the portrayal of the figures is closer to the artist's earlier work, a close examination of the foliage in the upper ranges of the canvas shows how Osborne applied broad swathes of green and yellow in an impressionistic manner.

Two preparatory works relating to these paintings are extant: *Men Sitting in Saint Stephen's Green, Dublin*, in the NGI Collection and *Mother and Child* in the Dublin City Gallery the Hugh Lane. The first, a pencil sketch with annotations in the artist's hand, shows a scene similar to that in *In Stephen's Green*. Here, Osborne has recorded the structure of the bench and the arrangement of the trees, along with details of some of the men sitting on the bench. When compared with the painting, we see that Osborne altered some of these figures, notably to include the mother and child and one of the men seen in *In a Dublin Park*. The second preparatory work relates directly to this mother and child, being a representation in oils of the woman and baby, shown in an interior setting. Loosely painted in weak browns with touches of moss green and pink, this painting captures a sense of the woman's sadness and weariness, particularly in her face and downcast eyes. While there is soft edge to her features here, in *In a Dublin Park* this has been replaced with harder lines and tones, with dark shadows more suggestive of bruising running along her cheekbones. These preparatory works and the variations made to the painted versions of this scene demonstrate how Osborne carefully considered the different aspects of a composition. While aspects of both *In Stephen's Green* and *In a Dublin Park* suggest an awareness and interest in impressionist techniques, Osborne continued to work within traditional, studio-based,

practices.

As noted at the beginning of this section, the representation of the flower seller in paintings of the city was considered as a way of bringing the rural and urban worlds together, while appealing to the social mores of the viewer or buyer. Applying this concept more broadly, it can also be suggested that the representation of the urban poor within the natural space of the urban park also reflected this collision of worlds and sensibilities. The moral and social value of these new urban spaces was a key aspect of their creation, associated as they were with philanthropy, health and hygiene, and the idea of providing an 'improving' space for a city's poorer inhabitants. With *In A Dublin Park*, Osborne makes manifest the feelings of contemporary observers who commented on how Lord Ardilaun's project would improve the lives of the poor, as he shows us in a forthright way how the park was used by the humble and lowly residents of Dublin. Although Osborne did not exhibit this work in Dublin, the theme of the painting was understood by a contemporary (urban) audience in London. In the annual *Academy Notes* for 1895, a sketch of the painting by Osborne was accompanied by the short description, '[a] group of poor city folk sitting on a bench.'[88] In addition to succinctly communicating what the painting represented, this description also reinforces the social difference between the subject and the viewer.

As indicated at various points through this chapter, Osborne's choice of subject matter and decisions regarding where he exhibited work suggest that he was cognisant of the different preferences and demands of the art market. It is striking that through his career, the only painting whose title explicitly referenced Dublin city and that Osborne showed there, was *Near St Patrick's Close*, exhibited at the RHA in 1888.[89] This suggests an awareness of the situation in Dublin in regard to patronage and sales, as discussed in

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[88] Henry Blackburn, ed., *Academy Notes 1895, with Facsimiles of Sketches by the Artists* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1895), 22.

[89] This excludes works that depicted parts of county Dublin or the coastline – such as Portmarnock or Malahide.

chapter one, and an awareness of both the popularity of urban scenes in Britiain and a preference for landscape painting in Ireland. The final section of this chapter will examine the artist's involvement in Dublin's artistic circles.

2.4 Osborne and the Dublin Art World

Reviews of the Royal Hibernian Academy's annual exhibition in 1886 (the same year Osborne was elected a full member) suggest that it was an auspicious year for the institution. For example, the *Irish Times* praised the improvements that had occurred in both the artworks and the viewing public, both having benefited from 'the valuable enterprise of amateur societies that have rendered honest service in training [...] classes that some years ago knew little or nothing of art [...].'[90] Additionally, the emergence of new generation of Irish artists had boosted the event, leading to 'an exhibition superior in every department to any former one, perfectly independent in art instinct, and offering a promise for the future which cultured circles not only in Ireland but abroad may justly regard with satisfaction [...].'[91] Furthermore, the exhibition also included the 'great works belonging to the English school [...]'.[92] This single review encapsulates some of the key themes present in the Irish art world at this juncture; the growth of amateur societies, the advent of a new group of artists and artistic sensibility, and the continued connections with artists in Britain. Using this review as a starting point, this section will consider the involvement of Osborne in the wider Dublin art world from 1886 onwards.

At this time, the RHA occupied a central role in Dublin's artistic life. Established by a Royal Charter in 1821, and deeds received in 1823, it was founded to provide a professional association for artists in Ireland. Premises were designed, built and donated by Francis Johnston in a house on Abbey Street in 1824. The remit of the Academy was broad, and included not only the annual exhibition of work by contemporary artists, and the education and encouragement of art students at the Academy schools, but also the

[90] 'The Royal Hibernian Academy: In the Large Room,' *Irish Times*, 26 March 1886, 5.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.

maintenance of the professional status of artists in Ireland through membership or association. Through its royal charter and its annual grant of three hundred pounds from the British Government, the RHA was strongly associated with the British administration, ties which were further strengthened by displays of loyalty (such as the presentation of loyal addresses to visiting monarchs), the appointment of the Lord Lieutenant as Vice-Patron, and its association with its sister institutions - the Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh and the Royal Academy in London. The close relationship between these institutions is exemplified by the fact that on an annual basis, the RHA invited artists from across Britain to submit to the exhibition. The RHA paid for the insurance and carriage of these works, and if they were unsold, their return to the artists. Although expensive for the institution the aim of this exercise was threefold, as Philip McEvansoneya has outlined; it was 'in order to make up the numbers, to increase the interest in the exhibitions and, unmistakably, to elevate the general standard of what was on display.'[93] While effectively sponsored by the RHA, this practice signals that there was an ongoing exchange of artworks travelling back and forth over the Irish Sea.

In an attempt to further develop artistic life and opportunities for artists in Dublin outside of the RHA, the Dublin Sketching Club had been founded in 1874 with the aim of uniting 'artists, amateurs and gentlemen interested in Art, in friendly and social intercourse promoting a taste for the fine arts in Dublin'.[94] The Club's activities centred around social gatherings and two-hour sketching sessions, as well as excursions to local beauty spots such as Ireland's Eye for sketching and for photography sessions.[95] Osborne began exhibiting with the Sketching Club in 1884, with the titles of work exhibited reflecting the thematic titles often given to the Club's two-hour sketching

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[93] Philip McEvansoneya, 'Ireland on show: art, union, and nationhood,' review of *Ireland on show: art, union, and nationhood* by Fintan Cullen, *Irish Studies Review* 21, no.2 (2013), 232.
[94] Catalogue of the first Dublin Sketching Club exhibition, quoted in Shirley Armstrong, 'Late Nineteenth Century Sketching Clubs in Ireland,' (BA Diss., Trinity College Dublin, 1984), 9.
[95] Giving an account of a trip to Ireland's Eye, the correspondent reported that '[a]fter some hours spent noting with brush and pencil [...] the members met again on the beach, and were immortalised in a group by the camera of a well-known member.' See 'Dublin Sketching Club,' *The Irish Times*, 6 July 1886, 3.

meetings.[96] By all accounts, the Dublin Sketching Club seems to have been (at this time) quite an informal gathering, with an emphasis on both the social life of members as well as the artistic side. Members included well established artists, many of whom were members of the RHA, highlighting both the limited number of active artists, while also suggesting a indistinct boundary between amateur and professional.

In April 1886 however, the position of the Dublin Sketching Club was challenged by the secession of a group of members and subsequent formation of the Dublin Art Club. A short column in the *Irish Times* reported that

> [r]umours having been circulated for some time past that the club was likely to be dissolved, the committee wish it to be known that there is no truth whatsoever in the statement. Probably what gave rise to the report is the fact that a few of the members have seceded from the parent society for the purpose, we believe, of forming yet another artistic circle in the city.[97]

Osborne was among this secessionist group. In a letter to the committee of the Dublin Sketching Club, the signatories requested that they be given 'a statement of accounts up to the 31 March next, and hereby give you notice that on that date we will cease to be members of the Club [...].'[98] (figs 2:29, 2:30) Although no specific reason was given for the members' resignation, Alexander Williams (1846–1930), founder and President of the Sketching Club, noted that 'several members expressed themselves to the effect that the standard of work should be still further raised and that the club should attempt higher aims.'[99]

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[96] Armstrong, 'Late Nineteenth Century Sketching Clubs', 11. Armstrong notes that themes such as 'gaslight', 'time' and 'grey' were used as themes for sketches. In 1884, Osborne exhibited 'Blot', 'Coast', and 'Blazing' as well as other identified landscapes. See Ann M. Stewart, *Art Societies and Sketching Clubs: Index of Exhibitors*, vol. II, 572.
[97] 'Dublin Sketching Club,' *The Irish Times*, 1 April 1886, 7.
[98] Dublin Sketching Book Minute Book 1881–1886, National Library of Ireland, ACC 4786, n.p.
[99] Alexander Williams, Dublin Sketching Club Annual Report 1886-86, quoted in Gordon T. Ledbetter, *Privilege and Poverty: the life and times of Alexander Williams RHA (1846–1930)* (Cork: Collins Press, 2010) 146.

Later that year, this group formed the core of a new society, the Dublin Art Club, whose first exhibition demonstrated 'its capacity to stand independently on its own merits'.[100] Although this skirmish cannot be compared to the major secessions and splits that were occurring across Europe in the late nineteenth century, it illustrates at least the desire of artists in Dublin to improve their work and the artistic life of the city. This aspiration was evident in the work the artists who were involved with the new club, and the paintings they exhibited there. Prime among these is that rather than exhibiting sketches and watercolours completed solely by the members of the Club, the first exhibition of the Dublin Art Club included work in oils and submissions by leading English artists.. The *Irish Times* reported that the 'renowned exhibitors from across the Channel' were selected with 'deep thought on the part of the committee', and on this occasion included Edward Burne-Jones, F. G Cotman, and William Stott. Throughout the lifetime of the Dublin Arts Club English artists continued to exhibit, with Edward Stott (an accqauitance of Osborne's), Philip Wilson Steer, Frederick Brown, and George Clausen also contributed.

Both Osborne and his father William were active in the Dublin Art Club from its inception, with Walter listed as a club committee member in the 1887 catalogue, later serving as Honorary Secretary. A full analysis of the Club's exhibition history is hampered by the fact that either no catalogue was made, or has survived for the years after 1892 (fig 2:31). This lack of documentation coincides with the group's amalgamation with the Instrumental Club, and the adjustment of their name to the Dublin Arts Club. Compared with the Dublin Sketching Club (which still operates today as the Dublin Painting and Sketching Club), the Dublin Arts Club seems only to have been in existence until around 1896, when the last reports of their annual exhibition appear in contemporary newspapers. It is clear from these reports that the annual exhibition continued to take place between 1893 and 1896 and English artists continued to contribute work. However, these reports also suggest that at least in

[100] '"At Home" In the Dublin Art Club,' *The Irish Times*, 9 December 1886, 5.

some quarters, the relevance of the Dublin Arts Club was questioned in its final years. A report in the *Freeman's Journal* commented in the first instance on the presence of the Lord Lieutenant at the opening, which it felt 'almost passes the bounds of absurdity.'[101] They continued that

> [e]ven the people who might be supposed to be most concerned would appear to have been ashamed of the thing. [...] yesterday out of all the members of the 'Dublin Arts Club' there were not a score who had even the courtesy to convey by their presence their appreciation of Lord Houghton's consideration in coming.[102]

Furthermore, the report felt that the quality of the exhibition did not stand up to any critical scrutiny, stating that '[i]f you take away, say a dozen pictures, there has probably never been exhibited a more appallingly bad conglomeration of inefficient work hung up in this little gallery.'[103]

The Club did hold two more unusual exhibitions during its tenure, which proved popular with public audiences. In March 1895 there was an exhibition of contemporary French advertising posters, and in December of the same year, an exhibition of Japanese watercolour paintings. The collection of French posters travelled to the Dublin Arts Club after being on show at the Westminster Aquarium, London (fig 2:32).[104] The reaction of press was remarkably similar in both countries, with *The Magazine of Art*, *The Freeman's Journal* and the *Irish Times* all hoping that the exhibition would inspire native artists to create more attractive and artistic posters for street hoardings.[105] The collection of Japanese art work came from the collection of Ernest Abraham Hart (1835–

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[101] 'The Dublin Arts Club,' *Freeman's Journal*, 22 January 1895, n.p.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] 'The Chronicle of Art,' *The Magazine of Art* (1895): 115 – 120, http://search.proquest.com/docview/7273858?accountid=14404.
[105] See 'The Chronicle of Art,' *The Magazine of Art* (1895): 115 – 120; 'Artistic Advertisements,' *Freeman's Journal*, 26 March 1895, 8; '"French Posters" at the Dublin Arts Club,' *Irish Times*, 2 April 1895.

1898), a doctor, and editor of the British Medical Journal .[106] Hart had assembled a large collection of Japanese art in his lifetime, and had lectured and published on the topic.[107] These two exhibitions demonstrate the remit of the Dublin Arts Club, and how they sought to operate beyond the scope of an annual exhibition. What these events also illustrate, along with the continued involvement of artists from outside of Ireland in the exhibition, is the sustained movement of art and artists between Dublin and London. The Dublin Arts Club sought to encourage and build on these connections, and by doing so at least sought to raise art in Ireland to be on par with that in the wider British Isles, even if such an attempt was ultimately futile.[108]

Osborne's involvement with artistic groups like the RHA and Dublin Art Club demonstrates his engagement with the artistic life of the city, beyond the work he completed in the studio. Given his connections to art and artists in England, Osborne was surely aware of the increasing professionalization of artistic clubs and societies in England, and the important role they were playing in the art market. As Julie F Codell has explored, the new artists' clubs and societies which emerged in England between 1880 and 1914 were 'explicit in their economic function' and were also cognisant of 'the international nature of the art market'.[109] Through their exhibitions and events, it can be seen that the Dublin Arts Club was keen to promote work by professional artists, whether from Ireland or abroad. While the ambitions of the Club were ultimately hampered by conditions outside of their control (chiefly problems related to patronage

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[106] P. W. J. Bartrip, 'Hart, Ernest Abraham (1835–1898).' In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12475.
[107] See Ernest A. Hart, *Stencils of old Japan: from originals in the collection of Ernest Hart* (London: Virtue & Co.,1895) and *Lectures on Japanese Art Work* (London: W. Trounce, 1887). Hart's wife, Alice Hart, was a central figure in the Irish arts and crafts movement, especially known for her work in founding and encouraging cottage industries in Donegal. See Paul Larmour, 'The Donegal Industrial Fund,' *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1990): 128-133.
[108] In 1890, the Dublin Art Club exhibition included George Clausen's *Ploughing*. The *Irish Times* noted that this was on loan from the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, where Osborne was a frequent exhibitor. This is a further example of the kind of connections that existed between artistic institutions and clubs in these islands. See 'Dublin Art Club,' *Irish Times*, 13 January 1890, 5.
[109] Julie F Codell, 'Artists' Professional Societies: Production, Consumption and Aesthetics,' in *Towards a Modern Art World*, ed. Brian Allen (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 181.

and a small pool of artists), it is interesting to consider how their aims emulated their peers across Britain. The work of this and other groups show that there was desire to create, nourish, and sustain a range of artistic circles in Dublin, even if these aims ultimately went unfulfilled.

Conclusion

The comments made by Bodkin and MacGonigal cited at the opening of this chapter demonstrate the enduring discussion around ideas of what constitutes Irish art and a 'national school' of art, and the prevalence that this strand of argument has had in the historiography of Irish art. Without question, Osborne's painting did not reflect the ardent nationalism that was found say, in the banners used by the different trades in the O'Connell Centenary procession, or the growing belief that it was the people landscape in the west of Ireland that most fully represented Irish identity.[110] What Bodkin and MacGonigal failed to acknowledge in their discussion of Osborne's Dublin paintings is the artistic and social contexts in which Osborne created these artworks. Arguably, the sense of 'detached observance' that can be found in these paintings stems from Osborne's artistic sensibilities, his interest in naturalism, and his use of photographic sources in fitting together the final composition. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Osborne was a careful observer of everyday life in all settings; whether at the Patrick

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[110] On several occasions after his death, Osborne was referred to as an English artist. After such an incident, the artist's brother felt compelled to write to the *Magazine of Art* to correct the publication on their description of the artist as 'an Englishman resident in Ireland.' He was, Charles E. Osborne wrote, 'an Irishman in the fullest sense of the word [...]. The family to which my late father belonged has been resident in Dublin for generations past, being descended from an Osborne who was a Cromwellian settler.' Although they apologised unreservedly, the *Magazine of Art* also stated that 'we understood – or rather, it is now evident, we misunderstood – from the late artist's own lips [...] that he was English.' See 'Chronicle of Art,' *Magazine of Art* 1 (1903): 524, http://search.proquest.com/docview/7039950?accountid=14404. In 1904 *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* also noted that the artist was 'an Englishman resident in Ireland'. See Michael Bryan and George Charles Williamson, 'Osborne, Walter P.,', *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: George Hill and Sons, 1904), 46, https://archive.org/details/bryansdiction04brya. Bodkin felt that Osborne's 'ancestry must have been predominantly English' and Stephen Gwynn also noted that 'the red roofs and brown greys of English landscapes appealed to him as the blues and greens of Ireland did not [...]. Left to himself he would have done all his work in England [...].' See Bodkin, *Four Irish Landscape Painters*, 43 and Gwynn, *Experiences of a Literary Man*, 73.

Street market stalls or sitting by the fire in a rural English pub. Stephen Gwynn acknowledged this artistic method, stating that Osborne's 'school believed in painting what you saw while you saw it and not trusting to memory [...].'[111] The idea of the artist as an observer of everyday life was well established by the 1880 and 1890s, especially in relation to the depiction of the urban scene.

Osborne's approach to the representation of Dublin was predicated on European artistic styles rather than a distinct wish to portray the everyday conditions of the Dublin streets. The city around him provided the impetus for the paintings he produced, as well as many of the models for his paintings; this was secondary to his pursuit of artistic means, and the opportunity to make his work attractive to the buying public across Britain. While this later seemed to cause confusion for cultural critics and writers in Ireland who sought to 'fit' the work of Irish artists into a broader nationalistic narrative, it reveals something of the complexity that surrounded artists and artistic production at the turn of the century. To consider Osborne's representations of Dublin in relation to the central research question of this thesis, it can be seen that for Osborne the immediate political, social, or economic conditions of the city were of secondary importance to the aim of pursuing the aims of naturalistic painting. However, Osborne's involvement with groups and societies in the city also suggests that he wished to play a role in promoting and encouraging the artistic life of the city, perhaps with the goal of ameliorating conditions for artists working there.

The next chapter of this thesis examines the depiction of Dublin in the painting of Jack B Yeats. Moving into the twentieth century, Yeats' painting of the city shows the changing nature of Dublin life, most evident in works from 1923 onwards. While many of Yeats' subjects differ from those found in Osborne's depiction of the city, certain thematic continuities can be picked out; children and flower sellers are a common

[111] Gwynn, *Experiences of a Literary Man*, 73

feature in Yeats' Dublin scenes, and like Osborne, Yeats' work shows how he was drawn to specific areas of city, such as the quaysides and bridges spanning the Liffey. Yeats' corpus of Dublin painting underlines the importance of certain subjects to paintings of the city more generally, while also relating to the different social, political, and cultural contexts of Dublin in the first half of the twentieth century.

Man of the Crowd: Jack B Yeats and the Urban Scene

In 1919 an *Irish Times* review titled 'Mr Jack B Yeats's Pictures' called attention to how some of the paintings then on exhibition at Mill's Hall, Merrion Row, showed an 'arresting glimpse of that seamy side of life which is to be found in all large cities, and in few cities more commonly than in Dublin.'[1] The depiction of Dublin city and urban life was a consistent theme in Yeats' oeuvre and these paintings extend over a wide range of urban subjects and themes, from newspaper boys, flower sellers, and dock workers, to busy bridges, brightly lit streets, and the quayside.[2] Despite this, Yeats is more often thought of for his representations of rural life in Ireland. In addition, and as Bruce Arnold has outlined, Yeats' 'undoubted commitment to the representation of life in Ireland in an overwhelming number of works [...]' has led to 'the understandable identification of him as both a national and a nationalist cultural figure', and that as a result of this, the 'normal influences on Yeats – social, political, sexual and artistic – have either been ignored or played down because of an obsession with the homogeneity of his perceived nationalism.'[3] Through a focus on Yeats' Dublin paintings, the material presented and discussed in this chapter seeks to take heed of Arnold's comments, exploring the relationship between Yeats and the city.

It is clear that from his early days as a young artist in London, urban life and culture fascinated Yeats. Born in that city Yeats cut his artistic teeth there, working as an illustrator while sporadically tending to his formal artistic training (fig 3:1). Early works show Yeats' interest in the boxing rings of the East End and in his biography of the artist, Arnold has noted Yeats' interest in 'the excitement of a good programme of bouts in the

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[1] 'Mr Jack B Yeats's Pictures,' *Irish Times*, 28 April 1919, 5.
[2] An examination of the catalogue raisonné of his paintings shows that the artist completed over sixty paintings of Dublin in the period 1912–1952. This number was compiled by the author from Hilary Pyle, *Jack B Yeats: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Oil Paintings*, vols. I-III (London: Andre Deutsch, 1992).
[3] Bruce Arnold, 'Jack Yeats: The Need for Reassessment,' in *Jack B Yeats: Old and New Departures*, ed. Yvonne Scott (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 47-48.

Wonderland at Whitechapel, the Coffee and Dining Rooms at Bethnal Green, [...] or East End pubs like The Nag's Head [...].'[4] Sketchbooks from the artist's visit to New York in 1904 further reveal this interest in the ordinary life of a busy metropolitan centre. In 1910, Yeats relocated to Dublin from England, although he and his wife lived for several years in Bray, Co Wicklow, before moving into Marlborough Road, Donnybrook, and later Fitzwilliam Square in Dublin city centre. From this date Yeats exhibited annually at the RHA, but was also involved with other clubs and exhibition groups – such as the United Arts Club, the Society of Dublin Painters and the Oireachtas Exhibition, as well as holding his own one man shows in Dublin and further afield.[5] Yeats became a familiar figure in the city by his routine of walking through the streets, as well as through his involvement in its cultural life. Sketchbooks and other documents (such as his list and descriptions of street signs) show how Yeats observed and responded to the urban environment, noting down the everyday experience of the city.[6]

The theme of Dublin and of the city in Yeats' painting has been broached by Róisín Kennedy and Nicholas Allen, and both Allen and Karen Brown have noted Yeats' interest in the city in his writings.[7] While the description and evocation of urban spaces in these writings offer a fascinating correlation to paintings of the same subject, this chapter will focus on the artistic representations, considering them within the context of urban life and culture in both Ireland and further afield. Section one will look at the

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[4] Bruce Arnold, *Jack Yeats* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 122. Yeats' early works caught the attention of Walter Sickert (founder of the Camden Town Group: see the introduction of this thesis for further information), and the two artists met on a number of occasions. See letter from Walter Sickert to Jack B Yeats, Yeats Archive, NGI, Y1/JY/2/65-81.

[5] Yeats was a founder member of the Society of Dublin Painters, which was instigated by Paul and Grace Henry and modelled on the Fitzroy Street Group (led by Walter Sickert and founded in 1907, expanding to become the Camden Town Group in 1911). Yeats only exhibited with the Dublin Painters until 1923. See S B Kennedy, *Irish Art and Modernism* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1991), 18-67. A small number of catalogues (previously unknown) for the early exhibitions of the Dublin Painters are in TRIARC – Irish Art Research Centre, IR/RP/EX.

[6] Yeats' list of Dublin street signs is contained in Yeats Archive, NGI, . An additional source is a listing that Yeats sent to Lily O'Brennan on 22 May 1929 (?). See Eamon and Aine Ceannt Papers, NLI, Ms 41, 491/3.

[7] See Róisín Kennedy, 'Jack Yeats and Dublin,' in *The Only Art of Jack B Yeats: Letters and Essays*, ed. Declan Foley (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2009); Allen, *Ireland, Modernism, and Civil War*, and Karen Brown, *The Yeats circle, verbal and visual relations in Ireland, 1880–1939* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011).

earliest examples of his Dublin work, completed between 1912 and 1923. The discussion will then move on to an examination of Yeats' self-location within his city paintings 1923–1937; the intersection of his work with contemporary conversations and debates on aspects of modern life and the ills of the city, and finally then to his representation of life on and around the river Liffey.

3.1 Yeats' Early Dublin Paintings, 1912 - 1923

After his relocation to Ireland in 1910, Yeats continued his work as an illustrator and, in a small number of works included in *A Broadside*, he turned his attention to Dublin's streets. This publication was a collaboration between Yeats and his sisters Elizabeth and Susan, with a number of other artists all contributing to its production in the years 1910–1915. Four illustrations of Dublin were included in *A Broadside* showing scenes of everyday life from around the city. In *The Tatooer's* [*sic*] *Shop on the Quays of Dublin* we see a man looking at different tattoo designs in the shop window, a newspaper under one arm, and boxes and cases under the other (fig 3:2). *The Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald in a Dublin Waxworks* shows a young boy, similar to Yeats' other depictions of Dublin children staring on at the recreated scene (fig 3:3). The artist would later revisit this subject in an oil painting, *At the Waxworks* (1912, oil on panel, private collection). The *Dublin Quays* is also suggestive of Yeats' later depictions of the same scene: an older man stands on the dock beside a ship, while across the water a chimney rises from among the buildings, suggesting an industrial landscape (fig 3:4). The figurehead (akin to a large example recently shown in an exhibition of British Folk Art at Tate Britain) (fig 3:5) on the ship is distinctive, showing an oriental figure with a sword at his waist, perhaps indicative of the far-reaching trade routes of ships that docked in Dublin.

Published in February 1915, *A Scene of a Tragedy* mirrored Yeats' painting of the same year *Bachelor's Walk, In Memory* (fig 3:6). Even at this early date the artist's

interest in the people of the city is evident as well as a clear interest in, and awareness of, those on the margins of city life. This is evident in Yeats' repeated use of the city's impoverished children, as seen in *The Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald* and *A Scene of a Tragedy*. The use of the figure of a child continues throughout Yeats' Dublin paintings in the late 1910s and into the 1920s. In 1912, Yeats exhibited a painting titled *A Dublin Newsboy* at the annual RHA exhibition, marking the first time he publically exhibited a 'Dublin' painting (fig 3:7). This work shows a newsboy in tattered clothing sheltering under the portico of a classical-style building. On the occasion of its exhibition, the painting received mixed reviews, with the *Irish Times* considering it a 'dull and unemotional thing.'[8] In 1905 Yeats had sketched a similar figure, noting that the newsboy had bandaged his feet, presumably to protect them from the mire of the street in the absence of proper shoes (fig 3:8).[9]

From 1912 onwards, Yeats' early oil paintings are characterised by muted colours, using brown and grey tones similar to those often found in the work of Sickert. In *Bachelor's Walk, In Memory* Yeats combined his interest in the character of children of Dublin with contemporaneous political events (fig 3:9). Painted in 1915, but recalling the events on Bachelor's Walk in 1914, this small, dark canvas shows the thick outlines typical of Yeats' early work in oil, the legacy of his graphic art clearly visible. A young woman, carrying a flower basket (signifying her occupation as a flower seller), and wrapped in a thick woollen shawl, lays flowers at the scene where three people had been killed in the incident. Beside the ordinary yet elegant figure of the woman laying flowers, a barefoot boy with blank eyes gazes out of the canvas. Through this figure, Yeats signals again the plight of many of the city's inhabitants. *Bachelor's Walk, In Memory* has been considered as the representation of a quiet memorial of an ordinary Dubliner to those

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[8] 'The Royal Hibernian Academy Second Notice (By Our Art Critic),' *Irish Times*, 14 March 1912, 9. Contrary to this view, Hilary Pyle has suggested that Yeats' saw newsboys as "kinds of Hermes, bringing tidings of disaster or good fortune, but personifying life itself.' See Pyle, *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 178.

[9] Pyle, *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 29.

who died, as well as being 'used as a nationalist ikon [*sic*], and a symbol.'[10] In addition, Síghle Bhreathnach-Lynch has considered it to be Yeats' 'first major contemporary historical painting'.[11] Despite these interpretations of the painting, Arnold notes that Yeats himself may have considered it in different terms. In a 1921 interview, Yeats showed *Bachelor's Walk, In Memory* (which was not publically exhibited until 1922, when it was shown at the *Exposition d'Art Irlandais*, Paris) to the interviewer and commented that:

> [s]ome of our fellows had been shot along the quay here. A common flower woman, passing with a basket of carnations, dropped one or two of them as a memory-offering on the spot where one fell. They were her stock-in-trade, and I though it a noble action.[12]

This account is revealing of how Yeats approached the subject of *Bachelor's Walk* – namely the simplicity and honourable actions of the woman, regardless of the financial cost of the flowers.

Save for a rough sketch of the destroyed buildings of O'Connell Street, the Easter Rising and its effect on the city do not feature in Yeats' depictions of Dublin city (fig 3:10). The events of 1916 coincided with a period of strain in Yeats' career, and he produced little work from this time until the early 1920s. Hilary Pyle suggests that Yeats' depression was caused in part by the political situation in Ireland, exacerbated by his 'hatred of war and evil.'[13] Arnold outlines in further detail the circumstances surrounding Yeats' illness, citing family difficulties and a lack of painting sales as

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[10] Arnold, *Jack Yeats*, 191.
[11] Bhreathnach Lynch, 'Framing Ireland's History: Art, Politics and Representation 1914–1929,' 41.
[12] Jack B Yeats, quoted in Arnold, *Jack Yeats*, 193. The *Exposition d'Art Irlandais* took place at the Galeries Barbazanges, 109 Rue du Faubough-Saint Honoré, Paris, from the 28 January – 25 February 1922. A catalogue for the exhibition is in the collection of TRIARC – Irish Art Research Centre, Trinity College Dublin, IR/RP/EX.
[13] Hilary Pyle, *Jack B Yeats: A Biography* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1989), 119.

contributing factors.[14] Through the late 1910s Yeats slowly recovered from this bleak period, and began to turn his artistic attention to the city once more.

Reference has already been made to some similarities between Yeats' early painting and the work of the Camden Town School, along with Sickert's known admiration for his painting. In a 1924 lecture to the Royal Institution, Sickert commented directly on *A Westerly Wind*, a Dublin quayside scene, noting the active cityscape behind the central elements of the picture (fig 3:11).[15] Painted in 1921, the painting returns to the setting of Walter Osborne's *The Dublin Streets: A Vendor of Books*, although in his composition Yeats turns towards the Ha'penny Bridge and the Four Courts, rather than O'Connell Bridge and the Custom House. In Yeats' painting, the area appears to have has undergone significant changes. The uneven and dirty cobblestones and paving seen in the earlier work have been replaced or repaired, and a tramline now runs along the quay. Saplings have also been planted along the river wall. In contrast to the horse and carriage in Osborne's painting, driven by a coachman in a top hat, Yeats shows an idle jarvey waiting on the quayside. In Yeats' scene, the stall of second hand books is absent from the quayside, and instead, pedestrians stroll past a smart shop window with one woman pausing to look at the display. The dress of a

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[14] Arnold, *Jack Yeats*, 185-187.

[15] Walter Sickert discussed this painting at length in his 1924 lecture at the Royal Institution, praising the relationship found between figure and background in Yeats' painting. Sickert must have seen this painting at Yeats' exhibition at the Gieves Art Gallery, London, in January 1924.He noted, '[o]ne should have courage to praise people, who do well what one would like to do oneself, especially contemporaries: pointing out what future painting should be, if it is to take hold on the whole world. Such praise is not necessarily fulsome; it may equally well be discriminating. Jack Yeats in doing what I would like to urge young painters to do: painting the life of his own country. Much of our modern landscape has an imported air, and the figures are tucked away in corners. They are seldom DOING SOMETHING [sic] in the landscape. Instead, the two elements should be knit together both psychologically and pictorially. The novelists know how to use landscape as part of the things that people feel and do. Yeats' landscapes are solidly constructed and occur behind figures which are active. In his picture Westerly Wind there is a jaunting car with a child in it. The centre of the focus is the child's inspired little face and golden hair, its eyes full of wonder. Behind it, and seen though one were looking at the child, is a luminous street scene, and integral part of the whole composition. This is a rare achievement, and represents Yeats' personal conception of the idea combination of figure and landscape, or landscape with a figure accompaniment [...]' Walter Sickert, quoted in Robert Emmons, The Life and Opinions of Walter Sickert (London: Faber and Faber, 1942), 246. A further avenue of research would be to consider Yeats' representations of singers in Dublin's theatres alongside Sickert's music hall paintings.

woman just beyond the jarvey shows the changes that have taken place in women's fashion, with the length rising to mid-calf and loose silhouette, unrestricted by corsetry or a heavy shawl.

Overall, this painting gives an impression of a quietly urbane city space – the blue grey tones lend a calm atmosphere to the composition, and the long shadows suggest evening summer sunlight. The promenading couples and the jarvey's interaction with a passing dog further suggest a gentle and relaxed pace of life. *A Westerly Wind* suggests that even amongst the social issues and political upheaval of the time, everyday urban life continued and that there was space for quiet contemplation in Dublin during the early 1920s.

A central question raised by such paintings is to what extent do they reflect the conditions within which they were created, and from that, what interpretative approach to such conditions is taken by artists. Social improvement had mostly been been put on hold during the independence struggle, and in 1923 the Free State government was grappling with the rebuilding of commercial buildings in the city centre after the civil war, as well as seeking to improve the city's tenements and other housing stock.[16] Prior to the First World War, the report of the 1913 Dublin Housing Enquiry revealed the extent of the city's housing crisis: it estimated that 128,000 people were living in housing classified as tenements, when the 1911 Census counted a total population of 304,802.[17] This equates to just over 40% of the city's population. The enquiry also showed that many of the tenement houses in Dublin were, in fact, owned by members of the Corporation and that the law surrounding property inspection had not been strictly adhered to because of this.[18] Any progress that was made in regard to the housing crisis was deferred during the First World War; however in 1918 a new survey, the Report on

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[16] For more on social housing provision in the Free State see Murray Fraser, *John Bull's Other Homes: State Housing and British Policy in Ireland, 1883–1922* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996).
[17] Christian Corlett, *Darkest Dublin* (Dublin: Royal Society of Antiquaries, 2008), 53. The Housing Inquiry was established after the collapse of tenement houses on Church Street.
[18] Ibid., 64.

Dublin Housing by P.C. Cowan was submitted to the Local Government Board. Cowan produced a new plan for the city, using the model of the Garden City but also insisting that the responsibility for carrying out the plan be removed from the remit of the Corporation.[19] Cowan's ideas were strengthened by the activities of the Civics Institute of Ireland which launched a competition for a new urban plan for Dublin in 1914. As Jacinta Prunty has noted the 'period 1900-1930s was quite literally packed with promising ideas, public lectures and exhibitions, and vibrant new pressure groups [...].'[20]

Writing about the situation at the end of the nineteenth century, Mary Daly noted that the political beliefs of individuals 'took priority over the welfare of the city or its people' and the same can be said for the 1920s.[21] The 1919 Housing (Ireland) Act had promised a period of post-war building and a serious attempt to tackle the crisis, although by 1921 only eight hundred dwellings had been constructed, with just one hundred and sixty two constructed by Dublin Corporation.[22] McManus has outlined how the political situation contributed to this, with the blame partly lying in the competition between the Local Government Board for Ireland (as run by the British administration), and the 'Local Government Department', operated by Dáil Éireann.[23] Despite the work of private individuals and the public awareness of the issue no major inroads were made during the period of the War of Independence and Civil War and the *Irish Times* reported in February 1922 that '[n]one of the many problems which await solution by the Irish Free State is of more vital importance than the question of housing.'[24] On the 4 May 1923, W.T Cosgrave told the Dáil that '[t]he housing problem is, perhaps, the greatest of all problems we have got to tackle.'[25]

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[19] Prunty, *Dublin Slums*, 178-179.
[20] Ibid., 183.
[21] Daly, *Dublin, The Deposed Capital,* 239.
[22] Ruth McManus, *Such Happy Harmony: early twentieth century co-operation to solve Dublin's housing problems* (Dublin: Dublin City Public Libraries, 2005), 7.
[23] Ibid.
[24] 'Irish Housing,' *Irish Times*, 3 February 1922, 4.
[25] Dáil Éireann, Friday 4 May 1923, in Dáil Éireann Parliamentary Debates 12 April 1923–2 July 1923, 661. Harry Clarke's haunting illustration, *The Last Hour of the Night* was used as the frontispiece for Patrick Abercrombie, Sydney Kelly and Arthur Kelly's *Dublin of the Future*,

Dublin Newsboys and *In Capel Street* can be read as showing the continued effect of these issues on the city's children. *Dublin Newsboys* depicts the interior of one of the city's public houses, and two boys are seen in their characteristic caps.[26] The four men at the bar appear to ignore the children, continuing on with their conversations. The boy in the foreground, who appears older than the barefoot child leaving through the door in the background, looks out past the viewer, perhaps to a potential customer elsewhere in the bar. *In Capel Street* is a more poignant imaging of childhood in the city, showing a young girl sitting in a doorway, holding a baby. She is placed between a basket of flowers, perhaps indicating her trade, and the window of a sweetshop – a site often associated with children or used to evoke memories of a happy childhood. Around her, the street is strewn with litter, a fact almost emphasised by her proximity to it. As O'Connor notes, '[t]he door to the sweetshop is closed, as if a metaphor for the future of the young woman, the baby, and indeed, anyone else of a similar class.'[27] In this painting, Yeats has continued the motif of the flower seller seen in earlier urban painting, such as Osborne's *A Vendor of Books*, as well as highlighting the on-going social issues in the city.

In 1923, Yeats included *Dublin Newsboys* and *In Capel Street* at an exhibition of his work in 7 Stephen's Green (figs 3:12, 3:13). In light of what they reveal to a viewer today about conditions of childhood in Dublin in the 1920s, it is interesting to read how they were appraised by contemporary critics. Reviews of the exhibition were included in the main Irish newspapers in circulation at the time, however only the *Irish Independent*

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published in 1922, and succinctly portrays the issues facing the government in terms of re-building and housing. On one side, the GPO, Custom House and Four Courts are consumed by flames and opposite them, a Georgian townhouse, propped by wooden beams, crumbles around its inhabitants and the people on the street. The two side of the composition are joined by a devil-like figure, similar those found in Clarke's 1925 illustrations for Goethe's *Faust*. It is arguably the most evocative visual representation of the Dublin housing crisis.

[26] Dublin's newspaper sellers were a sizable working class presence in the city at this time, and also played their own role in the social and political strife in the city during the early twentieth century. See Donal Fallon, Sam McGrath and Ciarán Murray, 'Dublin's Newsboys of Old,' *Come Here to Me! Dublin's Other History* (Dublin: New Island, 2012), 1-5.

[27] Éimear O'Connor, 'Celebrating modern life: Seán Keating – Contemporary Contexts', *Seán Keating: Contemporary Contexts*, Cork: Crawford Art Gallery, 2012,22, exhibition catalogue.

commented on the two paintings.[28] Noting *Dublin Newsboys*, the author of the piece described it as showing

> a couple of youthful followers of that occupation [...] pursing their operations in a drinking parlour. The triumphant strut of the boy who is leaving would seem to suggest that he had got there first and had left very little trade for the other newspaper sellers.[29]

Whereas the genre or story element of *Dublin Newsboys* was praised, it was the colour and technique of *In Capel Street* that drew comment:

> [o]n the opposite wall is a small picture in which the artist shows his power of manipulating colour. It represents a flower seller seated on a doorstep in Capel Street, Dublin, with a baby on her lap and a basket of flowers beside her. It is excellently painted.[30]

Seen in light of the on-going social problems in the city, these comments suggest that to the 1920s viewer the sight of such young children working on the city's streets was unremarkable, or indeed that there was an unwillingness to consider the social reality of the lives of those portrayed by Yeats. Additionally, it might be considered that to make such work appealing to potential buyers, elements such as the narrative or aesthetics of the scene needed to be emphasised by the artist. In this reading, Yeats' paintings of Dublin children can be seen as a continuation of depictions of 'waifs' or 'street arabs', as discussed in the previous chapter in relation to nineteenth century painting.

Overall, these early paintings of the city by Yeats demonstrate the artist's interest in the life of the city and its inhabitants, most notably those who worked and lived on the

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[28] For reviews in the *Irish Times* and *Freeman's Journal* see, 'Connemara and Dublin: Mr Jack B Yeats' New Studies of Irish Life,' *Irish Times*, 28 April 1923, 7 and 'Mr J B Yeats' Pictures,' *Freeman's Journal*, 26 April 1923, 8.
[29] The Art of Mr J B Yeats,' *Irish Independent*, April 26 1923, 4.
[30] Ibid.

margins of civic society. These early works by Yeats comprise of small vignettes of everyday life in Dublin, offering a view into the city of the early twentieth century. Through their focus on the ordinary, daily routines of the city, they offer something of a visual companion to the different episodes of *Dubliners*, Joyce's collection of twelve short stories published in 1914. Commenting on this collection, Joyce wrote to his publisher that '[i]t is not my fault that the odour of ashpits and old weeds and offal hangs around my stories', and a sense of this decay and of paralysis can be found in Yeats' paintings.[31] Like the city found in *Dubliners*, which, it has been noted, 'engaged with a culture, a place and a time that was remote already by the middle years of the war', Yeats' paintings of Dublin in the early years of the 1920s could be portraying life in the city much earlier in the century, with *Bachelor's Walk* standing as a sole reference point to contemporary political events.[32]

In looking at the everyday lives of these Dubliners, Yeats' work can also be considered alongside that of an earlier group of American artists who also made the city their subject. During the Progressive Era (1895–1917) urban culture had flourished in America, as Yeats himself witnessed during his stay in New York in 1904, and a group of artists based in that city known as the Ashcan school epitomised the type of urban painting being produced through the early decades of the twentieth century. The Ashcan painters came to prominence in 1908, although their work was seen by some critics as conservative and derived from French Impressionism.[33] For Rebecca Zurier, the Ashcan artists 'sought to locate beauty in the everyday and among the working classes', and their paintings show urban scenes that resonate with Yeats' depictions of Dublin, representing, for instance, streets, parks, shops and stalls, and urban entertainments such as boxing matches, cinemas and theatres.[34]

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[31] Letter from James Joyce to Grant Richards, 23 June 1906. In *Letters of James Joyce*, ed. Stuart Gilbert (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), 63-64.
[32] Nicholas Allen, 'Ireland, Empire, and the Archipelago', UCD Scholarcast, series 7 (Spring 2013), 'The Literatures and Cultures of the Irish Sea', edited by John Brannigan and PJ Matthews, http://www.ucd.ie/scholarcast/scholarcast28.html.
[33] Zurier, *Picturing the City*,23.
[34] Ibid., 31

Like Yeats, many of the painters associated with the Ashcan school, such as George Bellows (1882–1925), Robert Henri (1865–1929), John Sloan (1871–1951), George Luks (1867–1933) and William J. Glackens (1870–1938), had begun their careers as illustrators working for newspapers and other publications, with several based in Philadelphia (figs 3:14, 3:15, 3:16). Henri brought the group together in New York in 1907-08, when they exhibited together as 'The Eight'.[35] It is interesting to consider that many of the group had worked as illustrators, as this had also been the case earlier in the nineteenth century in Britain, with the urban paintings of artists such as Luke Fildes and Frank Holl.[36] Another connection lies between Yeats and the Ashcan painters, albeit moving away from a similar career path and a shared interest in urban subjects.

When Jack's father, John Butler Yeats (1839–1922) relocated to New York in 1908, he became friendly with both Henri and Sloan. In 1910, Sloan painted himself alongside John Yeats in the garden of the Petitpas' boarding house in a work simply titled *Yeats at Petitpas'* (fig 3:17). From their extant letters, Sloan was particularly close to John, a curious friendship given that Sloan was so much younger in fact, that he was an exact contemporary of Jack's – the two younger artists being born within twenty days of each other in August 1871. Although there is no evidence to suggest that Jack met any of the artists that would go on to form the Ashcan school during his visit in 1904, it is possible that he maintained some contact with them, given his father's personal friendship with them, as through his life as their contact details appear in his address book.[37]

Yeats' sketchbooks from his time in New York are filled with sketches of subjects that form the core themes of the Ashcan School although he did not develop these into

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[35] Janet Marstine, 'Eight, the (ii).' *Oxford Art Online. Grove Art Online*. Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T025690.
[36] See Philip McEvansoneya, "Dismal Art" or "Strong, realistic pictures"? Luke Fildes, Frank Holl and 'social realism'," (PhD Diss., University of Leicester, 1992).
[37] Address Book, Yeats Archive, NGI, Y1/JJ/4/1/3. Yeats also owned a catalogue for an exhibition of Sloan's work held in New York in 1948 (Yeats Archive, NGI, Y1/JY/18/11).

finished oil paintings. Yeats work was included in the Amory Show in 1913 (as were works by the Ashcan painters), however the works selected were of rural Irish scenes. By the time Yeats came to paint the city more frequently, many of The Eight had begun to move away from the Ashcan style, finding new subjects and painting styles that were better suited to the changing times. As will become evident in the discussion of Harry Kernoff later in this thesis, the Ashcan painters form an important section in the history of urban painting in the twentieth century, and were influential for many artists, in America and further afield, later in the century.

In 1922, Yeats offered a glimmer of insight into how he approached his painting, as well as his views of modern art more generally. Presented as a lecture at the Irish Race Congress in Paris, *Aspects of Modern Irish Art* was also published as a small pamphlet.[38] While the contents are of interest to Yeats' scholarship more generally, his comments on the city in art are of more particular relevance here. 'Life in Ireland is nearer to nature than is a country overspread with cities,' Yeats noted, 'not that cities do not hold plenty of things to appeal to the memory of the eye. But for the artist to live too long among houses and streets is liable to introduce to dense a veil between his eyes and nature.'[39] He later continued that '[i]t is most necessary that the phases of the life in our big towns and cities should be painted. But the artist will be bothered with many pitfalls, he is too often tempted to see things in the form that others have seen them and not with his own fresh eye.'[40] These statements can be seen to reveal something of Yeats' attitude towards the city; while it is part of everyday life, and therefore worth documenting in art, the artist should also be wary of committing too much time to the subject and that the inherent originality of the painter's view can be lost when concentrating on such a

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[38] See Jack B Yeats, *Aspects of Modern Irish Art* (Dublin: Brown and Nolan for Cumann Léigheacht an Phobail, 1922). For more on the Irish Race Congress see Paul Murray, 'The Irish Race Congress, 21–28 January 1922,' *History Ireland* 9, no. 4 (2001). http://www.historyireland.com/20th-century- contemporary-history/the-irish-race-congress-21-28-january-1922/ and Michael Hayes, Douglas Hyde, and Eoin MacNeill, 'Report on the Irish Race Conference in Paris,' January 1922, Documents on Irish Foreign Policy, NAI DFA ES Box 11 File 77, http://www.difp.ie/docs/1922/Irish-Race-Convention-Paris/239.htm.

[39] Jack B Yeats, *Modern Aspects of Irish Art*, 6.

[40] Ibid., 7.

mediated environment. This suggests that Yeats was both interested in and wary of the city as an artistic subject. Focusing on the latter of these feelings, the following section will explore Yeats' possible self-location within many of his Dublin paintings

3.2 Locating Jack B Yeats in Dublin, 1923–1937

Writing about Yeats' depiction of Dublin, Róisín Kennedy commented that *The Liffey Swim* (fig 3:18) is 'a significant attempt to represent a new kind of capital city, one that is willing to move on from the division of previous years, and indeed, previous centuries.'[41] Painted in 1923, after the end of the Civil War (1922–23), the colourful depiction of crowds enjoying the spectacle of the race contrasts strongly to the black and white photographs of the destroyed city, which had been in public circulation since the Easter Rising in 1916. The painting of the annual swim came to public prominence in 1924, when it was awarded a silver medal at the Paris Olympics. When exhibited the following year at the RHA, the *Irish Times* commented that the 'charm of the picture is in the people, those men and women of ordinary life to whom Mr Yeats gives life on canvas.'[42] Among these 'ordinary people' gathered on the quayside the artist includes a self-portrait, including himself among the onlookers. Wearing a grey fedora, his gaze turns towards the right hand corner of the canvas and over the heads of the people around him: this figure appears more concerned with watching the crowd than watching the swimmers in the water. This section will discuss how Yeats often located himself in his urban paintings, and how this relates to themes associated with the modern city.

During this period of his career Yeats took on many characteristics of the urban

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[41] Kennedy, 'Jack Yeats and Dublin,' 154. The Liffey swim began in 1920, and was a popular attraction in the city. Yeats' depiction of the event was first exhibited in 1923, although the painting itself is not dated. Newspaper accounts for the event in 1923 note that race was marred by 'a continuous downpour', although this did not prevent 'the same huge crowd of spectators that witnessed the previous races in this event' ('Swimming: The Liffey Race,' *Irish Times*, 21 August 1923). No mention of the weather is made in the report of the inaugural race, but it was noted that 'for the entire distance both north and south sides of the river were densely packed with spectators, many thousands witnessing the race' ('Swimming: The Liffey Race, A Unique Event,' *Irish Times*, 23 July 1920). In 1922, the race took place 'in fine weather', perhaps more akin to the blue sky seen in Yeats' painting ('Liffey Swimming Race: Victory of H Dockrell,' *Irish Times*, 17 August 1922).

[42] 'Royal Hibernian Academy,' *Irish Times*, 6 April 1925, 6.

observer – perhaps not a *flâneur*, but certainly and avid witness, spectator and perhaps even voyeur of daily life in Dublin. Kennedy has noted how Yeats' walks through the city gave the artist the air of a *flâneur*, although, she asserts, Dublin could not compare to the great metropolitan centres and that this 'prevented or severely compromised any possibility of attaining the status of a true *flâneur* [...]' if the artist had such an ambition.[43] With the publication of James Joyce's *Ulysses* in 1922, the act of walking in Dublin took on a new significance, as readers followed the perambulations of Leopold Bloom through the city.[44] Fionna Barber has recently likened Yeats' depiction of the city to Joyce's novel, and further comparison can be made here with Harry Kernoff, an artist who will be discussed in the following chapter.[45] Items in the Yeats' archive give further evidence of his routine of walking through the city – for example, he made lists of old shop and street signs that he noticed throughout Dublin and his sketch books are filled with quick drawings of scenes from the city's streets.[46]

As Rebecca Zurier has noted, to restrict the trope of the urban observer to 'the concept of the *flâneur* as defined by Charles Baudelaire and later elaborated by Walter Benjamin [...]', 'actually limits our understanding of the varied personalities and attitudes towards urban visions such figures could embody'.[47] This omission also precludes a discussion of an urban observer who was at once both familiar with the city around them and alienated or isolated from it. For as much as the *flâneur* relished the life of the modern city, this view could be countered by the characterisation and understanding of the city as a place that 'provoked anxieties about its capacity to

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43 Kennedy, 'Jack Yeats and Dublin,' 158.
44 Allen also notes that there are 'hints of Joyce's own project in *Ulysses* in a sketchbook of Dublin in 1922, inspired perhaps by Yeats' ownership of copies of the *Little Review* that included the novel's early drafts [...].' See Allen, *Modernism, Ireland, and Civil War*, 150.
45 Barber, *Art in Ireland Since 1910*, 50.
46 J1/JY/4/1/7, Yeats Archive, NGI. This quaint listing seems to have become a talking point among Yeats' social circle – in 1929 he sent Lily O'Brennan (1878–1948) a letter with a similar list to that in his own notebook (Letter from Jack B Yeats to Lily O'Brennan, 22 May 1929 (?), Eamon and Aine Ceannt Papers, NLI, Ms 41, 491/3). In 1935 journalist Kitty Clive wrote that Yeats had 'presented me with a list of all the old signs which adorn the business houses in the principal streets and along the quays. Mr Yeats [...] is a great walker.'(Kitty Clive, 'Echoes' of the Town,' *Irish Times*, 29 March 1935, 3).
47 Zurier, *Picturing the City*, 91.

consume and destroy, rather than to create and nurture [...].'[48] By considering Yeats' urban paintings in relation to the figure of the urban observer and the allied themes of alienation and isolation these works offer a reading of how Yeats perceived his place within the city and how these paintings relate to the wider anxieties felt towards the modern city.

Moving away from the identifiable self-portrait seen in *The Liffey Swim,* from the early 1920s, a recurrent theme in Yeats' urban paintings is that of the isolated male figure, which often takes on the physical characteristics of the artist. Bruce Arnold described the appearance of the artist in the 1920s as follows; '[h]is tall figure had become leaner as a result of his illness, and the bone structure of his face, which in later years was to become quite cadaverous, gave it a stern authority.'[49] A figure fitting this description can be traced through a range of Yeats' paintings from 1923 onwards, taking in recognisable locations around the city, such as O'Connell Bridge, and more transient spaces, such as a tram carriage. As noted elsewhere in this thesis, depictions of urban life often extend beyond the literal representation of the city's urban environment. In nineteenth-century paintings of the city, the tram carriage was frequently used to symbolise progressive urbanisation and the modernity of the city, as well as offering a convenient space to bring together the range of human life contained in a busy city. Although the tram service had been in operation in Dublin since the late 1870s, Yeats appears to have been one of the first artists in Ireland to choose it and its users as a subject for painting. In 1923, the artist completed two contrasting depictions of tram interiors, testament to the continual development of his painting technique at this time.

Painted in the same early, 'naturalist' style discussed in the previous section, *In the Tram* shows a group of well-dressed women in conversation on a moving tram (fig 3:19). Placed on the right-hand side of the composition, their closeness seems to emphasise the solitary isolation of the man seated on the left. The palette of *In the Tram*

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[48] Marshall, *City of Gold and Mud*, 22.
[49] Arnold, *Jack Yeats*, 202.

is more sombre, with brown and grey tones prevalent. Looking out of tram window, both Pyle and Kennedy have identified the green verdure of the Phoenix Park, suggested by Yeats' own reference to the painting as 'In the Lucan Tram' or 'The Merry Wives of Lucan'.[50] In contrast to the sedate colouring and atmosphere of *In the Tram*, *A Full Tram* gives quite a different portrayal of this mode of transportation and signals a change in Yeats' colouring and technique (fig 3:20). In this painting, the canvas is filled with strongly contrasting colours, from the golden yellow of the carriage roof, the brown tones of some of the passengers clothing, to the dark shadows of the right and left foreground. The viewer of the painting looks directly down the length of the carriage, peering over the shoulder of the woman on the right-hand side. Through this perspective Yeats conveys a sense of the narrow, crowded space and the long brush strokes that make up the carriage floor lend a sense of movement to the composition.

Like *In the Tram* Yeats again includes the figure of the solitary man however in this instance the figure is more suggestive of the artist himself. When compared to the figure shown in *The Liffey Swim*, there are similarities in clothing (especially the trilby hat), and the figure is also evocative of Arnold's description of Yeats. The figure stands in the left-hand middle-ground of the composition, holding-on to an overhead strap. His face is turned down, composed only of a series of short, suggestive brush strokes. None of the surrounding passengers engage with him (or with each other for that matter), although the gaze of the woman in the foreground does seem to be directed towards him. Standing just outside of the tram doors, and fashionably dressed with a cloche-style hat, she has attracted the attention of the two men in the left-hand foreground, who both turn their heads towards her. Through these figures the act of looking or observing is woven into the painting itself, echoing the wider discussion around the idea of the observer of modern life. In addition, Yeats conveys the sense of isolation of the people depicted: despite the full carriage, there is little sense of community or communal

[50] Kennedy, 'Jack Yeats and Dublin,' 155 and Pyle, *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol.I, 177.

experience, and the majority of the figures shown seem engrossed in their own worlds and thoughts.[51]

Touches of the golden light seen in *A Full Tram* are seen in *O'Connell Bridge*, suggestive here of the reflection of street lighting on the passing figures and the water of the river Liffey (fig 3:21). In a similar way to the painting of the carriage interior, Yeats uses the natural perspective of the river and quays to add a sense of depth to the composition. In the foreground a number of figures cross the bridge, among them the artist and his wife, walking towards the north side of the city.[52] An unusual figure is shown standing to the artist's left, dressed in a similar hat and coat but with his face shown completely in black. Moving towards the trio, a woman with a shawl wrapped around her shoulders can be seen on the right hand side of the painting, her facial features loosely portrayed but highly coloured. Cottie walks a pace or two behind the artist, her face illuminated by yellow light. It has been suggested that this was not the first time Yeats included his wife in his Dublin paintings, and that she is also shown with the artist in *The Liffey Swim*. Furthermore, the clothing worn by this figure in *O'Connell Bridge* is similar to that of the female figure depicted in *A Full Tram*, and perhaps this is also a reference to Cottie.

From the Tram Top, painted in 1927, expands on the themes of *A Full Tram* (fig 3:22). Removed from the confines of the carriage a man surveys the street below him, where thickly applied lines and dashes of paint suggest people on the pavement. Described by one critic as 'phantom-like', the man is also reminiscent of the figure shown in *A Full Tram* and *O'Connell Bridge*, and therefore of the artist himself.[53] Whereas the previous painting showed the artist-figure as being observed by others,

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[51] Thinking about the lack of open interaction between the figures in this painting, it is interesting to keep in mind the possible impact of the War of Independence, which played out in the city's streets, on the populace.

[52] As identified by Pyle. See Pyle, *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 227.

[53] P G Konody, 'Art and Artists: Mr Jack B Yeats' Pictures of Irish Life,' *The Observer*, 6 July 1930, 14. Pyle also suggests that this figure could represent the artist himself. See Pyle, *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 299.

here the elevated position places him above those around him and firmly in the position of the onlooker. The sense of height in the painting is emphasised by the buildings that frame the canvas and that, like the tram, rise over the people below. Through the use of brown, black, and ochre tones, along with the blank, dark windows, the buildings on the right-hand side have a menacing air, while also adding to the sense of confinement by blocking out the sky.

The restriction of the sky to only a small section of the canvas is repeated in Yeats' later painting, *Morning in a City* (fig 3:23). Painted ten years after *From the Tram Top*, Yeats has made use of the tall Georgian houses to frame the busy foreground of the painting, where people can be seen hurrying to start their day. Among them the figure of the artist stands in isolation from his surroundings, his (distorted) face turned towards the viewer. Kennedy interprets Yeats' self-location at the centre of this painting as demonstrating how the artist is now at the heart of his painting (in contrast to the side lines, as in *The Liffey Swim*), and where the 'city is presented as being at the service of the artist [...].'[54] When compared to the other artworks discussed in this section, and when considered within the themes of alienation and isolation within the modern city, this reading of the painting can be questioned. While the figure does occupy a more central position in the canvas, he appears as isolated from the people around him as in early paintings like *A Full Tram*. In addition, the supportive figure of Cottie does not appear in this painting as seen in *A Full Tram* or *O'Connell Bridge*, and the other figures do not show any concern for the lone figure. While there are similar compositional elements, the sense of power instilled by the high vantage point in *From the Tram Top* has disappeared: returned to the level of the street, the artist becomes part of the ever moving crowd, rather than being master of it. Furthermore, the dark carmine red of the buildings on either side, and the red glow of the street, are suggestive of a claustrophobic and repressive atmosphere, reinforcing the closed-in feeling created by the buildings

[54] Kennedy, 'Jack Yeats and Dublin,' 157.

which frame the sides and far end of the street.

3.3 Painting Modern Dublin?

Dress and Dancing: representing the 'New Woman'?

An examination of Yeats' city paintings through the 1920s reveals how elements of urban life and culture found their way into his art. This section will outline responses and reactions to modern culture in Ireland, and then relate these to Yeats' depiction of women in the urban environment. Through the 1920s, including the period through the War of Independence and Civil War, Dublin was not immune to the latest trends in modern culture, including fashion, music and dancing. Contemporary newspapers report the interest taken in this culture, especially in Dublin, where new fashions were not only the preserve of women, as an article on 'Dublin's Beau Brummels' reported in December 1921. While women's fashions were seen to be limited to '[s]ubdued shades [...] navy, brown, or terracotta [...]', Dublin's modern young man 'delights in brilliant colours, and his resplendent garb is calculated to put shame to the colours of the rainbow [...].'[55] A further description of a fashionable young Dublin man is given, and reads

> [t]he hat is placed at an angle regulated to a degree, the coat has one button, and above and below a vivid waistcoat or cardigan glares forth. The trousers are short, so that the bright, rainbow socks may not be concealed, and beneath are dainty shoes, defiled by the mud of Dublin streets. The ties, collars, and gloves also "speak for themselves."[56]

Alongside such descriptions and despite the 'subdued colours' then in favour, women's interest columns gave advice on shorter skirt lengths, including a new Parisian style where 'the skirt finishes above the knee', the trend for larger handbags and small cloche hats, the height of heels and in 1923, a pattern for a flapper-style dress.[57] The changes in

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[55] Dublin's Beau Brummels,' *Irish Times*, 28 December 1921, 6.
[56] Ibid.
[57] 'Women's Work & Interests: Skirts Above the Knees New Paris Fashion,' *Irish Times*, 14 August

fashion were matched by an increasing interest in jazz and new dance forms, with all of the major Dublin hotels and venues hosting jazz bands and cabaret acts. Curfew measures during the War of Independence did not deter dancers, with events held through the night on occasion.[58] While exhibitions of new dances were popular, and often at the centre of cabaret and dance shows, dancing lessons teaching the latest steps were also advertised in newspapers, for example, Professor Munro of 12 Duke Street offered '[a]ll Dancing, Jazz, Charleston, Foxtrot, Jigs, Reels, Waltzing, etc., learnt immediately [...].'[59] In 1923, the 'Cocktail Syncopators' played at the Theatre Royal along with the 'Martinis', a group of dancers who were 'celebrated as what are called ballroom dancers, but their performance here is a whirlwind variety, such as no one could expect to see elsewhere [...].[60] A report on a dance held at the Metropole Ballroom, O'Connell Street in 1927 featured 'Percival Mackay's [*sic*] band, and the cabaret "turns" by Miss Monti Ryan, Miss Dickie Dixon, and Mr Harry Robbins.'[61] Monti Ryan was Irish, and was later married to band leader Percival Mackey (fig 3:24).[62] At the Metropole, she 'gave impression of eccentric dancing, danced the 'Apache,' and gave exhibitions of the Charleston and the Blackbottom [*sic*].'[63]

As Allen has outlined, 1920s Dublin was a contested space, where the differing interests of a wide variety of groups and individuals were made manifest through the

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1920. See also, 'Floral Fashions: Big Handbags and Small Hats,' *Irish Times*, 29 April 1922; P.W 'The Height of Heels,' *Irish Times*, 10 May 1923, 'Paper Patterns for Home Workers: Flapper's Dress,' 22 September 1923, 6.

[58] See 'Fancy Dress Ball,' *Irish Times*, 17 March 1920, 8 and 'A Bohemian Dance,' *Irish Times*, 6 April 1921, 4. The Bohemian Dance at the La Scala Ballroom was scheduled to run from 'Curfew to 6 a.m,' and the advertisement claimed that 'Special Arc Lights are being installed to take a cinema picture of the Dance.'

[59] 'Dancing,' *Irish Independent*, 20 December, 1927, 10.

[60] 'Theatre Royal,' *Freemans Journal*, 1 May 1923, 8.

[61] 'Last Night's Dance: London Band at Metropole Ballroom,' *Irish Times*, 11 October 1927, 8.

[62] 'Mackey, Monti (Mrs Percival Mackey),' *British Film and Television Year Book, 1956–57*, ed. Peter Noble (London: Cinema TV Today, 1957), 209.

[63] 'Last Night's Dance: London Band at Metropole Ballroom,' *Irish Times*, 11 October 1927, 8. The apache was '[a] fast and racy dance routine [...]. It features a violent male [...] displaying his machismo in brutal, erotic partnership with a scantily clad girlfriend.' See Craine, Debra, and Judith Mackrell, 'Apache Dance.' *The Oxford Dictionary of Dance*, Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199563449.001.0001/acref-9780199563449-e-122.The black bottom dance had become popular in 1926, and was similar to the Charleston. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online* s.v. 'black bottom'.http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/67672/blackbottom.

city's social and cultural life.[64] Describing and analysing the different 'little magazines, cabaret clubs, riots and theatres [...]' that emerged through the 1920s, Allen demonstrates how these contributed to the cultural and artistic life of the city, as well as linking to or reacting to, the ongoing conversation about national identity.[65] Éimear O'Connor has recently considered the writings of Clifford Geertz in relation to artist Seán Keating, the Irish Free State and emergent modernism in Ireland, considering how these can be applied to the '[...] cultural production of post-colonial communities, as Ireland was in the early twentieth century.'[66] Geertz suggests that there is no simple progression from 'traditional' to 'modern,' but a twisting, spasmodic, unmethodical movement which turns as often toward repossessing the emotions of the past as disowning them.[67]

O'Connor cites the riots at the Abbey Theatre during the premiere of *The Playboy of the Western World* and the reaction to Mainie Jellet's exhibition of abstract painting in 1923 as examples of this tension.[68] This tension can also be seen in relation to the reception of new fashions and dancing styles in Ireland. The arrival and spread of international fashion and culture in Ireland was not embraced by all, and their rise in popularity was mirrored by increasing public outcry, notably from figures within the Catholic church and the Gaelic League, often aimed at women in particular. In his Lenten Pastoral in 1920, the Bishop of Limerick focused on 'the question of female dress and attendance at picture exhibitions [...]', as well as the dangers of modern

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[64] See chapter three 'The plough and the cabaret,' in Allen, *Ireland, Modernism, and Civil War*, 42-65. Using the example of Ernie O'Malley, Allen demonstrates how the republicans in Dublin created a 'hidden city of secrecy and recognition', through 'chance meetings and dances at ceilidhs and debates.' (42-43). At dances, '[s]et and Continental dancing were disallowed as non- national and the dance floor was a space for dancing as much as movement.' (44). See also Nicholas Allen, 'Cabaret, sex and independence: publishing in the early Free State,' *Print Culture and Intellectual Life in Ireland 1660–1941*, ed. Martin Fanning and Raymond Gillespie (Dublin: The Woodfield Press, 2006).

[65] Allen, *Ireland, Modernism and Civil War*, 2.

[66] O'Connor, 'Celebrating modern life: Seán Keating – Contemporary Contexts,' 8.

[67] Clifford Geertz, 'The Politics of Meaning,' in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 319.

[68] O'Connor, 'Celebrating modern life: Seán Keating – Contemporary Contexts', 8.

dancing which 'were gradually creeping into their midst in the city [...].'[69] The Bishop contrasted traditional Irish dancing, which was felt to be 'the maximum of gracefulness, exercise, and entertainment, with the minimum of danger.'[70] On the other hand, new dances were 'from their very nature and from the bearing and attitude of those engaged in them, are not only dangerous, but immodest and sinful.'[71] In 1924, Cardinal Logue reinforced these fears in another Lenten Pastoral, which again targets women's dress and dancing. The *Irish Times* reported that the Cardinal 'had often felt an impulse to pass over women presenting themselves for Holy Communion in such unbecoming dress' and that while '[h]e knew nothing of the character of the imported dances, [...] their names are bizarre enough, and from those that had seen them he formed the opinion that they are the outcrop of the corruption of the age, most objectionable on the score of morality.'[72] The censorship of women's clothing by the Catholic Church in Ireland was reinforced later in 1925, when Pope Pius XI also condemned current 'immodest' fashions.[73]

The connection made between traditional Irish dancing and a purer form of entertainment by the Bishop of Limerick in 1920 was often used in criticism of modern dancing through the 1920s. In 1921, a reader of the *Freeman's Journal* wrote to the editor to add their voice to previous complaints that during the celebrations following the truce that closed the War of Independence, '[i]t was alleged that some of our bravest and best could find nothing better in the way of dancing that foreign importations, such as jazz and the like.'[74] For this reader however, it was the mix of traditional Irish dancing and modern dancing that provoked the most ire, and they called for 'some authoritative body [...]' to 'issue a warning against what is known as a "Ceilidh and Dance".'[75] The

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[69] 'Women's Work & Interests: Bishop of Limerick and Female Dress and Dancing,' *Irish Times*, 28 February 1920, 6.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] 'Modern Dancing: Condemnation in Lenten Pastorals,' *Weekly Irish Times*, 8 March 1924, 5.
[73] 'The Pope's Dress Crusade,' *Weekly Irish Times*, 19 July 1925, 9.
[74] G, 'Irish Dance Programmes,' *Freeman's Journal*, 26 August 1921, 6.
[75] Ibid.

author called for a boycott of mixed dance events, stating that while '[t]hose who desire jazzing and its kindred freaks are entitled to them [...] a ceilidh should be exclusively a ceilidh and nothing else.'[76] Through the 1920s the Gaelic League objected to the proliferation of new dances, and at their annual conference in 1928 the general secretary, Frank Fahy, charged the league to take control of dancing so that 'Irish dances might be encouraged and placed above all other kinds of dances.'[77] Fahy's remarks were, according to the *Weekly Irish Times* report, supported by the League's President, Cormac Breathnach, who said that 'the young men of the country were blameable for the neglect of Irish dances, because they were satisfied with whirling around in "jazz" and other foreign dancing.'[78]

That taking part in non-traditional dances was considered by some as un-patriotic, is further illustrated in a letter to the *Irish Independent* dating to 1926, which stated that

> the modern dance can sap so insidiously at his [the traditional dancer] nationality as nothing can do; it can bring him into company opposed in every way to the kind of people he meets at the Gaelic League; it can lure him to other places where Irish is mocked at and Irish dancers are considered 'ungenteel.'[79]

Furthermore, the author felt that

> [f]oreign dances and their dancers produce the type of mind which can write a play in which the Irish boy is represented as half a fool, laughed at by the Anglo-Irish for his accent, laughed at by a Dublin audience because he is "only a country boy." The Gaelic Leaguer is right – we want no jazzers.[80]

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[76] Ibid.
[77] 'Jazz Condemned by the Gaelic League,' *Weekly Irish Times*, 15 September, 1928, 6.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Aoife Nic Fhirdia, 'Gaelic League and Jazz,' *Irish Independent*, 29 September, 1926, 9.
[80] Ibid.

The sentiments of this author raise some interesting issues. They reinforce the idea of modern dances as alien to Irish culture, and the involvement of individuals with them as being unpatriotic. An element of danger is suggested by the idea of being 'lured' away from traditional dances and into something that is harmful and unsafe, and will only lead to ridicule by those who are either not involved with the League, or who do not support it. There is also the suggestion in this letter of both class-tensions and friction between urban and rural Ireland. Dublin is associated here with an Anglo-Irish class, engaged in a more middle-class activities, and who mock the rural Irish, associated in this instance with the ideals of the Gaelic League. Furthermore, it is this audience (and indeed, playwright) who have been influenced and corrupted by non-Irish dances, or non-Irish culture.[81]

These issues around the dangers of new fashions and dances were often raised in relation to women, and as Maria Luddy's research has shown, these fears were often connected to wider discussions and anxieties over sexuality and morality. As Luddy points out, prior to the founding of the Free State, the blame for sexual issues such as venereal disease and high levels of illegitimate births was often laid with the British garrisons stationed in Ireland. However, when the incidence rates of such issues grew after 1922, it was more difficult to place the blame in this quarter, and the private lives of Irish women came under renewed scrutiny.[82] While a strong focus was placed on the issue of prostitution, Luddy notes that in their (unpublished) report, the Inter-Departmental Committee of Inquiry regarding Venereal Disease identified a new target to blame for the spread of the disease, 'a young woman who engaged in sexual activity

[81] For a further discussion on these issues in relation to identity-formation and the Irish Free State, see Louise Ryan, 'Negotiating Modernity and tradition: Newspaper debates on the 'modern girl' in the Irish Free State,' *Journal of Gender Studies* 7, no.2 (1998): 181-197. doi: 10.1080/09589236.1998.9960711.

[82] Maria Luddy, 'Sex and the Single Girl in 1920s and 1930s Ireland,' *The Irish Review*, 35 (2007): 85.

without looking for monetary gain.'[83] The report labelled these women as a prostitute, thus allying 'the sexuality of young women with that of the stigmatized prostitute.'[84] It is tempting to consider this newly emerging figure within the broader American and European trend for increasingly liberal (and sexually active) young women that emerged in the 1920s.

Returning to Yeats' paintings of urban scenes in the 1920s, a correlation can be found between the themes and issues outlined above and his representations of women in the city. The interaction between two women in *A Flower Girl, Dublin* (fig 3:25) is observed by a male figure, possibly the companion of the woman in the red hat, who stands against the bright lights of a shop window, turned towards the viewer but looking towards the two women. To the left of the composition two other male figures stand in the shadows, but do not engage with the other figures. Yeats makes clear the social distinctions between the two women through their dress, one wears a fur evening coat and fashionable cloche hat, while flower seller is bareheaded and wears a black shawl rather than a full coat. However, there is a clear distinction between this flower seller and other depictions of the same figure in Yeats' other works, such as *Bachelor's Walk, In Memory* or the two women shown in *The Merchant's Arch* (fig 3:26).[85]

Rather than being shown in a long skirt and thick woollen shawl, the figure in *A Flower Girl, Dublin* wears a shorter, more fashionable length skirt or dress, smart heels and has her hair cut into a bob style. She does not carry many flowers, or hold a basket of her wares, but her status is indicated, according to Pyle, by the 'red rose on the girl's arm, which the lady is eyeing [...].'[86] With this painting, Yeats has deviated from the established modes of representing the urban flower seller. Her clothing and the setting of the painting are more strongly suggestive of the modern urban environment, rather

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[83] Ibid., 86.
[84] Ibid.

[85] This is also noted by Kennedy. See Kennedy, 'Jack Yeats in Dublin,' 156.
[86] Pyle, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. I, 278.

than the pastoral associations and clear class distinctions seen, for example, in Victorian painting.[87] Through the increased availability of cheaper clothing, bought off the peg rather than being handmade, the class distinctions once inherently obvious through dress were becoming blurred through the 1920s, and arguably, this is evident in *A Flower Girl, Dublin.*[88]

A later painting by Yeats, *Jazz Babies*, may also refer to this liberated woman (fig 3:27). American in origin, the term 'jazz baby' was used to describe a '[v]ivacious young woman', defining the attributes now associated with the quintessential 1920s flapper.[89] The painting itself, mainly composed in variations of orange, red and black tones, shows a group of people in an interior, including a fashionably dressed couple in the centre of the composition. While there is no concrete evidence to show that this composition was conceived to show Dublin specifically, its subject matter is strongly based in urban life and culture and arguably could be drawn from Yeats' experiences in Dublin, or other cities such as London and New York.[90] While it has been suggested that the interior depicted is a shop with records on display on the counter, and clothing hanging in the background, it might also be considered that what this painting shows is a fashionable gathering in a bar or restaurant.[91] Yeats had previously painted bar scenes drawn from

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[87] See Marshall, *City of Gold and Mud* for a discussion of the flower seller, also mentioned in Chapter Two of this thesis.

[88] Catherine Horwood, *Keeping Up Appearances: Fashion and Class Between the Wars* (Stroud: The History Press, 2nd ed, 2011), 6. See also, Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion: a new history of fashionable dress* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 181-224.

[89] Berrey, Lester V., and Melvin Van den Bark, *The American Thesaurus of Slang: A Complete Reference Book of Colloquial Slang* (London: Harrap, 1954), 363-364

[90] Róisín Kennedy places this work within Yeats' depictions of Dublin life in the 1920s. See Kennedy, 'Jazz Babies', Important Irish Art, Adam's, 5 December 2011, accessed 9 January 2014, http://www.adams.ie/searchresult?auction_no=0&excl_keyword=&gridtype=&high_estimate=&ipp=10&keyword=Jazz%20Babies&lot_id=8175&low_estimate=&page_no=1&sort_by=&view=lot_detail The paintings discussed so far in this chapter have generally been of identifiable scenes in Dublin, recognisable either from their features or their title. The exception here is *Jazz Babies*, which Nicholas Allen has described as showing 'Dubliners who might be taken for New Yorkers [...].' (Allen, *Ireland, Modernism and Civil War*, 161) Other examples like this can be found within Yeats' oeuvre, that is, paintings which strongly suggest an urban setting and the themes of urban life, but which are not as concerned with depicting a specific site, or titles which do not name the setting. With Yeats this feature is further complicated by his increasing use of memories and fantasy settings, seen in works such as *Drive Through a City in Fairyland* (1938, oil on canvas, private collection), which Pyle comments is 'a fantasy, in which the forms, though enhanced, are recognisable as being from Yeats' experienced background, and the scene is obviously Dublin.' (Pyle, *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol.I, 464).

[91] Kennedy, 'Jazz Babies,' Important Irish Art, Adam's, 5 December 2011.

his travels around Ireland, such as *The Railway Bar* (fig 3:28), *A Window in Kinsale* (1925, oil on panel, private collection), and *A Glass of Port* (1925, oil on canvas, private collection), but this example shows a clear difference in style – both in terms of the technique and subject.

In *Jazz Babies*, the figures stand against a bar or counter, and while an item resting on the bar is inscribed 'record', this may indicate a promotional item, rather than an object for sale. If we read the painting as a bar, then the black forms in the background may be considered as representative of the bottles stacked on shelves, or as a mirror. To the right of the composition, a figure appears to stand behind the bar. While the face is shown more in the manner of a painted clown in Yeats' circus painting, the white shirt may suggest that this is the bar tender. Furthermore, it should be noted that the woman standing just left of the centre of the painting is wearing a sleeveless dress. This style is more consistent with contemporary evening wear, rather than day dresses which would have had a long, cut-away or capped sleeve. The woman also wears a gold cuff, decorated with a turquoise ribbon, perhaps indicative that this was a social occasion that called for extra accessories and adornments. The evidence offered by the artist through the woman's clothing and adornment suggest that the title of the painting may be in reference to her as she can be closely allied to the description given in the term's definition.

If we consider *Jazz Babies* and the scene it depicts within the wider European and American culture of the 1920s, we can see that it picks up the changes in dress and music that were so widely discussed, and often disparaged, in Ireland at this time. If we refer back to the figure in *A Flower Girl, Dublin*, it may also be possible to see this painting in a slightly different light. As noted earlier, her clothing differentiates her from the usual depiction of the flower seller (by Yeats and other artists), and places her more

in the company of a 1920s flapper than the traditionally dressed working-class Dublin women. Within the contemporary debates on dress, morality and female behaviour, the costume of this flower seller would have brought her into the maelstrom of the criticism aimed at women and their engagement with modern culture. It can then be considered that this is not a straight-forward depiction of a flower-seller in Dublin, but a more nuanced comment on women within the urban environment in 1920s Dublin, or in the wider context of the Irish Free State.

On the Dublin streets: traders and crowds

The busy, crowded atmosphere of *Flower Girl, Dublin* and *Jazz Babies* is echoed in two paintings from 1925 and 1936 respectively. *Boys and Girls* conveys the impression of a crowded city street, and the viewer is placed right among the crowd which fills the space between the buildings on either side (fig 3:29). In a 1925 review, one commentator saw this work as 'street life in Dublin as he sees it in the passers-by.'[92] A similar composition is used in *People in a Street*. To the knowing eye, it seems likely that both paintings make use of the architecture and vistas of Westmoreland Street, with one painting taking the view towards O'Connell Street and the other looking back towards College Green. *Boys and Girls* makes use of figures and fashions identifiable in other paintings from the same period – for instance, the two women in cloche hats and fur coats, and the more isolated man in a trilby hat on the left-hand side.

People in a Street, on the other hand, shows how Yeats moved away from such motifs in the 1930s – the painting's techniques used have evolved, and the crowd is shown in less detail (fig 3:30). While the earlier painting offers a wide vista across the street, this has been narrowed down, relegating the sky to a small section of the upper-left corner. Together with the darker colours used for the buildings, this lends an almost claustrophobic atmosphere to the canvas, while the frequent touches of yellow suggest

[92] 'Mr Jack B Yeats' Pictures: City and Country Types,' *Irish Times*, 14 October 1925, 8.

the different forms of artificial lighting used throughout the city. These differences also evoke a sense of frenetic movement that is not found in the earlier painting, perhaps signifying a change in the artist's attitude towards the city. With Yeats' changing artistic technique in mind, it is interesting to compare his views of Dublin with the city of other modernist European painters.

In the introduction to this thesis, an essay by the Expressionist painter Ludwig Meidner was discussed outlining how the artist felt the city should be depicted in visual art. Previous scholars have linked Yeats' work to Expressionism, particularly the work of Oskar Kokoschka (1886–1980) and James Ensor (1860–1949). The connections have emerged due to Yeats' correspondence and meetings with Kokoschka, and due to the fact that he owned a catalogue of Ensor's work. Assessing the connections, or lines of influence, between the work of Irish (and British) artists with German contemporaries is complicated by the political climate of the early-mid twentieth century which resulted very little art travelled outside of Germany. Therefore, the analysis outlined below is based on visual comparisons, or similarities in working practices. While such interpretations are not supported by primary evidence at this time, seeking to read Yeats' paintings in multiple contexts and in comparison to other artists opens his work to new and interesting readings.

Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's (1880–1938) depiction of Berlin shows a different aspect of urban life, showing the city's streetwalkers during the period 1913–1915. Kirchner's technique, together with his choice of urban subject, has led his work to be strongly associated with the themes of alienation and isolation in the money-driven modern city. Scholars have differed over this interpretation; Charles W. Haxthausen argued that these works serve 'to document not a social reality but an aesthetic one. Berlin for him was above all a domain of intense sensuous excitement [...].'[93] As such,

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93 Charles W Haxthausen, 'Kirchner's Images of Berlin,' *Berlin: Culture and Metropolis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 86.

Kirchner's paintings were a celebration of urban experience, rather than a critique of it – although this distinction was undoubtedly made at the expense of the social reality for many of the city's inhabitants. On the other hand, Rosalyn Deutsch views these paintings as 'pictures of an unnatural, thoroughly dehumanised world', a view also considered in a 2008 exhibition in MoMA.[94]

In depicting the Berlin streets, Kirchner worked in a variety of media before completing a finished painting, using small sketchbooks for preparatory notes, and then working through different stages of pen and ink drawings, pastels and charcoal, and on occasion, etchings, woodcuts and lithography.[95] While Kirchner moved away from urban subjects in 1915, his work makes for an interesting comparison with Yeats' later paintings. Two comparisons may be drawn between Kirchner and Yeats' depiction of the city: first, both artists show an interest in the crowds seen on city streets and second, both artists suggests a more universal kind of urban experience, rather than one grounded in a particular city. Among Kirchner's best known urban paintings are his representations of women, thought to be prostitutes, on Berlin streets: for example, *Friedrichstrasse, Berlin*, *Street, Berlin*, or *Potsdamer Platz, Berlin*. Strikingly tall or elongated, and fashionably dressed, the women of Kirchner's street paintings portray a sense of predatory ownership of the streets around them (figs 3:31, 3:32, 3:33). Through the urban setting, and the portrayal of fashion, material consumption, and consumer culture, Sherwin Simmons has considered these paintings in relation to a broader 'discourse on luxury and immorality that revolved around art, advertising, and fashion', also taking heed of the social and political changes taking place in Berlin immediately prior to and during the First World War.[96]

Dating to 1927, *Three Traders of Dublin* (fig 3:34) prefigures some of the changes

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[94] Rosalyn Deutsche, 'Alienation in Berlin: Kirchner's Street Scenes,' *Art in America*, 69 (1983), quoted in Haxthausen, 'Kirchner's Images of Berlin', 64. See also Deborah Wye, *Kirchner and the Berlin Street* (New York: MoMA, 2008), 17.
[95] Wye, *Kirchner and the Berlin Street*, 19.
[96] Sherwin Simmons, 'Ernst Kirchner's Streetwalkers: Art, Luxury, and Immorality in Berlin, 1913–16,' *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 1 (2000): 117.

seen in *People in a Street*.[97] The dark background, and narrow sky and contrasting areas of thickly applied or scraped away paint are noticeable changes from Yeats earlier depictions of the city. Like *Boys and Girls*, Yeats places the three women in the very front of the canvas, so the viewer is immediately confronted by their elongated bodies and features which the artist has made almost grotesque. The cityscape behind them has been reduced to simple forms; while the setting is undoubtedly urban it could be set in any part of the city to which the title alludes. The shawls and bare heads of the women place them alongside Yeats other depictions of working-class Dubliners, and as separate from the more fashionable women of *Boys and Girls*. All three fold their arms defiantly across their chests, and the usual signifiers for street traders, such as fruit or flowers are not included. A comparison between these three women and Kirchner's streetwalkers can be made; their placement in the composition, the blurring of the background setting and the erratic painting style all find parallels in the work of the German artist.

It may well be however, that this painting can be connected to events in Dublin during 1927 concerning street traders in the city. Examining this painting within a more contextual framework returns the painting to the realm of the local, arguably demonstrating once more Yeats' continued awareness of events in the city. In January 1927, the Dublin City Commissioners began to impose new regulations on street traders allowed by the Street Trading Act, 1926. This included the removal of trading rights from footpaths and pavements around the city, limiting the traders to licensed stalls to 'Moore street and Marlborough street on the North side, and Longford street and other side streets off Dame street to Camden street thoroughfare on the South side.'[98] The new laws also enforced regulations around 'cleanliness and tidiness in the vicinity of stalls' with the purpose, according to a spokesperson for the Commissioners being, 'to make Dublin

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[97] Pyle dates this canvas to 1927, stating that it was exhibited in a group show in the Goupil Gallery, London in the same year. However, in her listing of group shows that Yeats participated in, the Goupil Gallery is included for 1926 and 1928, but not 1927. The date is significant in relation to a contextual reading of the painting, as it may alter the interpretation given here.
[98] 'Street Trading in Dublin: A Clean Sweep,' *Irish Times*, 8 January 1927, 5.

a clean, hygienic and beautiful city. In no other city will you see street-trading to the extent that it is observed in Dublin.'[99] The introduction of these rules caused outcry among the traders and newspaper reports from throughout the year show that they were prosecuted for non-compliance with the regulations. In June 1927 for example, '[a] number of women street traders were fined in sums ranging from 10*s*. to 40*s*. for breaches of the street trading regulations [...]', furthermore, '[a] girl who threw her shoe at a Guard was fined 10*s*. while another was fined 10*s*. for striking the same Guard with a bread-board and using offensive language.'[100] Clearly, the women of Dublin, who depended on trading for their livelihood, were not willing to stand idly by while their trade was dismantled. Perhaps some of this strength and obstinacy is reflected in Yeats *Three Traders*; while the nuance may have been lost on a London audience, it would have been more evident to the audience in Dublin when exhibited there in 1931.

By situating *Three Traders* in the context of the 1927 disputes it is possible to see these women as marginal figures within the Dublin landscape, threatened by the modernisation of the city around them. In this instance, a way of life that had been connected with the urban space for centuries was being phased out, marking not only a move away from open markets and stalls, but also a desire to 'beautify' the city to make it a more attractive environment. However, as already alluded too, surely this reading of the painting is predicated on a prior knowledge of the dispute and on the situation for traders in Dublin in the late 1920s. For an audience unfamiliar with this context, such as those who might have seen the work when it was shown at the Goupil Gallery, might the compositional connection to artists such as Kirchner (or other twentieth century urban painters) been more apparent? Other than the title, there are no distinguishing landmarks in the painting which place it firmly within the Dublin landscape. Despite this, the painting is clearly depicting an urban scene and the placement of the three women at the very front of the composition emphasises their key role in the painting.

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[99] Ibid.
[100] 'Obdurate Street Traders: Refusal to Leave their Pitches,' *Irish Times*, 20 June 1927, 11.

Seen in a wider art historical context and with reference to similar paintings by European artists, it doesn't seem completely unlikely that these women may have been, or at least interpreted as being, selling something other than fruit.[101] As the previous chapter discussed, paintings of women (particularly flower sellers) in the modern city had been associated with the earthy and erotic. The association between the image of the prostitute and the modern city were not confined the work of Kirchner, or to the larger metropolitan centres, as the debates around women, prostitution and the city in Ireland show, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Indeed, in the 1920s reform and regulation of street markets were not the only changes being made in the city. From 1922 onwards, campaigners, led by the Legion of Mary, sought to eradicate vice in the area of the city known as the 'Monto'.[102] Dublin's red-light district was well-known and documented, appearing under the guise of 'Night-town' in Joyce's *Ulysses*, as well as in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Joyce's description of Stephen's visit to the red-light district in the earlier novel resonates with the scene presented in Yeats' *Three Traders*, describing how the protagonist

> wandered into a maze of narrow and dirty streets. From the foul laneways he heard bursts of hoarse riot and wrangling and the drawling of drunken singers. [...]. Women and girls dressed in long vivid gowns traversed the street from house to house.[103]

Reading Yeats' painting in the context of these changes , Joyce's evocation of the Monto in both *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, and the work of artists like Kirchner allows the painting

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[101] Hollis Clayson see also her book *Painted love*, 1991. has traced the origins of the representation of the prostitute in French painting and other cultural forms from the early to mid-nineteenth century. See Hollis Clayson, 'Painting the Traffic in Women', *The Nineteeth Century Visual Culture Reader*, edited by Vanessa R Schwartz and Jeanne M. Przyblyski (Routledge: New York and London, 2004), 299-312. Christiane Schönfeld has examined this archetypal urban figure in Expressionist painting in her essay 'Streetwalking the Metropolish: Prostitutes in Expressionism', in *Commodities of Desire: The Prostitute in Modern German Literature*, edited by Christiane Schönfeld (Woodbridge: Camden House, 2000), 110-130.

[102] See Luddy, 'Sex and the Single Girl,' 86-87.

[103] James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, eds. Hans Walter Gabler with Walter Hettche (London: Vintage Books,2012), 94.

to be read in a more provocative context. Seen in this light, it does not seem inconceivable that the artist was deliberately playing with the ambiguity of the term 'traders', inviting the viewer to come to their own conclusion as to what this referred to.

3.4 River, Quays and Streets: Moving through the City

As evidenced by some of the paintings already discussed, the activity around, and on, the Liffey and the quayside were of significant interest to Yeats. Tricia Cusack has noted that throughout history, rivers have 'been associated with fertility and regeneration and also with destructiveness when they transgress their edges [...].[104] While Cusack has also considered Yeats' depiction of the River Shannon, little attention has been paid to the representation of the Liffey.[105] In Dublin's landscape, as in many other cities, the river is a defining feature, dividing the city's core but also providing employment and industry through its dock and port. In the introduction to *Art and Identity and the Water's Edge*, Cusack further notes that as they are 'often the site of social-cultural as well as a geographical divide [...]'; rivers can be considered as a liminal space, allied to the notion of a 'boundaried interstitial space and time in which subjects slough off their habitual identity but have not yet acquired one marking entry to a new social status.'[106]

The concept of the river as a liminal or in-between space is useful to consider in relation to Yeats' paintings of the Liffey, as it allows for a more symbolic and nuanced reading of these artworks. These paintings also demonstrate the changes in Yeats' artistic style and perhaps when aligned to the concept of liminality, these paintings may prove revealing in terms of the artist's attitude towards the urban space. If the river itself can be considered as liminal, this begs the question of the function of bridges which span

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[104] Tricia Cusack, 'Introduction: Exploring the Water's Edge,' *Art and Identity at the Water's Edge* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 2.
[105] See Tricia Cusack, 'Crossing the Shannon: Ireland's "Mighty Stream" and the Making of the Nation,' *Visual Culture in Britain* 3, no.1 (2002): 77-97 and Tricia Cusack, *Riverscapes and National Identities* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2010), 158-189.
[106] Cusack, 'Introduction: Exploring the Water's Edge,' 3.

the water. Including the recent addition of the Rosie Hackett Bridge, the two sides of the city are connected by eighteen bridges – running from the Sean Heuston Bridge (originally Kingsbridge) to the East-link Bridge at Dublin Port.[107] Among these, the Ha'penny Bridge and O'Connell Bridge feature most frequently in Yeats paintings of the river, although Grattan Bridge also appears in *Paper Bags for Hats* (figs 3:35).

Painted in the same year as *The Liffey Swim*, *From the Metal Bridge* takes its view point from the bridge itself, looking downriver through the railings towards O'Connell Bridge (fig 3:36). The scene is completed in broad and thick brush strokes, and light appears to glow from the shop windows and from an illuminated sign placed on a quayside building on the right-hand side. Included in an exhibition of the artist's work at the exhibition rooms at 7 Stephen's Green in 1923, the *Irish Independent* described the work as giving 'a realistic view of the Liffey.'[108] This painting was also included in Yeats' 1924 exhibition at the Gieves Gallery, London, and in addition to praising the artist's 'discovery of the pictorial qualities of life in Dublin', the *Freeman's Journal* admired 'the dark river seen from the railings of the Metal Bridge at night with the glare of lamps [...]' Together with *A Westerly Wind*, the reviewer felt that these paintings revealed 'a character in Dublin that no other city possesses.'[109]

Pyle notes that Yeats had been sketching the Ha'penny Bridge from 1911, and it was a subject that he returned to in 1928.[110] This later painting, *Crossing the Metal Bridge*, shows how Yeats has developed the theme as well as the significant changes in his painting style (fig 3:37). Predominantly completed in dark blue and black tones, the view point again includes the railings of the bridge, although the surrounding cityscape had been reduced to indicative strokes of paint, rather than the detailed view given in the earlier painting. Aside from the changes in the way it is painted, the inclusion of a figure in the later painting suggests a more symbolic interpretation of the work instead

[107] For a full account of these bridges see See Donal Fallon, Sam McGrath and Ciarán Murray, 'The Bridges of Dublin City,' in *Come Here to Me! Dublin's Other History*, 113-120.
[108] 'The Art of Mr J B Yeats,' *Irish Independent*, 26 April 1923, 4.
[109] 'London Letter,' *Freeman's Journal*, 8 January 1924, 4.
[110] Pyle, *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol.I., 159.

of a more straightforward cityscape. The woman looks out over the railings, her pose suggesting feelings of sorrow or wistfulness. Her bobbed hair again references contemporary styles, although her black coat and cloak gives no further suggestion of her personal circumstances.

Crossing the Metal Bridge was included in an exhibition of Yeats' work in London in 1928, but the *Irish Times* London correspondent singled out another Liffey painting for praise in their review. Describing *Lingering Sun, O'Connell Bridge* (fig 3:38), they wrote that it 'charmingly depicts the evening skies, with the faint blues, greys and yellows.'[111] Indeed, the sky is easily the most charming and colourful section of the painting, as the city beneath it is shown in grey and black, with only occasional dabs of white and yellow. In this painting, Yeats returns to Aston Quay, a setting discussed earlier in relation to *The Westerly Wind.* In this painting, Yeats includes O'Connell Bridge, and depicts people, a tram and a horse and cart moving through the city. Figures rest against the quay wall and at the corner of the quay and the bridge, a flower seller is suggested through the inclusion of a seated figure and yellow flowers to one side. Perhaps the most striking inclusion in the painting is the woman in the foreground on the right-hand side. Wrapped in a black shawl, the woman's face is gaunt, and her blue eyes evade the viewer, looking instead towards the quayside shops. The contrast between dark and light in this painting is also striking – the blue tones of the sky are not reflected on the street level, lending a sense of unease to the painting overall.

In the paintings just discussed, the figures depicted are often solitary or isolated from their surroundings, perhaps further suggesting concepts of isolation or alienation which were discussed earlier in this chapter. Other river paintings however, focus on groups of figures and these make for an interesting comparison. *The Bus by the River* and *Dublin, Number One Ferry* both date to 1927 (figs 3:39, 3:40). *The Bus by the River* depicts three figures in an interior space, and Pyle suggests that they are seated

[111] Our Own Correspondent, 'Mr Jack Yeats' Pictures,' *Irish Times*, 17 March 1928, 6.

in the river ferry, rather than a motor bus on the quayside.[112] Similar to *Jazz Babies*, Yeats shows a well-dressed man and woman; perhaps a couple but there is some distance between them, while another figure (previously described as 'tinker-like') reads a newspaper in the left-hand corner.[113] *Dublin, Number One Ferry* also echoes an earlier painting, as a similarity can between drawn between the red-hatted women at the centre of the painting, with the figure in similar clothing in *A Flower Girl, Dublin*. Two women stand on the ferry deck, flanked on either side by two male figures. The palette used is quite dark, and the river itself blends in with the clothing of the figures and the surrounding buildings. The Liffey ferry service was predominately used by workers employed on the docks or at the port, and it was usual for their wives or daughters to also use the service to bring them food during the dinner hour. The service came under scrutiny through the 1920s, with unsafe conditions and overcrowding reported on some of the older boats. In addition, Dublin Corporation had also begun to provide a service using two new motor boats, but as they charged a higher rate, dock workers were disinclined to make use of it.[114]

These two paintings show Yeats' continuing interest in the everyday life and routines of Dubliners, despite the on-going development of his painting technique and the increasing frequency of artworks with more symbolic or mythical meanings. *The Readers* (fig 3:41) also makes use of a quayside setting, depicting a young girl reading a book, with flowers or fruit in front of her, while a jarvey looks over her shoulder, also reading from the same book. The *Irish Times* felt that the painting showed 'a keen sense of humour [...]', but arguably it instead shows Yeats' close and sensitive observation of the people around him.[115] Pyle notes that sculptor Oisín Kelly, who previously owned the painting, claimed that Yeats told him that he had noticed the two readers

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[112] Pyle, *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol.I., 294.
[113] Ibid., 294
[114] 'Workers,' 'The Liffey Ferries,' *Irish Times*, 11 August 1921, 8.
[115] 'Mr Jack B Yeats's Paintings', *Irish Times*, 2 October 1929, 4.

himself – presumably on one of his perambulations through the city.[116]

The functional and everyday nature of these paintings is in contrast with a later painting, *Dancing on the Deck of the Royal Iris* (fig 3:42). Painted in 1932, the palette of this work is lighter, with white, pink, blue and yellow used, perhaps, to reflect the lighter nature of the subject matter. The Royal Iris had arrived in Dublin in 1932, when it was purchased by Irish shipping company, Palmer and Wallace, from Liverpool where it had been used as a passenger ferry on the Mersey. The ferry had been involved in operations during the First World War, and was subsequently granted its 'Royal' prefix.[117] In addition, the Royal Iris provided an excursion and pleasure-cruise service from Custom House quay around Dublin bay through the summer months. An afternoon and evening service was available, and a 1934 advertisement stated that '[r]efreshments can be had on board, and the steamer's dance band gives a special programme of music.'[118] In light of the on-going debate over music and dancing discussed in the previous section, it is a pity that the company did not give more details of the entertainments to be provided on-board. In 1932, the *Irish Independent* published an image of children trying out the band's instruments, and certainly several non-traditional instruments can be seen, such as a trumpet, clarinet and snare drums. In 1933, *The Irish Press* published a photograph of people dancing on the boat, and although it was reproduced in black and white, the movement and enjoyment seen in Yeats' painting is also evident.

The arrival of the Royal Iris in Dublin was well-timed, as the ferry was put to good use during the Eucharistic Congress in June 1932. Given that Yeats' painting was first exhibited in October 1932, this suggests that he was not only aware of the new arrival on Dublin's social scene but also cognisant of its popularity with Dubliners. Contemporary photographs show that the Royal Iris was one of many local vessels used

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[116] Pyle, *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol I., 328.
[117] Malcom R McRonald, 'The Irish Connections,' *Friends of the Ferries Across the Mersey* (blog), http://www.friendsoftheferries.co.uk/ferries-history/.
[118] 'Dublin Bay Cruises,' *Irish Press*, 23 June 1934, 10.

to bring visitors ashore for the Eucharistic Congress. The Congress was perhaps the most significant ceremonial event to take place in the city in the Free State, and it has been cited as being crucial in forming a national identity for the Free State under a new Fianna Fáil government. More pertinent to the discussion here however, is the fact that the Royal Iris was used as an amusement for visitors to the Congress, bringing pilgrims out into Dublin bay to take in the view, and see up close the large cruise liners that were docked off-shore.[119] As Gary Boyd has discussed, the Congress marks an interesting junction between tradition and modernity in Ireland, with the religious rite being accompanied by full use of modern technology and equipment.[120] Looking at the general visual record of the event, the city is often presented in strikingly modern way – especially in the images recording how it was illuminated at night. Photographs of the crowds gathered on O'Connell Street for the closing ceremony also offer an interesting comparison to Charles Russell's painting of the O'Connell Centenary.

Arguably, both *Dancing on the Deck of the Royal Iris* and *Jazz Babies* can be considered to represent social life and socialising in Dublin in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Subtle differences are noticeable between them – for example, the woman in pink in *Dancing on the Deck* records the changes in women's clothing since 1929; her hair is longer and pinned up rather than bobbed, and her dress also had longer sleeves. This painting is also one of the few times that Yeats portrays a couple in a more intimate way; they dance close together, and seem oblivious to their surroundings, and there is sensuality to the way he has depicted their bodies. While two additional figures can be seen in the background, they do not engage or look to the young couple. The feeling of distance and unease noted in *Jazz Babies*, chiefly caused by the man's direct gaze, is not present here, and the affectionate atmosphere is borne out in the lighter colours used. Although the quayside is visible over the deck railings, there is a sense of remove from the everyday life of the city.

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[119] Rory O'Dwyer, *The Eucharistic Congress Dublin 1932* (Dublin: Nonsuch, 2009), 75.
[120] Gary Boyd, 'Supernational Catholicity,' *Early Popular Visual Culture* 5, no.3, (2007): 322.

If we return then to the idea of the river as an in-between or liminal space, and keeping in mind the paintings just outlined and discussed, it can be suggested that Yeats used the river and its immediate surroundings to further explore the complexities of everyday lives of people within the city space. Chiefly concerned with the crossing of the river, these depictions vary from literal representations of the urban landscape, or as is the case with many works after 1923, a more symbolic or conceptual exploration of the lived experience of the city. Works such as *From the Metal Bridge* and *Paper Bags for Hats* invite the viewer to observe the cityscape or the characters of those who live and work there. The figures in *Paper Bags for Hats*, for instance, can be associated with a particular kind of Dublin wit or humour that thrives in part on making the best of a situation, and which is often associated with the city's street traders. . In a painting such as *The Readers*, Yeats moves away from this representation, inviting us to consider the lives of the figures shown, to think about, for instance, what such moments of quiet contemplation might have meant to these people, taken during their working day. The idea of contemplation is further suggested in *Crossing the Metal Bridge*, especially as the focus of the painting is on the figure, rather than the city around her. In a painting like *Lingering Sun, O'Connell Bridge*, the use of contrasting sections of light and dark introduces a sense of unease, underpinned by the gaunt appearance of the older woman. *Dublin, Number One Ferry* highlights that the river itself has multiple functions – some of the ferries that it carries are used for mundane chores, such as bringing people to work, while others are sites for enjoyment and escape from the everyday – such as the amusement provided on the Royal Iris.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the representation of Dublin by Yeats through the 1920s and 1930s. This analysis has considered the subjects and themes present in this selection of paintings from the artist's oeuvre, as well as the stylistic changes present in

his work. Both the historical and art historical context for these paintings have been considered, showing how Yeats responded to both the city around him and how his art can be connected to that of artists in America and Europe. In view of the central research question of this thesis, it can be said that while the depiction of Dublin was a relatively minor theme within Yeats' oeuvre as a whole, it was one that he consistently turned to through the 1920s and 1930s. These artworks show an awareness of the cultural and social conditions of the city, although they are rarely, if ever, overtly political. These paintings point up both differences and similarities to Yeats' painting of Ireland outside of the capital; the focus on urban life naturally contrasts with other paintings, but there is a similar sense of looking to everyday life and people for inspiration. A focus on geographical features, such as the river, allow for further comparison with his wider oeuvre to see how a different setting may transform the meaning or significance of such features.

The interplay between Yeats' depiction of the urban centre and those of other artists working in the twentieth century can broaden our understanding of Yeats' place within the historiography of the period, in addition to considering issues around the specificities of space and place. While the majority of the paintings discussed here are embedded within the local landscape of Dublin, an argument can be made for a reading of some of these paintings as a more general expression of urban life that can resonate beyond the confines of Dublin bay. Through this interaction, it is possible to consider both the local and the global contexts for city living, and what this consisted of in the early twentieth century. Yeats' representation of the city allies strongly to the work of high modernist painters, principally through his experimentation with form and technique.

Assessing the changes that took place in the painting of 'modern life' from the late nineteenth century, T. J. Clark recently posed the question '[w]hy [...] was there in the twentieth century no 'painting of modern life' – or none that Degas and Baudelaire would have recognised?'[1] A number of answers to this query were suggested by the author including, for example, the idea that 'modernity no longer presented itself as a distinctive territory, a recognisable new form of space', and that 'the ordinary life of the 'modern' had become unglamorous, unspectacular, neither familiar nor unfamiliar [...].'[2] For Clark however, a key factor in this change was the issue of social class, and this was markedly evident in relation to the representation of the industrial city. He wrote that this subject was

> not [...] for bourgeois bohemians. And why? Because, though the life of the streets never stopped throwing up incident and energy [...] middle-class artists, whatever their sympathies for the proletariat, were constantly faced by the fact of their own exteriority to the world a few miles away. Incident remained for them just that.[3]

Clark's essay, written in the context of the L.S Lowry retrospective at the Tate in 2013, raises some interesting points for consideration in relation to the depiction of the city in early to mid-twentieth century painting. His analysis points to a shift in how the city was viewed in contemporary culture, while also acknowledging how personal circumstances might influence how artists interpreted the urban world around them. With Clark's statement in mind, this chapter offers an exploration of the work of Harry Kernoff (1900–1974) (fig 4:1), a migrant artist working in Dublin from the early 1920s onwards.

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[1] T. J. Clark, Lowry's Other England,' in *Lowry and the Painting of Modern Life*, eds. T. J. Clark and Anne M. Wagner (London: Tate Publishing, 2013), 39.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., 46.

Although working in the same period as Jack B Yeats, Kernoff's artistic technique and choice of subject matter is in contrast to his older peer, offering a different view of everyday life in Dublin, and demonstrating the multiplicity of experience that characterises the modern city.

Like Yeats, through his life Kernoff became a recognised figure in Dublin, conspicuous by his small stature and large black fedora. His travels around the city were made visibly evident through the drawings found among the artist's papers, and his fellow artist Maurice MacGonigal later noted that he 'walked the city with Kernoff, who wandered'.[4] Allied to Kernoff's movement through and notation of the cityscape is the close attention that the artist paid to the social conditions of the city, arguably influenced by his own position as an outsider in the city, and by his leftist politics. Kernoff can be identified alongside the different forms of urban observer present in the modern city, already discussed in chapter three of this thesis. His artistic eye turned to all that the city had to offer, from the banal occurrences of working life, the convivial life of Dublin's pubs and theatres, to the more leisurely pace of the Grand Canal and the occasional trips out of town to the county's seaside resorts.

These different foci will form the structure of this chapter; first outlining the artist's background and early years in Dublin, before moving on to consider his representation of working life and labour themes; his general views of the city; and finally depictions of Dublin's pubs. Linked to these themes will be a contextual discussion of Kernoff alongside his artistic peers in America and Britain, and the on-going representation of the city in painting. This comparison will allow for a further conversation about issues around modernity, modernism and representation, as well as showing how themes allied to depicting the urban scene migrated across geographic borders and incorporated differing local contexts.

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[4] Theo Snoddy, *Dictionary of 20th Century Irish Artists,* 2nd ed. (Dublin: Merlin Publishing, 2006), 311.

4.1 Radical Times: Harry Kernoff in 1920s Dublin

Recalling the 1920s in Dublin to a journalist in 1931, Kernoff observed that 'You remember it was the jazz age [...] after the Irish Civil War. People were in a joyous mood and everywhere cabarets and dance halls were springing up.'[5] As outlined in the previous chapter, despite the political climate in the city during the early 1920s there was an increasingly vibrant social scene and artistic community in the city and as a student and young artist Kernoff was at the heart of it. His first success as an artist took place shortly before the Civil War came to a close, when he was the recipient of the fifty-pound scholarship in the annual Taylor Bequest Awards. This section will offer and overview of these early years of the artist's career, giving a brief biographical introduction, before examining his involvement in Dublin's cultural life and some of the themes which emerge from his early depictions of the city.

Born in London in January 1900, Kernoff was the eldest son of Isaac and Kate Kernoff, Russian-Jewish immigrants who had moved from Vitebsk, now in Belarus, during the 1890s. The 1901 Census records the young family as living at 5 Clarke St, Mile End, Stepney, renting two rooms in a house mainly occupied by Russian immigrant families.[6] The family moved to Dublin in April 1914, with the Alien Register stating that Isaac was employed by Louis Gurevich, also from Vitebsk.[7] Soon, Isaac had established his own cabinet-making business in the city, where Harry served as his apprentice. Initially, the Kernoff family lived at 12 Raymond Street, before later moving to 13 Stamer Street, where Harry lived and worked for the rest of his life, using the attic as his studio.

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[5] *Daily Express*, 23 February 1931, 7, Harry Kernoff Papers, NLI, Ms 20, 918.
[6] 1901 Census Return Form, http://www.1901censusonline.com/image.asp?wci=image_window&key=432593&enc=3436343 73438343D3443343F&ff_type=1&type=0&frommap=&if=1. The 1911 Census returns show that by that date, the family (surname now spelt 'Kernoff') had moved to 26 Hedsor Buildings, Bethnal Green East. http://www.1901censusonline.com/census.asp?wci=viewschedule&key=2220956&enc=3234323 6323832383243324132 44&ff_type=56.
[7] Stuart Rosenblatt, *Alien Registration File 1914–1922 (a police record, Chancery Lane, Dublin, Ireland): Ada Shillman (midwife) birth records, Dublin 1893–1908* (Dublin: The Jewish Genealogical Society, 2005), 79.

Stamer Street was part of the area then known as 'Little Jerusalem', due to the large number of Jewish families living in the area. Dublin's Jewish community had grown exponentially around the turn of the century, due to mass emigration from Eastern Europe.[8] Based around the city's South Circular Road, the area that comprised 'Little Jerusalem' contained good housing stock, mostly built in the second half of the nineteenth century by speculative builders. As Cormac Ó'Gráda has noted, the good infrastructure of these houses (for example, there was proper sanitation and running water), along with the wide range of housing stock was important in enabling the newly settled community to thrive in Dublin.[9]

Serving as an apprentice cabinet maker, the intention seems to have been for Kernoff to work with his father, and eventually take over the family business. Instead, he began to take evening classes at the Technical Schools on Kevin Street, before progressing on to evening classes at the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art in 1919. It does seem however that he continued to aid his father, as in 1924 the *Irish Times* described him as follows, 'Mr Kernoff, who is a prolific painter, daily follows his trade as a Dublin cabinet-maker.'[10] As noted above, winning the Taylor Bequest scholarship in 1923 allowed the artist to attend the DMSA as a full-time day student, marking a significant progression along the road to becoming a professional artist.

In 1927 Kernoff held his first one-man show in The Gallery, 7 Stephen's Green, another landmark occasion in his early career. It is likely that the exhibition space was the same as that used by the Dublin Arts Club in the late nineteenth century, and from 1920, the Society of Dublin Painters.[11] As the catalogue of Kernoff's exhibition shows,

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[8] For a full account of the history of Ireland's Jewish community, see Dermot Keogh, *Jews in twentieth-century Ireland: refugees, anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998).
[9] Cormac Ó'Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: A Socioeconomic History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 105.
[10] 'Irish Artists: The Exhibition at Balls-Bridge,' *Irish Times*, 9 August 1924, 17.
[11] S.B. Kennedy notes that the lease for the premises was acquired by this group in June 1920. See S.B. Kennedy, *Irish Art and Modernism: 1880–1950* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1991), 20.

even at this early point in his career he was already showing a wide range of urban and rural landscape scenes, drawn from the city streets around him, as well as the surrounding countryside and coast, many of which would become recurrent subjects in his painting. The inclusion of Dublin scenes drew the attention of the press, with the *Irish Times* noting that he sees colour and aspects of light without bias or conviction, and has been able to reveal their beauty through most commonplace scenes, as in "Georgian Houses", "Charlemont Bridge, Summer", the distinctive "Nocturnes" – College of Surgeons, Harcourt Street Station and "Over the Bridge" – with their fine night skies and gas-light shadows.[12]

While the *Irish Independent* generally supported this positive review, the author did note that 'without the catalogue one would never know that the imposing edifice with the long central vista was Harcourt Street station.'[13] Now in the collection of CIÉ, the palette of the painting is muted, and the artist has focused in on the central door of the building (fig 4:2).[14] Passengers and commuters rush past and through the station, and the glow of the street light casts long shadows along the pavement in the foreground, as well as a bright orange glow above the doorway to the building. The overall impression created by the artist in the painting is one of a busy atmosphere – the figures all move with purpose, rather than at a leisurely pace. Harcourt Street was also the focus of *Georgian Houses*, another of the works singled out for praise by the *Irish Times* (fig 4:3). Taking in the long row of houses from the opposite side of the street, Kernoff depicts the rhythmical uniformity of the Georgian terrace. The brown and tones of the brick work are also quite muted, but the scene is enlivened with dashes of colour – such as the bright yellow dress and red hat of the women on the right hand side.

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[12] 'Impressions and Landscapes: Mr Harry A Kernoff's Work,' *Irish Times*, 21 April 1927, 7.
[13] 'Interesting Picture Show,' *Irish Independent*, 21 April 1927, 6.
[14] In her catalogue entry for this painting, Jane Eckett notes that it was purchased from the artist by C.S. Andrews after he '[...] met the artist [...] at Madame Bannard Cogley's Studio Cabaret at 40 Harcourt Street shortly after the 1927 elections. This further illustrates the connectedness of Dublin's cultural life at this time, and its importance for artists in making sales. See *Art on the Move: Hidden Treasures from the CIÉ art collection*, intro. and ed. by Jane Eckett (Dublin: Córas Iompair Éireann, 2006), 24.

Previous to this exhibition, Kernoff had already contributed to various group shows. In 1923 a number of his works were included in an exhibition of student paintings.[15] The following year, his work was included in the Aonach Tailteann exhibition and in 1925 he was among a large group of artists who contributed to the New Irish Salon, held at the Mill's Hall. The Salon was first held in 1923 by John Crampton Walker (1890–1942), and took place annually until 1928. The exhibition was composed of the work of both Irish and international artists and comprised of several hundred paintings, drawings and prints. When the inaugural exhibition opened in 1923, there was a small flurry of excitement over the alleged aims of the new exhibition, with the *Freeman's Journal* stating that

> [t]he raison d'etre of the attractive collection of painting and statuary in the Mills' Hall [...] is rather, one gathers, mainly a dissatisfaction with the proceeding of the Council of the Royal Hibernian Academy in declining, for the most part to accept any of the work of the artists who have now founded this salon.[16]

Whatever truth may have lain behind this claim, it was countered by a Letter to the Editor from Dermod O'Brien PRHA, who wrote

> [i]n view of this statement, and lest the public should be deceived by it, I think it right to point out that of the 64 artists exhibiting there 32 have had their work accepted and hung in one or other of the annual exhibition of the R.H.A. held in 1921 and 1922; or, put in another way, of the 148 works exhibited in this "Salon" 85 are by artists who have exhibited in the R.H.A.[17]

A further murmur of controversy occurred in 1924, when a nude by Michel Sevier (b.1886) was deemed to be somewhat inappropriate as 'the hall is used for dances and

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[15] See 'Dublin Students' Work: Exhibition of Pictures,' *Irish Times*, 2 June 1923, 6.
[16] 'The New Irish Salon,' *Freeman's Journal*, 5 March 1923, 6.
[17] Dermod O'Brien, 'The New Irish Salon,' *Freeman's Journal*, 19 March 1923, 6.

other social meetings at nights [...].'[18] It was settled however, with the decision that the picture would be displayed during the day and discreetly removed at night, leading one journalist to remark 'if you are in any doubt of a statue or a picture's success, you must have it banned. If you cannot have it banned you must at all costs have it talked about.'[19]

Catalogues for the New Irish Salon show that there was significant interest in the exhibition from artists in Britain, and works by several British artists were included, demonstrating that the movement of art works between the two countries continued after the founding of the Free State.[20] The most notable modernist inclusions in the exhibition came from French painters Albert Gleizes (1881–1953) and Andre Lhote (1885–1962), a connection perhaps encouraged by Mainie Jellett (1897–1944) and Evie Hone (1894–1955) who also contributed.[21] An interesting addition to the 1924 exhibition was seven works (comprising watercolours, drawings and woodcuts) by Ossip Zadkine, a Russian artist based in France (1870–1967). From the 1920s onwards, Zadkine became one of the leading international Cubist sculptors, and extant works on paper show that his drawing and paintings were also influenced by this movement.[22]

The catalogues for the New Irish Salon also demonstrate that like many other exhibitions in Dublin at this time, the Irish artists included represent a wide range of artistic styles and techniques, as well as a crossover with other artistic groups such as the Dublin Painters and the RHA. Kernoff himself contributed to the RHA for the first time in 1926, showing five works in total. The opportunities available to artists in Dublin at

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[18] 'New Irish Salon: Interesting Collection of Modern Pictures,' *Irish Times*, 5 February 1924, 4.
[19] H.L.M, 'Art Exhibition: Interesting Display at Mill's Hall,' *Freeman's Journal*, 5 February, 1924, 8.
[20] British artists exhibiting at the inaugural exhibition of the New Irish Salon included Herbert Davis Richter (1874–1955), Aiden Peter Allinson (1890–1959), Arthur Rackham (1867–1939), and C R W Nevinson (1889–1946). Catalogues for the second, third, fourth, and fifth exhibitions are in the National Library of Ireland, see *The New Irish Salon of Pictures, Mills Hall, Dublin*, P2342.
[21] Jellett and Hone had studied with Gleizes and Lhote in France in the early twentieth century. See Sean Kissane and Riann Coulter, eds. *Analysing Cubism* (Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art; Cork: Crawford Art Gallery; Banbridge: F.E McWilliam Gallery, 2013), exhibition catalogue.
[22] Coincidently Zadkine also hailed from Vitebsk, the birthplace of Kernoff's parents.

this time were limited, and the prospects of selling work even more so, and it is unsurprising that they took all and every opportunity to put their work on display. This approach is also evident in the works exhibited with another Dublin based artistic venture – the Radical Club.

The Radical Club can be seen as being indicative of the 'springing up' alluded to by Kernoff in 1931. It gathered together artists, writers and poets for weekly meetings, conversations and events although Nicholas Allen has discussed that when one looks at the list of members it 'suggests that "radical" in the 1920s encompassed any form of disaffection to the state, enlightened or reactionary.'[23] In 1926, Kernoff exhibited with the 'Radical Painters Group' at the Daniel Egan Salon, 38 Stephen's Green. As Éimear O'Connor has explained, the 1926 exhibition can be seen as 'indicative of what was going on in the arts scene in Dublin at that time', bringing together 'artists of all persuasions, from academic to abstract [...].'[24] In 1926 a cabaret section was also introduced to the Radical Club's activities.[25] The performances took place at The Little Theatre on South William Street where Kernoff would later hold a one-man exhibition. Cabaret nights were also held at 38 Stephens Green. He also contributed decorations to events at the venue, described in 1928 as being 'bizarre and attractive [...].', and it is possible that he also produced these for the Radical Club events.[26]

In addition to the decorations he produced for the Radical Club, Kernoff also became involved in theatre design during the 1920s. Elaine Sisson has discussed in some

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[23] Allen, *Modernism, Ireland and Civil War*, 54.
[24] Eimear O'Connor, *Seán Keating: Art, Politics and Building the Irish Nation* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2013), 157.
[25] Ibid., f.n. 4, 317.
[26] 'Studio Cabaret: Enjoyable Entertainment,' *Irish Times*, 5 March 1928, 4. In addition to the cityscape and landscape paintings that make up the majority of the works he exhibited Kernoff also produced a number of more unusual canvases dating from around 1935 to 1934. These works can be considered as a group, and are all loosely influenced by Cubism and other modernist movements, using severe forms, hard edges and bright colours. Allegorical or classical themes frequently appear in the titles, such as *Jupiter and the Muses*, while others are more enigmatic, including: *Dance of Death*, *Vortex*, *War* and *Peace*. It has been suggested that these may have been used as mural decorations for the Radical Club, the Studio Cabaret or for Toto Cogley's Cabaret in Harcourt Street, although there is no firm evidence to support this. See Lot 201 'Death', *Sotheby's The Irish Sale*, 7 May 2008, London, 148.

detail Kernoff's designs for two expressionist plays staged in Dublin in 1929 and 1930, drawing attention to the Cubist-inspired lines, the strong colouring and suggestions of dramatic, cinematic lighting (figs 4:4, 4:5).[27] Made for productions at the Peacock Theatre and the Gate Theatre, Kernoff was among a group of artists and dramatists exploring the theatrical and cinematic avant-garde in the 1920s. While Sisson emphasises the artistic and aesthetic aspects of Kernoff's involvement, the potential financial benefit to the young artist must also be considered, in addition to the bonus of further establishing his reputation in Dublin's cultural circles. This would appear to have been successful as in addition to his work at the city centre theatre, in August 1929 Kernoff designed the sets and lighting for two productions at the Civic Theatre, Dun Laoghaire.[28] This was a temporary theatre created in Dun Laoghaire Town Hall for Civic Week, 1929. There were performances of Sean O'Casey's *The Shadow of a Gunman* (fig 4:6) and Lord Dunsany's *The Glittering Gate*. Kernoff also held an exhibition of his paintings in Dun Laoghaire during the period of Civic Week.

Among Kernoff's stage and costume designs in the NGI are three designs for an unnamed pageant, depicting a 'Court Scene, Pre-Christian Ireland', 'Dalkey Island Scene, Burlesque', 'Fair Scene, Cromwellian Ireland', and 'Easter Week, 1916, Scene'.[29] Public parades and historical pageants were held during the early years of the Irish Free State, most notably during Civic Week celebrations. As one scholar has noted, the use of such spectacles in the city 'sought not only to affirm the legitimacy of the Dublin city commissioners as well as the Free State government and its army, but also to unite a public divided by civil war.'[30] Kernoff's designs refer however to a pageant titled 'Erin

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[27] See Elaine Sisson, 'Experimentalism and the Irish stage: Theatre and German Expressionism in the 1920s,' in *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity, 1922–1992*, eds. Linda King and Elaine Sisson (Cork: Cork University Press, 2011), 39-55.

[28] An article in the Irish Times also suggested that Kernoff had decorated the theatre interior. See 'Kingstown's Civic Theatre,' *Irish Times*, 24 August 1929, 5.

[29] These drawings are included in a collection of Kernoff works on paper in the NGI Prints and Drawings collections. See catalogue numbers 7766.55–57. These can be viewed through the NGI online catalogue, http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/.

[30] Joan FitzPatrick Dean, 'Rewriting the Past: Historical Pageantry in the Dublin Civic Weeks of 1927 and 1929,' *New Hibernia Review* 13, no.1 (2009): 22-23.

Through the Ages' held in Dun Laoghaire in July 1930 under the auspices of the Irish Tourist Association and the Dun Laoghaire Development Committee. The pageant was organised by Madam Cogley, known as Toto, and produced by Gabriel Fallon and presented phases from Irish history. In its choice of periods and scenes the pageant closely echoed *Ford of the Hurdles*, a pageant produced by Hilton Edwards and Michael MacLiammoir for the previous year's Civic Week. Both pageants ended with a scene depciting the Easter Rising, and while the 1929 production relied on the use of off-stage voice and silhouettes, Kernoff's drawing shows that he conceived a city panorama showing the Four Courts, the GPO and the Custom House, along with three public sculptures from O'Connell Street: the O'Connell monument, Nelson's Pillar and the Parnell monument (fig 4:7).[31]

By the close of the 1920s then, Kernoff had established a reputation among Dublin's cultural circles, both as an exhibiting artist and as a designer for theatre. It is clear that from the very beginning of his career, he was capable of working in different media and artistic styles. While previous authors have emphasised that he began his career as a painter exclusively influenced by the avant-garde and later retreated back to representational art, it is clear that this was not quite the case, and representational work formed an important part of his oeuvre from the earliest years of his career.[32] Furthermore, the activities of these years also show that Dublin formed a key theme in the artist's subject matter, whether through painted depictions or in his work for theatre. Moving on into the 1930s, Kernoff became more politically active, and the following section will examine how this manifested itself in Kernoff's representation of working life in Dublin.

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[31] Michael MacLiammoir, *The Ford of the Hurdles*, NLI, Ms 24, 562.
[32] Kennedy, *Irish Art and Modernism*, 44.

4.2 Life, Labour and the Left

Social realism, art, and the Left

Writing after the artist's death in 1974, John Nolan hailed Kernoff as '[t]he artist of the workers.' He noted that in addition to remembering Kernoff's artistic legacy,

> [t]here was another aspect of his life that deserves mention, his identification over many years with progressive, radical, working class ideas [...]. In the 1920s and early '30s he showed his sympathies with the struggles of the unemployed; his drawings of men without work, the poverty that was around him and of places of work showing both his understanding and sympathy for working people.[33]

This section will consider how Kernoff's political beliefs and associations impacted on his depiction of the themes of work and labour in Dublin city, placing them alongside similar works by artists in other countries.

Kernoff's affiliation with the political left was strengthened at the very beginning of the 1930s, when in September 1930 he visited the USSR with the Irish branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia (FSR).[34] An article in the *Workers' Voice* records how the opportunity to travel to the USSR came about: in May 1930, the FSR International Committee in Berlin and the Foreign Relations Committee of the Soviet Trade Unions wrote to the Irish branch inviting them to send a delegation.[35] The paper noted that

> [t]he Irish delegation should be thoroughly representative of Irish workers and peasants, and must be responsible for expenses to and from the border of the

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[33] John Nolan, 'The Artist of the Workers,' *Irish Times*, 30 December 1974, 10.
[34] O'Connor notes that the FSR 'was founded in New York in 1921 as a response to a decision of the 3rd World Congress of the Communist International (22 June–12 July 1921) to call for the formation of mass organizations by affiliated parties around the world dedicated to raising funds for Soviet famine relief.' O'Connor, *Seán Keating: Art, Politics and Building the Irish Nation,* f.n. 35, 310.
[35] 'FOSR meeting in Dublin,' *Workers' Voice*, 24 May 1930, 2

Soviet Union.[36]

In addition to a number of drawings and sketches, Kernoff's recollections of this trip, along with those of his travel companions, were published in *The Watchword*, the newspaper of the Irish Trade Union and Irish Labour Party.[37] An overview of the trip was published in a pamphlet by the FSR titled *The USSR through Irish Eyes*. As the pamphlet outlines, the delegation travelled throughout the USSR over a six week period, overseeing all aspects of life there including factories, communal farms, the Hermitage museum, cinema, theatre, and ballet. Kernoff naturally took a great interest in the place of the arts in the USSR, and his recollections demonstrate this close attention. When considered in light of his own willingness to involve himself in different aspects of artistic life in Dublin, Kernoff's views of Russian art are noteworthy. He outlined that

> [a]rtists in the Soviet Union are all in one union, the Art Worker's Union, this includes all craft workers and associative workers [...]. The artist has to produce four pictures or works of art a year, for which he gets his keep for the year. If he produces more he can dispose of them as he pleases. Generally a workers-club buys them or commissions him to do them.[38]

The apparent security of this system, including some financial stability, was evidently something Kernoff admired – perhaps unsurprising given the precarious nature of earning a living as an artist in Dublin. His writing reveals that he perceived that art was given a central role in the USSR, not merely in terms of people purchasing it from exhibitions, but that it played a political and social function, especially as

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[36] Ibid.

[37] See Harry Kernoff, 'A Dubliner Abroad: Art in the New Russia,' *The Watchword,* 6 December 1930, 7-8. *The Workers' Voice* noted that the delegation comprised of Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington, Sighle Dowling (President of the Irish Women Worker's Union), David Fitzgerald, Harry Kernoff ('the Dublin painter'), Jack O'Neill (representing the Unemployed Movement) and Charlotte Despard. The delegates spoke at a public meeting in the Mansion House, Dublin on their return. See 'Mansion House Meeting: Irish delegates returned from Russia,' *Workers' Voice*, 27 September 1930, n.p.

[38] 'Observations re art and theatre in the USSR,' Harry Kernoff Papers, NLI, Ms 24, 942.

> so much is being built, so many clubs, theatres, communal dwellings, rest-homes, schools, institutes etc., and these have to be decorated. Also their propaganda needs a great amount of pictorial and poster work of all description.[39]

Such statements also show that Kernoff's conception of art, or the work of an artist, was not limited to easel paintings, and included other artworks such as decorative schemes and murals, and parallels for this can be found in his own practice.

Kernoff's views on propaganda were quite definite, and he maintained them throughout his career. In his view, all art was propagandist, as '[a]ll art propagates the artist's point of view and as such is propaganda.'[40] In his article for *The Watchword*, Kernoff argued that '[i]n communism the propaganda is for the bettering of the living conditions of the workers [...]' and that this was no different to the landscape painter who 'propagates his vision of this tonal, linear and mass effect of the landscape [...]' or the figure painter who 'broadcasts to humanity on form, colour and rhythm'.[41] In considering Kernoff's views of art and propaganda in the USSR in 1930, it is important to consider the period that Kernoff visited the Soviet state. In 1930, the USSR was emerging from the cultural pluralism of the 1920s and engrossed in schemes of collectivisation and the implementation of the five-year plans. While art was certainly subordinate to the needs of the state at the time of Kernoff's visit, state demands and interference did not become dominant and explicitly policy-based until 1934, when Socialist Realism was 'proclaimed the approved method for Soviet artists in all media.'[42]

In moving on to consider what this account of Kernoff's time in Russia meant in relation to his artistic output, it is necessary to consider briefly the topic of realism and

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[39] Ibid.
[40] 'Drafts of lectures etc., on Art,' Harry Kernoff Papers, NLI, Ms 20,929.
[41] 'Observations', Harry Kernoff Papers, NLI, Ms 24, 942.
[42] David Elliott and Piotr Juszkiewicz, 'Socialist Realism,' *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online.* Oxford University Press.http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T079464.

representational painting in the modern period. It is also both useful and important to define and clarify what is meant by the terms 'Socialist Realism' and 'social realism', as each term has its own specific meaning. The former refers to artworks created in the USSR after 1934, and which can be characterised by 'monumental scale, heroic optimism and eclectic realism as well as its dependence on the personality cult of the leader.'[43] Social realism, on the other hand, is a more general term used to

> refer to the work of painters, printmakers, photographers and film makers who draw attention to the everyday conditions of the working classes and the poor, and who are critical of the social structures that maintain these conditions.[44]

Manifestations of social realism can be found throughout nineteenth and twentieth century visual art, and it is strongly associated with depictions of urban life. Despite the presence of these different forms of realist and representational art through the twentieth century, a discussion of such works is often absent from the historiography of the period. As Paul Wood has commented, the terms '"realism" and "modern" *have* simply been seen as opposites [...]. [...] embedded in the arguments supporting them [...] were competing definitions of what it was to *be* [italics in the original] 'modern".[45] Woods continues that the case for realist art has not been helped by the notion that 'avant-garde art and realist art faced each other antagonistically across and unbridgeable gap [...]. Neither side acknowledged that avant-garde art could *be* [italics in the original] a form of, or illuminated by the requirements of realism.'[46]

The tenets of social realism can be found in the work of artists across Europe and

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[43] Ibid.
[44] James G. Todd Jr, 'Social realism,' *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T079466.
[45] Paul Wood, 'Realisms and Realities,' in *Realism, Rationalism, Surrealism: Art Between the Wars*, eds. Briony Fer, David Batchelor and Paul Wood (New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with the Open University, 1993), 256.
[46] Ibid., 264. For a further discussion of the contexts around and critical debate on realism in twentieth century art, see Kathryn Milligan, '"Irish mostly': a thematic exploration into the art of Harry Kernoff RHA (1900–1974),' (MPhil Diss., Trinity College Dublin, 2010), 11-15.

America through the inter-war period. In the American context, the work of the Ashcan School earlier in the twentieth century was influential in motivating the next generation of artists to also look at the city for inspiration and to adhere to the principles of representational painting. Outside of New York, artists in Chicago were also concerned with depicting everyday life in the city, recording everyday experience in an increasingly diverse urban environment.[47] Many American artists were influenced by their experiences of migration, making for an interesting comparison with Kernoff. In Britain, depictions of urban life came from various different artistic cohorts working in London from the turn of the century onwards, for example the Camden Town Group, the Euston Road School, and the East London Group of Artists (fig 4:8). In addition the involvement of visual artists, such as William Coldstream (1908–1987) with the Mass Observation project (established in 1937) also resulted in interesting representations of urban life, taking a regional city rather than the capital for its subject matter (fig 4:9).[48]

In his consideration of social realism and American art, Edward Lucie-Smith makes clear the subtle differentiation between the political and non-political social realists: while both depicted the city, the work of political social realists was 'deeply concerned about the social problems of the day [...]' while non-political artists depicted similar scenes 'in a relatively neutral way [...].'[49] In American art history, the term 'social realism' is often used to denote a group of artists working in New York in the 1930s including artists such as Ben Shahn (1898–1969) and Raphael Soyer (1899–1974)(fig 4:10). These artists were also greatly influenced by their political allegiances and beliefs; Patricia Hills notes that many social realists 'were independent Marxists, some

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[47] For more on migrant artists in Chicago, see Sarah Kelly Oehler, *They Seek A City: Chicago and the Art of Migration, 1910–1950* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 2013).
[48] See Bruce Laughton, *William Coldstream* (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2004), 53-57 and David Buckely, *From Bow to Biennale: Artists of the East London Group* (London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 2012).
[49] Edward-Lucie Smith, *American Realism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994 (2002 reprint)) 129.

communists, some socialists, and some identified [...] with the humanist tradition.'[50] Certainly through the 1920s, there were strong connections between artists in America and in the USSR, through both political groups and artists groups such as the John Reed Club, which established branches in different cities.[51] The founding of the Public Works of Art Project in 1933, funded by the Civil Works Administration and, in 1935, the founding of the Federal Art Project by the Works Progress Administration, were important mechanisms of support for, amongst others, social realist artists during the Depression years.

While it is difficult to establish how familiar Kernoff would have been with painters such as Shahn, Soyer, or their British contemporaries, they all share similar artistic motivations and painting styles. A watercolour by Kernoff of *Yonah Shimmel's Knishe Bakery* suggests that he had some familiarity with the New York, perhaps through photographs or books (figs 4:11, 4:12).[52] It also seems possible that Kernoff would also have been aware of developments and trends in British art, as he was a frequent visitor to London and painted a small number of works of scenes from around the city and suburbs (for example, *Bend in the Road, near Richmond, Surrey*)(fig 4:13). While the documentary evidence for connecting these artists may, as of yet, be scant, the visual connections remain. Through their work, we can see artists across three different countries working in a mode of painting that lies outside of the established Modernist canon, most obviously through their continued use of a realist idiom.

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[50] Patricia Hills, 'The Socially Concerned Painters of the 1930s: An Introduction,' *Social Concern and Urban Realism: American Painting of the 1930s* (Boston University Art Gallery: Boston, 1984),9.

[51] Andrew Hemingway, *Artists on the Left: American Artists and the Communist Movement, 1926–1956* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 20.

[52] Kernoff was an assistant to Maurice MacGonigal on a mural for the Irish pavilion at the World's Fair held in New York in 1939, however there is no evidence to suggest that he travelled to the city on that, or any other, occasion. Still operating today, Schimmel's knish bakery opened in 1910, although it is thought that Schimmel began selling knishes in Coney Island in the 1890s. See Sam Roberts, 'Celebrating the Freshest 100-Year-Old Knish,' *City Room, Blogging from the Five Boroughs* (blog), *The New York Times*, 13 January 2010, http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/01/13/knish/?_php=true&_type=blogs&_r=0.

One of Kernoff's most manifest displays of sympathy with the political left in Ireland came through his repeated depiction of Liberty Hall. Before the construction of the present Liberty Hall in 1965, a far less conspicuous building occupied the site on Eden Quay. Formerly a hotel, the building was purchased by the Irish Transport and General Workers Union as their headquarters in 1912. The building played a significant role in the political and social events of the period; it was used as a soup kitchen during the 1913 Lockout, served as the headquarters of the Irish Citizen Army and housed the printing presses that were used to create the Proclamation of the Independence in 1916. The building suffered heavy shelling in 1916, but remained standing with significant repairs until 1958.[53] As well as depicting the building in its own right, Kernoff used the structure in the background of one version of a woodcut portrait of James Connolly, although in subsequent versions he altered this to show the plough and the stars.

The earliest extant sketch by Kernoff of Liberty Hall is dated to 1928, although records show that he first exhibited a version of the composition in 1927 at the RHA with the title *Liberty Hall, Night* (fig 4:14). It may be that the pen and ink sketch now in the NGI refers to the work exhibited in 1927; the image itself is completed in pen and ink, but is mounted on card. The style of the signature and the addition of 'RHA' to the artist's name suggest that these were later additions.[54] Certainly the scene depicted is set at night, with the building itself gleaming white against the ink-black sky, illuminated by a street light. In all of the versions of this scene, the building is shown as having an open door and the shadows of people at work inside can be seen in the windows. A later version, also titled *Liberty Hall, Summer's Evening* from 1934 shows how Kernoff retained the core section of the composition, but altered the figures in front of the

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[53] Christine Casey, *Dublin: The City Within the Grand and Royal Canals and the Circular Road with the Phoenix Park* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 152.
[54] Kernoff was not elected to the RHA until 1936, suggesting that the drawing was mounted and dated after this date. It may also be that this may be a retrospective image, showing Liberty Hall as it was in 1928.

building (fig 4:15). Like in other works, Kernoff depicts a cross-section of Dublin working population, from labourers and dockers to aproned women and busy mothers. To further emphasise the symbolism of the painting, Kernoff also includes here a young boy in a red jumper facing towards the illuminated building, underscoring its connection to the political left.

Beyond such landmarks, Kernoff did not have to look far to find subjects which reflected the varied composition of Dublin society, or which expressed his interest in and sympathy with the city's working class and leftist politics. The docklands gave the artist the opportunity to make plain his empathy and understanding with Dublin's working class, and through such works he brought attention to everyday life and labour in Dublin through the 1930s, while also highlighting the presence of politics in the city environment, for example through the inclusion of election posters or strike activity in his imagery.

A watercolour dated to 1945, titled in recent years as *On the Dublin Quays - Johnny Forty Coats* is a good example of how Kernoff introduced these themes into his work, and it is also instructive in how the artist went about his work (fig 4:16).[55] The painting shows a rather dilapidated public house beside the river, with a boat and low warehouses visible in the background. In the fore and middle-ground of the composition, various different figures go about their day, with profession and social status indicated by clothing – such as a ship's captain in his blue uniform on the right hand side, or the dock workers in flat caps. It may be assumed that the central figure, wrapped up in several layers of clothing and a large bag on his back is the man that the title alludes to: P J Marlow, or 'Johnny Forty Coats', was a homeless man known in Dublin through the 1930s and 1940s, and a contemporary photograph in the NLI shows some likeness to the figure in Kernoff's painting (fig 4:17). In addition to this inclusion, a poster can be seen beside the door to the pub, reading 'Vote 1 Jim Larkin', and a crude

[55] Title given in catalogue for *Important Irish Art*, James Adam in association with Bonhams, when the painting was sold from a private collection (Lot 39), 46, December 2002.

graffito on the wall reads 'the IRA'.[56]

Despite the date 1945 appearing beside the artist's signature in the lower left hand corner, Kernoff had first observed this scene on the 18 October 1935. As a preparatory sketch notes, the setting of the painting is Forbes Street, a side-street just off Sir John Rogerson's Quay and when the artist made the sketch at about 11:00, it was a 'grey day' (fig 4:18).[57] A comparison of the sketches in this collection with finished watercolour or oil paintings demonstrates that it was not unusual for the artist to leave a considerable amount of time between completing the sketch and the finished work, or for him to make several versions of a composition, retaining the detailed sketch for reference. Another example of this can be seen in Kernoff's depiction of *Misery Hill*, a narrow street that today branches off from Macken Street/Cardiff Lane and runs down towards the Grand Canal Theatre (fig 4:19). The preparatory sketch indicates that Kernoff first noted the scene on the 27 August 1936 (fig 4:20). Versions of *Misery Hill* are extant in both pastel and oil, however both are undated.[58] All three versions of the composition, including the preparatory sketch, have slight variations although the sketch and the oil version have more in common.

Regardless of these small variations, *Misery Hill, Dublin* shows three men walking down the centre of the street. In the right-hand corner a section of a gasometer can be seen in red, and the other buildings in the painting reflect the then industrial landscape of the area. As with *On the Dublin Quays* a political poster is included, this time on the wall beside the gasometer reading 'Vote 1 Labour'. Along the sunnier side of the street, men and women go about their daily chores, contrasting strongly with the solitary figure standing alone in the shadows on the opposite side of the composition.

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[56] The election poster may refer to the 1943 elections, when both James Larkin (1878 – 1949) and his son, also James Larkin (1904 – 1969) won seats in the Dublin North East and Dublin South Central constituencies. The watercolour is signed and dated by the artist in the lower left hand corner.

[57] Harry Kernoff, 'Forbes Street, Dublin Quay Side,' National Gallery of Ireland Prints and Drawings Collection, 7766.371.

[58] See Fig 4:19 and Harry Kernoff, *Misery Hill*, oil on board private collection, reproduced in *Selection of Results 2004*, DeVeres Art Auctions, 15.

Although the painting represents a rather down-at- heel part of the city, the sunlight and bright blue sky carry this painting away from the dark and grim atmosphere usually associated with the depiction of the industrial landscape. The same cheerfulness pervades *Misery Hill*, although the smoke belching from the distant chimney is a little darker. The disparity between the subject and the colour palette is further reinforced when one considers the very real problems of unemployment and poverty across Dublin through the 1930s.

Although the work was irregular and often hard to come by, the docks were an important source of employment in Dublin through the first half of the twentieth century. As oral testimony records, employment on the docks and the ships coming in and out of the port was often on a day-to-day basis. Nellie Cassidy who lived in a tenement near the docklands later recalled the process of looking for work on the docks:

> [t]here might be fifty or sixty men standing in a group [...] for a day's work and he might call twenty [...] Very heart breaking because the men were hungry. There was no constant work'.[59]

The plight of dock workers was captured in a monumental fashion by Maurice MacGonigal in his painting *Dockers* (fig 4:21). Although ostensibly taking the same subject matter as Kernoff, MacGonigal's approach and style were very different. Focusing on the figures themselves, rather than the city or working environment, MacGonigal posed the three men in the studio, after they were sent there by James Larkin.[60] MacGonigal's emphasis on the men themselves almost removes them from the urban setting of the docks, and by arranging the figures so that they appear to look down on the viewer, he further heroicises them.

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[59] Testimony of Nellie Cassidy from Kevin C Kearns, ed. *Dublin Tenement Life: An Oral History* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2006), 88.
[60] See Margarita Cappock, 'Dublin Divided: September 1913,' *Dublin Divided: September 1913*, eds. Logan Sisley and Margarita Cappock (Dublin: Dublin City Gallery The Hugh Lane, 2013), 52, exhibition catalogue.

In contrast, Kernoff's depiction of workers and the unemployed appear more ordinary, highlighting the different approaches of the two artists. *Unemployed*, now only known through a contemporary newspaper photograph, shows a man in similar clothing to Kernoff's other depictions of dockers or labourers, facing the viewer with his empty hands upturned (fig 4:22). Although they are barely visible in the reproduction, along the bottom of the canvas Kernoff included banners and figures, the *Irish Times* noted that '[t]he script of the banners explains the title [...].'[61] Where MacGonigal's dockers appear stoic, the figure in *Unemployed* appears vulnerable or almost pathetic. The sturdiness and solidity of MacGonigal's men is notably absent, perhaps justifying the *Irish Times*' criticism that the painting would have been more successful if 'the figure and face were more in conformity with the idea of labour.'[62] Despite this perceived fault, it is likely that Kernoff used a model for this painting. The same man appears in a woodcut published in *Woodcuts* in 1942, also titled *Unemployed*, where the artist shows the man's head and shoulders, while a group of figures with the sign 'We Want Work' can be seen in the background (fig 4:23). On the original woodblock for this print (now in the NLI collection), the title 'Unemployed (Jack O'Neill)' is given. O'Neill was a delegate on the FSR trip to Russia in 1930, representing the Unemployed Movement, and was therefore an eminently suitable model for *Unemployed*.[63]

In an interview with Richard Michael Fox for the Amalgamated Engineering Union's journal in 1931, Kernoff recalled how his early life had influenced his painting. He noted how growing up in London he had been fascinated by the dock district, and that in his view, 'no artist need go to Brittany or Holland to paint pictures; he will find

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[61] 'Kernoff Pictures: Exhibition at College Street,' *Irish Times*, 29 March 1934, 4.
[62] Ibid.
[63] See National Library of Ireland Prints and Drawings Collection List, Harry Kernoff Collection, PD 2090 TX, 24, http://www.nli.ie/pdfs/PDLists/HarryKernoffPD2090TX.pdf. Another version of the painting was auctioned in 1979, titled 'Unemployed (Jack O'Neill). This version is undated, and there are small differences - for example the crowd and banners are omitted. See The Adam Salerooms, *Catalogue of Irish Art Auction*, 15 November 1979, Lot 96.

plenty down by the London docks.'[64] In 1929 three drawings by Kernoff were included in *A Book of Dublin*, published by Dublin Corporation as part of its civic week celebrations (figs 4:24, 4:25, 4:26). As Justin Carville has recently noted, the aim of the book was to 'bring together writers and artists [...] in a civic commemoration of the history, antiquities and commerce of the post-independence and post-civil war capital city.'[65] Alongside text on Dublin's industry and history, the book included reproductions by a wide range of contemporary Irish artists, including Paul Henry, Estella Solomons, Hilda Roberts and Maurice MacGonigal, amongst others. Kernoff's drawings, dated 1928, showed the Guinness Brewery, Jacobs Biscuit Factory, and the grain silo of the Merchants Warehousing Company on the Alexandra Basin at Dublin Port. Reproduced in sepia, Kernoff's drawings were most likely completed in pencil and charcoal although the original drawings have not surfaced during the course of this research. As with his depiction of Liberty Hall, in each drawing the building(s) are placed at the heart of the composition, with small figures shown either at work or busily moving through the city streets.

Given that the text of the *Book of Dublin* sought to emphasise what little industry Dublin had, as well as the re-branding the city as the vibrant capital of the Irish Free State, it is notable that in each of his drawings, Kernoff foregrounds the wires and posts of the electricity and telephone network. A tangible signifier of modernisation and progress, by including them, Kernoff subtly alludes to Dublin as a site of modern industry.[66] When compared with a photograph from 1926, it can be seen that Kernoff falsified elements of the site in his representation of the grain silo of the Merchants' Warehousing Company (fig 4:27). While the photograph shows a fleet of cars and other vehicles, Kernoff has included men at work, a crane and a pylon with thick black power

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[64] R M Fox, 'A Worker Artist,' *Amalgamated Engineering Union Monthly Journal*, October 1931, Harry Kernoff Papers, NLI, Ms 20, 918.
[65] Carville, 'Introduction: Visual Culture and the Making of Modern Dublin', 1.
[66] See Sean Mannion, 'Celtic Arc Light: The Electric Light in Early Twentieth Century Dublin,' in *Visualizing Dublin: Visual Culture, Modernity and the Representation of Urban Space*, 111–131.

wires.[67] The drawing gives the impression that the building was still under construction, though this had been completed by 1926. The grain silo appeared in the background of a painting titled *Dublin Dockyard* (4:28). This painting may have been exhibited in 1934 under the title *Dublin Docks*, described by the *Irish Times* as follows, '[t]here is a silent story of human potentiality in the big lattice frame hulk and the strewn apparatus of the dock.'[68] The painting shows the skeletal hull of a ship on the dry dock, with smoking chimneys protruding into the blue sky. As with the earlier *Book of Dublin* illustrations, Kernoff uses the wiring, crane stays in this instance, to accentuate the industrial nature of the scene, while in contrast to other depictions of similar subjects, the shipyard workers blend in with the grey ground of the dock.

In contrast to Kernoff's drawing of workers on the docks, Paul Henry's illustration of *The Grand Canal Dock, Ringsend* demonstrates a different artistic approach to the subject (fig 4:29). Described by Carville as "[l]ess of a depiction of the Dublin cityscape and more of an impression of its texture [...]', this drawing shows the early influence of James McNeill Whistler on Henry, and his interest in the contrasting aesthetics of soft mist and fog against the concrete industrial buildings.[69] Another dockside scene by Henry was used on the posters for Civic Week, 1929. Although *The Customs House* incorporates several features seen in Kernoff's work, such as the dock worker and a complex criss-cross of wires and cables, the painting lacks the sense of empathy or social reality discernible in the younger artist's work (fig 4:30).

Kernoff's involvement with printed books continued through to 1931, when his work was included in *Saorstát Éireann: Irish Free State Handbook*. Among the works reproduced was *Dublin Docks*, a drawing in charcoal and pencil (fig 4:31). The dark

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[67] Through the different types of wires in the three illustrations for the *Book of Dublin*, Kernoff suggests the progress in technology, communication and electrification in the city. In *The Guinness Brewery*, telephone wires can be seen; in *Jacobs Biscuit Factory* the artist includes tram wires; and in the *Great Grain Silo*, electrical wires can be seen.

[68] 'Kernoff Pictures: Exhibition at College Street,' *Irish Times*, 29 March 1934, 4.

[69] Carville, 'Introduction : Visual Culture and the Making of Modern Dublin,' 3. The style of Henry's drawing is also evocative of Georges Seurat's (1859–1891) conté crayon drawings. See MoMA 'George Seurat: The Drawings', online exhibition, http://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2007/seurat/.

tones of the media are well suited to the industrial subject matter, heightening the bleak atmosphere of the scene. Moving away from the buildings around the docks, this drawing brings the viewer down to the river itself, with the criss-cross of cranes, chimneys and boats framing the water. The height and power of these features is emphasised by the small boat bringing a group of men back towards the quayside. From these depictions of scenes of industrial sites around Dublin, it is perhaps unsurprising that a comparison was made between Kernoff and L. S. Lowry (fig 4:32).[70] While both artists have their own distinct pictorial styles, Lowry's interest and concentration on the industrial towns do make for an interesting comparison with Kernoff. From the early 1920s, Lowry depicted scenes from around Salford and Manchester, detailing the realities of life in a highly industrialised urban centre. While Dublin was not anywhere near as industrialised as the cities and towns depicted by Lowry, the works discussed in this section demonstrate that he actively sought out what industrial areas of the city there were. Moving on from Kernoff's representation of this part of Dublin, the following section will examine more general works which relate to the artist's travels around the city.

4.3 Cityscapes: Walking through Dublin

Considering the practice of walking in the urban environment, Michel de Certeau noted that '[t]o walk is to lack a place. It is the indefinite process of being absent and in search of a proper.'[71] Notions of walking, place, and identity formation have been closely tied to the consideration of the city, made manifest, for example, in concepts of the *flâneur* or urban observer. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter Kernoff was an enthusiastic walker and this practice is documented in his sketches, paintings and

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[70] In 1974, John Ryan commented that 'W.S Lowry [*sic*] is the only other painter I can think of who matches the feeling of radical humanism he shows in his portrayal of the (not always breath-taking) urban environment in which so many of us spend our lives.' John Ryan, 'Harry Kernoff RHA,' in Harry Kernoff: A Selection of Dublin Paintings (Dublin: Godolphin Gallery, 1974), n.p, exhibition catalogue.

[71] Michel de Certeau, *Walking in the City*, trans. Steven S Rendell (Berkley: University of California Press, 1984), 103

later diary entries.[72] Familiarity with Dublin's streets has been a recurrent theme through this thesis, and mentioned previously in relation to both Walter Osborne and Jack B. Yeats. In the case of Kernoff, a consideration of his movement through and representation of Dublin can be seen not only in terms of the observer of everyday life, but also as a more meaningful process of mapping the space around him and attempting to create a home in his adopted city. Moving away from Kernoff's more political artworks, this section will consider some of the more general urban landscapes present in his oeuvre.

In contrast to his depictions of labour and industry, these cityscapes and urban landscapes are usually brightly coloured, with blue skies and sunlit streets. The overall impression created by the artist is of a genial and friendly atmosphere, despite the social issues present in the city at the time, and which he did confront elsewhere. By looking at a number of cityscapes produced by the artist through the 1930s and early 1940s, some distinct themes emerge in Kernoff's choice of subject matter. Once again he returns to the dock areas of the city, predominantly focusing on the architectural landscape of the quays. Representations of market places and busy shopping streets are filled with vignettes seen in his paintings of labour, such as a meeting of workers or class distinctions made clear through clothing. In contrast, the depiction of leisure predominates in a number of works set in and around St Stephen's Green, and to an extent, paintings and drawings of various sites along the Grand Canal and Portobello. In these works, the urban landscape is preeminent, while the small human figures move through the space.

St Stephen's Green offers one of Kernoff's most encompassing views of the city centre (fig 4:33). The preparatory sketch for this painting notes that it was made during

[72] See Harry Kernoff Papers, NLI.

a tram strike.[73] From the inscription on the sketch, it seems that the artist's focus was on Fusilier's Arch, a memorial to members of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers who fought in the second Boer War.[74] Once more it is the small details which bring life and movement to this painting, showing Kernoff's forensic notation of the scene. For example, the row of shops and buildings that make up the background of the painting are all identifiable from their signage and awnings, including The Green cinema which was screening Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times*. The streetscape is populated with small figures, painted in Kernoff's characteristic style. These figures are not conceived of as individual portraits and were probably based on Kernoff's sketches of different people he saw in Dublin, or drawn from his imagination. In this way, they are more redolent of the *staffage* figures used in eighteenth and nineteenth century painting – generic, small figures used to enliven the scene.

The artist takes a similar interest in the signage of the city's shops in *Winetavern Street* (figs 4:34, 4:35, 4:36). Showing the now demolished buildings on St Michael's Hill, Kernoff again shows the city bathed in sunlight while the shop owners and others go about their daily work. Using more of these small figures, Kernoff emphasises the steep pitch of the hill through the men and women pushing seemingly heavy carts up its height. The height of the hill also offers a view over the north side of the city. *Winetavern Street* offers another instance of how the artists reused and repurposed a

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[73] The strike lasted for seventy-six days in 1935, starting over a dispute over the dismissal of a bus driver. It quickly escalated to include grievances over wages. See 'Dublin Tram Strike Ended,' *Irish Times*, 25 May 1935, 1. See Harry Kernoff, *The Boer War Memorial, Saint Stephen's Green, Dublin*, 1935, graphite onpaper, NGI, #3194.

[74] The unveiling of Fusilier's Arch in 1908 was a spectacular occasion in itself. It was officially opened by the Prince Arthur Duke of Connaught, the third son of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Lord and Lady Aberdeen also attended, along with several members of the aristocracy and military establishment. The *Daily Express* described the occasion in detail, highlighting the military aspects of the event. The arch was declared officially open when '[h]eaded by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, the troops [...] marched through the arch with bayonets fixed, the Royal Dublin Fusiliers leading, and the other battalions following in regimental seniority, headed by their bands. Loud cheers were raised as the soldiers passed out into Grafton Street, and proceeded down that thoroughfare, which was thickly lined on either side with spectators.' From the *Daily Express*, quoted in Cecil Francis Romer and Arthur Edward Mainwaring, *The Second Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers in the South African War* (London: Humphreys, 1908; Project Gutenberg, 2008), http://www.gutenberg.org/files/25618/25618-h/25618-h.htm#page229.

composition in various different media. The 1934 oil version was bought by the Friends of the National Collections and presented to the Municipal Gallery (now the Dublin City Gallery the Hugh Lane), while a watercolour version was exhibited in 1937. In a review of this exhibition, a commentator in the *Irish Independent* noted that while

> [w]ater-colours are apt to be subdued and insipid compared with oils [...] Mr Kernoff's water-colour work is vivid, airy and arresting. To take one example, his No. 54 is a study of Winetavern Street [...]. Personally, I prefer the water-colour in this exhibition to the oil painting.[75]

In 1940 the artist also produced a pen and ink drawing based on his original sketch, along with a hand-coloured woodcut version of the same drawing. Finally, he also produced additional versions in both oil and watercolour, also in 1940. Comparing the two oil versions, the comments made by 'D.S' in the *Irish Independent* are certainly justified. The later version is more vigorously and vividly painted and with more detail, and the 1934 version appears quite bland in comparison. Given that the original painting had been purchased by a prestigious group, it is possible that Kernoff sought to build on this success and on the public's knowledge of the painting by making additional versions available for purchase.

With his studio located in the Kernoff family home on Stamer Street, it is perhaps unsurprising that Kernoff gravitated towards the banks of the nearby Grand Canal. The canal had traditionally marked the city boundary, and was an important trade route linking Dublin to the canal and river network around the country. Later in the twentieth century it would also be memorialised by Patrick Kavanagh, a friend of Kernoff's, in his poem *Canal Bank Walk* and *Lines Written on the Seat on the Grand Canal.*[76] For Kavanagh, the canal bank was a green oasis, being a still and

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[75] D.S 'A Painter of Old Dublin: Mr Kernoff's Art,' *Irish Independent*, 2 December 1937, 11.
[76] See Patrick Kavanagh, *Collected Poems*, ed. Antoinette Quinn, (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 224 and 227.

peaceful place on the edge of the city. These are redolent of the qualities found in Kernoff's paintings of the same location, often embellished with the addition of characterful swans and small dogs. Indeed, it is tempting to see Kernoff's *Red Seat near Baggot Street Bridge*, showing a man sitting by the quiet water, as a visual counterpart to Kavanagh's words (fig 4:37).

Arguably, these canal bank scenes do not relate to what might usually be considered 'urban' or 'city' scenes in the context of art historical scholarship. They avoid industrial or commercial sites, and are devoid of other urban signifiers such as advertising hoarding or neon signs. Yet, they mark an important geographical location in Dublin's urban landscape – in both literal and symbolic terms. As referenced earlier, the canal marked the traditional city boundary as well as an escape from the noise and bustle of the inner-city streets. For Kernoff, the route along the Grand Canal would ultimately bring him to Grand Canal Dock and onwards to the docklands (see for example, *Boland's Mills*, *Boats at Anchor - Grand Canal Quay* or *On the Liffey*)(figs 4:38, 4:39, 4:40). This stretch at the edge of the city also formed part of the artist's social life, as from the 1940s onwards Kernoff was associated with the artistic community that sprung-up around Parsons Bookshop at Baggot Street Bridge, marking a new generation of writers and artists in Dublin's cultural life.[77]

The previous chapter of this thesis considered the river Liffey as a liminal or in-between space in connection with Jack B. Yeats, and a similar reading can be considered in relation to Kernoff and the Grand Canal. In its form, a canal is physically different to a river; it is man-made, and its course and flow is carefully controlled and planned, rather than taking a natural route. Conceived of as a boundary, this body of water marks the outer margin of the city proper, while also facilitating (at one time) the traffic of goods in and out of the city. By walking along this space and translating its landscape into drawings and paintings, Kernoff contributed to the imaging and imagining of the city's

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[77] See Brendan Lynch, *Parsons Bookshop: At the Heart of Bohemian Dublin 1949-1989* (Dublin: The Liffey Press, 2006).

edge. Returning to de Certeau's assertion given at the outset of this section and the notion of placelessness, this can be considered in relation to Kernoff's own situation as something of an outsider in Dublin. Differentiated from many of his peers by his religion and migration from London (radio and television interviews show that his accent retained a London intonation through his life), Kernoff was in many ways a figure on the margins of Dublin's cultural life.

Close to Kernoff's studio on Stamer Street is Portobello Harbour, a painting of which was recorded as appearing in an exhibition of his work at the Victor Waddington Galleries in 1936. This work may have been the undated version illustrated here, but there are no extant sketches or contemporary descriptions that confirm this date. *Portobello Harbour* shows a number of canal boats and barges moored in the wide harbour, with the 64B most prominently shown (fig 4:41). On board a large stack of turf can be seen, and a figure in a blue jacket, perhaps the bargee can be seen leaving the deck. Completed in gouache and oil with some pencil additions, this work is quite broadly painted with opaque but bright colours. The simplified sky, with a thick white line running through areas of dark and light blue was often employed by the artist from the mid-1930s onwards. Characteristic of his work generally, Kernoff pays close attention to the small details of the scene – such as the curtains in the windows of the buildings, the sign reading 'Ryans for Whiskey', and a figure standing outside this hostelry.

Three other canal scenes were included in the 1936 exhibition; at least two of which are still extant in private collections. The catalogue lists two works 'At Leeson Bridge' and 'Soft Day at Leeson St Bridge', as well as 'Huband Bridge, Herbert Place'.[78] The two known depictions of Leeson St bridge are *Summer's Day at Leeson Bridge on the Grand Canal Dublin*, signed and dated 1936, and *Leeson Street Bridge, Dublin*, an undated watercolour showing the bridge at the height of summer (figs 4:42, 4:43).

[78] Catalogue to Exhibition of Pictures by Harry Kernoff, R.H.A. 13th to 22nd, October, 1936 at The Victor Waddington Galleries, 28 South Anne Street, Dublin.

Despite its title, the colouring of *Summer's Day at Leeson Bridge* is more suggestive of early autumn, with the foliage of the trees clearly about to turn from green to orange and red.[79] Moreover, the composition is identical to a preparatory sketch that bears the inscription 'wet grey day, 12pm, Leeson St Bridge, Dublin 2, 2-8-35 Aug'.[80] Given this inscription, it is possible that *Summer's Day at Leeson Bridge* may actually be 'Soft Day at Leeson Bridge'. A particularly Irish colloquialism, a 'soft day' is used to refer to a grey, often misty day, with frequent but light showers of rain. Looking closely at *Summer's Day at Leeson Bridge*, it can be seen that the artist included a predominantly grey sky, with light sweeping strokes of darker grey and brown suggesting a light drizzle of rain. On the bridge itself, some figures are shown with unfolded umbrellas, while others wear brightly coloured summer dresses, perhaps indicating the changeable nature of a 'soft day'.

Huband Bridge, Grand Canal, Dublin is signed and dated to 1936, supported by a full preparatory sketch of the same composition (fig 4:44).[81] In contrast to the artist's representation of the bridge at Leeson Street, the focus of this painting is on the bridge itself as an architectural feature, with figures providing some additional colour and detail. The focus of the painting is fitting, as the bridge is one of the more interesting and decorative of the group along this stretch of the canal, as it twists slightly to accommodate a slight bend onto Percy Place. Kernoff also used this bridge as a setting for a later painting which also looks to Dublin's architectural heritage, as seen in *The Peppercanister from Percy Place* (fig 4:45). The initial sketch titles the scene 'Huband Bridge & St Stephen's Church, Mount Street Dublin' and is dated 8 June 1939. In addition, Kernoff noted the time (3-4pm), and the sketch was drawn from '1st floor, V Murphy's flat'.[82] Moving figures bring life to this scene, and it is further enhanced by

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[79] This title was given when the painting appeared at auction in 1998. See Sotheby's, *The Irish Sale*, 21 May 1998, London, Lot 400.
[80] See Harry Kernoff, 'Leeson Bridge, Grey Day', pencil on paper, National Gallery of Ireland, 7766.363.
[81] See Harry Kernoff, 'Huband Bridge, Herbert Close, 9 August 1936', pencil on paper, National Gallery of Ireland, 7766.376.
[82] See Harry Kernoff, 'Huband Bridge and St Stephen's Church,' pencil on paper, National Gallery of Irelad, 7766.408.

small details such as the small dog and the bright green post box on either side of the bridge walls.

The paintings and drawings discussed in this section come directly from the artist's journeys through Dublin city. By walking through the city's streets and about its margins, the artist mapped out the space around him. By creating a visual record of these walks the artist created a lasting impression of his movements, and also located himself within the urban environment as an onlooker and observer of everyday life. When considered in relation to concepts of space and place, or in light of de Certeau's assertion noted at the outset of this section, Kernoff's habitual walks can be seen as having a more symbolic meaning, as the artist sought to locate and ground a sense of identity or belonging in Dublin through this practice. Through these scenes of Dublin Kernoff also gives a reminder that he was an artist trying to make a living. This business sense can also be seen in his ability to repeat compositions, such as that of Winetavern Street, potentially capitalising on the fact that it could also be seen in a public collection. Continuing this exploration of Kernoff's place within the city, the final section of this chapter will consider his representation of Dublin's public houses, and his self-location within this space.

4.4 Raising a Glass: Kernoff and the Dublin Pub

Writing on migrant artists in Chicago in the period 1910–1950, Sarah Kelly Oehler has commented that

> [p]ortraiture was one means by which migrant artists could position themselves within their new community. They could use the genre to define themselves as they wished to be seen, calling attention to certain traits while downplaying

others.[83]

The artists discussed by Oehler refer to a wide range of migrants who found their way to Chicago through this period, echoing Kernoff's own journey to Dublin in 1914. This section will consider Kernoff's use of self-portraiture in his paintings of Dublin's pubs. Always an important social institution, through the 1930s and onwards the city's watering holes became particularly associated with writers and artists. It will be argued here that by placing himself within this sphere, Kernoff further sought to ground himself within the social and cultural fabric of Dublin. Kevin C. Kearns has noted that Dublin's literary pubs attracted 'not only writers but artists, professors and amateur philosophers.'[84] For writers such as Patrick Kavanagh, Brendan Behan, Austin Clarke and Liam O'Flaherty, the pub was one of their main places for socialising in Dublin, although Samuel Beckett found their presence in these haunts overwhelming.[85]

A 1940 caricature of Dublin's pub scene and its regulars was created by Alan Reeve (1910–1962) (fig 4:46). Titled *Dublin Culture*, it showed the back room of the Palace Bar in Fleet Street. At the front table, nestled between Patrick O'Connor and Sean O'Sullivan is the diminutive figure of Kernoff, hidden under his large fedora and behind large spectacles. Bearing in mind the discussion of identity in the previous section it is interesting to consider this representation of the artist, as it further suggests that Kernoff's place in Dublin's cultural life was at once central and marginal. He is shown as being significantly smaller than his peers, and his nervous glance suggests a slight unease with the situation. This work was included in an exhibition of Reeve's work at Brown Thomas, Grafton Street, and on seeing the show the author of the 'Irishman's Diary' column commented that it was 'the most interesting of its kind that has been held in

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[83] Oehler, *They Seek A City: Chicago and the Art of Migration, 1910–1950*, 42.
[84] Kevin C. Kearns, *Dublin Pub Life and Lore: An Oral History* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1996), 64.
[85] Nicholas Allen, 'Beckett's Dublin,' *Samuel Beckett: A Passion for Painting*, ed. Fionnuala Croke (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 2006), 45.

Dublin for many a [?] day.'[86] The author added, '[i]t might represent a group of Dublin's *intelligentsia* sipping afternoon tea in the Y.M.C.A., but it doesn't', suggesting, with little subtlety, the real location to the column's readers.[87] What *Dublin Culture* shows is how central the life of the pub was to Dublin's social scene at this time, particularly in literary and artistic circles.

In *A Bird Never Flew on One Wing*, Kernoff recorded the names of Dublin's public houses, creating a more unusual portrait of the city (fig 4:47). Different versions of the composition take note of changes to these establishments, encompassing once more a variety of media. The composition centres around two men clearly enjoying the refreshments offered in the hostelries listed behind them. In his representation of the two men Kernoff draws on previous figures of jarvies and workers. Exhibited at the RHA in 1947, the *Irish Times* noted that it was 'a humorous work by Harry Kernoff, whose incisive style adds a bite to his witty remarks.'[88] The names in the background show just how many pubs there were in Dublin and their centrality to the city's social scene. The two figures both have elements of caricature, especially in their facial features, perhaps reflecting the artist's interest in the city's 'characters'. This can also be seen in *The Twins (There's Only a Few of Us Left)*, where the two men appear to be conspiring with each other (fig 4:48). In this painting, Kernoff also includes a small detail which, when seen alongside his other depictions of scenes in public houses, is used repeatedly to signify the artist's presence.

Davy Byrne's on Duke Street was one of the most famous of Dublin's literary pubs, celebrated for the reference to it in Joyce's *Ulysses*. In the text Leopold Bloom pauses at the pub for refreshment, having a gorgonzola sandwich and a glass of red wine and described how the eponymous owner 'doesn't chat. Stands a drink now and then.'[89]

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[86] 'Irishman's Diary,' *Irish Times*, 5 June 1940, 3.
[87] Ibid.
[88] 'High Standard at R.H.A Exhibition,' *Irish Times*, 21 April 1947, 4.
[89] James Joyce, *Ulysses* (London: Penguin Classics, 2000), 217-218. A portrait of James Joyce by Kernoff now hangs in Davy Byrne's, where Kernoff also painted the original murals. Although

Kernoff used Davy's as a setting for three different works, two showing the interior and the other of the exterior from another well-known bar, the Bailey. Taking these in chronological order, in 1936 Kernoff completed his first interior scene of the bar, *In Davy's Back Snug* (fig 4:49). The painting shows Martin Murphy, a stage builder at the Gate Theatre and Davy Byrne himself in the foreground, while two others can be seen in the background. While the artist does not appear in corporeal form, his presence is signified by three inclusions in the middle-ground – a fedora hat hangs on the wall, an exhibition of his pictures is advertised in a poster, and below this on the mantelpiece, a small wine glass filled with an orange liquid can be seen. This last item is also included in *The Twins (There's Only a Few of Us Left).*

A second interior scene from Davy Byrne's is *In Davy's Parlour Snug: Portrait with Davy Byrne and Martin Murphy* (fig 4:50). In this, Kernoff depicted himself sitting with Byrne and Murphy. The small glass of orange is in front of him, and his fedora is shown placed firmly on his head. While the finished oil is quite stylised, with broad brush strokes used to emphasise the sitter's facial features, a preparatory watercolour is painted more naturalistically (fig 4:51). In this version, the artist looks out to the right, avoiding the gaze of the viewer. Byrne glances in the same direction, leaving only Murphy looking directly out of the canvas. There is an easy companionship between the men; although given the similarity between both depictions of Murphy, the artist probably put together the work from other (no longer extant) preparatory sketches and drawings. There is a strong contrast between Kernoff's self-portrait here and Reeve's 1940 caricature. While there are some fundamental artistic differences between a self-portrait and a caricature, Kernoff's self-portrait shows the artist as being confident, and very much on a par with Byrne and Murphy.

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later repainted by Cecil ffrench Salkeld, elements the extant murals contain recognisable elements by Kernoff.

By the time Kernoff completed this triple-portrait in the mid-late 1930s, he had already completed several other accomplished self-portraits in various different media. A self-portrait drawing from 1923, when he won the Taylor Prize and entered the DMSA as a full-time student, shows the youthful artist. Drawn using light, quick graphite lines the sketch is similar in quality to the artist's life-drawings from the same date.[90] Life drawing was the bedrock of the system at the DMSA, and Kernoff's sketches show how students were expected to master different poses and attitudes. In addition to learning key drawing skills at the DMSA classes, Kernoff and his contemporaries may also have been encouraged to practice self-portraiture by his teacher, Seán Keating. As a student himself, Keating had been encouraged by William Orpen to use self-portraiture as a way of maintaining a daily routine of practicing art.[91] This development and lineage is most evident in a 1929 full length self-portrait (fig 4:52). Borrowing from Orpen's academic style, Kernoff placed himself before the easel, holding his palette and several brushes. Behind him, finished pictures in large gold frames can be seen, and to the left hand-side an open paint box rests on a stool or high table. With an open smock covering his clothes Kernoff presents himself as the consummate artist, ready to move on from the opening years of his career.

In his survey of self-portraiture in Western art, Omar Calabrese has noted that there are 'at least four motives for the self-portrait: (a) exhibition of virtuosity and economy of means; (b) affirmation of success; (c) staking a claim to artistic merit; (d) the exploration of the private realm.'[92] In relation to Kernoff's 1929 self-portrait, we can certainly read it as staking a claim to artistic merit and as an affirmation of his achievements to date. As mentioned at the outset of the section however, when it comes to analysing the use of self-portraiture by migrant artists through the twentieth century it is clear that the genre could also be used to make a particular statement about that

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[90] See Harry Kernoff, *Self-Portrait*, graphite on paper, 1923, Nataional Gallery of Ireland, NGI.3143.
[91] See O'Connor, *Seán Keating: Art, Politics and Building the Irish Nation*, 51-52.
[92] Omar Calabrese, *Artists' Self-portraits*, trans. Margurite Shore (London: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2006), 320.

artist's identity or place in the world. In Oehler's study a common trend was for artists to represent themselves at work, for example Emil Armin's (1883–1971) *Self-Portrait* woodcut (fig 4:53). By showing themselves in this way, these self-portraits allowed artists to present themselves as something other than 'migrant'. Rather than being defined by their language, accent, name or appearance as might be perceived when face to face with the artist, the artwork allowed such signifiers to be circumvented, and for the focus to rest on the person and profession depicted. In the case of Raphael Soyer, the use of self-portraits also allowed the artist to claim his place within a fine art tradition, as seen in his *Self-Portrait with Self-Portraits of Rembrandt, Corot and Degas* (fig 5:54).

The previous chapter discussed how Yeats represented himself within many of his Dublin or urban paintings, suggesting how the artist's use of this motif could be linked to feelings of alienation or isolation within the urban space. In his paintings of Dublin, Kernoff uses self-portraiture in a different way to Yeats. There are obvious differences in the painting style of the two artists, as well as in their choice of settings or locations – Yeats uses the city's streets, while Kernoff was attracted to the interior settings of some of the city's best known public houses. These works offer a different view of urban life; despite not being portrayals of the external urban landscape or of recognisable landmarks or streets, they reveal something more about everyday life and movement in the city's interior space, and what this may have meant for its inhabitants.

Davy Byrne's Pub, Dublin, from the Bailey is not only one of Kernoff's most accomplished paintings, but it also includes a fascinating self-portrait (fig 4:55). Amidst the detritus of the bar and counter, the artist's image is reflected in the mirror that runs along the shelving at the window. This is one of the few self-portraits where the artist makes direct contact with the viewer, and his undeviating gaze draws the viewer into the painting. In addition to his initial and extremely detailed sketch, Kernoff also completed two preparatory watercolours and one oil sketch of this composition (figs 4:56-4:58).

These preliminary documents show that the painter thought very carefully about each aspect of the final work, together with the inclusion of a self-portrait. The initial drawing is dated to 25 November 1941, and broadly reflects the structure of the finished painting. In this drawing, and the oil sketch, the figure reflected in the mirror does not resemble the artist although Kernoff does include the small glass of orange seen in his Davy Byrne paintings. The two watercolour sketches have small differences; while one shows the glass of orange, in the other this has been replaced by an elegant cocktail glass. Both of these artworks show the figure that would eventually become an identifiable self-portrait become more and more a likeness of the artist.

Another detail that shows the artist's concentration on this composition is his reworking of the theatre posters that ultimately hang on either side of the window pane. The finished oil painting uses these posters to feature Dublin's two most prominent theatres – the Abbey and the Gate. In the first instance, Kernoff showed a blank notice and gave no indication or even a clear colour reference for what it was to show. In one watercolour version and the oil sketch, he added the details of the Abbey Theatre and the name of Brinsley Macnamara's play *Look at the Heffernans*! Kernoff contemplated including two different posters – for the RHA Annual Exhibition and for *The Plough and the Stars* at the Abbey. Ultimately the final version of the painting stays with *Look at the Heffernans!*, and to include both the Gate Theatre and to contrast comedy and tragedy, the right-hand poster advertises a Lord Longford production of *Romeo and Juliet*. Newspaper records show that while the Gate production tallies with the date given on the initial sketch, the Macnamara production had played at the Abbey in 1940.

The artist's deliberations over the exact composition of *Davy Byrne's Pub* suggest a strong concern for getting the final arrangement just right. Stepping back from the minutiae then, painting can be placed within a wider contextual and conceptual framework. In choosing the location for this painting, Kernoff placed himself in the heartland of Dublin's literary pubs and more specifically between two establishments

famed for their inclusion in a much talked-about literary representation of the city. Unlike other self-portraits, in this work the artist confronts the viewer directly (albeit through his reflection) using a frontal pose. Describing this pose Calabrese notes '[t]here is a figure that looks out at us; we can identify the fact that he looks at us only while we are looking at him, so thereby we are reproducing an exchange of words.'[93] In the case of this painting, Kernoff can be seen to be acknowledging his presence within Dublin's urban environment, rather than offering the viewer a reflection of what he sees around him, as in his more general city views. With the choice of location, and the carefully mediated composition, this painting can be read as both a comment on Dublin's cultural life at that time, as well as a statement on Kernoff's place within that environment.

The four paintings discussed in the closing section have moved away from the general representation of the general cityscape to a more personal depiction by Kernoff of the interior spaces in which he spent time. What little evidence there is suggests that Kernoff himself was not a big drinker, and if he were, it would have been frowned upon by his family and religious community.[94] In this light, it can be seen that for Kernoff, his presence on the literary pub scene was a way of socialising with his peers but also of furthering his sense of belonging in the city. By depicting himself alongside Byrne and Murphy, he could claim a personal connection with two well-known Dubliners, and by association claim himself to be a Dubliner also. To paraphrase Oehler, Kernoff's use of self-portraiture in the Dublin pub setting, was a clear attempt to position himself within a community, while calling attention to his presence there and downplaying his migrant roots.

Conclusion

This chapter opened with a quotation from T. J. Clark which touched on two ideas

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[93] Ibid., 142.
[94] See letter from Sean O'Callaghan, 1st May 1947, Harry Kernoff Papers, NLI, Ms 20, 917.

regarding how the experience of the modern city had changed, and how social class might prevent, or indeed enable, artists to sympathetically represent the industrial landscape. Connecting these ideas to Kernoff, it has been shown here how the artist navigated his way through his adopted city, taking cognisance of the everyday working life of the city. From the artist's early days as a student in the DMSA, picking up design work to supplement his practice, to the politically active artist of Dublin's workers, the observer and walker of the city streets and finally the outsider finding a home in Ireland's capital, it is clear that there was little about the city that Kernoff was not willing to turn his pencil and brush to. With the central research question of this thesis in mind, it has been shown that the dominant theme in Kernoff's oeuvre was the representation of Dublin. Active in political, social and cultural circles the artist's drawings, paintings and prints show an awareness of conditions in the city, and while he may not reference the dominant political viewpoints of the day (e.g. nationalism), his art was politically informed.

In December 1937, the *Irish Independent* noted some of Lord Longford's remarks at the opening of Kernoff's new exhibition. 'D.S.' wrote,

> Lord Longford said that Mr Kernoff is perhaps the most original of our Dublin artists and that many of his most beautiful paintings will in future have historic as well as artistic value, as they depict a Dublin that is passing.[95]

This statement points to some broader themes that can be considered in relation to Kernoff's depiction of Dublin, and which find correlation in other chapters of this thesis. Chief among these is to view representations of the city in topographical and historical terms; first making the assumption that the artwork is topographically or geographically accurate and that as a result, such works will become part of the historical record. While

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[95] D.S. 'A Painter of Old Dublin: Mr Kernoff's Art,' *Irish Independent*, 2 December 1937, 11.

this process holds out to some extent, it excludes the possibility of some scenes or subjects being heavily mediated by the artist, to the extent that what is perceived to make an artwork better, may in fact deviate from what is or was actually there. Secondly, Lord Longford's words introduce the idea of a city undergoing great change, predicting in many ways, future nostalgia for a 'lost' or 'vanished' Dublin. It is this sentiment that will inform the final chapter of this thesis, considering how the city was changing, and just what exactly was supposed to be being lost.

Vanishing Dublin? Artists, the city and illustrated books

In May 1892, a large bazaar was held at the premises of the Royal Dublin Society, Ballsbridge, to celebrate the centenary of the founding of the Masonic Female Orphan School. At the heart of the event were the two large halls that made up the premises and which, for the occasion, were decorated as a seventeenth century market, and 'Old Dublin' (fig 5:1). The *Book of the Centenary* (fig 5:2) commented that the display showed 'the Dublin of long ago, or rather the most interesting, historic and artistic portions of the old city [...]', noting that artists Thomas Drew RHA, William Mansfield Mitchell RHA, and Richard Caulfield Orpen had 'produced one of the quaintest and most charming stage pictures ever presented at a bazaar or fête.'[1] It was further noted that when devising the decorative scheme, the committee relied on the 'artistic and antiquarian brethren [...] who offered them a choice of half a dozen old Dublins.'[2] The finished design included replicas and representations of St Patrick's and Christ Church cathedrals, St Audeon's Arch, St Nicholas Street and 'the quaint old gables, mullioned windows, picturesque towers and romantic looking gates of Dublin in 1792.'[3] Within the buildings of 'Old Dublin', the stalls and offerings from the Lodges of the Dublin District were displayed, while visitors could find refreshment in a replica of Daly's Coffee House or the other cafes housed in 'Bride's Lane' (figs 5:3, 5:4).

The appropriation of 'Old Dublin' by the organisers of the bazaar speaks to some of the wider themes pertaining to the representation of the city (in a range of different media or forms) from the late nineteenth century onwards, touching on notions of civic and urban identity, and concepts of nostalgia and memory. As a term, 'Old Dublin' can be understood in different ways. Geographically it can be understood as referring to the

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[1] *Book of the Centenary of the Masonic Female Orphan School of Ireland*, including the Official Catalogue (Dublin: Wilson, Hartnell & Co., 1892), 197.
[2] Ibid., 190.
[3] 'The Masonic Bazaar,' *Irish Times*, 18 May 1892, 5. Many of the buildings in 'Old Dublin' were from the area around St Patrick's Cathedral, then undergoing widespread change under the philanthropic hand of Lord Ardilaun (see chapter two).

oldest parts of medieval Dublin, containing the walled city and its suburbs which included the Liberties, and the area around St Patrick's Cathedral. The use of the term in relation to artists' representations of the city often appeared in painting titles or exhibition reviews; for example Walter Osborne's *A Bit of Old Dublin*, or a description of Alexander William's painting *Old Houses in Sweeny's Lane* as 'a quaint bit of old Dublin [...].'[4] Such works were often, but not exclusively, based on the buildings and environment of the medieval city. While 'Old Dublin' referred to a particular area of the city, it also became symbolic of something else; it was resonant of a different time in the city's history, a sense of identity with the past, and then merged through the turn of the century, with the idea of the 'urban picturesque'.[5]

Taking the idea of 'Old Dublin' as a starting point, the material in this chapter will examine the representation of the city in illustrated books and guides. The work of three artists will be discussed in detail, namely Rose Barton RWS (1856–1929), Estella F. Solomons HRHA (1882–1968) and Flora H. Mitchell (1890–1973), considering the inclusion of their work in different publications along with their wider artistic approach to the subject of the city. The selection of these three artists for this study was informed by the fact that by the time each of their work was published in illustrated books or guides, the representation of Dublin was an established theme in their oeuvre and had been recognised as such in the critical response (such as it was) to their work. In addition, the work of these artists' spans the period covered more generally by this study, and as a result will begin to gather together the different themes discussed in previous chapters.

The theoretical framework of this chapter is informed by concepts of nostalgia and memory. Svetlana Boym has defined nostalgia as 'longing for home that no longer exists or that never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is

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[4] 'Irish Exhibition Opening Today,' *Freeman's Journal*, 20 February 1913, 10.
[5] See Malcolm Andrews, 'The metropolitan Picturesque,' in *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, landscape and aesthetics since 1770*, eds. Stephen Copley and Pater Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 290.

also a romance with one's own fantasy.'[6] In her text, Boym details two different modes of nostalgia, reflective and restorative, commenting that '[r]estorative nostalgia evokes national past and future; reflective nostalgia is more about individual and cultural memory.'[7] Expanding on these two types of nostalgia, Boym notes that restorative nostalgia is the

> kind of nostalgia [that] characterizes national and nationalist revivals all over the world which engage in the antimodern myth-making of history by means of a return to national symbols and myths [...].'[8]

In contrast, 'reflective nostalgia lingers on ruins, the patina of time and history, in the dreams of another place and time.'[9] These concepts dovetail with other conceptual approaches, such as Eric Hobsbawm's notion of the 'invented tradition', or the 'imagined community', as defined and discussed by Benedict Anderson.[10]

Along with Boym, William C. Bissell has outlined the importance of space and place to studies of nostalgia, noting that '[n]ostalgia is shaped by specific cultural concerns and struggles; and as with other forms of memory practice, it can only be

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[6] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xi.
[7] Ibid., 49.
[8] Ibid., 41.
[9] Ibid., 41.
[10] According to Hobsbawn, 'invented traditions' are those which have 'every appearance of being an actual tradition, in that it repeats images and symbols drawn from the part (real or imagined), but is in fact both of a relatively recent origin and artificially created.' See Ian Buchanan, 'Invented Tradition.' *A Dictionary of Critical Theory*. Oxford University Press, 2014 online version http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199532919.001.0001/acref-9780199532919-e-366. See also Eric Hobsbawm 'Introduction: Inventing Tradition,' in *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14. The term 'imagined community' refers to Benedict Andersen's definition of a nation. In his text *Imagined Communities*, Andersen argues that 'the nation is an imagined political community that is inherently limited in scope and sovereign in nature.' Further to this, Andersen suggests that the 'imagined community is sovereign because its legitimacy is not derived from divinity as kingship is—the nation is its own authority, it is founded in its own name, and it invents its own people which it deems citizens. The nation can be considered a community because it implies a deep horizontal comradeship which knits together all citizens irrespective of their class, colour, or race.' See Ian Buchanan, 'Imagined Community.' *A Dictionary of Critical Theory*. Oxford University Press, 2014 online version. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199532919.001.0001/acref-9780199532919-e-347. See also Benedict Andersen, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, 6th ed (1983; London: Verso, 2006).

understood in particular historical and spatial contexts.'[11] This chapter will link together this notion of geographical and historical specificity with Boym's definition of restorative nostalgia, exploring how this impacted on how the city was conceived and presented in illustrated books and guides. The evocation of an 'old', 'lost' or even 'vanished Dublin', as present in the texts and images under discussion, exploring how the symbolic landscape and built environment of the city was used evoke nostalgia for the city's past. The first section of this chapter will introduce and define what is meant by illustrated books and guides, and give details of some earlier examples of such publications on Dublin. Subsequent sections will then consider the work of Barton, Solomons and Mitchell in turn.

5.1 Illustrated Books and Guidebooks: Contexts and Precedents

Halfway through John Banim's three-volume novel *The Anglo-Irish of the Nineteenth Century* the text's central character, the Honourable Gerald Blount, leafs through for 'the twentieth time [...]', a book titled 'A Guide to Dublin'.[12] Largely confined to a Dublin hotel room after an eventful arrival in Ireland, Gerald is left unimpressed by the publication, noting that while the 'descriptions it contained for the public buildings aroused his interest [...]', overall it

> offended his taste, as too pompous and exaggerated. He had often heard Irishmen boast of the beauty of their metropolis, until the fervour of their praises sounded absurd. To compare Dublin with London, was, at a glance, to betray overweening nationality; but absolutely to rank, upon any account, a city containing about two hundred and forty thousand inhabitants, above one containing more than a million above the Queen city, the Babylon of the modern world – this had always seemed to Gerald the very extreme of Irish vanity. And

[11] William B Bissell, 'Engaging Colonial Nostalgia,' *Cultural Anthopology* 40, no.2 (2005): 216.
[12] John Banim, *The Anglo-Irish of the Nineteenth Century, Vol. II* (London: H Colburn, 1828), 158. https://archive.org/stream/angloirishofnine02baniiala#page/n3/mode/2up.

now, the puffs in the 'Guide' had the same effect on his mind.[13]

Raised in an Anglo-Irish family primarily resident in England, and taught by his father 'the necessity of embracing all that the superior country proposed for adoption [...]', Gerald's view of the city was far from impartial.[14] Setting out to explore the city, Gerald later exits his hotel – Morryson's, an real venue then located at the junction of Dawson Street with Nassau Street – with no intention to 'learn the names of the streets and squares, or to acquire a geographical knowledge of a city which he must leave so soon, and most probably never revisit and he went, therefore, unprovided with a map, and without much previous reference to the 'Guide.'[15]

Despite these intentions Gerald's walk is 'elaborately but clearly organized [...]', and takes in routes and sites of the city that echoes those suggested in guidebooks.[16] Over the course of his walk, Gerald notes the main public buildings of the city, the Royal Exchange, Four Courts, Custom House, Trinity College, and the Parliament Building. Looking at the river from Grattan Bridge he conceded that 'there appeared, indeed, quays that, after all, he allowed had not been over praised.'[17] Standing on Carlisle Bridge with the Custom House before him, Gerald continued to compare Dublin to London, but resolved that he could

> now understand how Dublin and her public buildings, though so inferior to London and her's, *seem* superior, or at least more interesting. They group together, and make pictures together. In London they stand widely separated, or hide themselves amid mazy streets and dusky houses.[18]

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[13] Ibid.
[14] John Banim, *The Anglo-Irish of the Nineteenth Century, Vol. I*, (London: H Colburn, 1828),10. https://archive.org/stream/angloirishnineto2banigoog#page/n6/mode/2up.
[15] Banim, *The Anglo-Irish of the Nineteenth Century, Vol. II*, 173.
[16] Moynahan, 'The Image of the City in Nineteenth Century Irish Fiction', 9.
[17] Banim, *The Anglo-Irish of the Nineteenth Century, Vol. II*, 174-175.
[18] Ibid., 183.

Ultimately, it is Dublin's compact nature that helps to reveal 'perhaps the most beautiful city-picture in the world' to Gerald, as it allowed the city's significant buildings to interact with each other.[19] Gerald's journey through Dublin offers a complete description of the city, echoing the guidebooks and travelogues from this period.[20]

In an article on nineteenth century guidebooks, David Michalski observed that '[g]uidebooks are not mirror images of cities, nor or they purely fantasy. They are negotiators of place, which argue and propose readings of the city.'[21] Outlining the different types of guidebooks which became increasingly popular from the 1870s onwards, Michalski demonstrates how such texts influenced a person's (whether visitor or resident) negotiation of the urban environment, leading them to significant landmarks or public places, while perhaps avoiding the less salubrious areas of the city. In this sense, the guidebook could act as an arbiter of taste, becoming '[l]ike a map [...]', which could 'open and close roads; it [the guidebook] can both shield and reveal possibilities.'[22] Alongside text-based entries and descriptions of the city they were connected to, illustrations frequently appeared in guidebooks. These appeared either in the form of reproductions of original artworks (including drawings, paintings, and prints) and later, reproductions of photographs. Through the inclusion of images in such texts, publishers could draw on the established connections between tourism and images of specific destinations, places and landmarks. The production of souvenir paintings, prints, and maps had been well established, for example, by artists in Italy during the eighteenth century, catering to the wants and needs of Grand Tourists.

It is useful to define what is meant by 'illustrated books and guides' throughout this chapter. The term 'guide' or 'guidebook' is used to describe commercially produced

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[19] Ibid., 184.
[20] Banim's text is richly detailed, and it seems likely he would have used a guidebook as a reference point. This is emphasised by the fact that some of the details he described would not have been visible from Gerald's stated vantage point.
[21] David Michalski, 'Portals to metropolis: 19th-century guidebooks and the assemblage of urban experience,' *Tourist Studies* 4 (2004): 188.
[22] Ibid.

guides to Dublin, adhering for the most part to the typology of the 'vade mecum' guidebook. This type of guidebook can be characterised by a 'non-linear narrative/navigational modes [...]', and often included '[a]lphabetical indexes [...] at the beginning of the book [...]. Images in this mode are primarily descriptive, and entries are short and direct.'[23] In contrast to this, the term 'illustrated book' will be used to refer to long, more literary accounts of the city, following in the line of the 'belles-lettres' guidebook, in which the reader is ' treated to longer, more elaborate descriptions, and more picturesque images.'[24] These terms are not mutually exclusive, as will be demonstrated, but they do offer a useful guide delineating the different types publications produced.

Based on a survey of guides and illustrated books on the subject of Dublin, in instances where original artworks (rather than photographs) were reproduced, it can be seen that the relationship between the artist, author, and publisher often varied. Furthermore, many examples of Dublin guidebooks from the closing decades of the nineteenth century use older examples of city views – such as those by James Malton (c.1764–1803) or the Brocas family.[25] In such publications the social or living conditions experienced by the citizens of the city are overlooked, as are contemporary political events. The authors rarely, if ever, included any discussion on the artworks. In many of the texts produced from the mid-eighteenth to late nineteenth century, the function of the images or illustrations was to provide a topographical depiction of the city and its features.

Outlining the development of tourism in Ireland, William H.A. Williams has outlined how visitors to Ireland in the period 1750–1850 undertook what he has termed,

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[23] Ibid., 193.
[24] Ibid., 195.
[25] In 1820, J. Le Petit, 20 Capel Street, Dublin published twelve views of Dublin drawn by Samuel Frederick Brocas (c.1792–1847), and engraved by his brother, Henry Brocas (c.1790–1873). These were part of a larger project titled 'Topography of Ireland, commencing with select views of in the City of Dublin of the most remarkable Public Buildings, etc.' See Strickland, *Dictionary of Irish Artists*, vol. I, 91-92.

a 'petite tour' (fig 5:5). Based on the habits of the Grand Tour, the 'petite tour' travellers visited 'Ireland's towns and cities, investigated institutions, and enquired about the Irish economy and society.'[26] In Williams' view, the renewed interest of visitors in Ireland was at least partly influenced by the 'touring habits established by the urban-centred Grand Tour [...].'[27] While tourism as we might understand it today did not begin to develop until the 1850s, Ireland was becoming a popular place for touring – especially routes which also took in picturesque locations such as those in Wicklow or Killarney. On such trips Dublin took on a lesser role, as travellers passed through on their way to other parts of the country. As several publications attest however, Dublin often featured among the early nineteenth century guidebooks and travelogues produced for travellers coming to Ireland.

Published initially in serial form in the years 1792–1799, and then also as a bound volume in 1799, James Malton's *Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin* can be seen as an important benchmark for subsequent publications on Dublin (figs 5:6, 5:7). While Malton's publication was not the only one of its type produced in the eighteenth century, the quality of the publication and Malton's representations of the city surpassed those of his rivals, arguably because it was wholly conceived of and completed by the artist, rather than in collaboration with another author. Largely based on views noted by the artist in 1791 (with alterations made prior to the later publication date) Malton depicts the grandeur of eighteenth century Dublin, characterised by wide streets, impressive public buildings and an atmosphere of gentility and respectability.[28] While Edward McParland has shown that Malton frequently altered the proportions of the street, or included questionable architectural details, Malton was successful in giving

[26] William H A Williams, *Creating Irish Tourism: The First Century, 1750–1850* (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2010), xv.
[27] Ibid., 28.
[28] It is interesting to note that in 1792, Malton's brother, Thomas Malton, the younger (1748–1804) published *A Picturesque Tour through the Cities of London and Westminster*. There are clear similarities between the two publications.

visitors and citizens alike a positive and attractive impression of the city.[29] Alongside the plates, Malton included a detailed description and history of the building or site, as well as a brief introductory history of the city and a map.

In addition to the architectural features of the city, McParland has noted that when one examines the human details of Malton's views

> the population of boatmen, fruit sellers, hod men, chairmen, beaux, soldiers, academics, clerics, beggars, butchers, drovers, tipplers, haymakers and lamplighters comes to life outside button shops, around street fountains, in lottery booths, on grave slabs, in shambles, old solid-wheel carts, in boatyards, up ladders, leaning out of windows, or lounging on the Magazine Hill [...].[30]

While this array of different figures is suggestive of Malton's close observance of the Dublin streets, as William Laffan notes, a close inspection of these figures shows that 'they are clearly stock figures included to add local colour and stress the elegance and (exaggerated) size of the public buildings.'[31] Laffan's contention that Malton used stock figures, along with McParland's assertion regarding the spatial veracity of many of the views, act as judicious reminders that such representations of the city cannot be taken at face value.

On his visit to Ireland in 1842, William Makepeace Thackeray noted that 'it may be said that Mr Petrie's designs for Curry's Guide-book of the City are exceedingly beautiful, and above all, *trustworthy* [*sic*]; no common quality in a descriptive artist at present.'[32] Illustrations of Dublin by the noted antiquarian and artist, George Petrie

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[29] See Edward McParland, 'Malton's Views of Dublin: Too Good to be True? ,' *Ireland: Art into History*, ed. Raymond Gillespie and Brian P Kennedy, (Dublin: Town House & Country House, 1994), 15-25.
[30] Ibid., 17.
[31] Laffan, 'Behind the Gorgeous Mask: Hugh Douglas Hamilton's 'Cries of Dublin' Rediscovered,' *The Cries of Dublin: Drawn from the Life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760*, ed. William Laffan (Dublin: Irish Georgian Society, 2003), 20.
[32] William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Irish Sketch Book 1842* (Belfast and Dover: The Blackstaff Press, 1985), 21-22.

(1790–1866) featured in many guidebooks to Dublin and Ireland from the 1820s onwards. In addition to appearing in William Curry's *The New Picture of Dublin or Stranger's Guide to the Irish Metropolis*, steel engravings of Petrie's watercolours and wash drawings (many of which are now in the Royal Irish Academy), appeared in George Newenham Wright's *An Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin* (1821) and *Ireland Illustrated* (1831). In addition, examples were also included in Thomas K. Cromwell's *Excursions through Ireland* (1820), as well as alongside views by W. H. Bartlett in *Dublin Delineated in Twenty Six Views of the Principal Public Buildings* (1831 and 1843) (fig 5:8).[33] Many of the same landmarks that appear in Malton's publication are also depicted by Petrie, with some additions such as a view of Sackville Street and the Theatre Royal. It is noticeable in Petrie's work however, that the city is depicted on a more human scale. While the figures are noticeably larger and more in proportion to the streetscape around them, Petrie draws on some of the 'stock' city types including beggars, urchins, sightseers, soldiers, and street marketers. It is curious to note that Thackeray, as well as later commentators, note the relative quietness and emptiness of Dublin's streets – perhaps challenging Thackeray's trust in Petrie's representation of the city.[34]

Whereas Malton addressed his publication '[t]o persons of constant local residence, such works may afford the recreation of travelling without separating from the sphere of domestic confinement', both Wright and Curry widened the appeal of their texts to a larger audience.[35] Wright appealed to 'the residents of Dublin and strangers who may visit this magnificent capital' while Curry hoped that his text would prove 'interesting both to the casual visitor and the permanent resident.'[36] Both publications

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[33] William Curry's text was published in various editions from the 1820s and this is likely to be the guide mentioned by Thackeray.
[34] Thackerary, *The Irish Sketch Book 1842*, 21. See also J Stirling Coyne, *The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland* (London: Mercury, 2003, originally published in 1842), 401.
[35] James Malton, preface to *A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin* by James Malton (Dublin: Dolmen Press in association with the Irish Georgian Society, 1978), i.
[36] George Newenham Wright, *An Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin* (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1821), iii, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t08w4pf4s and William Curry, *The Picture of Dublin: or, Stranger's Guide to the Irish Metropolis* (Dublin:

combine elements of the 'vade mecum' and 'belles-lettres' styles presenting the city's sights in list form, but also including detailed descriptions of each item. Text and image are integrated in a similar fashion in both texts, with the relevant engravings included on the preceding or proceeding page. Rather than using a list format, Cromwell's *Excursions through Ireland* is divided into numbered excursions, each covering a group of different parishes in the city before moving out into its environs and then on to the rest of the country. In contrast to Wright and Curry, Cromwell drew heavily on Malton's text for the description of architectural and decorative features of the chief public buildings, such as the Four Courts and the Bank of Ireland (formerly the Parliament House).

The notion of providing set routes for visitors to the city blossomed in guidebooks produced from the 1850s onwards. 1853 saw numerous new guides to the city being published to coincide with the Irish Industrial Exhibition held in that year. While the production of guidebooks to the city continued throughout the 1840s, those produced in 1853 show a marked change from the earlier examples already discussed. James Fraser's *Hand Book for Dublin and Its Environs* contained several new maps of the city, including examples for specific areas of the city, as well as a detailed description of the new suburbs which were developing outside of the original city boundary (fig 5:9). In a similar manner to Cromwell, W. F. Wakeman's *Dublin: What's to be Seen and How to See it* (1853) provided three suggested tours for the visitor, taking in public buildings, the best views, railway stations, art exhibitions, cathedrals and public monuments (fig 5:10). The positive tone advanced by the organisers of the Industrial Exhibition can be found in these publications, while also to a great extent overlooking the 'densely-peopled quarters, of which the poor streets and narrow lanes exhibit the most appalling wretchedness, and the most squalid misery [...].'[37]

William Curry Jnr, 1835) unpaginated, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hn1bff.

[37] James Fraser, *Hand Book for Dublin and Its Environs with a Map of the City, and Street- Maps on an Entirely New Plan* (Dublin: James McGlashan, 1853), 23.

Noticeably, guidebooks from this date include prominent advertising for a range of goods and services, from hotels and tour operators to department stores and beauty products. In contrast to this, new illustrations or reproductions of works by contemporary artists rarely appear. Through the 1860s and 1870s unidentified engravings and lithographs appear, drawing directly on the precedents set by earlier publications. From the 1880s and 1890s guidebook publishers made use of photography, often using the images of companies such as William Lawrence which produced examples of the key tourist sites, both in Dublin and across the country, or similar products from Valentine & Son. In many commercial guides produced in the early twentieth century, publishers continued to expand their use of photography while also on occasion reprinting early nineteenth century engravings or aquatints, such as those produced by the Brocas brothers (fig 5:11).[38] Contributing to a special *Handbook to the City of Dublin and the Surrounding District* produced in 1908 for a meeting of the British Association, Ephraim MacDowel Cosgrave wrote that 'the era of fine pictures which will be prized by collectors, is undoubtedly the latter half of the eighteenth and the first third of the nineteenth centuries.'[39] A doctor and founding member of the Georgian Society, MacDowel Cosgrave made an extensive catalogue of engravings of Dublin which was presented to the Royal Society of Antiquaries and later published in their proceedings, and he stands as one of a small number of scholars who took a sustained interest in visual depictions of the city.

From 1909, the Georgian Society produced a number of volumes recording Georgian architecture and decorative work in Dublin. In the preface to volume one, Dublin was described as 'not a provincial town, but a fading capital.'[40] These volumes echoed numerous similar publications produced across the British Isles and beyond in

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[38] For example Ada Peter, *Dublin Fragments, Social and Historic* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co; London: John Murray, 1925).
[39] Ephraim MacDowel Cosgrave, 'Old Dublin, As Represented in Engravings,' *Handbook to the City of Dublin and the Surrounding District, Prepared for the Meeting of the British Association* (Dublin: University Press, 1908), 327-328.
[40] 'Preface,' *The Georgian Society Records of Eighteenth Century Domestic Architecture and Decoration in Dublin*, vol. I (Dublin: Dublin University Press, Ponsonby and Gibbs, 1909; reprinted 1969 by special arrangement with the Irish Georgian Society), n.p.

the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Publications such as these were made largely in response to processes of urban development and modernisation projects, and documented older buildings that were being demolished. In their tone, layout, and structure, these publications provide both a written and pictorial history of a disappearing built environment, as well as some social commentary on these events. Often produced as large gift books, such publications offered an alternative guidebook to the city, and an opportunity to experience the streets from the comfort of home. In the NGI Prints and Drawings collection, a manuscript for 'Vanishing Dublin: 30 Sketches in and Near Dublin' by Joshua Allen (1850–1921) is extant. An accompanying letter from Allen to Walter Strickland states that 'Sir Arthur Vicars and the late Lord Wolseley thought rather highly of them and if they could have been published at a moderate sum would have guaranteed the amount. The late Professor Stokes also took much interest in them and Dr Cosgrave would have a few of them in the Georgian volumes had I given him permission.'[41] Allen notes that he was moved to contact Strickland after viewing an exhibition of pictures of 'Old Dublin' in the NGI, futher suggesting the interest in the subject from artists, institution, and audiences.[42]

This brief overview of illustrated books and guides from the late eighteenth century proffers a number of themes to keep in mind when considering the work of Barton, Solomons and Mitchell. It is clear that in the case of these publications the function of the artwork was to provide the reader with a sense of the topography of the city, thus aiding their familiarity with the urban landscape around them. Along with the accompanying text, illustrations directed the intended audience to public buildings, institutions, and the more genteel quarters of the city while glossing over the some less picturesque realities of Dublin life at that time. While the text occasionally made

[41] Letter from Joshua Allen to Walter Strickland, 23 October 1931, National Gallery of Ireland, Dossier File 2724.

[42] Further research is needed to establish the history and contents of the exhibition of 'Old Dublin' works at the NGI in the early twentieth century. This display is also mentioned by MacDowel Cosgrave in an essay titled 'Old Dublin, As Represented in Engravings,' in *Handbook to the City of Dublin and the Surrounding District, Prepared for a Meeting of the British Association, September 1908* (Dublin: University Press; Ponsonby and Gibbs, 1908), 321-330.

passing reference to troubling social issues, dirty streets, or inadequate paving, this was rarely reflected in the imagery, aside perhaps, from some 'picturesque' beggars or urchins.

More pertinent to the analyses here is the issue of how the image of the city became codified through the repetition of landmarks or sites, and the further use and re-use of the work of a limited number of artists. Although the advent of photography may have offered a chance to reimagine how Dublin was presented in guidebooks, photographic firms instead translated these visual conventions into a new form. While in some respects this trend was not unique to Dublin, it is interesting to consider in relation to the notion of 'Old Dublin'. As they gained something of an 'iconic' status, or became the archetypal image of Dublin, it can be suggested the works of Malton, Petrie, Bartlett, and Brocas, for example, had the effect of trapping a particular conception of the city in amber, preserving a specific version of Dublin in the minds of residents and visitors alike.

5.2 Picturesque Dublin': Rose Barton and the Late Nineteenth Century City

Writing in the introduction to her *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, Frances Gerrard wrote that when in Dublin 'we move amidst traditions; the past is everything, the present has a small place.'[43] This nostalgic tone is found throughout the text as the author grieves over what she sees as different aspects of Dublin's lost past, from the decline of the Liberties to the 'faded appearance of gentility, as of having seen better days' noticed around the squares and houses on the north side of the city.[44] For Gerrard, the past glories of Dublin lay in the years prior to the Act of Union, stretching back to the vibrant communities of Dutch and Huguenot settlers in the seventeenth century who

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[43] Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New* (London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898), vii.
[44] Ibid., 133.

were influential on 'mercantile as well as intellectual matters.'[45] Written in the form of an extended travelogue, *Picturesque Dublin* is part guidebook, part history, delivered in a light, conversational tone. Along with some reproductions of old engravings and photographs, the text includes ninety-one illustrations of watercolours by Rose Barton.

A noted watercolour artist, Barton was a prolific figure in Irish and British art circles. From her early career Barton was involved with the Watercolour Society of Ireland (WCSI) and the Irish Fine Art Society forming part of the extensive and significant network of female artists working in Ireland in the late nineteenth century, many of whom came from an Anglo-Irish background. Works by the artist appear in annual exhibitions from the early 1870s onwards, and in the early 1880s Barton travelled to France with Mildred Anne Butler (1858–1941) where the two artists attended the atelier of Henri Gervex (1852–1929).[46] Like Walter Osborne and others, Barton moved frequently between Dublin and London, and this is reflected in her many representations of both cities. The first record of the artist exhibiting Dublin scenes is in 1892 at the Irish Amateur Drawing Society and Watercolour Society of Ireland exhibitions. The following year, Barton held her first major exhibition at the Japanese Gallery, London, where sixty views of that city were included. In terms of her painting style and technique, Barton treated both cities in a similar manner. Concentrating mainly on busy streets, she included details of well-known buildings, landmarks, and monuments, all depicted in a loosely impressionistic manner, capitalising on the atmospheric effects offered by the watercolour medium.

Two examples of Barton's work dating to 1887 are illustrative of her technique, and also demonstrate how her work marked a departure from the more topographical depictions of the city noted earlier. Both works are titled *College Green* and take two

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[45] Ibid., 94.

[46] Snoddy, *Dictionary of 20th Century Irish Artists*, 29.

different views of the area (figs 5:12, 5:13). In the first view, Barton looks towards Grafton Street from the junction of College Street and Westmoreland Street, taking in the portico of the former House of Lords, part of the façade of Trinity College and the commercial buildings on the far side of College Green. In front of the university, the outlines of Oliver Goldsmith and Edmund Burke can just be made out through the hazy atmosphere. In contrast to the light browns, greys and blues of this scene, Barton's view of the other side of College uses dark greys and black, with glimmers of white shining out from the gas lamps. John Henry Foley's sculpture of Henry Grattan, erected in 1876, stands out against the grey stone of Trinity while newspaper boys gather at its base. In both of these watercolours, Barton has used the architecture to frame the streetscape, rather than making it the sole focus of the artwork. The horse-drawn trams, carriages, newspaper boys and sandwich-board men are characteristic sights of the Victorian city, and these elements are shared with her London paintings.

Prior to the publication of *Picturesque Dublin*, Barton had become recognised for her watercolours of city views. For example, in 1891, the *Belfast News-Letter* praised her depiction of Piccadilly Circus as 'one of this artist's inimitable street-scenes [...].', continuing that

> Miss Barton is one of the few artists who can give life to their subjects; her carriages move, her omnibuses are coming up, her pedestrians under umbrellas hurry along, and we feel that if we only wait for a few minutes the details will change themselves, and we shall feel the old features give place to new.[47]

Similar praise for Barton's street scenes appeared in other press outlets. In 1892, the *Pall Mall Gazette* reported that the artist was turning her attention to the streets of London where

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[47] 'Metropolitan Gossip from Our Lady Correspondent,' *The Belfast News-Letter*, 16 March 1891, n.p.

> [e]very street corner yields an artistic group, every roadway a panorama of pictures. [...]. Those who know Miss Rose Barton's work at the Institute and Dudley Galleries know that invariably it is well studied, and that the colour is bright and pleasant.[48]

Mentions of the artist also appeared in 'Talk of the Town', a column in the *Irish Times*, written by the unidentified 'A Lady'. In 1895 the columnist wrote of 'Miss Rose Barton's lovely little bits of what one might call "street scenery," [...]' exhibited at the WCSI, as well as complimenting her appearance in 'an artistic draped gown of blue cloth trimmed with bands of fur [...]', at a *conversazione* associated with exhibition.[49] The following year, 'A Lady' noted that while

> Miss Rose Barton is as charming as she always is [...] I do not like her so well when she deserts the streets, which she is able to transform into poetical studies in misty greys and deeper tones of orange of purple, for more hackneyed paths [...].[50]

From these comments, it is clear that by the time *Picturesque Dublin* appeared in 1898, Barton's artistic *métier* had been well-established, and her depictions of city life were well received by the public. The quotations reproduced here suggest that her atmospheric style of painting accurately captured a true sense of the city, while the language (and the comments on her dress and appearance) also acted as a reminder of her position as a female artist.

In an advance advertisement for *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New* its author was described as 'Miss Frances Gerard, author of "Celebrated Irish Beauties".'[51] Published in 1895, *Some Celebrated Irish Beauties of the Last Century* was one of

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[48] 'Art Notes,' *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 December 1892, n.p.
[49] 'Talk of the Town by A Lady,' *Irish Times*, 23 March 1895, 5.
[50] 'Talk of the Town by A Lady,' *Irish Times*, 21 March 1896, 4.
[51] *Freeman's Journal*, 15 November 1897, 9.

several publications published by Geraldine Fitzgerald under the pseudonym of 'Frances A. Gerard', all published in the late 1880s and 1890s. There remains, however, some confusion over the exact identity of this author. The *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* records one Geraldine Penrose Fitzgerald (*fl* 1870–1903) as writing under this pseudonym, contributing articles to *The Temple Bar* at the close of the nineteenth century.[52] Snoddy however, notes that Fitzgerald was the sister of the lawyer, writer, and sculptor Percy Fitzgerald (1830–1925). To add further confusion to this, the *Database of Victorian Fiction* contains details of five novels written by a Geraldine Penrose Fitzgerald (dates given 1846–1939), written under the pseudonym 'Naseby'.[53] One source does suggest that Gerard, Naseby and Penrose Fitzgerald are one and the same, and the themes of Naseby's novels do echo the later publications of Gerard.[54] No evidence to support Snoddy's claim has come to light, perhaps disappointingly, as an interesting comparison could have been made between *Picturesque Dublin* and Percy Fitzgerald's *Picturesque London*, published in 1890.

Reproduced as monochrome full page illustrations or smaller in-text vignettes, Barton's contributions to *Picturesque Dublin* build on the themes and subjects already established in her oeuvre, with some of the grey-wash drawings repeating themes such as 'Going to the Levée' and 'College Green' (figs 5:14-5:16). Because all of the reproductions in the text are in greyscale, Barton's drawings lack some of the vibrancy and atmosphere of her watercolours. However, through the inclusion of small details in the street scenes, such as those praised by the *Belfast News-Letter*, an overall impression of a lively city centre is conveyed to the reader. A notable change from Barton's usual city scenes are her representations of the more notable houses in the city, with

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[52] 'Fitzgerald, Geraline Penrose,' *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824–1900*, vol. V, eds.Walter Edwards Houghton and Jean Iarris Slingerland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press; London: Routledge, 1989), 265.
[53] Troy J. Bassett, *At the Circulating Library: A Database of Victorian Fiction, 1837–1901*. Victorian Research Web. http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl.
[54] See 'Editor's Note,' *Bernard Shaw's Book Reviews, vol. I*, ed. Brian Tyson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 85.

Charlemont House, Mountjoy, Aldborough, Powerscourt, Moira, and Leinster House among those included (figs 5:17-5:20). Included as vignettes within the text, Barton has again used grey-wash to depict the buildings, although the fragile nature of the medium seems to be at odds with the solidity of the structures shown. These works are not Barton's strongest, for example the representation of Aldborough House is quite flat, and the inclusion of two 'sightseers' (akin to those found in the work of Malton, Petrie or Brocas), make the drawing seem more like a stage-set than an attractive place to visit. The List of Illustrations notes that these buildings were illustrated by 'old engravings'. However they contain Barton's signature and are clearly reproductions of grey-wash originals. However, if Barton's versions were made from engravings rather than direct observation, the less fluid treatment might be accounted for.

The area of and around the Liberties was of particular interest to Gerard, and this is reflected both in the text and the illustrations.[55] Noting that '[f]ew tourists have ever penetrated into that curious, old-world quarter [...]', the text brought the reader into the area around Patrick Street, the Coombe, and Weavers' Square.[56] An illustration of Patrick Street, with the spire of the cathedral visible in the background, is similar in composition to both Barton's 1887 watercolour of the street (fig 5:21) and also Walter Osborne's depictions of the area. Barton shows the curving street with its mismatch of shop fronts and market stalls and smoke gently curling up from one of the chimneys. In the text, Gerard describes St Patrick's Close as 'a squalid but picturesque ghetto [...]' where

> every conceivable article, from broken crockery to cast-off clothing, is for sale: the clothes indeed overflow; and the booths, which run along the hilly slope of the

[55] The nature of the collaboration between Barton and Gerard is unclear, as no archival records are extant. However, when compared to other illustrated books or guides *Picturesque Dublin* demonstrates a close correlation between text and image suggesting that the two women worked closely on the project.
[56] Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, xi.

> irregular street, not being sufficient to contain this collection of rags, the overplus is flung in a promiscuous heap on to a carpeting of sacks, spread out to save the merchandise from the mire of the street.[57]

Through this description, Gerard brings further texture to Barton's image, and as such, demonstrates how image and text can work in conjunction to great effect. While Barton's image allows the reader to picture the scene, Gerard's graphic description heightens the sense of dilapidation in the area, suggesting the dirty streets and piles of redundant and most likely quite malodorous items for sale. Gerard gives further colour to her description of the market place, commenting on 'The owners and purchasers of such inodorous bundles [...]', that 'to a stranger their dialect, which belongs to the Coombe, is altogether incomprehensible.'[58]

The squalor of the nineteenth century Liberties was contrasted with what Gerard perceives as a more glorious past, when '[t]he Coombe, now a poverty-stricken and most desolate quarter, was at one time most prosperous and thriving, for here was the home of the weaving trade [...].'[59] To accompany the history of the weavers and the Huguenot settlers in Dublin, three illustrations by Barton show different features relating to this past – *The Weaver's Hall, with Statue of George II*, *Huguenot Houses in Weavers' Square*, *The Tenter House, now St Joseph's Night Refuge*, and *Huguenot Houses in the Liberties* (figs 5:22,5:23). The vignette *Huguenot Houses in Weavers' Square* shows a selection of some older houses, with pointed gables characteristic of the 'Dutch Billy' style. Although not discussed in the text, Barton's illustration suggests the reality that the houses were then in tenements or shared among several families. This sense of the social difficulties experienced in the area is emphasised, although again not discussed, by the reference to the night refugee at the former Tenter House. Founded in 1861, and administered by the Sisters of Mercy from about 1890, the refuge provided food and

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[57] Ibid., 91-92.
[58] Ibid., 93.
[59] Ibid., 93.

shelter for women and children of all denominations. In 1892, an article in the *Irish Time* noted that '[o]ver 120 destitute women and children apply to the Refuge every night' suggesting that for some, even the lowest rates for tenement accommodation were unaffordable.[60]

Rather than confront such social issues, Gerard portrays the plight and poverty of those living in the Liberties as being 'picturesque'. The winding lanes that branched off the quays were described in a similar way, with the author describing them as 'nests of poverty and disease', and 'although most objectionable from a sanitary point of view, these bits are eminently picturesque.'[61] With this evocation of the picturesque, Gerard's text conforms to a wider trend in nineteenth century writing, whether travel writing, fiction, or aesthetic treatises. As an aesthetic principle, the concept of the picturesque had been considered in relation to the rural landscape from the late eighteenth century.

After *Picturesque Dublin*'s publication in 1898, the reviews for the text were mixed, although Barton's illustrations were universally praised. Noting Gerard's introductory comments, a critic for the *Freeman's Journal* remarked that 'Miss Gerard must have overlooked on the one hand the rent-lists of our local house agents and on the other the congested tenements of the very poor [...].'[62]Furthermore, the reviewer noted that '[t]he volume is liberally sprinkled with errors that will make most Dubliners smile.'[63] Another reviewer, writing in the *Pall Mall Gazette* also noted such deficiencies, although as they noted '[i]t is quite clear that the study of Old Dublin had much charm for their minds, and they have not by any means failed to produce a bright, chatty volume which, within its limits, is attractive and readable.'[64] The reviewer devoted considerably more space to Barton's contributions to the publication than other critics, noting that

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[60] 'St Joseph's Night Refuge,' *Irish Times*, 12 December 1892, 5.
[61] Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, 127.
[62] 'Literature', *Freeman's Journal*, 14 January 1898, 2.
[63] Ibid.
[64] 'Dublin,' *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 March 1898, n.p.

> [h]er pencil has shown itself most happy in catching, with rare skill in many instances a number of picturesque out-of-the-way nooks and corners [...]. That part of her work which is the outcome of her rambles in and about the Old Liberties, and up and down the decayed streets around the Castle and Christ Church, will have more than a passing value, as she here fixed for the guidance of future students the outlines and characteristics old houses and landmarks which have been part and parcel of Dublin's history, and which are now falling rapidly into ruins.[65]

This comment illustrates once more how artists' representations of the city were sometimes seen in terms of their historical significance, and as a reliable source for the future study of the lost parts of the city. It also demonstrates again how the poorer quarters of the city were seen in terms of the picturesque, with little comprehension of the realities of life for the people who lived there. This review also raises again the idea of 'Old Dublin', and given the topics covered in the publication, the term can be taken to mean Dublin during the eighteenth century when there was a vibrant and active noble and merchant class.

At the close of the text, Gerard notes that the publication had 'been compiled by an Irishwomen, illustrated by an Irishwomen, and dedicated to one of Ireland's kindest friends.'[66] The volume was dedicated to the Countess Cadogan, wife of the then Lord Lieutenant, who was an enthusiastic patron of Irish arts and crafts, serving as the President of the Irish Industries Association for a time. While Gerard wrote that '[t]here is every reason to think that a bright future is in store for Ireland', it is more likely that she considered that such regeneration would take place within the existing relationship with Britain. Gerard's words suggest that she, and Barton, were comfortable with

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[65] Ibid.
[66] Gerard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, 419.

claiming their sense of Irish identity (as expressed in Gerard's dedication) while also remaining part of the Viceregal circle, and certainly in the case of Barton, moving with ease between Dublin, London, and the wider British Isles. The extent to which class or social background may have influenced Gerard and Barton is interesting to consider. While both author and artist seem cognisant of the urban poor, this element of city life is viewed continually as something 'picturesque'. In addition, the relative absence of an Anglo-Irish gentry in Dublin is one of the key losses felt by Gerard. Vera Kreilkamp has previously described Barton's *Going to the Levée* as a 'funeral depiction of a social class and of an empire', and this sense of the ending of an era is echoed in *Picturesque Dublin*.[67]

5.3 *The Glamour of Dublin: Estella Solomons' etchings of Dublin*

In a brief note to the 1928 edition of D. L. Kelleher's *The Glamour of Dublin*, it was observed that 'Dublin, despite its housing, is one of the most profoundly optimistic cities in Europe. It is a heroic optimism that outlives every war and lays the most sardonic ghosts of the after-war period.'[68] First published in 1918, *The Glamour of Dublin* sought not only to outline Dublin's historic past but also the more recent past, including some account of the labour movement and the Easter Rising. A subsequent edition was published in 1920, but like its predecessor, this edition was issued without illustrations. This was the most significant change in 1928 when reproductions of eight etchings by Estella Solomons were included, taken from her considerable corpus of Dublin scenes. In its declaration of optimism, along with some acknowledgment of Dublin's problems, this text is expressive of a renewed energy found in the description of Dublin in guidebooks following the upheaval of the revolutionary period. This section will explore this change in more detail, and seek to discover if there was a similar change in artistic representations of the city.

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[67] Vera Kreilkamp, '*Going to the Levée* as Ascendancy Spectacle: Alternative Narratives in Irish Painting,' in *Visualizing Ireland: National Identity and the Pictorial Tradition*, ed. Adele Dalsimer (Boston and London: Faber and Faber, 1993), 52.
[68] Daniel Laurence Kelleher, *The Glamour of Dublin* (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928), n.p.

A sketchbook dating to 1906 held among the artist's papers is evocative of Solomons' genteel upbringing in a well-to-do family on Waterloo Road, situated just outside of the city centre (fig 5:24).[69] Fluid sketches of a young woman (perhaps her sister, Sophie), sewing, reading by the fire, or standing at a window, show her dressed in simple yet elegant Edwardian clothing and with her hair pulled up in a coiffure typical of the period. Educated at the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art (1898–1901) and the Chelsea School of Art (1903–1906), Solomons also spent some time in Paris, taking classes at Colarossi's. Commenting on Solomons' painting style, Hilary Pyle has noted that she

> never tried to disturb the aesthetic [...] in the way that Swanzy, Hone and Jellett did, but she accepted time honoured ways, and developed her individuality within the conventions of her time.[70]

Staying within the principles of her academic style and training, Solomons began to etch at an early stage in her career, purchasing her own etching press, and later teaching the technique for a time at the Dublin Municipal Technical Schools.

In contrast to this quite refined upbringing, Solomons later became involved with the struggle for Irish independence. As has been outlined by Pyle, Solomons joined Cumann na mBan with her friend Kathleen Goodfellow (1891–1980) and the same author also notes that throughout the revolutionary period, the artist's studio on Great Brunswick Street (now Pearse Street) was a hiding place for soldiers on the run.[71] The earliest record of Solomons' and Goodfellow's definite involvement with the Ranelagh Branch of Cumann na mBan dates to the 11 July 1921, and a further document notes that

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[69] Estella Frances Solomons Papers, Trinity College Dublin, MS 4526.

[70] Hilary Pyle, 'Notes from Estella,' *Irish Arts Review* 25, no. 1 (2008): 96. Pyle is referring to Mary Swanzy (1882–1978), Evie Hone (1894–1955) and Mainie Jellett (1897–1944) all of whom were interested in and influence by Cubism and other modernist forms.

[71] Hilary Pyle, *Estella Solomons: Portraits of Patriots* (Dublin: Allen Figgis and Company, 1966), 21-22.

they were '[m]embers of the Ranelagh Branch Cumann na mBan from Foundation to Truce 1921.' While the records may not be complete, neither Goodfellow nor Solomons are included on the membership list for July 1922, or subsequent dates, suggesting that their involvement with the organisation ceased at this date.[72] No concrete evidence has emerged to support the claim that the studio was used as a safe-house, although perhaps this is due to the circumstances of the time, rather than through any loss of documentation. Portraits by Solomons of many of the political leaders of the time are extant, suggesting that irrespective of the circumstances, such figures did frequent the studio at some stage.

Solomons had first taken a studio on Pearse Street in 1910, based at first at number 17, before moving to number 26 in 1919. This address brought Solomons into the heart of the city, and from 1914 reviews of her exhibitions noticed her depictions of scenes drawn from her immediate environs. In addition to the etchings discussed below, Solomons followed the example of Walter Osborne in using children from the Dublin streets as models for her paintings. Examples of this include *Two Boys on a Height*, and *Street Urchins with Bird Cage*, painted on the roof of the studio building (figs 5:25-5:26). Along with Mary Duncan (1885–1964) and Albert Power (1881–1940), Solomons showed 'etchings which will have an interest for lovers of old Dublin.'[73] Aside from those reproduced in the *Saorstát Éireann* handbook, examples of Duncan's etchings do not survive, but listings in the catalogue for this exhibition suggest that she and Solomons were working in tandem. Duncan returned to England, where she was born, at some point in the early 1920s and little archival material relating to this artist survives, but a file of letters now in NIVAL suggest that the period spent at the Pearse Street studio was a happy time in her life, and that she maintained contact with Solomons through her

[72] Records for the Cumann na mBan Ranelagh Branch are included in the Military Service Pensions Collection, Dublin City District Council, Military Archives Ireland, MA/MSPC/CMB/126.
[73] 'Exhibition of Paintings, Etchings, and Sculpture,' *Irish Times*, 4 February 1914, 9.

life.[74]

Duncan and Solomons shared an exhibition again in 1919, held at the studio on Pearse Street. A review noted that the two artists had

> drawn much of their inspiration from the quaint corners of old Dublin, and they have sketched the slum-dwellers with a feeling of genuine sympathy. They reveal not so much their shabbiness, as their tragic dignity.[75]

Solomons' etchings were described in similar terms in the *Freeman's Journal*, where the critic praised her etching, noting that in "The Merchant Tailors' Arch (41) and 'Georgian Doorway, Bolton Street (50)' she sums up not a little charm of old Dublin'.[76] Reviews from exhibitions throughout the 1920s continue in this vein: in 1920 it was said that her representation of Hoey's Court 'breathes the very air of bygone Dublins.'[77]; in 1921 her etchings were described as 'depicting picturesque old nooks in the quaint old byways of Dublin.'[78]; her drawing of 'the older and more tumble-down parts of Dublin.' was noted in 1923, and in 1926 it was said that

> [t]hese etchings of old Dublin will be treasured by connoisseurs, not only for the fine work that is in them, but also because they give us, as no camera-study can give us, the atmosphere and charm of places which are fast disappearing before the onroad of civic improvement.[79]

This language continues the tone already established in considerations of artists' depictions of Dublin, emphasising the 'quaint' and 'picturesque' elements of 'old Dublin'.

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[74] See 'Mary Duncan', Artist Files Collection, NIVAL – National Irish Visual Arts Library, NCAD, IE/NIVAL AR/3301.
[75] 'Exhibition of Etchings,' *Irish Times*, 3 March 1919, 6.
[76] 'Art in Dublin: Exhibition by Miss Solomons and Miss Duncan,' *Freeman's Journal*, 27 October 1919, 4.
[77] 'Irish Art: Two Interesting Exhibitions,' *Freeman's Journal*, 6 December 1920.
[78] 'Art Exhibition: Miss Solomons' Paintings and Etchings,' *Irish Times*, 10 December 1921, 8.
[79] 'Miss Estella Solomons's Pictures: Exhibition in Dublin,' *Irish Times*, 6 December 1926, 9.

Reading such reviews of Solomons' etchings, one could imagine that they described an invented Dublin of the past, rather than being based on the observation of the contemporary city. In this sense, the hardships felt by those living in the city's tenements are reduced to an aesthetic that evokes the past, when in fact it belies a difficult reality.

The author of *The Glamour of Dublin*, Daniel Laurence Kelleher, had written several travel and guidebooks prior to this text including *Paris, Its Glamour and Life* (1914) and *Lake Geneva* (1914). Through the 1920s he added *The Glamour of Cork* (1919), *Round Italy* (1923), and *Ireland of the Welcomes* (1929) to his name. After his death in 1958, Kelleher's obituary in the *Irish Times* noted that he had been involved with the Irish Tourist Association, had been 'appointed to the post of manger of its London office from its opening in the late 1920s. After 1940, he returned to Dublin, where he edited *Irish Travel* and gave lectures on Irish tourist topics.'[80] Prior to authoring guidebooks, Kelleher had been associated with the Cork Realists drama group and also published three volumes of poetry. It is possible that Kelleher came into contact with Solomons through the literary social circle of the artist and James Starkey/Seamus O'Sullivan, who Solomons married in 1929. As no correspondence between Kelleher, Solomons, and The Talbot Press is extant it is difficult to understand how the collaboration came about. However, in 1918, The Talbot Press had published O'Sullivan's *Mud and Purple: Pages from the Diary of a Dublin Man* – a semi-autobiographical, literary, *belle-lettres* style text. The publication included a reproduction of an original drawing by Solomons as a frontispiece, possibly showing a view of either Carlisle Court or the Merchant Tailors' Arch. The layout and structure of *Mud and Purple* closely resembles *The Glamour of Dublin*, perhaps acting as a prompt to the later inclusion of Solomons' etching in the latter publication.

By 1928, Solomons' etchings were familiar to many, having been widely exhibited as well as some examples being published elsewhere. Reproductions of two etchings were included in the first volume of *The Dublin Magazine*, a literary journal founded

[80] 'Mr. D.L. Kelleher,' *Irish Times*, 7 March 1958.

and edited by O'Sullivan in 1923.[81] Furthermore, Solomons' depictions of *Swift's Birthplace* and a *Dublin Court* were reproduced in Padraic Colum's *The Road Round Ireland*, published in 1926. The reproductions in *The Glamour of Dublin* were: *The Leinster Market, 1915*; *The King's Inns, Henrietta Street*; *Carlisle Court*; *Winetavern Street*; *Hoey's Court, the Birthplace of Dean Swift*; *The Merchant Tailors' Arch*; *The Quay, South Wall*; and *The Hell Fire Club* (figs 5:27-5:35). Of this collection, only *Carlisle Court* and *The Hell Fire Club* had not previously been exhibited by Solomons, although a preparatory sketch for the former of these is dated 1923.[82] The artist rarely dated the preparatory sketches for etchings, or the etchings themselves, so the first exhibition date is the closest indicator to when the composition was first conceived. What is clear in the case of those included in *The Glamour of Dublin* however, is that in some instances the etchings were over ten years old, and as such were not contemporaneous with the text.

In themselves, Solomons' etchings offer an interesting view into some of the courts and alleys of Dublin. *The Leinster Market, 1915*; *Carlisle Court*; *Hoey's Court, the Birthplace of Dean Swift*; and *The Merchant Tailors' Arch* all share similar compositional features, bringing the viewer into the enclosed spaces of the different locations. Framed by the surrounding architecture, glimpses of everyday life and activities such as grocery shopping and calling on neighbours are included, bringing some movement and life to the artworks. If Barton's gentle wash drawings evoked a kind of misty or ethereal atmosphere, the close dark lines of these etchings suggest something darker and anachronistic. The clothing of some of the figures (for example the woman in a wide, bustle-like skirt in *The Leinster Market* or the heavy shawl of the older figure in *Carlisle Court*) are more redolent of the nineteenth century than the early twentieth century. Pyle has noted that Solomons was greatly influenced by Walter Osborne, who taught her briefly at the DMSA, stating that from the older artist Solomons learned 'to

[81] These were *Hoey's Court Dublin* and *Marsh's Library*. See *The Dublin Magazine*, vol 1., August 1923–July 1924 (Dublin: Dollard Printing House, 1924), 197 and 307.
[82] Estella Frances Solomons Papers, TCD, MS 4528.

choose views in the city, shadowy archways, old-fashioned lanes, famous buildings or rows of houses from an unusual angle [...].'[83] When compared to other twentieth century representations of Dublin, by Jack B Yeats or Harry Kernoff for example, the antiquated style of Solomons' etchings provides a stark comparison.

Along with an array of sketchbooks, a collection of etchings by Solomons in the artist's papers give some indication of the different stages and states the artist went through before settling on the final composition and tone of her etchings. For example, in the case of *The King's Inns* there are numerous versions of the composition which show that the artist considered different variations of figures, in one example including a gardener raking leaves on the left hand side, as well as working the image on different sized plates. The artist also worked through several different states, beginning with a simple and clear outline of the architectural features and figures and moving through to the densely shaded version reproduced in the *Glamour of Dublin*, where the figures are barely visible. A different version of *Carlisle Court* also shows that Solomons considered using different figures than the woman and child seen in the version reproduced – for instance, one version depicts a woman with a sweeping brush, and another shows a man coming out from the door on the right hand side. These changes and states act as a reminder that even when elements of the composition were based on the artist's observations, the final image was often altered or mediated to achieve the best possible compositional effect.

There is little of Dublin's 'heroic optimism' to be found, then, in Solomons' etchings. Although Solomons drew her inspiration from the city centre from around

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[83] Pyle, *Portraits of Patriots*, 12. In their composition and technique, Solomons' etchings share many similarities with the work of artists associated with the etching revival in Britian and elsewhere from the 1860s onwards. See 'Etching Revival', *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press. http://www.oxfordartonline.com.elib.tcd.ie/subscriber/article/opr/t4/e678. See also *Altered States, The Etching Revival: 1850–1929*. Glasgow: Hunterian Art Gallery, 1997, exhibition catalogue.

1910 when she took up residence at the Pearse Street studio, it can be suggested that her imaging of the city was mediated through ideas and discussions of 'old Dublin' and the picturesque qualities imagined therein. The critical responses to Solomons' etchings of Dublin framed the reception of the artworks in these terms, and the nature of the medium and its atmospheric effect reinforces it. It is notable that against this view of the 'picturesque slum' or the 'quaint nooks' of the city, there was a concurrent discussion ongoing over the continuing crises around housing and poverty in the city. The *Darkest Dublin* series of photographs produced to accompany the Dublin Housing Inquiry in 1913 had given visual form to the slums, depicting, as Justin Carville describes

> [t]he narrow lanes of slum districts, the decay of tenement housing, collapsed dwellings, and the congested courts that became a central feature of much moral outrage at the unsanitary living conditions of Dublin's working classes.[84]

Many of these photographs were taken in 'old Dublin' – the Liberties, the Coombe, Patrick Street, and around Christchurch Cathedral. While many of these photographs are quite atmospheric and artistic at times, the photographic medium was considered to be a scientific tool, and as these images were accompanied by first hand observations of the tenements, they were invested with 'the purchase of the real.'[85]

Against the belief that such photographs held legal purchase, Carville notes a different manner in which they were viewed that may further inform the discussion here. Many of the *Darkest Dublin* images were presented as lantern slides, and around the turn of the century public lectures using this type of medium had become a popular public event. Alongside these, the recording of slum districts had grown increasingly popular across Europe and America, borrowing from ideas of the colonial voyage to

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[84] Carville, "The Glad Smile of God's Sunlight': Photography and the Imaginative Geography of Darkest Dublin,' *Visualizing Dublin: Visual Culture, Modernity and the Representation of Urban Space*, 197.
[85] Ibid., 199.

dramatize the narrator's position as explorer of the urban landscape [...].'[86] Aimed at a middle-class audience, such events transfigured the image of the slums into a form of spectacle, allowing the audience to access them at a remove rather than walk for themselves among the run-down and overcrowded streets. It can be suggested that guidebooks also fulfilled this function, especially as they were often aimed at a local audience in addition to visitors. These ways of presenting slum-areas to a middle-class audience can be considered as further contributing to the aestheticizing of such districts, leading back to the idea of the urban picturesque, as discussed above.

5.4 Flora H Mitchell and 'Vanishing Dublin'

In May 1966, the regular column in the *Irish Times*, 'An Irishwoman's Diary', included a small feature on Flora H. Mitchell to mark the publication of *Vanishing Dublin*. Here the artist, then in her mid-seventies, commented that 'I'm driven about now and when we get to Winetavern Street, it's gone. So too has the Irish House. Where's everything? I can hardly find my way about the city now.'©[87] The 1960s marked a period of sustained redevelopment in Dublin, with several older streets and blocks of houses restructured, redeveloped, or demolished; a well known and controversial example being the stretch of Georgian housing on Fitzwilliam Street that was demolished to make way for the new offices of the Electricity Supply Board. Mitchell's publication echoes a number of themes present in literature and music through the late 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, all concerned with the changing way of life and new streetscapes evolving in Dublin.[88] The material in this section focuses on Mitchell's publication,

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[86] Ibid., 198.

[87] Candida, 'An Irishwoman's Diary,' *Irish Times*, 9 May 1966, 9.

[88] This period saw a number of biographical accounts of life in Dublin being published. For example: Honor Tracey, *Mind You, I've Said Nothing': Forays in the Irish Republic* (London: Methuen, 1953), Olivia Robertson, *Dublin Phoenix* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1957), C P Curran, *Under the Receding Wave* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1970), John Ryan, *Remembering How we Stood* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975), and Anthony Cronin, *Dead as Doornails: a chronicle of life* (Dublin: Dolmen Press; London: Calder and Boyars, 1976). In music, Dublin's changing streetscape is most evocatively conveyed in Pete St John's 'The Rare Ould Times', composed for the Dublin City Ramblers in the 1970s.

issued as a form of *belles-lettres* guidebook, and considers how the narrative of 'old Dublin' changed after the mid-twentieth century.

Born in Omaha, Nebraska, Mitchell had moved to Ireland with her family at the turn of the century, when her father joined the Jameson distillery firm.[89] The 1901 census records Mitchell at the house of her aunt and uncle at 2, New Quay, Westgate, Drogheda. In 1911, aged twenty, Mitchell was living with her mother at 37 Sandford Road, Ranelagh.[90] Snoddy notes that as a student in the DMSA, Mitchell was 'particularly attracted by the lesser-known courts, alleyways, bridges, byways and narrow streets of Dublin [...].'[91] An interest in the city is reflected in a number of works exhibited at the Dublin Sketching Club in 1912 and 1914 – which included, for example, views of Sackville Street, the O'Connell Monument, College Green, Grafton Street, and the Shelbourne Hotel – although these all constituted larger and more recognisable public sites than those suggested by Snoddy. After 1914, Mitchell's works did not appear again in public exhibitions until 1935 when similar Dublin scenes were included in the Watercolour Society of Ireland's annual exhibition, however this was a once-off, and the artist only began to exhibit work consistently from about 1961 onwards.

In 1930, Mitchell had married William George Jameson, and the couple spent much of their time in Cowes on the Isle of Wight. As William was a sailing master on the royal yacht *Britannia*, the Jamesons socialised with the royal family, and an autobiographical record by the artist of this time is extant in the NLI. Mitchell had close ties to England before her marriage – her mother, at least, had been born there and census returns show that the family were members of the Church of England. By the time of the artist's marriage in 1930, her parents had moved from Dublin to Ferndown,

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[89] Snoddy, *Dictionary of Irish Artists: 20th Century*, 428.
[90] For 1901 and 1911 Census Returns, see http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai001051958/ and http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai000144740/.
[91] Snoddy, *Dictionary of 20th Century Irish Artists*, 428.

Dorset. Dating roughly to the 1920s and 1930s, Mitchell's account records numerous sailing trips and details for their social life in Cowes. While the account does not mention her art, it does reveal something of Mitchell's relationship to Ireland, or more explicitly, how she viewed the relationship between Ireland and Britain. For example, recalling a conversation with George V and Queen Mary, Mitchell noted that she was asked 'many searching questions as to our life in Ireland, the general situation there of which I am absolutely ignorant I fear!'.[92] While the royal family seem to have regarded the Jamesons as Irish, it is clear that Mitchell, at least, also identified as British, demonstrated for instance, by her identification with the monarchy – commenting at one point that '[t]hey [the Duke and Duchess of York] both look so young and full of life [...] it makes one think how fortunate we are to have a really glamorous Royal family.'[93]

Published by Allen Figgis, *Vanishing Dublin* gathered together fifty of Mitchell's watercolours of streets, buildings, and other landmarks from the city centre. Reproduced in full colour, a short text giving some historical or local details accompanies each illustration, giving some of the artist's own observations. Several of the sites depicted are noted as having been partially or fully demolished in the early 1960s – for example, *Tom Moore's Birthplace*, *Winetavern Street*, and *West Bride Street* (figs 5:36,5:38). Because of the artist's careful notation, *Vanishing Dublin* offered, and continues to offer, a record of the city in flux, where the many of the buildings cited in the work of artists like Barton and Solomons were quite literally vanishing from the streetscape. From the notes accompanying the illustrations it is clear that Mitchell did not see the redevelopment of these sites in a positive way, even in the case of tenement buildings, and her tone is one of regret for the building's demise and nostalgia for a lost way of life in the city. The original watercolours for the publication were regarded as sufficiently important to be purchased by the NGI in 1969 for £1000, a substantial sum at that time,

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[92] An account by Flora Jameson of her life in England in the 1920s and 1930s, microfilm, NLI, P6942, 20.
[93] Ibid.

and additional material was later bequeathed to the institution.[94]

In her introduction to *Vanishing Dublin*, Mitchell invites the reader to travel with her through the city from the comfort of their own homes, rather than moving through the streets themselves, stating

> [n]o need to leave our chair by the fire. We can weave ourselves a tapestry from the threads of yesterday and today, threads of what we have seen, have heard, have read, or even dreamed.[95]

In a similar manner to Gerard's opening, Mitchell places herself, and the reader, at a distance from the contemporary city. The warmth and colour of the 'old' city that Mitchell's watercolours suggest is contrasted with the city's newer buildings and 'the realization that soon it [Dublin] must become just another city of concrete and glass, colourless and stereotyped.'[96]

Vanishing Dublin opens with an illustration and description of York Street, a narrow street which links Stephen's Green to Mercer Street, along the side of the Royal College of Surgeons. The illustration shows a solid block of brick Georgian houses, with a mismatch of door and window frames. Assorted arrays of net curtains are on show, and a group of children play on the corner of the pavement. Mitchell's written description references the change the houses underwent from single-family homes to tenements, noting the

> families whose battle against poverty is bravely hidden behind lace curtains, and the happy games of the numberless children, well dressed and cared for, who play in the old street. If we could look behind the often glassless fanlights [...] our sympathy would indeed be aroused for those who have suffered much hardship

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[94] 'National Gallery Purchases,' *Irish Times*, 6 October 1969, 8.
[95] Flora H Mitchell, *Vanishing Dublin*, intro. Earl of Wicklow (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966), 1.
[96] Ibid.

and overcrowding here during the past century. And every day the crash of demolitions comes closer, closer.[97]

Mitchell's *York Street* is dated 1964, suggesting that her interest in the location came at a crucial time in the street's history (fig 5:39). As Erika Hanna has recently noted, the period 1963-64 marked a crisis point for Dublin's tenement housing, with the collapse of two tenement buildings on Bolton Street and Fenian Street within a two week period in June 1963.[98] Many other buildings were condemned and tenants evacuated, with many taking part in protests over housing conditions. The urgency of the crisis placed huge pressure on Dublin Corporation, as there was no housing available for the majority of the displaced families. The houses on York Street, Hanna notes, had been cleared prior to this emergency in October 1962. However, a number of families were then found to be squatting in the condemned buildings, and were forcibly removed by the Gardaí in July 1964. The families refused to leave the street, and instead scattered their possessions along the pavement in protest.[99]

Photographer Elinor Wiltshire documented these protests and the buildings of York Street in a series of images, now held in the NLI (fig 5:40). The photographs contrast strongly with Mitchell's drawing of the same street, showing several adults and children sitting on the pavement amongst rubble and warning signs. It is clear from Wiltshire's photographs that the dismantling of the houses was already well underway, and rather than showing net curtains and pot plants, the majority of windows have already been removed. Both the photographs and the facts of the York Street case would suggest that Mitchell's representation of the street was based on observations made prior to the initial moving out of families in 1962. Furthermore, a work titled 'Sraid Eabhraic, Baile Atha Cliath, 1961' (York Street, Dublin, 1961) had been exhibited by Mitchell at the Oireachtas Art Exhibition in 1961, along with views of 'Tur na nIrisi,

[97] Ibid., 2.
[98] Erika Hanna, *Modern Dublin: Urban Change and the Irish Past, 1957–1973* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 113.
[99] Ibid., 120-121.

Caislean Bhaile Atha Cliath' (The Magazine Tower, Dublin Castle); 'Margadh an Eisc, Sriad Ui Mhordha' (The Fish Market, Moore Street), and 'Fuioll na mBad Canala, Baile Atha Cliath' (Canal Boat Scrap, Dublin).

Other tenement buildings were also depicted by Mitchell, including *Dominick Street*, *Dorset Street*, *Paradise Court*, *Henrietta Street*, and *Hamilton Lane* (figs 5:41-5:45). In her notes for the first of these, the artist noted that the tall houses had already been emptied ahead of demolition, describing them as 'blind-eyed, waiting for their end [...].'[100] The street, Mitchell wrote, is still redolent of the past and one can imagine 'the street filled with swinging hoops, periwigs, swords, flashing buckles, satins, cascades of lace and great erections of feathers [...] all the paraphernalia of social Dublin in the seventeen hundreds [...].'[101] This grandeur was in contrast to the street from the early nineteenth century, when

> the ensuing hundred years brought the street down to tenement occupation, the noble mantelpieces torn out and sold; the oak staircases burned for firewood; the gilt and plaster ceilings begrimed and rotten; till [...] only the dark shell remained to be brought to the ground.[102]

The houses shown in the *Dorset Street* illustration had already been demolished by the time the book was published, and the artist focused again on the history of the lost buildings. Describing *Henrietta Street*, Mitchell commented that 'these sixteen houses can be said to be our last existing link with the social importance of Dublin prior to the Union', and largely overlooked Henrietta Street's notorious tenement history.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, at the end of the nineteenth century texts which created a record of buildings being lost to the processes of modernisation became popular. With its focus on 'vanishing Dublin', Mitchell's text echoes those earlier

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[100] Mitchell, *Vanishing Dublin*, 68.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.

publications; this time recording a new wave of change in the urban environment. While many European cities experienced extensive development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Dublin's urban development was overlooked due to the political changes that were taking place. While suburban development had evolved through the first decades of Irish independence, progress in the city centre was slower, bringing about the crises already outlined in the 1960s. The rash response of city planners and the urgent need to modernise the city centre provoked a response from many sections of Irish society, and Mitchell's publication can be seen as part of this wider reaction. This chapter has reflected already on how representations of the city were considered by some as historical documents, and Mitchell's illustrated book consciously plays on this idea of recording the disappearing city for posterity.

In concluding this discussion of *Vanishing Dublin*, it is worth thinking briefly about the context and climate in which it was published in May 1966. As outlined above, it can and should be considered in relation to contemporary debates around modernisation of the city and its housing stock and against the imaging of these events by photographers such as Elinor Wiltshire. Further to this, and in some ways connecting back to the themes discussed in the opening chapter of this thesis, 1966 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 Rising. In her exploration of the commemoration ceremonies and events Roisín Higgins has discussed those events in relation to Boym's writings on nostalgia, and the modernisation projects ushered in by Lemass era politics; at a time when many areas of life were changing, the past was 'looked to for legitimacy and unity of purpose.'[103] While the 1966 commemoration had its own political agenda, and indeed, ramifications in the years following it, Mitchell's evocation of Dublin's vanished past spoke to a wider experience of loss, caused not only by economic modernisation, but arguably through Ireland's progression from a colonial to post-colonial, independent state.

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[103] Roisín Higgins, *Transforming 1916: Meaning, Memory and the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Easter Rising* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2012), 21.

Conclusion

In an article titled 'Georgianism and the Tenements, Dublin 1908–1926', Mark Crinson has considered the Georgian Society volumes mentioned above in more detail. Here, the author noted that despite the achievements of the volumes, they are also

> the product of an attempt to wrench history away from the living present of the houses that it represents towards the golden age of a leisured and fashionable Dublin represented by James Malton's sketches and John Roque's map [...].[104]

Crinson links these publications to the wider trend of 'Georgianism' in early twentieth century Dublin, a conversation led by prominent Anglo-Irish figures which sought to salvage the architectural heritage of eighteenth century Dublin from the decay of the tenements. For Crinson, the work of the Georgian Society was linked to a wider (Anglo-Irish) agenda of holding on to a sense of belonging and identity in Ireland as it moved towards independence, and the architecture of Georgian Dublin was a tangible link to the perceived glory-days of the Ascendency. In this sense, there was a political side to this reclaiming of Dublin eighteenth century built heritage. In seeking out this pre-Act of Union Dublin, the volumes echo the sentiments of Mitchell's text, as well as other guides and illustrated books on the city.

The concept of 'Georgianism' as offered by Crinson can be allied to Boym's notion of reflective and restorative nostalgia, outlined in the introduction of this chapter. While Irish nationalism grounded itself in the myths and languages of a 'Celtic' past, a section of Anglo-Irish society sought to culturally identify, through architecture, with the ideals and achievements of the Ascendancy past. If we recall that reflective nostalgia, according to Boym, 'lingers on in ruins, the patina of time and history, in the dreams of another place and time', it can be suggested that for this group, Dublin's fine townhouses

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[104] Mark Crinson, 'Georgianism and the Tenements, Dublin 1908–1926,' *Art History* 29, no.4 (2006): 633, doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8365.2006.00518.x.

represented the ruins, their decoration a tangible form of 'patina', and their history a reminder of how firmly the Ascendancy stood in the governance of Ireland. By viewing the eighteenth century as the apex of achievement in Irish life, the Georgian Society was echoing the sentiments of the organisers of the Masonic Bazaar in 1892, although the pastiche of medieval-style buildings which the Bazaar represented were replaced with tall and elegant townhouses. Despite this, we can still trace the idea of 'old Dublin' through this dialogue, and arguably, how it held a particular resonance with Anglo-Irish identity.

As already noted, Barton came from a well-to-do Anglo-Irish family, and we may surmise that Gerard came from a similar background. The dedication given in *Picturesque Dublin* expresses the author's sense of Irish identity, while also suggesting connections to the British administration. In addition, Mitchel's writings about her time sailing with the royal family demonstrate a sense of hybrid or 'hyphenated' identity – expressing both her identification with the monarchy, and their view of her as Irish. In comparison to Barton and Mitchell, Solomons is a more complex figure. While she cannot be considered 'Anglo-Irish' in the historical sense of the term, her family had settled in Ireland from Britain, where as an optician, her father had served the royal family. Aside from this, Solomons was involved with the Irish nationalist movement, and moved away from her family roots to marry James Starkey. However, as Brian Fallon has noted, aside from her portraits of political figures, Solomons was not a political painter and 'neither her Jewishness nor her nationalism seem to matter in the context of her art.'[105]

In their depictions of Dublin, these three artists represented streets and landmarks that evoked associations with the city's past – for example, notable houses,

[105] Brian Fallon, 'Estella Solomons, Painter,' *Retrospect: the work of Seumas O'Sullivan 1879–1958 & Estella F Solomons 1882–1968*, ed. Liam Miller (Dublin: Dolmen Editions, 1973), 34.

places of birth, historic streets, or the set pieces of public Georgian architecture. Many of these locations had deteriorated into tenements or slum areas by the time each artist was depicting them, and this situation is either repeatedly ignored, or transfigured into something 'picturesque' or 'quaint'. This reading is supported by the descriptions and responses of contemporary critics, who considered these aesthetic qualities, along with the perceived historical importance of these representations of Dublin. When published, these images were further codified into the narrative of the city, projecting a specific reading of the urban environment to visitors and residents alike. Returning to Michalski's description of guide books as being able to both 'shield' and 'reveal' aspects of the city, it is clear that through the three publications discussed in detail here, while the decay of Dublin was often revealed, the reader or viewer was generally shielded from the social reality that this entailed.

Speaking about a recently published collection of Dublin poetry, Peter Sirr noted that '[a] relationship with a city is always a relationship with oneself, and with time.' He continued:

> [t]he city is the stage across which time passes, and which holds our lives, which retains some echo of our lives and loves [...]. And the city itself, the old historical core, has its own particular life, its own print, its own personality which keeps getting into poems. The plain red brick, the spacious windows and fanlights, wide streets and parks provide a dreaming space very different from anywhere in the suburbs. So the city functions as a map of emotional life, a set of marks in space and time that can be returned to and serve as emblems of self and society.[1]

Here, Sirr evokes the multi-layered nature of the city, with its historical, personal, architectural, social, and civic resonances. Just as these different characteristics have found their way into the poetry of and on Dublin, the different chapters of this thesis have sought to outline how representations of the city in painting in the period 1821–1966 have responded thematically to the different historical, social, and cultural contexts in which they were created. By way of conclusion, this final stage in the analysis will draw together the findings of this research and discuss these in relation to the central research question and aims.

The introduction to this study opened with a description of Mahony's panoramic view of the city. Subsequent chapters have focused more closely on the different themes and figures connected with the representation of Dublin, exploring the lives of

[1] Peter Sirr, 'Writing the City,' UCD Scholarcast, Series 9 (Spring 2014), *Dublin: One City, One Book* Lectures 2014 (in association with Dublin City Public Libraries). Series Editor Lucy Collins, General Editor P.J Matthews, 8. http://www.ucd.ie/scholarcast/transcripts/writing_the_city.pdf

the streets through the different spectacles that played out there, through the eyes of artists who walked and rambled through the streets, and finally those who sought to capture a changing city and evoke its past. With the specificities of these different visions mapped out, we can return once more to the panoramic and begin to consider what these artists and artworks contribute to the portrait of the city, its history, and the story of Irish art. The stated research question for this project asked, 'to what extent was Dublin represented by visual artists in Ireland, and how do these artworks relate or respond to different contexts in which they were created?' In seeking answers to this problem, the research aimed to provide a comprehensive art-historical examination of how Dublin was represented in visual art in this period, and how visual representations of the city intersect and interact with the range of social, economic, and political issues facing the city from the early nineteenth century onwards.

An answer to the first part of this research question was sought through a survey of the annual exhibitions held by three different artistic groups and organisations in the period 1875–1940 and a review of works in a number of public collections. The Royal Hibernian Academy, Watercolour Society of Ireland, and Dublin Sketching Club were selected as they represent different aspects of the Irish art world, encompassing artists that can be considered either 'professional' or 'amateur'. The method of gauging the extent to which the city was a popular subject at these exhibitions has limitations, as explained in the introduction. That said, such a census is useful in that it demonstrates that representations of Dublin were continually exhibited in these forums, and it also offers an insight into the range of themes and subjects, within the overarching concept of the urban, that were depicted.

This systematic research also revealed that public art collections throughout the island of Ireland contain a selection of different representations of Dublin in a variety of media and encompassing a wide time period. The largest collection of these works in the National Gallery of Ireland, followed by the Dublin City Gallery the Hugh Lane, and the

Crawford Art Gallery, Cork. Many of the limitations which applied to the survey of exhibitions are not applicable here, given that the majority of these works are available to view either in the gallery or through printed and online sources. The provenance of works in each collection demonstrates that Dublin paintings, drawings, and prints have been both purchased and presented to institutions, indicating that such works evidently have a place within national and civic collections. In the gallery setting, paintings of the city take on some of the attributes identified by Tarnya Cooper quoted in the literature review, serving the different interests of the viewing public whether they be 'antiquarian, artistic, and military interests [...]' or serving 'local and regional agendas, playing a vital role in the formation of collective civic identities.'[2] Overall, the results of both of these surveys suggest that Dublin was one of many subjects that artists turned to for inspiration, forming a part of the wider tapestry of art produced in Ireland throughout the period. While the relatively modest numbers in each survey suggest that the city was not a major strand in the history of Irish art, interest in the subject was consistent. This is evidenced by the consistent presence of works at leading exhibitions and through the acquisition of such works by public bodies.

Turning to the second part of the central research question, chapters one to five explored different thematic representations of the city, focusing on shared or common fields of interest, subjects, and themes between individual artworks and artists, or multiple representations of a subject or theme by a single artist. After an initial close reading and description of the painting itself, the different aspects of the composition were considered in relation to the conditions of the city at the time it was created along with reference to the political, social, or cultural contexts that inform the artwork. Where possible, or appropriate, the analysis has sought to explore the complexities of the relationship between an artwork and the contexts that informed it, rather than simply 'placing' it in its times. Furthermore, the representation of the city space in visual art has

[2] Cooper, *Paper Cities*, 1.

been considered with reference to notions of space and place, acknowledging the symbolic nature of the urban environment and the different identities and meanings associated with the spaces, and places, depicted.

Chapter one centred on the idea of ceremony and spectacle and how different (ephemeral) occasions and events were captured and translated by artists on to canvas. Beginning in the early nineteenth century with the visit of George IV, before moving on to the O'Connell Centenary in 1875, and finally to the spectacle of warfare with the Easter Rising and Civil War, this chapter focused on paintings made as a direct response and record of these events. Such paintings are inherently connected through representation to the historical events they depict, often being part of a limited visual record, particularly in the earlier part of the period considered. The works discussed in this chapter were consciously selected to outline the transition of Dublin from a colonial city that displayed allegiance to the crown to a space that played an important role in the assertion of and fight for Irish independence. The creation of works such as these demonstrates not only a wish to record events in a lasting medium, but also how events in the city become commercialised through the manufacture, marketing, and selling of different visual and physical items such as commemorative photographic albums, medals, and special issues of journals and newspapers. As well as connecting to the wider visual and material culture of these events and occurrences, paintings by William Turner de Lond, Charles Russell, and Kathleen Fox display a direct correlation with contemporary events in the city.

Through a thematic approach this chapter brought together a number of artworks that have not previously been considered in tandem, most notably as they span in total a period of just over one hundred years. However by viewing these paintings through a shared premise, they reveal a number of interesting points to consider in relation to the general depiction of the city, as outlined above. Thinking more specifically about what these paintings contribute to a wider understanding of how Dublin was

represented in visual art, this group of artworks emphasises its status as a capital city and the seat of governmental power. This is highlighted by the role the city played in the ceremonial welcoming of royalty, the use of its streets for nationalist celebration, and its symbolic importance in the independence struggle. During these events the symbolic potential of the urban environment was, on occasion, exploited for meaning through the interpretation of architecture and sculpture. In turn, this symbolism was repeated in artists' representation of these events. A thematic and contextual examination of these paintings also reveals further information on how ceremonial events were organised, and how, despite many different causes or beliefs being honoured, there is a correlation in how such occasions were staged in the city space. The central role of the crowd or urban spectators is also emphasised in these artworks, used variously to show support for or discontent with the spectacle, as well as being witness to the events depicted.

In contrast to the expansive approach of the opening chapter, *'a person of metropolitan experience'* focuses on the output of one artist – Walter Osborne – examining his own thematic approach to the representation of life in Dublin. These key themes include his portrayal of Dublin children, street markets and the area in and around St Patrick's Cathedral, and latterly, St Stephen's Green. In addition to this, the final section of the chapter also examined Osborne's role in the wider Dublin art world through his involvement with different art institutions and societies. Osborne's interaction and involvement in Dublin based groups such as the RHA, Dublin Sketching Club, Dublin Art Club, and the proposed but unrealised Dublin Protection Society show that he was active in Dublin's cultural circles. This is further evidenced through the writings of George Moore and Stephen Gwynn, suggesting that he at least wished to assist in raising the level of cultural debate and activity in the city.

Despite his focus on Dublin, the analysis of Osborne's career presented here argues that that his representations of that city were primarily influenced and driven by his European training and interest in naturalism. Supporting this view, the fact that his

depictions of Dublin children and Dublin streets were often solely exhibited in England (at least until after his death), suggests that he was cognisant of the popularity of such works in that market and hoped to achieve better sales and exposure by exhibiting there. With that in mind, it seems that the specific conditions of Dublin at the time he was painting it had little to do with his choice of subject merely they served to meet aesthetic ends. While Osborne's representation of Dublin's people, streets, and parks may have been predominantly propelled by these concerns, this is not to suggest that these paintings are not revealing about the local context in which they were created. Rather, they can be seen as representative of the many divides present in the city in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, whether these be economic, social, political, or even geographical.

Osborne's connection to British art circles through his career had some ramifications after his death, notably the recorded view that he was an English artist. In later art historical accounts, this was compounded by a general view that his work could not be easily connected to representations of Irish identity, seen as a vital factor in the task of building a canon or school of 'Irish' art through the mid-late twentieth century. This opinion is seen particularly in relation to his urban paintings. However, a reading of Osborne's Dublin paintings outside this narrow framework demonstrates the openness of his work to the wider world. A study of Osborne's career as a painter of urban scenes foregrounds his knowledge of newer European painting techniques, as well as showing how artists from Ireland operated within the wider British art world. The exchange of artworks and ideas between Dublin and other British cities evident through the study of Osborne points to an opportunity for further research into how these connections and networks operated in the decades prior to 1922.

As Chapter Three outlines, the art of Jack B Yeats demonstrated an interest in the themes of urban life from an early stage. Continuing to emphasise the thematic approach of this research project as a whole, this chapter examined a number of

different themes within Yeats' Dublin paintings; street life and Dublin children, his use of self-portraiture, paintings of modern urban life and entertainment, and depictions of the river Liffey, the bridges that span it, and the quays on either side of it. Focusing on scenes of everyday life from around the city, the changes in Yeats' painting technique are visible in his Dublin paintings, shifting away from his form of non-academic realism and muted colours to a more fluid and richly coloured style that depart decisively from description and illusionism, verging on abstraction without losing touch with the people and their environments, which was always his overriding interest.

At different points throughout this chapter, Yeats' representation of the city is compared with the work of other artists working in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In this respect the most pertinent relationships can be drawn with Walter Sickert, a British painter who Yeats was well acquainted with, the work of the Ashcan School in New York who he may have had tangential links with through his father, and finally with German Expressionist painter, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner. Yeats' artistic style has often been linked to Expressionist artists primarily Oskar Kokoschka and James Ensor, the former based on a small number of meetings and the latter on the fact that Yeats' owned a publication on Ensor's work. However, this last connection is the most tangential in terms of firm archival or documentary evidence. The link suggested here with Kirchner is based on the similarities between the two artists' approaches to the subject of the city, demonstrated through a select number of paintings. While provocative this comparison challenges established views of Yeats' painting generally, and his urban works particularly.

Considering the different paintings discussed in this chapter collectively, it can be said that Yeats' representations of Dublin do relate and respond to the social, economic, and at times, the political life of the city around him. His view of the city is strongly mediated through his own experience, remaining true to his statement in 1922 that

'[t]he artist tells you what the scene he painted looked like to him, also he tells you about it through himself, and if he has felt deeply what he painted he will communicate what he felt to you [...].'[3] Thus, Yeats' paintings of Dublin are deeply personal responses to the everyday life of the city. Rather than 'recording' contemporary events, say in the manner of the artworks discussed in chapter one, these paintings offer a response to urban life, shaped by the pressures of political upheaval, economic pressures, and social changes in modern society. Yeats' Dublin is a space where people affected by these pressures collide on bridges or in crowded streets, yet the opportunity for moments of quiet reflection in these places is always near.

Although painting the city through the same period as Yeats, Harry Kernoff presents a different portrait of Dublin in his work. Arriving in Dublin from London as economic migrants in April 1914, the Kernoff family settled among a growing Jewish community in Dublin. Aged fourteen, Kernoff served as an apprentice cabinet maker with his father before becoming an evening student at the Technical Schools, and later a full time student at the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art. As part of the Radical Club and through his involvement with Toto Cogley's cabaret nights Kernoff was involved with Dublin's jazz and cabaret scene, which while conservative in comparison to other European capital cities, was nonetheless representative of a period of freedom and enjoyment in Dublin in the wake of the Civil War.

Like his contemporaries in America, Kernoff's painting was informed by his political views and this is evident in many of his Dublin paintings. His representations of Liberty Hall and of James Connolly deliberately reference this, and his empathy and understanding of Dublin's workers is revealed through his concentration on the city's docks, dockers, and labour protests. While Dublin was not industrialised to the scale of other capital cities at this time, Kernoff deliberately sought out the working heartland of

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[3] Yeats, *Modern Aspects of Irish Art*, 10.

the city for his inspiration. Kernoff did not limit his portrayal of Dublin to the docks however, and other paintings and their accompanying sketches show his movements around the south city boundary and through a maze of city centre watering holes. Through an analysis of these works allied to notions of walking and place-making, it is suggested in chapter four that through the process of recording and portraying his journeys through Dublin, Kernoff was mapping the space around him and by doing so, began to locate himself within the everyday life of the city, thus creating a sense of place and belonging. This process was further discussed in reference to his use of self-portraiture in Dublin pub scenes, referencing Sarah Kelly Oehler's statement that this was 'one means by which migrant artists could position themselves within their new community.'[4]

Kernoff's Dublin paintings demonstrate his interest in the political, economic, and social issues present in the city in the 1920s and 1930s. He does not explicitly reference nationalist politics, but rather labour politics, the economic conditions experienced by the city's workers, and the effects of poverty and unemployment on the city's working population. These paintings offer an alternative kind of political painting in the Irish context, as they deviate from the dominant political narrative of the period. His paintings reference life in Dublin more widely through the depiction of the city at leisure. Given his careful notation of dates and weather conditions on his sketches along with the careful translation of these details into the finished artwork, it is perhaps unsurprising that Kernoff's paintings of Dublin have been seen as a chronicle or accurate historical record of the city.

As noted in the Sirr quotation at the outset of this chapter, the city is 'a stage across which time passes', and a place which can hold and retain the memories of 'lives and loves'. Elsewhere, Sirr has referred to this as creating the 'dust of centuries'.[5] It is

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[4] Oehler, *They Seek a City*, 42.
[5] Peter Sirr, 'The Hunt,' *If Ever You Go: A Map of Dublin in Poetry and Song*, 262.

this sense of history and the past which informed the final chapter of this thesis. This chapter explored how depictions of the city by Rose Barton, Estella Solomons, and Flora Mitchell were used and presented as part of different publications on the city. These were considered in relation to earlier publications, such as James Malton's *Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City* and different publications that included reproductions of drawings by George Petrie. These texts offer an alternative way of viewing the city through the work of visual artists, as well as demonstrating the different ways such artworks could be utilised in the wider visual representation of Dublin.

In a similar way to Chapter One of this thesis, the artists, artworks, and publications were considered in relation to a broader theme, based in this instance on the concepts of nostalgia, memory, and the picturesque, allied to the idea of 'old Dublin' and, in the conclusion, to Mark Crinson's analysis of 'Georgianism'. Representations of Dublin by Barton, Solomons, and Mitchell do not directly address the social, economic, and politics issues current at the different times that they were working. However, what their work does show are the cumulative effects of these issues on the city, along with the changes wrought by the different processes of modernity – including the transition in Ireland from colony to independent state. In the work of all three artists there is a sense of the city being on the cusp of profound change: Barton demonstrates this through the representation of once-private houses subsequently used for different purposes and through the depiction of social functions at Dublin Castle; Solomons through her portrayal of dark courts and alleys which have since disappeared; and Mitchell through her notation of demolition dates and the text accompanying each image.

The picturesque and nostalgic sentiments found in these interpretations of the city can be seen as part of a wider move, in Crinson's terms, 'to wrench history away from the living present [...].'[6] This is evident not only in art and architectural discourse,

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[6] Crinson, 'Georgianism and the Tenements,' 633.

but also in literature (both fiction and non-fiction), poetry, and music from the late nineteenth century onwards. While the sense of loss and change illustrated by these three artists have older precursors, as the analysis in the chapter argues these feelings can also be seen as reaction to the 'temporal emphasis in modernity [...]' which 'has always been on relentless supersession and movement beyond existing conditions and circumstances', and that 'leaves no space, remedial or otherwise, for dealing with the experience of loss.'[7] Allied to the decline of Anglo-Irish society and the continued interest in 'Old Dublin', these artworks and texts offer a space for this experience of loss caused by political and social change in Ireland to be expressed.

As can be seen from findings of each of these chapters, the ways in which artists in Ireland have approached the representation of the Dublin have varied in approach, technique, and subject. From de Lond to Mitchell, all of these artists have demonstrated a commitment to representing the physical landscape of the city, including landmark bridges, buildings, parks, and streets to signify the location and environment of their paintings. Differences can be noted in the way different artists used crowds of people in their Dublin paintings: for example, in the work of de Lond and Russell the throngs joyously celebrate the occasion depicted; in Fox's *The Arrest* the crowd plays witness to the events unfolding before them. Changing artistic styles and fashions are evident through the works of Osborne, Yeats, and Kernoff, and in the final chapter the figure in the streets becomes secondary to the representation of the physical city.

Through their portrayal of Dublin, these artists interact in different ways with the different modes and styles of painting found in other countries through this period, although there is less engagement with the dominant, or canonical, forms of non-representational modernism. Topographical scenes of public buildings or acclaimed vistas remained popular with artists through this period, and still play a large role in

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[7] Pickering and Keightly, 'The Modalities of Nostalgia,' 920.

contemporary paintings of the city. Where Irish artists differ significantly from their peers in other countries is in the fact that artists who painted the city do not form into a distinct group,as occurred for example with the Camden Town, Ashcan, East London, or Euston Road groups. This may be explained by the smaller number of artists working in Ireland, and within this the even smaller number of those who painted the city, along with the more limited art market in Ireland with artists of all persuasions struggling to make sales.

The introduction of this thesis examined a selection of extant literatures on the city in art and on the different aspects of Dublin's history and culture. Thinking about the research presented here in relation to the wider history of the city in art, both similarities and differences can be drawn between this and the broader contexts presented in the literature. Given that many of the texts on the city in art have focused on the archetypal modern cities (for example Paris, London, Berlin, and New York) there is an immediate inequality: in comparison (and in reality) to these urban centres Dublin was smaller, less industrialised and underdeveloped, and caught up in the struggle and negotiation of dual identities – between empire and independence. In the first twenty-two years of the twentieth century large swathes of the city centre were destroyed on two separate occasions, in addition to the ongoing decay of housing stock in the city's most populated quarters. Against these political and social problems, and in many cases because of them, artists in the city continued to create work that engaged with the population and environment around them, as well as supporting and contributing to the wider art world of the city.

The reviewed literatures on Dublin's history and culture outlined both the background for this research project in terms of the historical context and the representation of the city in other formats such as literature. As evident though the writings of Daly, Prunty, Brady and Simms, Rains, and Whelan, Dublin in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was polarised between a range of concurrent issues. These

included a growing divide between the working and middle classes, differing political allegiances, a crisis in housing, and poor governance by the Corporation. These tensions played out across the city, made visible, for example, through the continuing presence of crumbling and overcrowded tenement buildings alongside the exodus of the middle-class to the new suburbs, and the use of the urban fabric (through architecture and public sculpture) to signal and represent political ideas. As outlined in the chapter summaries above, paintings of the city interacted with these contexts in different ways.

Returning to the conclusions made by Julian Moynahan on the representation of Dublin in literature, it is evident that there are parallels with the depiction of the city in visual art. This includes an interest in landmark public buildings and the physical situation of the city between the mountains and the sea, indicated in painting by frequent glimpses of these features through the maze of streets and buildings. Parallels in subject and form can be drawn between artists and writers working contemporaneously, for example Osborne and George Moore, or Yeats and James Joyce. While these counterparts are evident, by the nature of the medium, paintings cannot provide the expansive, in-depth narrative found in literary accounts of the city. For example, while painting can depict the city's citizens, it cannot express the 'constant verbal resourcefulness of the populace', or take the viewer inside the tenement buildings, as playwrights such as O'Casey did.[8] This however, has more to do with the capabilities of the medium, rather than a lack of interest in these aspects of Dublin life on the part of visual artists.

The literatures on representations of the city in nineteenth and twentieth century painting highlight the central presence of the *flâneur* or urban observer, who walks through the city streets immersing him or herself, in different ways, in the life of the streets. Commenting on the widespread nature of walking in Dublin, Declan Kiberd has noted that in the early years of the twentieth century, 'everyone was a *flâneur*, a stroller

[8] Moynahan, 'The Image of the City in Nineteenth Century Irish Fiction,' 16.

in a city still felt to be cheerfully negotiable. [...]. People in Dublin [...] felt they owned the streets [...] and they spilled out on to the streets at every opportunity.'[9] As has been highlighted in the text, the urban observer takes many forms and is not limited to the definitive characterisation of the detached *flâneur*, and the variations found within this trope are reflected in the different approaches of the artists discussed in this thesis. What binds them together, however, is the constant attention paid to the acts of looking and seeing, before translating these experiences into painted scenes, whether the sights and sounds of the city were sketched *in situ*, photographed, or recalled from memory when the artist had returned to the studio.

Sirr's comments on the poetry of Dublin, highlighted at the outset of this conclusion, suggest that a unique atmosphere can be found in the city with some repeated elements continually 'getting into' the words of different poets. Many of these features – red brick, large windows and fanlights, wide streets, and parks – also find their way into visual representations of the city. However, these are joined by other characteristics that pertain to urban life more generally and which are found in visual representations of other cities, for example, children, flower sellers, crowds, dockers, and other workers. The amalgamation of physical features principally associated with Dublin and details of human life general to all cities act as a reminder that there is both a local and a wider context for the subjects of the paintings discussed in this thesis: the city they show has its own unique identity and identifiers, usually architectural, and yet all cities share common elements and characteristics.

From the outset, the research presented in this thesis aimed to offer the first substantial, scholarly examination of how Dublin was represented in visual art and to see how these paintings interacted with the different political, social, and cultural contexts in which they were created. Through case-studies and thematic investigations,

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[9] Kiberd, 'The City in Irish Culture,' 294.

the chapters contained within this study have outlined the different ways in which artists engaged with the city as a subject (for example, whether they wished to record significant occasions and events, or create a more personal vision of their home), and the different ways contextual events impacted on this interpretation of Dublin. The range of paintings considered here demonstrates that in Ireland, as elsewhere, there was more than one way to paint the city through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While shared artistic styles, techniques, and trends are reflected in the artists discussed, many of the artworks they produced stem from the personal engagement of the artist with the subject, and as such reflect the private concerns of the creator. The individualism suggested here is further reflected in the fact that no one 'school' or 'group' of urban painters emerged in Ireland.

Assessing the implications of the research presented here, it can be stated that the reading of artworks by artists in Ireland outside of the two dominant themes of the discipline allows for a more open, interpretive, and alternative understanding of Irish art. By focusing on a broad theme, such as the 'urban' or 'the city', with its local and universal expressions and manifestations, the scope for comparison in a broad and inclusive context is revealed, even if this only serves to underline the singular or unique nature of the subject being examined. Alternatively, the opportunity to consider what might be described as canonical Irish artists – such as Osborne and Yeats – in a new way, through a central theme, offers new and exciting insights into their lives and careers. Furthermore, to read the work of these 'major' figures alongside less well-known artists, such as Fox, Kernoff, Barton, Solomons, and Mitchell, expands the general knowledge of the art being produced in Ireland through this period, and the similarities, differences, and connections that existed between them.

The expression of national identity, ambitions, and life through visual art undoubtedly forms an important part of Ireland's art history. While valid, the emphasis on the formation and celebration of a 'national school' of Irish art has precluded other

voices and interpretations of artworks produced in Ireland, by artists from here or elsewhere. The marginal place of the city within the wider conversation around notions of 'Irishness' and national identity has contributed, until recently perhaps, to a lack of engagement with the themes and issues of urban or city life. Furthermore, as David Dickson has identified, for a long time in histories of Dublin 'the idea of a past worth celebrating focused on the tiny medieval walled core, or at most on the Georgian city set within the canals.'[10] In combination, these facts have created a number of conventional histories, for example, that Irish art is mainly concerned with the depiction of the rural landscape and rural life, Irish identity is best represented through non-urban tropes, and Dublin's 'glory days' are located in 'Old Dublin' and in the Georgian squares, houses, and wide streets. Recent research and writings have challenged the second and third of these shibboleths, and with the research presented in this thesis, it can be seen that among the multiple concerns of Irish artists was the representation of Dublin, the people of the city, and the individual experience of living and working there.

The information presented here provides a general base from which further research into the depiction of Dublin and other cities can be continued. As the information in both appendices shows, there are numerous other artists and artworks that could be considered under the general themes of this thesis, expanding even further the knowledge of how visual artists in Ireland viewed the city. Furthermore, the analysis here would benefit from more in-depth comparison to other cities – for example, to compare the representation of Dublin with that of Belfast, or other regional British citie in the same period. Throughout this research, the idea of the wider Dublin art economy, encompassing exhibition groups, artists suppliers, and commercial galleries has frequently been raised, and a study of this would add to the general understanding of how Dublin's art world operated, both before and after independence. Preliminary

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[10] David Dickson, 'The State of Dublin's History,' *Éire-Ireland* 45, nos. 1 & 2 (2010): 199. doi: 10.1353/eir.2010.0004.

research into the activities and role of the Royal Hibernian Academy through the period 1916–1922 has already begun, stemming from the research conducted for this thesis.

Considering the current appetite for information on all aspects of Dublin history, there is potential to create an exhibition, or series of exhibitions, events, and publications that bring artistic representations of Dublin to greater public prominence. Walking through Dublin today, the only visible engagement that locals and visitors have with this subject is through the small number of notice boards that make up the 'Malton Trail', which use reproductions from Malton's 1791 publication to provide historical information on landmark buildings around the city. In addition to this, at the time of writing only a small number of Dublin paintings are on display in museums or galleries around the city and so an in-depth visual consideration of the city through the painted or printed image is unavailable to visitors at the different cultural centres around Dublin. While all of these institutions are constrained by issues around finances, space, and resources, increased advantage could be made of digital and online platforms, along with more traditional methods, to reveal and showcase this rich seam of Irish visual art.

This thesis has surveyed and discussed how Dublin was represented in visual art in the period 1821–1966. Through the use of a thematic approach, the research presented here has considered how paintings of the city reflect and respond to the conditions they were created, looking particularly at the different historical, social, and cultural contexts. In answering the central research question as set out in the introduction, the results of this research project show that that the representation of the city was a consistent, if minor, theme in Irish art. That said a large number of artists took their inspiration from the city's buildings and everyday life, responding both to political events and social conditions. In addition to these resonances however, in-depth analysis of individual artists reveals that portrayals of the city often emerged from and revealed the artist's own personal engagement with the city. These paintings of a shared space can expose personal motivations and concerns, relating not only to artistic interests,

but to how they envisaged their place within the city. Paintings of Dublin contain markers of personal narratives, while also relating to the broader history of this country, and the human urge to gather together and create centres of life.

Appendix I

Table 1 Oil Paintings of Dublin City in the National Gallery of Ireland.

Artist, Last	*Artist, First*	*Title of Painting*	*Date*	*Provenance*	*Acquisition Date*
Ashford	William	*A View of Dublin from Chapelizod*	1795-98	Purchased, Spink and Son Ltd.,	1976
Ashford	William	*Opening of Ringsend Docks*	1796	Purchased, (Lane Fund)	1995
Collie	George	*The Mid-Day Meal*	1927	Purchased, Dublin, Gorry Gallery	2009
Collins	Patrick	*Liffey Quaysides*	1957	Purchased	2001
Cruise	John (fl.1827-34)	*The Nave of St Patrick's Cathedral*	1828	Purchased, London, Mr A Collins	1980
Kernoff	Harry	*Davy Byrne's Pub Dublin from the Bailey*	1941	Purchased	2000

Kettle and Cumming	Tilly and William	*Portrait of James Gandon (with a view of Dublin)*	c.1786-96	Purchased,	1965
Orpen	William	*The Knacker's Yard*	1909	Purchased, Cpt. R Langton Douglas	1934
Osborne	Walter	*St Patrick's Close*	1887	Purchased, Ms Fitzgerald	1921
Osborne	Walter	*In a Dublin Park: Light and Shade*	c.1895	Purchased, Mr J Bell	1944
Osborne	Walter	*The Four Courts*	c.1901	Purchased, Belfast, Mr A Thompson	1969
Osborne	Walter	*The Dublin Streets: a Vendor of Books*	1889	Bequest, Mr John Hamilton Hunter	2004
Moynan	Richard Thomas	*The Death of the Queen*	c.1902	Purchased, Mr I Banon	1971

Petrie	George	*A View of O'Connell Street*	c.1831	Presented, Carlow, Mr H Maude	1975
Russell	Charles	*The O'Connell Centenary Celebrations*	1875	Purchased, Dublin, Mr H Naylor	1927
Russell	James (fl.1804-27)	*The General Post Office*	1818	Provenance Unknown	
Sadler	William	*A View of the Four Courts*		Miltown Gift	1902
Sadler	William	*A View of the Provost's House*		Purchased, Dublin, Mr C Walker	1921
Sadler	William	*The Burning of the Holmes Emporium*		Purchased, Dublin, Mr R McDonnell	1967
Sharp	George (1802-77)	*Repose*	1867	Purchased, Dublin	1878
Turner de Lond	William	*George IV, King of England, Entering*	1821	Presented, FNCI	1947

		Dublin			
Wheatly	Francis	*The Dublin Volunteers on College Green, 4th November 1779*	1779-80	Presented by the 5th Duke of Leinster	1891
Yeats	Jack B.	*Bachelor's Walk, In Memory*		On Loan from PC	
Yeats	Jack B.	*The Liffey Swim*	1923	Presented by the Haverty Trust	1931
Yeats	Jack B.	*Morning in A City*	1937	Presented, Haverty Trust	1941
Yeats	Jack B.	*In the Tram*	1923	Bequest, Mr R Best	1959
Yeats	Jack B.	*Dinner Hour at the Docks*	1928	Presented, Dublin, Mrs Smyllie	1966
Yeats	Jack B.	*The Flower Girl*	1926	Presnted, I.B.M Ltd	1969

Table 2 Watercolours of Dublin City in the National Gallery of Ireland.

Artist, Last	*Artist, First*	*Title of Work*	*Date*	*Provenance*	*Acquisition Date*
Allen	Joshua	*'Vanishing Dublin' - A Handwritten Book of 30 Drawings*	1888	Presented, Mr W.M Allen	1921
Badge	Thomas	*The Pantheon Phusitechnikon St Stephen's Green*	1808	Purchased, Cynthia O'Connor and Co, Ltd	1983
Barton	Rose	*Going to the Levée*	1897	Presented, Ms R Havericks	1947
Barton	Rose	*The Bedford Tower, Upper Castle Yard, Dublin*		Provenance Unknown	
Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	*The Four Courts Dublin*	1818	Purchased, Dublin, Mr J.V McAlpine	1901
Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	*Trinity College and College Green*	1818	Purchased, Mr L Marks	1904

Byrne	Patrick	*Trinity College and the Portico of the House of Lords*	1810	Purchased, Dr Byrne	1913
Byrne	Patrick	*The Interior of the Royal Exchange*	1834	Purchased, Dr Byrne	1913
Chaigneau	Thomas Henry	*The Royal Exchange, Dublin, from Exchange Street*	1792	Purchased, Celbridge, Mrs W T Kirkpatrick	1908
Delrenne	Edmond	*The Ruins of O'Connell Street*	1916	Presented, Dr B O'Brien	1982
Dibdin	Thomas Coleman	*The Four Courts Dublin*	1840	Purchased, Mr J A Harwood	1924
French	Percy William	*Queen Victoria's Entry Through Dublin's City Gate, a temporary replica of Baggotrath Castle, Leeson Street Lower Bridge, April 1900*	1900	Purchased, Burntisland, Mr W H Vaughan	1975
Hayes	Michel Angelo	*Sackville Street*	1854	Purchased, Dublin,	1942

				Mrs L Meade	
Healy	Michel Joseph	*Studies of Dublin Characters*		Provenance Unknown	
Healy	Michel Joseph	*Moore Street Market*		Provenance Unknown	
Henry	Paul	*The Grand Canal Dock*		Bequeathed, Mrs M F Henry, the Artists Widow	1974
Irish School	(c.1830)	*Fragments from a Panorama of Dublin (36 images, recto and verso)*	c.1830	Presented, Rev. R Scriven	1913
Jones	Alfred Gresham	*The Winning Design for the 1865 International Exhibition Building*	1890	Presented, Sydney, Mr A G Jones,	1939
Kernoff	Harry	*Liberty Hall*	1928	Purchased, Dublin, Adams/Bonhams	2008
Kernoff	Harry	*The Boer War Memorial, St Stephen's Green, Dublin*	1935	Donated, Miss Lena Kernoff	

Kernoff	Harry	*Views of Dublin dating from c.1920s - 1970s, in uncatalogued collection (#776)*		Donated, Miss Lena Kernoff	1975
Machell	Christopher	*Island Bridge as it was before the flood*	1804	Presented, London, Lady Valda Machell	1951
Machell	Christopher	*Island Bridge, Dublin, after the flood*	1804	Presented, London, Lady Valda Machell	1951
Machell	Christopher	*The Four Courts Marshalsea off Thomas Street*		Presented, London, Lady Valda Machell	1951
Machell	Christopher	*The Library Trinity College Dublin*		Presented, London, Lady Valda Machell	1951
Mahoney	James	*Two Scenes from the 1853 Exhibition*	1853	Bequeathed, Capt. G A Taylor	1855
Mahoney	James	*Dublin from the Spire of St George's*	1854	Bequeathed, Capt. G	1855

		Church Hardwicke Place		A Taylor	
Mahoney	James	*Nave of the Chapel Royal Dublin Castle*		Bequeathed, Capt. G A Toylor	1855
Mahoney	James	*Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in the Paintings and Sculpture Hall*	1853	Purchased, London, The Fine Art Society	1969
Malton	James	*Trinity College, College Green, Dublin*	1796	Purchased, Dublin, Miss Doyle	1885
Malton	James	*The Tholsel, Skinners Row, Dublin*	1792	Presented, Mr W M Smith	1872
Malton	James	*St Catherine's Thomas Street*		Purchased, London, Durclacher	1894
Malton	James	*The West Front of St Patrick's Cathedral*	1793	Purchased, Dublin, Sir James Linton	1908
Malton	James	*Trinity College, Dublin, seen through*	1790	Purchased, Dublin,	1912

		the Portico of the Parliament House		Sir Hugh Lane	
Malton	James	*The Custom House, Dublin*	1793	Purchased, London, Christies	1914
Malton	James	*The King's Hospital or Blue-Coat School, Blackhall Place, Dublin, as Planned*	1798	Purchased, London, Christies	1914
Malton	James	*Powerscourt House, William Street South, Dublin*	1797	Purchased, London, J H North and Co	1948
Malton	James	*The Four Courts, Dublin*	1793	Purchased, London, Leger Galleries	1974
Malton	James	*St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin from the Churchyard*	1793	Purchased, London, Leger Galleries	1974
Mitchell	Flora	*Views of Dublin dating from c.1950s - 1970s.*		Various Presentations,	1969+

				Purchases and Bequests	
Mitchell	Flora	*The Site of Smock Alley Theatre, Essex St. West*		Presented, Mrs E Jameson	1977
Mitchell	Flora	*No 7 Usher's Island*	1973	Presented, Mrs E Jameson	1978
Mitchell	Flora	*Tailor's Hall, Back Lane*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Moore Street Market*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*St Kevin's Hospital Great Hall, James's Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Foley's Statue of Henry Grattan on College Green*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Exchange Street Houses (now demolished)*		Purchased, the Artist	1969

Mitchell	Flora	*Winetavern Street (demolished 1964), from the Synod Hall Arch*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*The Bailey Public House, Duke Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*The Wooden Mid-Shipman, Duke Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Horseman's Row, off Parnell Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Ouzel Galley Court, off Dame Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*The Irish House', Wood Quay*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Crampton Court, off Essex St., East*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Wastepaper Collectors in Granby Lane, and the Place of Matt Talbot's Death*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Paradise Court, of St Mary's Place*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*York Street Houses*		Purchased, the Artist	1969

Mitchell	Flora	*The Four Courts from outside the Church of Adam and Eve and the Immaculate Conception*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Dorset Street Houses*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*St Patrick's Cathedral from Patrick Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*No 5 Henrietta Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*The Corner of Mount Street Upper and Lower Fitzwilliam Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*St Audeon's Gate, Cook Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*King's Inns Courtyard*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*The Halfpenny Bridge and Merchants' Hall at Night*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Stephen Street Upper*		Purchased, the Artist	1969

Mitchell	Flora	*The Birthplace of Poet Thomas Moore, No 12 Aungier Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Stephens Place, off Mount Street Lower*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*O'Connell Bridge at Night*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Merchant's Arch and the Halfpenny Bridge*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Hamilton Lane, off Summerhill*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Cromwell's Quarters, off James's Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Cornmarket, off Bridge Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Christchuch Place*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*The Ruins of St Nicholas', Christchurch Place, Synod Hall, the*		Purchased, the Artist	1969

		Four Courts, and Christchurch Cathedral Tower			
Mitchell	Flora	*The Brazen Head Hotel, No 20 Bridge Street, Meeting Place of United Irishmen*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*St Audeon's Gate and Medieval Walls*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Aungier Street Houses*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Frederick Street South Houses*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*The Custom House and the Last of the Arklow Schooners*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*The Old Music Hall, Fishamble Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Huband Bridge on Grand Canal and St Stephen's Mount Street Crescent*		Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*The East Side of Dominick Street*		Purchased, the Artist	1969

		Lower		
Mitchell	Flora	*The Entrance of Derby Court, off Werburgh Street*	Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*The Castle Steps and Great Ship Street*	Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Weavers' Hall, the Coombe*	Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*St Michael's Tower and Synod Hall, High Street from Michael's Lane*	Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Grafton Street and Trinity College*	Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Marsh's Library from Cathedral Lane*	Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*The East Side of Bride Street*	Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*The West Side of Bride Street*	Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*Grand Canal Harbour*	Purchased, the Artist	1969
Mitchell	Flora	*St George's, Hardwicke Place*	Bequeathed by the Artist	1973

Mitchell	Flora	*No 40, Home of Architect John Hatch, and Harcourt Street West*		Bequeathed by the Artist	1973
Mitchell	Flora	*Nelson Pillar, on O'Connell Street*		Bequeathed by the Artist	1973
Mitchell	Flora	*No 7 Usher's Island*		Bequeathed by the Artist	1973
Mitchell	Flora	*Camden Street, Old*		Bequeathed by the Artist	1973
Mitchell	Flora	*St Michael's Tower, High Street, from Rosemary Lane*		Bequeathed by the Artist	1973
Mitchell	Flora	*The Mansion House, Dawson Street*		Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974
Mitchell	Flora	*Smithfield Market, Smithfield with the towers of St Michan's and St*		Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974

		Michael's, High Street			
Mitchell	Flora	*The College of Science (now Government Buildings), Merrion Street Upper*		Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974
Mitchell	Flora	*Brunswick Villas, Stoneybatter*		Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974
Mitchell	Flora	*City Hall, Cork Hill*		Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974
Mitchell	Flora	*Amiens Street Station*		Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974
Mitchell	Flora	*No 10, Pitt Street, the Birthplace of Composer Michael William Balfe*		Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974
Mitchell	Flora	*St Michan's, Church Street*		Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974

Mitchell	Flora	*Merrion Row and Baggot Street Lower*		Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974
Mitchell	Flora	*Holles Street Houses*		Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974
Mitchell	Flora	*Blackhall Place Houses*		Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974
Mitchell	Flora	*St Vincent's Hospital, St Stephen's Green East*	1970	Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974
Mitchell	Flora	*St Kevin's Hospital Courtyard*		Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974
Mitchell	Flora	*78 pencil sketches, mainly preparatory drawings for the watercolours listed above*		Bequeathed by Mrs R Jameson	1974
Orpen	William	*Merchants' Arch, Dublin*	c.1909	Presented, Cpt. R	1934

				Langton Douglas	
Orpen	Richard Caulfield	*The Passage from Crown Alley to Merchant's Quay*		Presented, New York, Mrs E Fowles	1977
Orpen	Richard Caulfield	*The Alley to the Quays*		Presented, New York, Mrs E Fowles	1977
Osborne	Walter	*A Dublin Flowergirl*		Purchased, the Artists' Executors	1903
Osborne	Walter	*A Dublin Fishseller*	c.1894	Purchased, the Artists' Executors	1903
Osborne	Walter	*Merrion Row, from Outside the Shelbourne Hotel*	c.1894	Purchased, the Artists' Executors	1903
Osborne	Walter	*Merrion Row, Dublin and Tracton House from Stephen's Green*	c.1894	Purchased, the Artists' Executors	1903
Osborne	Walter	*Man Sitting in St Stephen's Green*	c.1895	Purchased, the	1903

				Artists' Executors	
Osborne	Walter	*Lenister Market Hawkins Street*		Presented Anonymously	1980
Parkinson	Christopher	*A Military Parade on Leinster Lawn, Dublin (After Barralet)*	1797	Presented, the Executors of Mr C P Curran	1956
Petrie	George	*Hanging Washing in Lord Portlester's Chapel, St Audeon's*	c.1831	Transferred from NMI	1966
Petrie	George	*Dublin from the South*	c.1815	Bequeathed, Miss M Stokes	1900
Place	Francis	*Dublin from the Wooden Bridge*	1698	Purchased, London, Leger Galleries	1972
Place	Francis	*Dublin from Phoenix Park*	1698	Purchased, London, Leger Galleries	1972

Place	Francis	*The Royal Hospital, Kilmainham*		Purchased, London, Leger Galleries	1972
Reid	Andrew	*The Main Courtyard of the Four Courts Marshalsea Debtor's Prison*	1860	Purchased, Dublin, Mr J McAlpine	1910
Roberts	Thomas Sautelle	*The Four Courts and River Liffey for aquatint #11912*	1816	Purchased, London, Mr G Lausen	1901

Table 3 Prints of Dublin City in the National Gallery of Ireland.

Artist, Last	*Artist, First*	*Printer/Publisher*	*Title of Work*	*Date*	*Medium*	*Provenance*	*Acq.Date*
Bartlett	William Henry		*St George's Church Hardwicke Place*	1831	Steel Engraving	Presented, Mrs D Molloy	1981
Bartlett	William Henry		*St Patrick's Cathedral from the NE*	1841	Steel Engraving	Provenance Unknown	

Cooke	John	Irish School/ Cooke, John. Published by G Tyrrell, Dublin, 1831	*Cooke's Royal Map of Dublin (with vignettes of principal buildings)*	1831	Line	Presented, W G Strickland	1906
Creswick	Thomas	Willmore, James Tilbitts. Published by Longman & Co, London	*12 Aungier Street, Dublin, the birthplace of poet Thomas Moore*		Line	Provenance Unknown	
Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	Brocas the Younger, Henry. Published by J Le Petit, Dublin.	*Dublin Castle Gate between the Royal Exchange and Newcomen Bank*		Etching and line with watercolour	Purchased, Dublin, Mr J V McAlpine	1901
Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	Brocas the Younger, Henry. Published by J Le Petit, Dublin.	*The Four Courts, Dublin, looking down the River Liffey from Merchant's Quay*	1818	Etching and line with watercolour	Purchased, London, Mr L Marks	1898
Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	Brocas the Younger, Henry. Published by J Le	*The Corn Exchange Burgh Quay and Custom House*	1820	Etching and line with watercolour	Purchased, London, Mr L	1898

		Petit, Dublin, also Wright and Bell, London				Marks	
Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	Brocas the Younger, Henry	*The Custom House from the Liffey*	1828	Etching and line with watercolour	Purchased, London, Mr L Marks	1898
Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	Brocas the Younger, Henry. Published by J Le Petit, Dublin.	*College Green with Daly's Club House Bank of Ireland and Trinity College*	1828	Etching and line with watercolour	Purchased, London, Mr L Marks	1898
Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	Brocas the Younger, Henry. Published by J Le Petit, Dublin.	*Trinity College from Westmoreland Street*	1828	Etching and line with watercolour	Purchased, London, Mr L Marks	1898
Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	Brocas the Younger, Henry. Published by J Le Petit, Dublin.	*Bank of Ireland College Green*		Etching and line with watercolour	Purchased, London, Mr L Marks	1898

Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	Brocas the Younger, Henry. Published by J Le Petit, Dublin, also Wright and Bell, London	*D'Olier Street and Westmoreland Street from Carlisle Bridge*	1820	Etching and line with watercolour	Purchased, Dublin, Mr A Roth	1900
Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	Brocas the Younger, Henry. Published by J Le Petit, Dublin.	*The General Post Office & Nelson's Pillar Sackville St after a watercolour at the V&A, London*		Etching and line with watercolour	Purchased, Dublin, Mr A Roth	1900
Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	Brocas the Younger, Henry. Published by J Le Petit, Dublin.	*The Royal Exchange and Dame Street*		Etching and line with watercolour	Purchased, Dublin, Mr J V McAlpine	1900
Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	Brocas the Younger, Henry. Published by J Le Petit, Dublin.	*The Lying-In The Rotunda and Rutland Square*	1820	Etching and line with watercolour	Purchased, London, Mr L Marks	1898
Brocas	Samuel	Brocas the Younger,	*Dublin Castle Gate between the Royal*		Etching and line	Provenance	

	Fredrick	Henry. Published by J Le Petit, Dublin.	*Exchange and Newcomen Bank*		with watercolour	Unknown	
Brocas	Samuel Fredrick	Brocas the Younger, Henry. Published by J Le Petit, Dublin.	*The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle, after a watercolour of 1818, V&A, London*	1828	Etching and line with watercolour	Purchased, London, Mr L Marks	1898
Brocas	William	Havell the Elder, Robert and Havell the Younger, Robert	*The National Bank Dublin, and College Green*		Etching and Aquatint	Purchased, Dublin, Mr J V McAlpine	1904
Brocas	William	Havell the Elder, Robert and Havell the Younger, Robert	*Trinity College, Dublin, and the East Portico of the Bank of Ireland*		Etching and Aquatint	Provenance Unknown	
Carr	John	Medland, Thomas	*The Four Courts Dublin from Merchant's Quay*	1806	Aquatint	Provenance Unknown	
Ford	James		*The Grand Canal Hotel, Portobello,*	c.1811	Line and	Presented, Mr G	1906

			Dublin		Aquatint	Strickland	
Ford	James		*The New Stamp Office Dublin South William Street*	1811	Line and Aquatint	Presented, Mr G Strickland	1906
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*The Custom House, Dublin*				
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*Dublin and Island Bridge from the Phoenix Park*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*Dublin and Wicklow Railway Terminus Harcourt Street*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*Dublin Castle Chapel and Recod Tower*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*Upper Yard, Dublin Castle*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*Dublin from the Royal Hospital Kilmainham*	1868		Provenance Unknown	

Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*The Four Courts*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*The General Post Office*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*The Great Southern and Wrestern Rainlway Terminus, King's Bridge, Dublin*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*The River Liffey and the Four Courts from Usher's Quay*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*The King's Inns, Dublin*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*The Royal Bank, Foster Place, Dublin*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*The Rotunda Hospital and Assembly*	1868		Provenance	

			Rooms, Dublin			Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*Royal College of Surgeons*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, from the North West*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*Sackville Street*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Heffernan	Edward	Irish School (1868)	*Trnity College, Campanile, Dining Hall, Front Square*	1868		Provenance Unknown	
Irish School (c.1779)		Irish School, c.1800/ W Allen, Dublin	*The Dublin Volunteers on College Green, 4th November, commemorating the birthday of William III (1650 - 1702)*	c.1779	Line	Presented, Mr J V McAlpine	1901
Irish		English School (1784)	*The Dublin Volunteers on College*	1784	Line and	Presented, Mr J	1895

School (1784)			*Green, 4th November, commemorating the birthday of William III (1650 - 1702)*		Aquatint	Robert Garstin	
Irish School (1784)		English School (1784)	*Dublin Castle Gateway, Behind the Royal Exchange and Newcomen Gate*		Etching with Watercolour	Purchased, Dublin, Mr H Naylor	1933
Irish School (1784)		English School (1784)	*The Royal Exchange, Cork Hill, Dublin*		Etching with Watercolour	Purchased, Dublin, Mr H Naylor	1933
Irish School (1784)		English School (1784)	*The Rotunda and the Lying-In Hospital, Dublin*		Etching with Watercolour	Purchased, Dublin, Mr H Naylor	1933
Irish School		English School (1784)	*Trinity College and Parliament House, College Green, Dublin*		Etching with Watercolour	Purchased, Dublin, Mr H	1933

(1784)						Naylor	
Irish School (1784)		English School (1784)	*Essex Bridge, Dublin and the Custom House*		Etching with Watercolour	Purchased, Dublin, Mr H Naylor	1933
Irish School (1784)		English School (1784)	*The Dublin Volunteers on College Green, 4th November, commemorating the birthday of William III (1650 - 1702)*		Etching with Watercolour	Purchased, Dublin, Mr H Naylor	1933
Irish School (1784)		English School (1784)	*Dublin and Island Bridge from the Magazine in Phoenix Park*		Etching with Watercolour	Purchased, Dublin, Mr H Naylor	1933
Irish School (1808)			*Charles Lennox 9th Duke of Richmond laying the first stone of Nelson's Pillar*	1808	Line	Provenance Unknown	

Irish School (1846)		Smyth (19th Century)	*Aerial View of the City of Dublin*	1846	Wood engraving	Acquired between 1908/14	1908/14
Irish School (1853)		Marlow Brothers, Dublin	*The Great Industrial Exhibition,Leinster Lawn, Dublin, 1853, with vignette portrait of sponsor William Dargan (1799 - 1867)*	1853	Coloured Lithograph	Purchased, Dublin, Mr J V McAlpine	1911
Irish School (1861)			*A fatal omnibus accident in Dublin, 1861*	1861	Wood engraving	Presented, Mrs D Molloy	1981
Irish School (1865)		Morrison & Co	*The New Presbyterian, (Findlater's) Church, Rutland Square*		Chromo-lithograph	Provenance Unknown	
Irish		Morrison & Co	*Theatre Royal Hawkins Street on Fire*	1880	Lithograph	Provenance	

School (1880)						Unknown	
Irish School (1883)			*Advertisement for Pim Brothers*	1883	Lithograph	Presented, Mrs D Molloy	1981
Irish School (19th Century)			*The Last Wooden House in Dublin, on the corner of Castle and Werbergh Streets (dem.1812)*		Line	Presented, Mr G Strickland	1906
Irish Schoo (early 19th Century)		Martyn, John	*West View of St George's Hardwicke Place*		Line	Provenance Unknown	

Irish School (19th Century)			*The Choir of St Patrick's Cathedral, before the 1863 Restoration*			Provenance Unknown	
Irish School (19th Century)		Marks, J.L	*The Four Courts Dublin from Merchant's Quay*		Etching and Aquatint	Provenance Unknown	
Irish School (19th Century)		Jackson, M	*Bank of Ireland, College Green and Trinity College*		Line	Provenance Unknown	
Irish School		Newman & Co, John	*St Patrick's Cathedral from the North East*		Steel Engraving	Provenance Unknown	

(19th Century)							
Irish School (19th Century)		Martyn, John	*West View of St George's Hardwicke Place*		Line	Provenance Unknown	
Irish School (c.1817)		English School	*St Patrick's Cathedral Dublin from the North-East*	1817	Linde	Presented, Mr G Strickland	1906
Irish School (c.1817)			*Illustrations for J Warburton J Whitelaw and R Walsh's 'City of the History of Dublin'*	1817-18		Provenance Unknown	
Irish School		Brunton, B	*South View of the Stove Thnter House, Weavers Square*	1818		Provenance Unknown	

(c.1818)							
Irish School (c.1820)			*Royal College of Surgeons*		Line	Presented, Mr E MacDowel Cosgrave	1907
Irish School (c.1850)			*The Interior of St Audeon's RC Church, High Street, Dublin*		Wood engraving	Provenance Unknown	
Irish School (c.1880)		Irish School (c.1880), after a print published by Messrs. Stark Brothers	*O'Connell (formerly Carlisle), Bridge and Sackville (now O'Connell) Street, Dublin*		Wood engraving	Provenance Unknown	
Kelly	John	Kelly, Thomas/Irish School. Published by M Williamson, Dublin	*Union Street or Ease and Plenty; College Green Imagined after the Act of Union with Daly's Club, Ex-*	1799	Etching with Watercolour	Purchased	1913

			Parliament House, and Trinity College, Dublin				
Kirkwood	John		*The Custom House with a paddle boat and the clipper 'Success' after a drawing*	c.1830	Line	Presented, Mr E MacDowel Cosgrave	1907
Malton	James	Various publishers	*17 Plates for 'A Picturesque and Descriptive View of the City of Dublin, described in a series of the most interesting scenes taken in the year 1791' (1799)*	1792-1799	Aquatint and etching	Acquired by 1904	
Petrie	George	Barber, Thomas	*13 Plates for G N Wright's 'A Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin', 1821*	1821	Steel Engraving	Presented, Mr E MacDowel Cosgrave	1907
Petrie	George	Barber, Thomas.	*Barrack Bridge, Queen's Bridge and*	1820	Steel Engraving	Presented, Mr E	1907

		Published by Longman, London	*Richmond Tower, Dublin - Plate for T Cromwell's 'Excursions Through Ireland', 1820*			MacDowel Cosgrave	
Petrie	George	Edward Goodall. Published by Fisher Son & Co., London	*7 Plates for G N Wright's 'Ireland Illustrated'*	1829	Steel Engraving	Presented, Mr E MacDowel Cosgrave	1907
Poole	Robert	Cash, John	*Map of Dublin in 1780 and 30 plates for 'Views of Monuments and other Edifaces in the City of Dublin', 1780*		Line	Purchased, London, Sabin and Co	1969
Roberts	Thomas Sautelle	Havell the Elder, Robert and Havell the Younger, Robert	*The General Post Office Sackville Street*	1818	Aquatint etching and watercolour	Purchased, London, Mr L Marks	1898
Roberts	Thomas Sautelle	Havell the Elder, Robert and Havell the Younger,	*Dublin taken near the Custom House*	1817	Aquatint etching and watercolour	Purchased, Dublin, Mr J V	1904

		Robert				McAlpine	
Roberts	Thomas Sautelle	Havell the Elder, Robert and Havell the Younger, Robert. Published by J Del Vecchio, Dublin, 1818	*The Four Courts Dublin*	1807	Aquatint etching and watercolour	Acquired between 1908/14	
Roberts	Thomas Sautelle	Bluck, J., English School	*The Four Courts Dublin, from Wood Quay, with the ruins of Coal Quay Bridge, (destroyed by floods, 1802), after a watercolour*	1807	Aquatint etching and watercolour	Acquired between 1908/14	
Roberts	Thomas Sautelle	Havell the Elder, Robert and Havell the Younger, Robert. Published by A Smith (for T S Roberts),	*The Four Courts, Dublin, from Merchant's Quay*	1816	Aquatint and etching	Purchased, Bath, Mr C Gregory	1905

		London, 1816					

Table 4 Artworks depicting Dublin City in the Dublin City Gallery, The Hugh Lane.

Last Name	*First Name*	*Title of Work*	*Date*	*Medium*	*Provenance*	*Acquisition Date*
Coyle	Rosemary	*Stephen's Place*	c.1944	Watercolour on Paper	Presented, Joseph Holloway	1944
Kernoff	Harry	*The Red Seat near Baggot Street Bridge*	c.1947	Oil on Board	Presented, Dr Leslie Kernoff	1992
Kernoff	Harry	*Winetavern Street*	1934	Oil on Panel	Presented, Friends of the National Collections of Ireland	1936
Le Brocquy	Louis	*Dublin Rooftops in Snow (1/35), from the Shadows series*	c.1986	Lithograph	Purchased, Taylor Galleries	1986

Le Brocquy	Louis	*Four Courts (1/35), from the Shadows series*	c.1986	Lithograph	Purchased, Taylor Galleries	1986
Le Brocquy	Louis	*Sackville Street (1/35), from the Shadows series*	1986	Lithograph	Purchased, Taylor Galleries	1986
Leech	William John	*Old Rutland Square*		Oil on Board	Presented by Prof.Denis Gwynn	1963
MacGonigal	Maurice	*The Dockers*	1933	Oil on Canvas	Presented, Haverty Trust	1935
Mitchell	Flora H	*Charlemont House*		Watercolour	Purchased, Dublin, Adams	1992
O'Ryan	Fergus	*Coles Street, Dublin*	c.1945	Oil on panel	Presented, Haverty Trust	1945
Osborne	Walter	*The Fishmarket, Patrick Street*	1893	Oil on Canvas	Lane Gift	1912
Osborne	Walter	*Marsh's Library*	1898	Oil on Board	Bequest of the late Mrs J H Twigg through her nephew Surgeon Captain F J D Twigg	1937
Solomons	Estella	*The Leinster Market, Dublin*	1919	Etching on paper	Presented, Estella Solomons	1919

Steel	Kenneth	*The Rotunda Hospital*	c.1938	Etching and Drypoint on Paper	Presented, Victor Waddington	1938
Steel	Kenneith	*St Audeon's*	c.1938	Etching and Drypoint on Paper	Presented, Victor Waddington	1938
Stephens	Lizzie	*Weaver Square, Dublin*	pre 1931	Oil on Canvas	Presented by Helen and Edyth Warren	1931
Tuohy	Patrick Joseph	*View of Shelbourne Hotel*	c.1912	Oil on Board	Purchased	1978
Walcot	William John	*Proposed Bridge Gallery, near front view*	c.1912	Watercolour on Paper	Lane Gift	1913
Walcot	William John	*Proposed Bridge Gallery, distant front view*	c.1912	Watercolour on Paper	Lane Bequest	1913

Walcot	William John	*First Design for Proposed Gallery of Modern Art, St Stephen's Green [View of Proposed Building Only]*	c.1912	Watercolour on Paper	Lane Bequest	1913
Walcot	William John	*First Design for Proposed Gallery of Modern Art, St Stephen's Green [General View Including West Side of Stephen's Green]*	c.1912	Watercolour on Paper	Lane Bequest	1913
Yeats	John	*The Bird Market*	1886	Oil on Canvas	Presented, Dr C E Fitzgerald	1904

Table 5 Artworks depicting Dublin City in the Irish Museum of Modern Art.

Artist, Last	*Artist, First*	*Title of Painting*	*Date*	*Medium*	*Provenance*	*Acquisition Date*
Yeats	Jack	*St Stephen's Green, Closing Time*	1950	Oil on Canvas	Heritage Gift by Brian	2002

					Timmons	

Table 6 Artworks depicting Dublin City in the Crawford Art Gallery.

Last Name	*First Name*	*Title of Work*	*Date*	*Medium*	*Provenance*	*Acquisition Date*
Brandt	Muriel	*The Breadline, 1916*	c.1950	Oil on Board	Gibson Fund,FAS London	1958
Ganly	Brigid Rose	*Leinster Lawn*	nd	Oil on Canvas	Gibson Fund,Oireachtas Exh	1947
Jameson	Joan	*Barges unloading Turf, Grand Canal*	1943	Oil on Canvas	Presented, Jameson Family	2008
Kernoff	Harry	*The Forty Foot Sandycove*	1940	Oil on Board	From AIB Collection	2011
Kernoff	Harry	*Sunny Day Dublin*	1943	Oil on Canvas	From AIB Collection	2011

Le Jeune	James	*O'Connell Street, Dublin*	1954	Oil on Canvas	Gibson Fund, RHA Exh.	1954
McGill	Joseph Francis	*Harcourt Street Dublin*	1940	Watercolour on Paper	Gibson Fund	1947
Solomons	Estella	*Hoey's Court (16/50)*		Etching	Provenance Unknown	
Solomons	Estella	*Old Clothes Shop (16/50)*		Etching	Provenance Unknown	
Solomons	Estella	*Women in Doorway (16/50)*		Etching	Provenance Unknown	
Solomons	Estella	*The Brazen Head (16/50)*		Etching	Provenance Unknown	
Solomons	Estella	*Dublin Scene (16/50)*		Etching	Provenance Unknown	
Solomons	Estella	*Carlisle Court (16/50)*		Etching	Provenance Unknown	
Solomons	Estella	*McDaid's (16/50)*		Etching	Provenance Unknown	
Yeats	Jack B.	*Shelling Green Peas Moore St*	1936	Oil on Board	From AIB Collection	2011
Yeats	Jack B.	*In Capel Street Dublin*	1923	Oil on Board	Gibson Fund	

Table 7 Artworks depicting Dublin City in the Waterford Municipal Art Gallery.

Artist, Last	*Artist, First*	*Title of Work*	*Date*	*Medium*	*Provenance*	*Acquisition Date*
Bone	Stephen	*Portico of the Bank of Ireland*	1947	Oil on Board	Purchased, Waterford Art Exhibition	1947
Brandt	Muriel	*Window Shopping*		Oil on Board	Presented, Haverty Trust	1955
Cudworth	Jack	*Iveagh Stores*	c.1970s	Ink on Paper	Joint Purchase, Arts Council/Waterford Art Exhibition	1971
Ganly	Brigid Rose	*Mount Street Bridge*	1938	Oil on Canvas	Presented, Haverty Trust	1940
Healy	Michael	*Six Dublin Characters*		Watercolour on Paper	Donated, Evie Hone	1953

Le Brocquy	Louis	*Belfast Refugees at Mespil Road, Dublin*	1941	Oil on shauntung silk, mounted on board	Presented, Haverty Trust	1945
Nelson	Geoffrey	*Stephen's Green, 1915*	1915	Oil on Canvas	Donated, P Arland Usher	1944
Ó Colmáin	Seamus	*Old Buildings*		Oil on Board	Joint Purchase, Arts Council/Waterford Art Exhibition	1963
Ó Colmáin	Seamus	*Christchurch Dublin*		Mixed Media on Canvas	presented, Haverty Trust	1970
O'Ryan	Fergus	*Grey Evening, Ringsend*	c.1947	Oil on Board	Purchased, Waterford Art Exhibition	1947
Ryan	Thomas	*Customs House, Dublin*		Oil on Canvas	City Council Collection	
Steel	Kenneth	*St Audeon's Church*		Watercolour on	Donated, V Dorothea	1958

				Paper	Jacob	

Table 8 Artworks depicting Dublin City in the Limerick City Art Gallery.

Last Name	*First Name*	*Title of Work*	*Date*	*Medium*	*Provenance*	*Acquisition Date*
Coleman	Simon	*Pairc on Crocaig*		Oil on Linen	Gift of the artist	1965
Kernoff	Harry	*College of Surgeons*		Gouache on Card	Presented, Haverty Trust	1965
MacGonigal	Maurice	*A Dublin Studio*		Oil on Linen	Presented, Haverty Trust	1950
O'Brien	Dermod	*Dublin Docks*	1948	Oil on Board	Gift, Dr Brendan O'Brien	1948
Shore	Robert A	*A Dublin Quay*	1948	Oil on Panel	Provenence Unknown	1948

Table 9 Artworks depicting Dublin City in the National Museums of Northern Ireland.

Last Name	*First Name*	*Title of Work*	*Date*	*Medium*	*Provenance*	*Acquisition Date*
Barton	Rose	*St.Patrick's Close, Dublin*	1881	Watercolour on Paper	Bequest, McCleery Estate	1968
Burra	Edward	*Dublin Street Scene, No 1.*	1948	Pencil & Watercolour on Paper	Purchased	1970
Carr	Tom	*Ormond Quay, Dublin*	c.1939	Watercolour on Paper	Purchased	1974
Coleman	Simon	*The Pond, St Stephen's Green*		Oil on Canvas	Presented, Haverty Trust	1957
Collie	George	*Blighted Hopes*	c.1936	Oil on Board	Presented, Haverty Trust	1936
MacGonigal	Maurice	*The Olympia, Dublin*	c.1935-36	Oil on Canvas	Presented, Haverty Trust	1941
McGuinness	Norah	*The Four Courts, Dublin*	1940	Gouache on Paper	Presented, Haverty Trust	1945
Moore	James	*Saint Audoen's Gate, Dublin*	1868	Watercolour on Paper	Provenance Unknown	

Table 10 Artworks depicting Dublin in the Highlanes Gallery.

Artist, Last	*Artist, First*	*Title of Work*	*Date*	*Medium*	*Provenance*	*Acquisition Date*
Brandt	Muriel	*A Wet Day*		Oil on Board	Presented, Haverty Trust	1960
Healy	Michael	*Dublin Characters*		Watercolour	Presented, Evie Hone	1953

Table 11 Artworks depicting Dublin City in The Model/Niland.

Artist, Last	*Artist, First*	*Title of Painting*	*Date*	*Medium*	*Provenance*	*Acquisition Date*
Breedveld	*Henk*	*Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*		Oil on Canvas	Purchased	
Fox	Kathleen	*The Arrest*	1916	Oil on Canvas	Purchased by Sligo County Library and Museum	*1962*
Hamilton	Eva	*At the Foot of the Column*		Oil	Presented by The Friends of the National Collections	

					of Ireland	
Healy	Michael	*Dubliner*		Watercolour	Provenance Unknown	
Healy	Michael	*Two Dubliners in Conversation*		Watercolour	Provenance Unknown	
Henry	Paul	*Dublin Customs House*	c.1929	Lithograph	Presented by James A Healy	*1975*
Leech	William	*No 3, Parnell Square*		Oil	Presented by The Friends of the National Collections of Ireland	
Yeats	Jack B	*Communicating with the Prisoners*	c.1924	Oil on Canvas	Purchased by public subscription from the Capuchin Annual	*1962*

Table 12 Artworks depicting Dublin City exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy, 1875–1940.

Date	*Artist, Last*	*Artist, First*	*Painting Title*	*£*	*s.*	*d.*
1875						
			No Catalogue Available			
1876						
	Hayes	Michael Angelo	*Installation of HRH the Prince of Wales as a Knight of St Patrick*	1200		
1877			*None*			
1878			*None*			
1879						
	Mannix	Robert	*Ringsend Docks from the Pigeon House Wall*	3	3	
1880			*None*			
1881						
	Ronain	John L	*Old Dublin, Ward's Hill*	3	3	
1882						
	Mannix	Robert	*Young Dublin*	2	10	
	Russell	Charles	*Portobello Harbour - Evening*	15	15	

1883					
	Ovenden, BD	Rev C T	*St Patrick's Cathedral on Saturday Night*	25	
	Parry, MA	E Kaye	*Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin*		
1884					
	Fitzgerald	Michael	*In Winter Quarters: Old Soldiers at the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham*	200	
1885			*None*		
1886					
	Yeats	John B	*Bird Market*	10	10
1887					
	Mannix	Robert	*The Synod Hall, Dublin, from Cook-street*	20	10
	Williams	Alexander	*Sketch at Portobello, Grand Canal*		
	Barney	Emily F	*In St Patrick's Cathedral*	1	1
1888					
	Osborne	Walter	*Near St Patrick's Close - An Old Dublin Street*	42	
1889					

	Black	Sarah A	*Old Dublin - Sweeney's Lane, off Mill-street*	3	3	
	Cameron	Mary	*Sketch in St Patrick's Cathedral*	3		
1890						
	Lodge	Christopher E	*Sketch - Portobello Harbour, Grand Canal*	4		
	Barnes	Emily F H	*St Patrick's Cathedral*	2	10	
1891						
	McGoogan	Archibald	*A Wintry Sunset - Stephens Green Park, 1890*	6	6	
	Carnegie	Ida F	*Choir of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin from South Transept*	6	6	
	Day	Marion B	*Sketch of St Patrick's Cathedral Dublin*	4	4	
	Murray	A E	*Dublin Working Boys' Home*			
1892			*None*			
1893						
	Tisdall	H C	*The Bird Cage Seller*	20		
	Latimer	Alice M	*In St Patrick's Cathedral Dublin*	15		
	Day	Marion B	*Sketch of St Patrick's Cathedral from the Lady Chapel*	12	12	
	Carnegie	Ida Florence	*Interior of the Old House of Lords, Bank of Ireland*	12	10	
	Graham	Frances	*Interior of St Patrick's Cathedral*	5		

		Helen			
1894					
	Moynan	Richard T	*Only a Poor Little Crossing Sweeper*	30	
	Moynan	Richard T	*Only a Waif! Cold and Wearied!*	30	
	Graham	Frances Helen	*Sketch in St Patrick's Cathedral*	5	
	Gorges	J F	*Staircase, National Gallery of Ireland*	5	5
	French	W Percy	*Morning, Nassau Street*	5	5
1895					
	Rettigan	Miss Rita	*In St Patrick's Cathedral*	5	5
	Carnegie	Ida Florence	*Interior of Chapel, Trinity College, Dublin*	10	10
	Alton	Bryanna	*Christ Church Cathedral from St Patrick's Close*	5	
1896					
	Rettigan	Rita	*In St Patrick's Cathedral*	5	
1897			*No Catalogue Available*		
1898			*No Catalogue Available*		
1899			*No Catalogue Available*		

1900						
	Shore	Robert S	*Ringsend, Dublin*	20	0	0
	O'Donel	Nuala	*In St Patrick's Cathedral*	0	0	0
	Ellliott	Robert	*The Chimneys of Eblana*	1	1	0
	Ellliott	Robert	*A Ringsend Boathouse*	1	1	0
	Moynan	Richard T	*Cold-Tired-Hungry*	60		
	Moynan	Richard T	*A Big Bubble*	60		
1901						
	O'Brien	Nelly	*Loyal Dublin'*	5	0	0
	Moynan	Richard T	*Waifs*	40		
1902						
	Moynan	Richard T	*The Street Arab's Tribute (Unfinished) 'A small 'Ragged Boy' walking up Grafton-street, Dublin, after noticing a 'newspaper bill' on the ground upon which was 'Death of the Queen' went to a 'Flower Girl' fave a penny (probably the only one) for a bunch of violets, and placed them reverently on the word 'Queen'. - Letter to the Irish Times, January 27, 1901, from*			

			the Rev. E J Hardy, DD.			
	Allan	Henry	*Fishsellers, Digges Lane, Dublin*	30	0	0
	Austin	William	*"Patrick Street, Dublin, in 1897" Lent by James Talbot Power*			
	Allan	Henry	*Grand Canal, Portobello*	10		
	Allan	Henry	*November in Dublin*	10		
1903						
	Shore	Robert S	*A Dublin Dockyard*	20		
	Wakeman	Gerald	*Sir John Rogerson's Quay*	10	10	
	Perrott	Frida	*Sketch in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin*	5	0	0
1904						
	Williams	Alexander	*An April Day on the Liffey at Ringsend, Dublin Harbour*	70	0	0
	Irwin	Clara	*Corner of Fitzwilliam Square,*	5	5	

			Dublin			
	O'Keefe	Elsie	*Corner of St Patrick's Cathedral*	5	0	0
1905						
	Allan	Henry	*A Dublin Court*	5	5	
1906						
	Perrott	Frida	*St Bartholomew's Church, Dublin*	6	6	
	Allan	Henry	*Portico, Portobello Hospital*	10	10	
	Wakeman	Gerald	*Cork Hill, Dublin*	10	10	
	Hurst	Mabel	*Interior of Science and Art Museum, Dublin*	7	7	
1907						
	Lynas-Grey	J	*In the Hush of the Evening Westmoreland*	157	10	
	Williams	Alexander	*"Vanished Dublin" - Old Wormwoord Gate now built over*	31	10	
	Allen	Henry	*Kildare Street in March*	5	5	
	Wall	Helena	*View of the Custom House from the South Wall*	5	5	
	Egan	Emily c	*Science and Art Museum Kildare Street*	6		

	Wakeman	Gerald	*The White Ship - Ringsend*	7	7
1908					
	Allen	Henry	*The Grand Canal Dublin*	20	
	Wakeman	Gerald	*A Rainy Day - Ringsend*	5	5
	Allen	Henry	*Dublin Ragpickers*	10	10
	Batchelor	Frederick AHRA	*The Iveagh Markets Francis Street Dublin*		
	Pentland	Howard J	*Royal Dublin Fusiliers Memorial Arch St Stephen's Green Dublin*		
1909			*None*		
1910					
	Addey	J Poole	*On the Canal near Portobello Bridge*	5	
	Allen	Henry	*Misty Morning - Portobello*	7	7
	Wakeman	Gerald	*A Dublin Hawker*	5	5
	Hughes	M.K	*Crypt Christ Church Cathedral*	1	6
	Hughes	M.K	*A Corner of Lenister Market Dublin*	1	6
	Hughes	M.K	*By the Quay Dublin*	1	6
	Hughes	M.K	*The Four Courts Dublin*	1	6
1911					

	Wakeman	Gerald	*Great Britain Quay Dublin*	6	6	
	Hamilton	May L	*Christ Church Cathedral*	5	5	
	Latimer	Alice	*The Canal Dublin*	8		
	Duncan	Mary	*A Dublin Street*	5	5	
	Hamilton	May	*The Custom House*	5	5	
	Atkinson	George	*Church of St Andrew's Dublin*	1	1	
1912						
	Yeats	Jack B	*A Dublin Newsboy*	7	7	
	Brown	H Harris	*"God Save the King" The Proclamation of George V at Dublin*	630		
	O'Keefe	Elsie	*On the Quays Dublin*	7	7	
	Wakeman	Gerald	*In the Alexandra Basin Dublin*	5	5	
	Bell	Florence M	*Cargo Boars Spencer Dock*	5	5	
	Healy	Michael	*Patrick's Street*	5		
	Healy	Michael	*Boot Shop Mary's Lane*	5		
	Healy	Michael	*Charles Street*	5		
1913						
	Perrott	Frida	*Dublin Street Scene*	6	6	
	Duncan	Mary	*Fish-Sellers Dublin*	7		
	Shore	Robert S	*A Dublin Quay*	5		
	Johnson	Helen North	*Sketch showing the Royal Hospital from Kilmainham*	5		

1914					
	Shore	Robert S	*On the Grand Canal Dublin*	5	
	Hickey	Rev.F Ephrem	*Christ Church from Adam and Eve's 4 Merchant Quay Dublin*		
	Marsh	Clare	*Nelson's Pillar*	5	5
1915					
	Grierson	Margaret	*Baggot Street Bridge - Evening*	5	
	Shannon	Eva	*In St Patrick's Cathedral*	10	
	Dignam	Michael J H	*The Donkey Market Smithfield*	35	
	MacEgan	D	*A Visit to the Old Soldiers Home Royal Hospital Kilmainham*	52	10
	Hogan	Denis F	*Morning Mist - Ringsend Dublin*	5	20
	Dignam	Michael J H	*College Green*		
	Whelan	William L	*Building the Government Offices Merrion Street*	2	2
	Smiley	J M A	*College Green Dublin*	1	1
	Solomons	Estella	*Mrs Duff's Shop Dublin*	1	1
	Smiley	J M A	*The Bank Dublin*	1	1
	Batchelor	Frederick	*New Carnegie Library and Technical Institute Rathmines*		
	Whelan	William L	*Johnson's Court Grafton Street*	2	2
	Murray	Albert E	*Rotunda Hospital Annexe*		

	Smiley	J M A	*St Audeon's Dublin*	1		
1916						
	Perrott	Frida	*O'Connell Monument and Liffey*	10	10	
	Duncan	Mary	*A Dublin Street*	6	6	
	Perrott	Frida	*O'Connell Bridge and Liffey*	8	8	
	Dignam	Michael	*Westmorland Street Dublin*			
	Love	Henry	*January Morning St Stephen's Green - Memory Impression*			
	Walker	J Crampton	*Building the New University Dublin*	5	5	
	Whelan	William L	*Crampton Court Dublin*	2		
	Whelan	William L	*The Portico Bank of Ireland*	2		
	Whelan	William L	*Adam Court Grafton Street*	1	10	
	Whelan	William L	*The Arch St Stephen's Green*	2		
	Purser	Elinor F	*A Sketch in Charlemont Street*			
	Whelan	William L	*Ringsend Trawlers leaving for the Fishing Grounds*	2	10	
1917						
	MacEgan	The	*Interior - Royal Hospital Kilmainham*	30		
	Fox	Kathleen	*The End of the Day's Work - Guinness's Wharf*	3	3	
	MacBride	William	*Etching - St Audeon's*	1	5	

	MacBride	William	*Etching - Old Street in Dublin*	1	5
	Yeats	Jack B	*The Road to Croke Park*	15	15
1918					
	Kavanagh	J.M	*Old Dublin - Marrrowbone Lane*		
	Howard	L.G Redmond	*Tara Street Fire Station*	5	5
	Whelan	William L	*Evening Sunlight - St Stephen's Green Park Dublin*	3	10
	Jellett	M.H	*Old Houses near the Coombe Dublin*	5	
	Solomons	Estella	*At Harold's Cross*	2	2
	Solomons	Estella	*Georgian Doorway 1917*	1	10
	Perrott	Frida	*Etching - One of the Canals Dublin*	2	2
	Solomons	Estella	*The Lake in the Zoological Gardens*	2	2
	Davies	Sidney	*Charcoal Drawing - Dublin Slum Life*		
1919					
	MacEgan	The	*A Dublin Newsboy*	25	
	Whelan	William L	*Nocturne - The Four Courts Dublin*	3	10
	Solomons	Estella	*An Old Clothes Shop near*	2	2

			Christ Church			
	Solomons	Estella	*Pear Trees at Harold's Cross*	2	2	
	Whelan	Willam L	*View of Campanile Trinity College from Dawson St*	3	3	
1920						
	Perrott	Frida	*The Canal Herbert Place*	15	15	
	Webb	Josephine	*Dome of Our Lady of Refuge Rathmines - From a city window January 1920*	5	5	
	Whelan	William L	*Vespers - The Church of St Teresa Dublin*	2	10	
	Duncan	Mary	*Custom House Dublin*	2	2	
	Duncan	Mary	*George's Quay*	2	2	
	Solomons	Estella	*The Quay Dublin*	3	3	
	Duncan	Mary	*The Bank of Ireland*	3	3	
	Duncan	Mary	*Schooner at Ringsend*	2	2	
	Solomons	Estella	*Swift's House Dublin*	3	3	
1921						
	Webb	Josephine	*Stephen's Green - Winter*	7	7	
	Solomons	Estella	*The Leinster Market from D'Olier Street*	3	10	
	Solomons	Estella	*Swift's House Dublin*	3	10	
	Davidson	Lillian	*Dublin Street Hawkers*	2	2	

1922					
	Perrott	Frida	*Railway Bridge near Ringsend*	3	3
	Solomons	Estella	*The King's Inns Dublin*	3	10
	Solomons	Estella	*Old City Wall Dublin*	2	10
1923					
	Williams	Alec	*Turf Boat Grand Canal Dublin*	8	
	Fox	Kathleen	*Ruins of the Four Courts Dublin*	52	10
	Solomons	Estialla	*Marsh's Library*	3	3
1924					
	Williams	Alec	*Vanished Dublin - Old Burris Court Michael's Hill*	6	6
	Solomons	Estella	*Carlisle Court Dublin*	4	4
	Solomons	Estella	*The Canal Baggotrath Bridge*	3	3
	Solomons	Estella	*Marsh's Library*	3	3
	Kay	Dorothy	*A Back Street Idyll*	3	3
1925					
	Yeats	Jack B	*Cygnets in Stephen's Green*	30	
	Solomons	Estella	*The Leinster Market 1925*	4	4
	Solomons	Estella	*O'Connell Court*	4	4
	Yeats	Jack B	*The Liffey Swim*	300	
1926					

	Blackham	Dorothy	*February in Stephen's Green*	5		
	McGuinness	Bingham	*Bell Tower Trinity College Dublin*			
	Kay	Dorothy	*The Old Oyster Woman*	42		
	Kay	Dorothy	*Market Carts*	21		
	Kay	Dorothy	*Washerwoman's Baby*	2	10	
	MacBride	William	*A Dublin Jarvey*			
1927						
	Kernoff	Harry	*Liberty Hall - Night*	6	6	
	Williams	Alec	*Springtime on the Grand Canal at Dolphin's Barn Dublin*	8	8	
	Kernoff	Harry	*A Labour Meeting*	15		
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*The Proletariat*	20		
	Partridge	A St.John	*"Dark Days in Ireland'*	52	10	
1928						
	Solomons	Estella	*Part of the Wall of Dublin*	3	3	
	Whelan	Leo	*Waifs*			
	Kernoff	Harry	*Lamplight*	5	5	
	Steyn	Stella	*Children in a Park*	5	5	
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*Old Dublin Houses*	10	10	
1929						
	Kernoff	Harry	*The Canal*	10	10	
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*Pencil Drawing - Dublin Dockyards*	5	10	

	MacGonigal	Maurice	*Charcoal Drawing - Grafton Street Dublin*	6	6
	Wilson	W.R	*Harcourt Street under Snow*	6	6
	Solomons	Estella	*The Rotunda Hospital Dublin*	3	3
	Leech	William	*Parnell Square*	18	18
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*Merchant Warehouse North Wall Dublin*	20	
	Yeats	Jack B	*The Nesting Swan of Dublin*	250	
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*The Hired Man*	20	10
1930					
	Jacobs	Louise	*A City Playground*	18	10
1931					
	Walsh	Henry	*The Four Courts Dublin (linocut)*	2	2
1932					
	O'Brien	Dermod	*The Power House Dublin*	10	
	O'Brien	Dermod	*Reclemation Works - North Wall*	7	
	Keating	John	*The King's Inns*	8	8
	Butler	R.M	*The Royal Bank of Ireland Talbot St*		
	Yeats	Jack B	*A Summer Day near a City long ago*	250	
	MacEgan	The	*A Corner in the National Gallery*	10	10
	McCarthy	D	*Cinema*	1	10

1933						
	Newton	Nigel	*The Basin Portobello Bridge*	10	10	
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*Old Houses - Schoolhouse Lane and Kildare Street*	7	7	
	MacEgan	The	*The National Gallery Dublin*	15		
	Forster	Edward	*Gas Works Dublin*	8	8	
	Buchanan	James	*"The Backs" - Fitzwilliam Square*	10	10	
	Kernoff	Harry	*Angelsea Market Dublin*	10	10	
	Kelly	Frances J	*The Workers*	50		
	Marlin	Hilda G	*Little Boy from Pearse Street*	3	3	
	Hayes	Gabriel	*The Last of the Dublin Goldbeaters (Linocut)*			
	Dixon	Seán	*Snow in Dublin*	6	6	
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*A Dublin Street*	25	10	
1934						
	Leech	William John	*The Shelter Parnell Square*	15	15	
	O'Brien	Dermod	*Reclamation - Mouth of the Liffey*	12		
	Wilson	T.G	*Usher's Island*	3	3	
	Wilson	T.G	*Old Boat Yard Ringsend*	3	3	
	Barrett	Meriel Lambart	*Mount Street Bridge*	5	5	
	Bourke	Michael	*The Menders - Ringsend*	9	9	
	Bourke	Michael	*The Dodder at Ringsend*			

	Wilson	T.G	*Entrance to Madam Steeven's Hospital*	3	3
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*The Clothes Market in May*	15	15
	Williams	Lilly	*Unemployed*	100	
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*The Dublin Girl*	20	
	Collie	George	*The Wedding of Lord Milton and Miss Olive Plunkett St Patrick's Cathedral Dublin*	50	
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*Dockers*	100	
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*The Tenement Dweller*	15	
1935					
	Leech	William John	*7 Parnell Square Dublin*	5	
	Bloxam	Joan	*St Patrick's Cathedral*	1	1
	Parker	Sheelah	*Custom House Dublin*	1	5
	Campbell	Christopher	*The Workers*	50	
	Williams	Lily	*A Dublin Boy*	15	15
	Hayes	Gabriel	*Dublin Lavander Man*	2	2
1936					
	Kernoff	Harry	*Schooner - Grand Canal Quay Dublin*	35	
	Donnelly	G	*Evening - Ringsend*	5	
	Kernoff	Harry	*The North-West Corner of St Stephen's Green*	45	
	Davidson	Lillian	*Evening - Ringsend*	15	

	Perrott	Frida	*St Patrick's Cathedral*	12	10	
	Bloxam	Joan	*Trinity College Dublin*	1	11	
	Parker	Sheelah	*The Museum Dublin*	2	10	
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*The Olympia*	25		
	Davidson	Lillian	*The Rubbish Dump*	12	12	
	Hayes	Gabriel	*In A Dublin Market*	10	10	
1937						
	Barry	Moyra	*Upper Mount Street Bridge*	10		
	Collie	George A	*Museum Dublin - Foggy Morning*	6		
	MacBride	William	*Portobello Harbour*			
	Barret	Meriel L	*Sketch - North Wall*	5	5	
	Ganly	Brigid	*Misty Morning - Merrion Square*	10	10	
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*Davy Byrne's*	150		
	Kernoff	Harry	*Jammet's 1926*			
	Barry	Moyra	*Ringsend*	6	6	
	Flynn	Carmel	*From the South Quays*	5	5	
	Yeats	Jack B	*A Morning in a City*	250		
	Davidson	Lillian	*Workhouse Ward*	100		
	Bourke	Patita	*Pedlar's Pack*	10		
1938						
	Barry	Moyra	*Upper Mount Street Bridge*	14	14	
	Ganly	Brigid	*Lower Mount Street Bridge*	15	15	
	Bruen	Gerald	*Ringsend*	50		
	Barry	Matthew	*On the Dodder near Ringsend*	6	6	

	Yeats	Jack B	*Dinner Hour at the Docks*	30	
	Flynn	Carmel	*The Docks - Evening*	5	5
	Dixon	Sean	*A Passage in Kilmainham Jail*	2	2
1939					
	Ganly	Rose B.	*Leinster Lawn*	7	7
	Bone	Stephen	*The Walls of Dublin*	42	
	Steel	Kenneth	*St Patrick's from John Dillon Street Dublin*	12	12
	Steel	Kenneth	*Bow House, Bow Street, Dublin*	12	12
	Steel	Kenneth	*St Audeon's Dublin*	4	12
	O'Ryan	Fergus	*Moore Street Market*	8	8
	O'Ryan	Fergus	*Horseman's Row*	8	8
	Yeats	Jack B	*A Car Drive in a City in Fairyland*	100	
1940					
	Kernoff	Harry	*David Byrne's*	75	
	Kernoff	Harry	*Winetavern Street - July Morning Dublin*	75	
	Kernoff	Harry	*Queen Mews Court Store Street Dublin*	40	
	Yeats	Jack B	*Crossing the Metal Bridge*	30	
	Davidson	Lillian	*Snow on University College*	7	10
	O'Ryan	Fergus	*Harbour Portobello*	8	8
	O'Ryan	Fergus	*Moore Street Market*	5	5

	Steel	Kenneth	*Christchurch Dublin*	5	5	
	Steel	Kenneth	*St Audeon's Dublin*	5	5	
	McGuinness	Norah	*Merrion Square*	10	10	
	Davidson	Lillian	*Snow on University College*	7	10	
	Whelan	Leo	*A Dublin Kitchen*			
	MacGonigal	Maurice	*The Flower Seller*	200		
	Brandt	Muriel	*Dubliners*	35		
	Bourke	Michael	*Georgian Doorways - Night*	6	6	

Table 13 Artworks depicting Dublin City exhibited at the Watercolour Society of Ireland Annual Exhibition, 1875–1940.

Date	*Artist, Last*	*Artist, First*	*Painting Title*	*£*	*s.*	*d.*
1893			*None*			
1894			*No Catalogue*			
1895	Barton	Rose	*Levee Day at Dublin Castle*	6	6	
	Goodwin	Mary	*Sketch, Royal Hospital Gate, Kilmainham*	2	2	
	Barton	Rose	*On the Quays*	4	4	
1896			*No Catalogue*			
1897						
	Waller-Fox	Mrs	*Patrick-street, Dublin, from the*	*4*	*4*	

			Cathedral			
	Waller-Fox	Mrs	*St Patrick's, Dublin, from New Row*	*2*	*2*	
	Barton	Rose	*Going to the Levee*	*12*	*12*	
1898						
	Waller-Fox	Mrs	*Dublin from New Market*	*3*	*3*	
	Townshend	Mrs Uniacke	*St Audeon's Arches*	*6*	*6*	
	Alton	Bryanna	*The Custom House, Dublin*	*3*	*3*	
1899						
	Bell	Florence M	*An Old Dublin Library*	*3*	*3*	
	Culverwell	Josephine	*St Audeon's Arch*	2	12	*6*
	Williams	Alexander	*Swift's Pulpit, St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin*	21		
	Williams	Alexander	*An April Day, Grand Canal, Herbert Place*	7	7	
	Townshend	Mrs Uniacke	*Old Tannerie in the Liberties*	2	10	
	Keogh	Miss Alice	*In St Patrick's Cathedral*	2	5	
1901	Bell	Florence M	*Pulpit, St Werburgh's Church*	3	3	
	Lynch	Henrietta	*Merrion Square South*	3	10	
	Stokes	Miss L	*From Baggot Street Bridge*	2		
	Carson	Josephine	*The Liffey, a Misty Morning*	2	2	

	Vickers	Emily E	*Dame Street from Trinity College, Jan, 1901*	6	10	
1902	Culverwell	Celia P	*The Campanile, Trinity College*	5	5	
	Culverwell	Josephine	*Mercer's Hospital*	3	3	
1903			*No Catalogue Available*			
1904	Bolton	J N	*Custom House, Dublin*	6	6	
	O'Keefe	Elsie	*The Quays, Dublin*	3	3	
	MacCarthy	Emily	*In St Stephen's Green Park, Dublin*	2	2	
	Condon	F H	*A 'Corner' of Dublin*	2	2	
			No Catalogue Available			
1905	O'Brien	Nelly	*In St Stephen's Green (From Anne Stewart)*	3	3	
1906	Barton	Rose	*The Penny Bridge, Dublin*	15	15	
	Fox	Mrs Walter	*Snow in Old Dublin*	2	11	
	Barton	Rose	*Carlisle Bridge, Dublin*	15	15	6
	Barton	Rose	*Levee Day*	8	8	
	Lawrenson	E L	*The Bottle-makers, Dublin*	2	2	
	Barton	Mary	*In Christ Church Cathedral*	12	12	

			No Catalogue Available			
1907						
1908	Colvill	Helen	*The Four Courts, a sketch*	2	12	
	Elliott	Canon	*After Evensong, Christ Church Cathedral*	5		6
	Shaw	Alice M	*The Four Courts*	2	2	
	Barton	Rose	*Entrance to Dublin Castle*	8	8	
	Barton	Rose	*Nassau Street*	8	8	
	Barton	Rose	*St Patrick's Cathedral*	8	8	
	Ferall	Rose Nolan	*Who'll Buy a Paper?*	2	2	
	Barton	Rose	*The Metal Bridge*	8	8	
	Barton	Rose	*The Four Courts*	8	8	
	Barton	Rose	*St Patrick's Cathedral on Sunday Morning*	8	8	
	Bell	Florence M	*West-End St Patrick's Cathedral, showing Dean Swifte's Pulpit*	3	3	
1909	Bell	Florence M	*Relics of other days - St Patrick's Cathedral*	2	2	
	Carson	Josephine	*South Door, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin*	2	2	

1910	Poole Addey	Joseph	*Dawn, in winter, St Stephen's Green Park, Dublin*	2	2	
	Poole Addey	Joseph	*Snow in Stephen's Green Dublin*	2	2	
	Hamilton	May	*The Custom House*	3	3	
1911	Knox-Gore	Isabel Pery	*The Four Courts, Dublin*	3	3	
	Hughes	Myra K	*Old Quay Houses*	2	2	
	Hamilton	Eva	*The Flower Woman and her Baby*	5	5	
	Hughes	Myra K	*Dublin's Oldest Market (Leinster Market)*	2	2	
	Hughes	Myra K	*Christ Church Cathdral Crypt (Dry Point) (Danish Work)*	2	2	
1912	Barton	Rose	*Chapter Lane, St Patrick's*	30		
	Knox-Gore	Isabel Pery	*In St Patrick's Cathedral Dublin*	3	3	
	Bell	Florence M	*The Spencer Dock, Dublin*	3	3	
	Wynne	E H	*St Stephen's Church, Dublin*	2	2	
1913	Williams	Alexander	*Old Houses in Sweeney's Lane, Dublin*	4	4	
	Irwin	Clara	*William Street, Dublin*	3	3	
	Griffin	Anna	*An Old Court, Dublin*	2	2	6
	Sankey	Alice M	*A Glimpse of St Patrick's*	2	2	
	Griffin	Anna	*St Audeon's Arch, Dublin*	3	3	

	Molony	Mrs John	*The Shelbourne across Stephen's Green*	2	10	
1914	Drury	Gladys	*A Damp Morning, corner of Fitzwilliam Sqaure*	2	2	
	Caulfeild Orpen	Richard	*The Tragedy in Carey's Court*	5		
	Crampton Walker	J	*Derelicts'*	2	2	5
1915			*No Catalogue Available*			
1916	Jackson	Honora	*The Refugee*	2	2	
	Nixon	Mina	*Memorial Gate, R.D.F, Stephen's Green, Dublin*	12	12	
1917			*None*			
1918	Culverwell	Josephine	*Mercer's Hospital*			
	Marescaux	K	*O'Connell's Bridge*	5	5	
	Hughes	Myra K	*Sackville Street, Dublin (Before Sinn Fein Rising)*	2	12	6
1919						
	Lynch	Henrietta	*A Merrion Square Garden*	3	3	
	Inglis	David N	*Grafton Street - Armistice Day*	15	15	
	Crampton Walter	J	*A Sketch in St Stephen's Green*	3	3	

	Crampton Walter	J	*Building of the Royal College of Science*	3	3	
	Colvill	Helen	*September Morning - St Stephen's Green*	4	14	6
	Colvill	Helen	*October Evening - St Stephen's Green*	5	5	
1920	Barton	Rose	*St Stephen's Green, Dublin*	25		
	Williams	Alex	*Old Clothes Shop, Patrick Street, Dublin, in 1886*	6	6	
	Crampton Walker	J	*Leinster Market, Dublin*	3	3	
	Macnamara	Grace	*View down Canal from Parliament Bridge*	2	2	
	Ardilaun	Lady	*Dublin Court*			
1921	Ardilaun	Lady	*Mercer's Hospital*			
	Macnamara	Grace	*St.Stephen's Church, Mount Street, Upper*	2	2	
	Cunningham	J	*The Tholsel, Dublin*	3	3	
	Cunningham	J	*O'Connell Bridge*	3	3	
	Carson	Josephine	*Twilight Round the Custom House*	3	13	
	Carson	Josephine	*The Lights of the City from O'Connell Bridge*	3	13	6
	Cunningham	J	*Four Courts*	3	15	6
	MacEgan	The	*Labourers*	2	2	
	Knee	Howard	*The Old Ferry, Dublin*	4	4	

1922	Hamilton	Letitia M	*The Custom House*	10	10
	Lynch	Henrietta	*Looking West from Merrion Square*	3	3
	Lynch	Henrietta	*Merrion Square in the Month of May*	5	5
	Carson	Josephine E	*Statue of O'Connell: Night Effect*	3	3
	Carson	Josephine E	*O'Connell Bridge: Night Effect*	3	3
	Carson	Josephine E	*Statue of Moore*	3	3
	Carson	Josephine E	*South Door, Christ Church*	3	3
	Carson	Josephine E	*Edmund Burke*	3	3
	Carson	Josephine E	*The Custom House: Night Effect*	3	3
	Knee	Howard	*The Hundred-Ton Crane, North Wall*	2	2
	Bayly	Lancelot	*A Dublin Laneway*	8	8
1923	Lynch	Henrietta	*A Hard Day's Work*	3	10
	Cooke	Hildegarde	*The Organ Grinder's Wife*	15	15
1924	Mahony	Martin F	*On the Quays, Dublin*	4	4
	Crampton Walker	J	*A Back Street in Dublin*	6	6

1925	Mahony	Martin F	*Butt Bridge, Dublin*	3	0	
	Maidmeat	Kathleen	*Old Houses, Dublin*	3	3	
1926	Lynch	Henrietta	*Where Laws are made in Merrion Street*	4	4	
	Lynch	Henrietta	*A Back Garden, Merrion Square*	4	4	
	Crampton Walker	J	*A Laneway off Baggot St., Dublin*	3	3	
	St.George	Clare	*Grand Canal Quay, Ringsend Dock*	10	10	
	George	Sir Ernest (the late)	*The Custom House, Dublin*			
	Davidson	Lillian	*A Dublin Byway*	3	3	
1927	Barton	Rose	*Custom House, Dublin*			
1928	Wilson	W R	*Snow, Harcourt Street*			
	Mahony	M F	*In Stephen's Green*	2	0	
	O'Brien	Brigid	*Fitzwilliam Square West*	3		
			None			
1929						
1930	Mahony	Martin F	*New Four Courts, Dublin*	5	5	

	MacCormack	Katherine	*Circus in Parnell Square*	2	2	
	Dobbin	Kate	*Springtime in St Stephen's Green*	6	6	
	Colvill	Helen	*Dublin in the Eighties*	3	3	6
						6
1931	Franks	Rosalie	*Henry Street, Dublin, in 1924*	2	2	
	Davidson	Lillian	*Leinster House, 1929*	5	5	
1932	Mahony	Martin F	*In Stephen's Green, Dublin*	7	0	
	Lynch	Henrietta	*Merrion Square in the Month of May*	4	4	
	Kernoff	Harry	*Boats, Ringsend*	7	10	
	Nixon	Mima	*The Memorial Gateway R.D.F., St Stephen's Green*	15	15	
	Hamilton	Nora G	*Passers-by: The Grand Canal, Dublin*	10	10	
	Scott	L M	*In Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin*	2	2	
	Kernoff	Harry	*Rain over Dublin*	7	10	
1933	Mahony	Martin F	*Off Ringsend, Dublin*	5	0	
	Mahony	Martin F	*Under the Shadow of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin*	5	0	
	Baillie	Hilda	*Holles Street, Midnight, June 1932*			
	Perry	Lilla	*The Custom House*	5	5	
	Wynne	Gladys	*In St. Stephen's Green*	2	2	

	Reid	Eileen	*The Bridge, Percy Place*	2	2
	Hassard	S T	*St Patrick's Autumn*	2	10
	Rogers	Edward J	*The Campanile, TCD*	2	2
1934	Hamilton	Nora G	*Evening, O'Connell Bridge, Dublin*	12	12
1935	Mitchell	Flora H	*Ringsend Dock*	1	0
	Mitchell	Flora H	*O'Connell Bridge, Dublin*	2	0
	Reid	Eileen	*Clanbrassil Bridge*	3	3
	Parker	Sheelah	*Customs' House, Dublin*	2	10
	Mitchell	Flora H	*The Customs' House, Dublin*	2	10
	Mitchell	Flora H	*Trinity College Campside*	1	10
	Parker	Sheelah	*The Chapel, TCD*	2	10
1936	Ross	F A	*Canal Barge, Ringsend*	4	4
	Bloxam	Joan	*The Customs House, Dublin*	4	4
	Bloxam	Joan	*Chapter Row, Dublin*	4	4
1937	Moore	Helen N S	*The Quays*	7	7
1938			*None*		

1939	Reid	Eileen	*Huband Bridge, Grand Canal*	3	3	
	Dewe	Joan	*Wet Day, Merrion Square*	2	2	
	Knee	Howard	*Portobello House*	4	4	
	Bloxam	Joan	*St Patrick's Cathedral (lithograph)*	1	1	
	Davidson	Lillian	*Dusk on the Canal*	7	7	
1940	Mahony	Martin F	*At Ringsend, Dublin*	5	0	
	Moore	Helen N S	*George's Quay, Dublin*	5	5	
	Reford	Anthony	*The Canal: Mount Street*	3	4	
	Lefroy	Phoebe	*Corporation Dump, Ringsend*	2	2	
	Mitchell	Lillias	*Ringsend*	2	2	
	Mitchell	Lillias	*Old Portobello*	3	3	

Table 14 Artworks depicting Dublin City exhibited at the Dublin Sketching Club, 1875–1940.

Date	*Artist, Last*	*Artist, First*	*Painting Title*	*£*	*s.*	*d.*
1875						
			No Catalogue Available			
1876			*No Catalogue Available*			
1877						
	Booth-Pearsall	William	*Noon, City Quay, Dublin*	3	3	

1878						
	Moore, MD, HRHA	James	*One Hour Sketch near Christ Church*			
	Williams	Alexander	*Sketch on the Liffey near St John's Quay*	2	2	
	MacIlwaine	JBS	*Religion and Surgery, Stephen's Green West*			
1879						
	Booth-Pearsall	William	*On the Liffey (etching on copper)*		10	6
	Booth-Pearsall	William	*Sir John Rogerson's Quay, Dublin, from the Gas Works (etching on copper)*		10	6
1880			*No Catalogue Available*			
1881			*No Catalogue Available*			
1882			*None*			
1883	Moore	James	*St Audeon's Arch, Dublin*			
1883	Trench	P C	*Carlisle Bridge*	1	1	
1884			*None*			
1885						
	Yeates	J B	*La Parisienne in Dublin*	10	10	

	Fogerty	J F	*The New Square, TCD*	1	1	
	Bolton	H E	*Dear, Dirty, Dublin*	1	5	
1886						
	Williams	Alexander	*Old Street, Dublin*	1	11	6
	Williams	Alexander	*Home, Audeon's Arch*	2	2	
	Wynne	A B	*Canal - Portobello*	2	5	
1887						
	Robinson	J L	*A Bit of Old Dublin*	1	1	
	Bolton	J N	*Dry Dock, Ringsend*	1	10	
	Stirling	W	*In the Pool, Alexandra Basin*		17	6
	Williams	Alexander	*Charlemont Bridge*	1	1	
	O'Reilly	J	*In the National Gallery, Ireland*	5	5	
	Williams	Alexander	*Portobello Basin - Snow*	4	4	
1888						
	Carnagie	Ida Florence	*Sketch in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin*	3	3	
	Smith	Ada G	*Christ Church Cathedral, looking West*	3	3	
	O'Reilly	J	*St Audeon's Arch - A Bit of Old Dublin*	1	3	6
1889	Poole Addey	Joseph	*On the Quay, Dublin, - Evening*	1	10	
	Wynne	A B	*In College Park*	1	10	
	Poole Addey	Joseph	*On the Quay, Dublin*	2	2	
	Maguire	Miss E B	*St Patrick's Cathedral*	6	6	

	Stirling	W	*At Charlemont Lock, Grand Canal*	1	5	
	Williams	Alexander	*In the Alexandra Basin*	3	3	
	Black	Miss S A	*Old Dublin - Original Sketch at Sweeny's Lane, Mill-street*	2	2	
	Stirling	W	*Portobello Lock, Grand Canal*	2	2	6
1890						
	Culverwell	Celia P	*Four Courts*	1	10	
	Addey	Joseph P	*At Mount Street Bridge*	1	10	
	Culverwell	Josephine	*Old Street, Ormond Quay*	1	15	
	Williams	Alexander	*Portobello Harbour*	2	2	
	Carnegie	Ida F	*Sketch in St Patrick's Cathedral*	3	3	
	O'Reilly	J	*St Audeon's Arch*	5	5	
	Culverwell	Celia P	*The Custom House, Evening*	4	4	
	Oldham	Eldred	*Sepia-tint, College Green, Dublin (photograph)*		10	6
1891			*None*			
1892						
	Miles	R H	*Interior of Museum, Kildare Street, Dublin*	12	12	
	Moynan	Richard T	*Nocturn, Ringsend*	3	3	
	Blake	Jeanie	*In St Patrick's Cathedral Dublin*	2	12	6
1893						
	Sherlock	Rev Canon	*The Four Courts, Dublin*	3	3	
	Carnegie	Ida	*Interior of the Old House of Lords,*	1	10	

		Florence	*College Green*			
	Sherlock	Rev Canon	*On the Quays, Dublin*	4	4	
	Keenan	W R	*St Patrick Street, Dublin (photograph)*	1	1	
	Keenan	W R	*St Patrick's National Cathedral (photograph)*		10	6
1894			*No Catalogue Available*			
1895						
	Alton	Byranna	*St Patrick's Close, Dublin*	2	2	
	Alton	Byranna	*Saturday Night, St Patrick's Close Dublin*	3		
	Carson	Josephine	*The Four Courts*	1	1	
	Finneraa	E T	*An Original Sketch of Sackville-street on a Windy Day, 1874*	10	10	
	Trench	W P	*Snapshots in the City*	2	2	
	Wynne	A B	*Wreaks: Alexandra Basin Dublin*	1	5	
	Keenan	W R	*St Patrick's Cathedral*		5	
	Keenan	W R	*City of Dublin Nursing Institution*		5	
1896						
	Sherlock	Canon	*Custom House, Dublin*	2	10	
1897						
	French	W P	*Dreams of Dublin*	3	3	
	Carnegie	Ida F	*Patrick Street, Dublin, from Misson House*	2	2	

	Addey	Joseph P	*A Dublin Waif*	2	2	
1898			*None*			
1899						
	Laurenson	E L	*Mount Street Bridge*	1	10	
1900						
	Smith	Eva	*The Canal, Mount Street Bridge*			
	Bell	Florence	*Doorway of Dining Hall, King's Inns*	1	1	
	French	Percy	*The Queen's Entry into Dublin*			
1901				2	2	
	Hemphill	M E C	*Upper Mount St.Bridge, Grand Canal*			
	Vickers	Emily E	*Corner of St Patrick's Cathedral*	1	1	
	Vickers	Emily E	*The Succentor of St Patrick's Cathedral*	5	5	
	French	Percy	*Sunset from O'Connell Bridge*			
1902						
	Carson	Josephine	*Grattan's Monument*	2	2	
	Carson	Josephine	*Sunset behind the Four Courts*	1	1	

1903					
	Perrot	T	*Sketch in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin*	5	
	Perrot	T	*Sketch on the Quay, Dublin*	5	
1904					
	Williams	Lily	*Evening, Merrion Row*		
	Wharton	M.J	*In St. Bartholomew's Church, Smithfield*	1	1
	Ball	Maude M	*South Side Aisle, St Patrick's*	5	
	Carson	Josephine	*St Audeon's Arch*	1	1
	Williams	Lily	*In St Patrick's Cathedral, looking towards the Baptistry*	2	2
1905				3	
	Glover	John	*The Liffey, City Quay*		
	Poole Addey	J	*From Portobello Bridge, Dublin*	2	
				2	
1906					
	Poole Addey	J	*River Liffey, from Victoria Bridge, Morning*		
	Copinger	Mrs W F	*St Patrick's Cathedral Dublin*	2	
				10	
1907					
	Williams	Lily	*From O'Connell Bridge*		

	Perrott	Frida	*A Corner of RHA School*	1		
	Glover	John	*Old Patrick Street, Dublin*	2		
	Carson	Josephine	*O'Connell's Statue by Night*			
	Perrott	Frida	*Evening on the Quay, Dublin*	10	6	
	Williams	Lily	*The Flower Seller*	1		
1908				1		
	Williams	Lily	*Dublin Street*			
				1	10	
1909						
	Glover	John	*George's Quay, Dublin*			
	Saunders	Maragert E	*A Corner in Stephen's Green*	3	3	
	Saunders	Maragert E	*Morning in St Stephen's Green*	2	2	
				2	2	
1910						
	Knox-Gore	I Pery	*The Custom House, Dublin*			
	Saunders	Maragert E	*Moonrise, St Stephen's Green*	2	2	
				2		
1911			*No Catalogue Available*			
1912						
	Mitchell	Flora H	*Sackville Street, Dublin (pen drawing)*	1	1	
	Mitchell	Flora H	*O'Connell Monument Dublin (pen drawing)*	1	1	
1913						

	Dobbs	S	*The Metal Bridge*	1	1
	Dobbs	S	*Summer Evening in Dame Street*	1	1
	McCormack	Nettie	*Insurance Buildings from Trinity Park*	2	2
	Traynor	Elizabeth R	*A Daughter of Dublin*	2	2
1914					
	Wakeman	Gerald S	*The Poor Man's Picture Gallery - the Hanging Committee at Work*	4	4
	Carson	Josephine	*Misty Morning on the Liffey*	1	11
	Carson	Josephine	*The Custom House*	2	
	Carson	Josephine	*Homeless' Belgium Refugees*	2	2
	Mitchell	Flora H	*College Green, Dublin*	1	1
	Mitchell	Flora H	*Top of Grafton Street, Dublin*	1	1
	Mitchell	Flora H	*Shelbourne Hotel , Dublin*	1	1
	Mitchell	Flora H	*Sackville Street Bridge, Dublin*	1	1
	Mitchell	Flora H	*Sackville Street, Dublin*	1	1
	Mitchell	Flora H	*Leinster Lawn, Dublin*	1	1
1915					
	Dolier	Miss	*O'Connell Bridge, Dublin*	1	1
	Williams	Alexander	*Old Doorway, near St Patrick's Dublin*	4	4

	Shannon	Eva	*In St Patrick's Cathedral*	6		
	Saunders	Margaret	*In St Stephen's Green*	1		
1916						
	Fox	Kathleen	*The Metal Bridge, Dublin*	8	8	
1917						
	Fortescue	Matthew	*A Peep in Stephen's Green Dublin*	2	2	
	Shannon	Eva	*Statue of Captain Boyd in St Patrick's Cathedral*	2	2	
	Perrott	Frida	*O'Connell's Statue and Custom House, seen from a high-tone etching*	3	3	
	Fortescue	Matthew	*In Stephen's Green, Dublin*			
1918						
	Marescaux	Mrs K	*O'Connell's Bridge, Dublin*	2	2	
	French	Honoria	*A Dublin Flower Girl*			
1919						
	MacEgan	The	*In Stephen's Green*	5		
1920						
	Love	Henry	*St Stephen's Green, Morning*	3	3	
	de Cadiz	Rosalind	*Corner of Fitzwilliam Sqare*	1	10	

	Rambaut	Beatrice	*In Fitzwilliam Sqaure, Dublin*	1	1
	Glover	John	*Old Dublin, St Augustine Street*	2	10
1921					
	MacEgan	The	*In Stephen's Green*		
	Knee	Howard	*In Stephen's Green*	10	
				1	1
1922			*None*		
1923					
	Love	Henry	*Dutch Dublin: View from Patients' Window, Portobello House*	2	2
	Carson	Josephine	*O'Connell's Statue: A Night Effect*	2	2
1924					
	Fortescue	Matthew	*Stephen's Green Dublin: Memorial Gate*	5	5
	Dobbs	Mrs S	*A Pleasant Resting Place: Stephen's Green*	3	5
	Fortescue	Matthew	*Stephen's Green Dublin: Memorial Gate*	5	5
	Bayly	Lancelot	*Down the Alley, Dublin*	6	6
	Dunn	Mrs C P	*A Dublin Flower Woman*	2	2
1925					

	Wakeman	Gerald	*From St Audeon's, 25 years ago*	2	2	
	McKeay	Mrs R H	*The Front Square, Trinity College, Dublin*	3	3	
	Glover	John	*St Patrick's Cathedral*	4	4	
	MacEgan	The	*In Stephen's Green*	3	0	
	Gibson	M F	*Rutland Square*	2	2	
1926						
	Moorhead	Ada	*A Dublin Flower Seller*	3	3	
1927			*None*			
1928						
	Ennis	Kathleen	*From a Window in Nassau Street*	2	2	
	Macnamara	Grace	*St Stephen's Church, Mount Street Upper, from Merrion Square*	2	2	
	McGoogan	Archibald	*The Bilnd Pedlar*	10	10	
	Pollock	W J	*A Famous Corner in Dublin*	5	5	
1929						
	Fetherstonhaugh	Mrs A	*In St Patrick's Cathedral*	2	2	
	Shannon	Eva	*The Joys of Stephen's Green*	2	2	
	Williams	Alec	*Fitting Out at Ringsend*	4	4	
	Thomas	Lydia RM	*Poverty and Riches*	2		
1930						
	Williams	Alex	*At Ringsend, Dublin*	8	8	
1931						

	Knee	Howard	*Interior of St Patrick's Cathedral*		
	Rochfort	Constance	*The Canal, near Leeson Street*	2	10
1932					
	Rogers	Edward J	*The Quadrangle, TCD*	1	1
	Wilmer	Kathleen	*Pawnbroker's*	2	2
1933					
	Haydn	John A	*In St Patrick's Park, Dublin*	2	5
	Haydn	John A	*Nicholas Street, Dublin*	2	5
1934					
	Rogers	Edward J	*St. Patrick's Cathedral*	1	7
	Barry	Moyra	*Baggot Street Bridge*	5	5
	Rochfort	Constance	*Ringsend, Dublin*	2	2
	Armstrong	Mrs N G	*Dublin*	2	2
1935					
	Hayes	E.C	*St Audeon's Church*	2	2
	Rogers	Edward J	*Royal College of Surgeons*	1	1
1936			*No Catalogue Available*		
1937					
	Murray	S	*On the Dublin Quays*	3	3
	Moore	Helen S	*The Customs House, Dublin*	2	2
	Ennis	Kathleen	*From a City Window*	3	3

1938						
	Barry	Moyra	*Leeson Street bridge*	2	2	
	Ryland	Lesley	*In the National Museum*	5	5	
1939			*No Catalogue Available*			
1940			*No Catalogue Available*			

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Figure 0:1: James Mahony, *Dublin from the Spire of St George's Church, Hardwicke Place*, 1853-54, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 0:2: Details from Mahony, *Dublin from the Spire of St George's Church, Hardwicke Place*. 1853-54, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 0:3: Map of Dublin City. The black outline indicates the area defined as the 'city' for the purposes of this research project.



Figure 1:1 William Turner de Lond, *George IV of England, Entering Dublin*, 1821, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 1:2 William Turner de Lond, *George IV at College Green, Dublin*, 1821, watercolour and oil, Glin Castle.



Figure 1:3 Joseph Haverty, *Entry of George IV into Dublin*, 1821, Government Art Collection, UK.



Figure 1:4 *Sackville Street as it appeared on the day of his Majesty's Public Entry into Dublin*, J.S Alpenny, 1823, British Museum.



Figure 1:5 George Mounsey Wheatley Atkinson, *Queen Victoria's Visit to Queenstown*, 1849, oil on canvas, 1851, National Maritime Museum, UK.



Figure 1:6 George Mounsey Wheatley Atkinson, *Queen Victoria's Visit to Queenstown*, 1849, oil on canvas, 1851, National Maritime Museum, UK.



Figure 1:7 *Procession through Mardyke, Cork*, from the *Illustrated London News*, 11 August 1849.

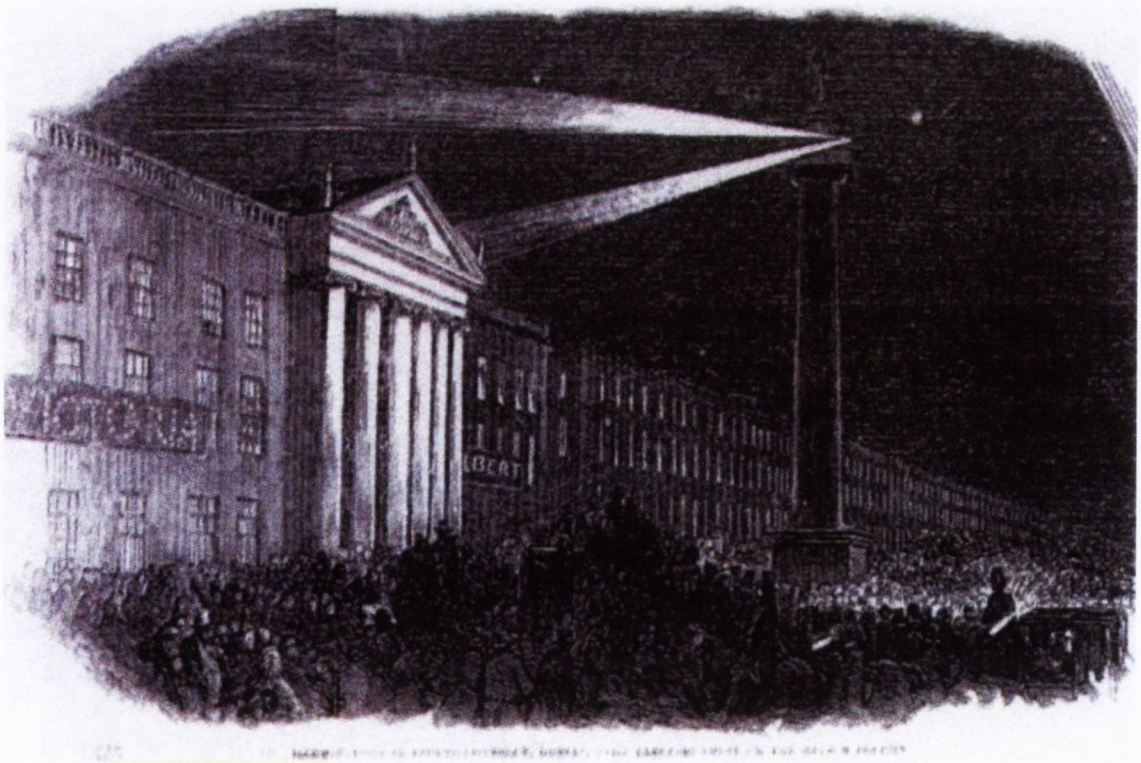


Figure 1:8 *Illuminations on Sackville Street*, from the *Illustrated London News*, 11 August 1849.



Figure 1:9 James Mahony, *The Visit by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to the Fine Art Hall of the Irish Industrial Exhibition, Dublin*, 1853, watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 1:10 James Mahony, *The Visit by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to the Fine Art Hall of the 1853 Dublin Great Exhibition*, 1853, watercolour on paper, NGI.



Figure 1:11 Percy William French, *Queen Victoria's Entry Through Dublin's City Gate, a temporary replica of Baggotrath Castle, Leeson Street Lower Bridge, April 1900*, 1900, watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 1:12 Robert French, City Gates, erected for the visit of King Edward VII, 1903, Lawrence Photograph Collection, National Library of Ireland.



Figure 1:13 Charles Russell, *The O'Connell Centenary Celebrations, 1875*, 1875, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 1:14 *Laying of the Foundation Stone*, 1864, from the *Illustrated London News*, 8 August 1864.



Figure 1:15 Letter from Peter Paul MacSwiney to the People of Ireland, O'Connell Centenary National Committee Minute Book, National Library of Ireland, Ms 1408.



Figure 1:16 Michael Angelo Hayes, *Sackville Street, Dublin,* c.1853, watercolour over pencil with gum arabic and white highlights on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

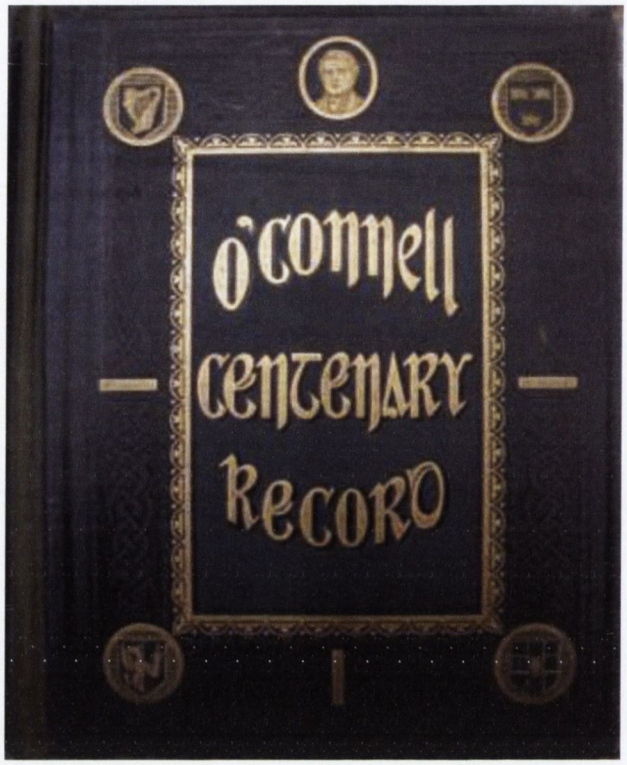


Figure 1:17 *O'Connell Centenary Record: Published by the authority of the O'Connell Centenary Committee*, Dublin: Joseph Dollard, 1878.

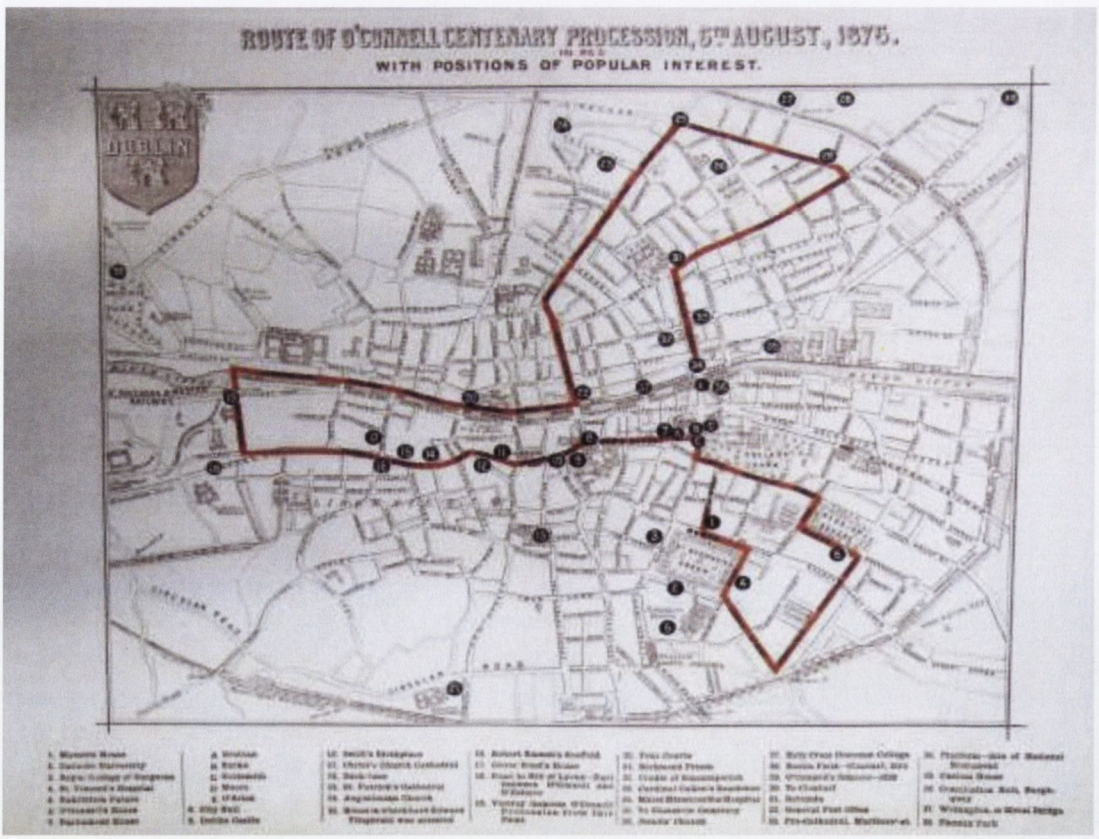


Figure 1:18 Route of the O'Connell Centenary Procession, from the *O'Connell Centenary Record*, Dublin: Joseph Dollard, 1878.



Figure 1:19 *Scene in Sackville Street - The O'Connell Centenary Celebration in Dublin*, from *The Graphic*, 14 August 1875.



Figure 1:20 *The O'Connell Centenary at Dublin: Mr O'Sullivan, M.P., addressing the people in Sackville Street*, from the *Illustrated London News*, August 1875.



Figure 1:21 *Ireland - Le Centenaire de O'Connell*, from *Le Monde Illustré*, 21 August 1875.



Figure 1:22 Chancellor and Son, photograph of the O'Connell Centenary Procession, 6 August 1875, O'Connell Centenary National Committee Minute Book, NLI, Ms 1408.



Figure 1:23 W B Samuel, photograph of the O'Connell Centenary Procession, 6 August 1875, from the O'Connell Centenary National Committee Minute Book, National Library of Ireland, Ms 1408.



Figure 1:24 Detail of trade banners from Russell, *The O'Connell Centenary Celebrations, 1875.*



Figure 1:25 Images from the Wolfe Tone Centenary, from *Black and White Magazine*, August, 1898.



Figure 1:26 Kathleen Fox, *The Arrest*, c.1916, Niland Collection, The Model, Sligo.



Figure 1:27 Photograph showing the arrest of Michael Mallin and Constance Markievicz outside the Royal College of Surgeons, 1916, Cashman Collection, RTÉ.



Figure 1:28 The Royal College of Surgeons, from *Dublin after the Six Days Insurrection: Thirty one pictures from the camera of Mr T W Murphy*, Dublin: Mecredy, Percy & Co., 1916.



Figure 1:29 General Sir John Maxwell and his staff, 1916, Kilmainham Goal Archives, 17PC- 1A44-11, from Liz Gillis' *Revolution in Dublin: a photographic history 1913–1923*, Cork: Mercier Press, 2013.



Figure 1:30 Photograph of a Sinn Fein Prisoner, from *Dublin after the Six Days Insurrection: Thirty one pictures from the camera of Mr T W Murphy*, Dublin: Mecredy, Percy & Co., 1916.



7th Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers marching out of the Royal Barracks
(England collection)

Figure 1:31 Photograph of the 7th Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers marching out of the Royal Barracks, from the website of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers.



Figure 1:32 Recruitment Poster, *Farmers of Ireland Join Up and Defend Your Possessions*, c.1914-1918, paper and coloured ink, World War One Recruiting Collection, Trinity College Dublin.



Figure 1:33 Recruitment Poster, *The Call of Arms, Irishmen Don't You Hear It?*, c.1914-1918, paper and coloured ink, World War One Recruiting Collection, Trinity College Dublin.



Figure 1:34 Recruitment Poster, *Come Into the Ranks and Fight – Don't Stay in the Crowd and Stare*, c.1914-1918, paper and coloured ink, World War One Recruiting Collection, Trinity College Dublin.



Figure 1:35 W D Hogan, The Four Courts, 30 June 1922, National Library of Ireland.



Figure 1:36 Kathleen Fox, *The Four Courts*, 1922, oil on canvas, University College Dublin, Newman House.



Figure 1:37 Kathleen Fox, *The Ruins of the Four Courts*, 1922, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 2:1 Photograph of Walter Osborne in his studio, Walter Osborne Archive, Centre for the Study of Irish Art, National Gallery of Ireland.

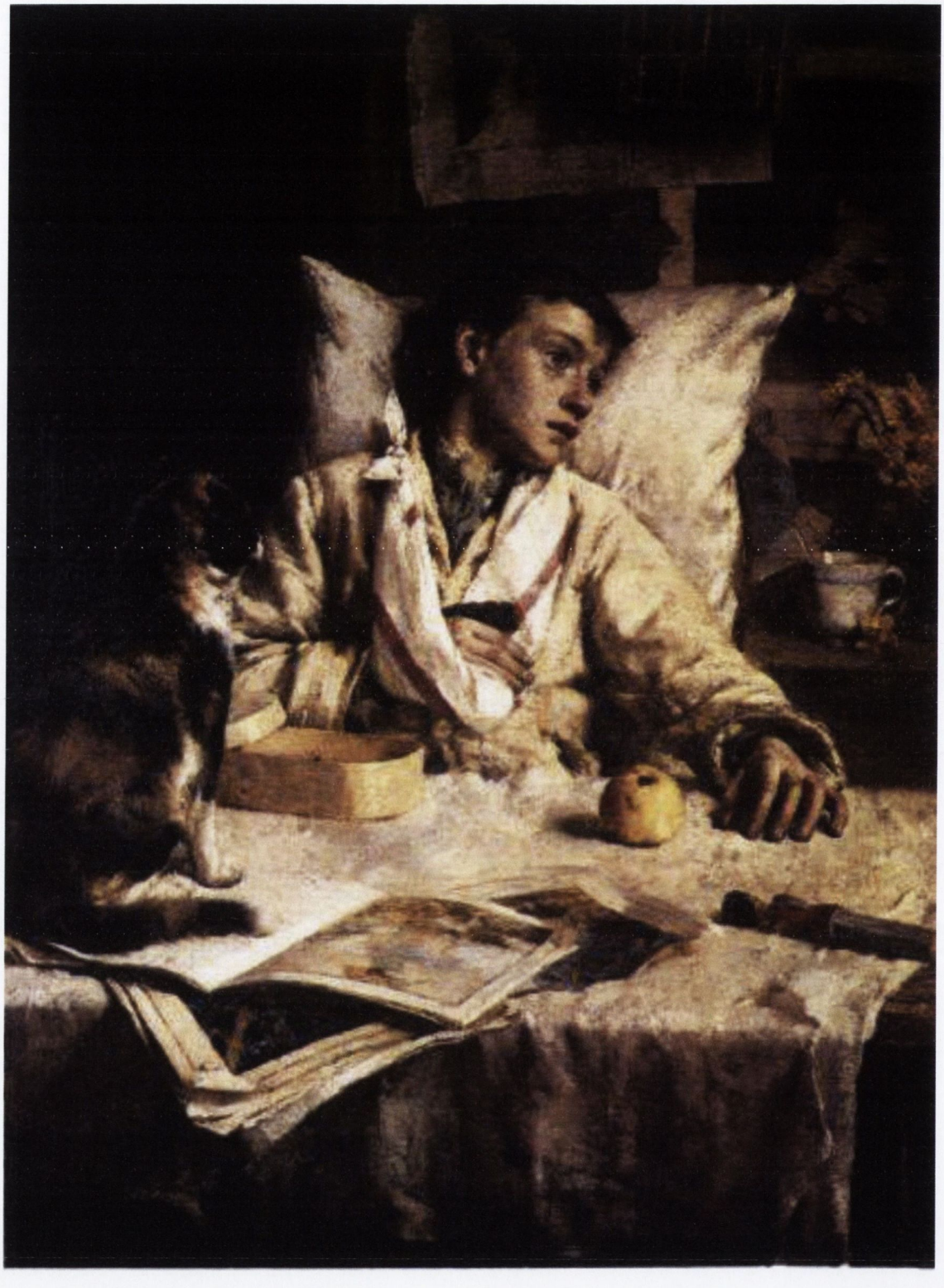


Figure 2:2 Walter Osborne, *Tired Out*, c.1886, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 2:3 Walter Osborne, *Small Girl with a Cat*, c.1885, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 2:4 Walter Osborne, *Boy Blowing Bubbles*, c.1885, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 2:5 Walter Osborne, *Little Boy Asleep*, 1887, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 2:6 Walter Osborne, 'Lenister Market, Hawkins Street, Dublin', pencil on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

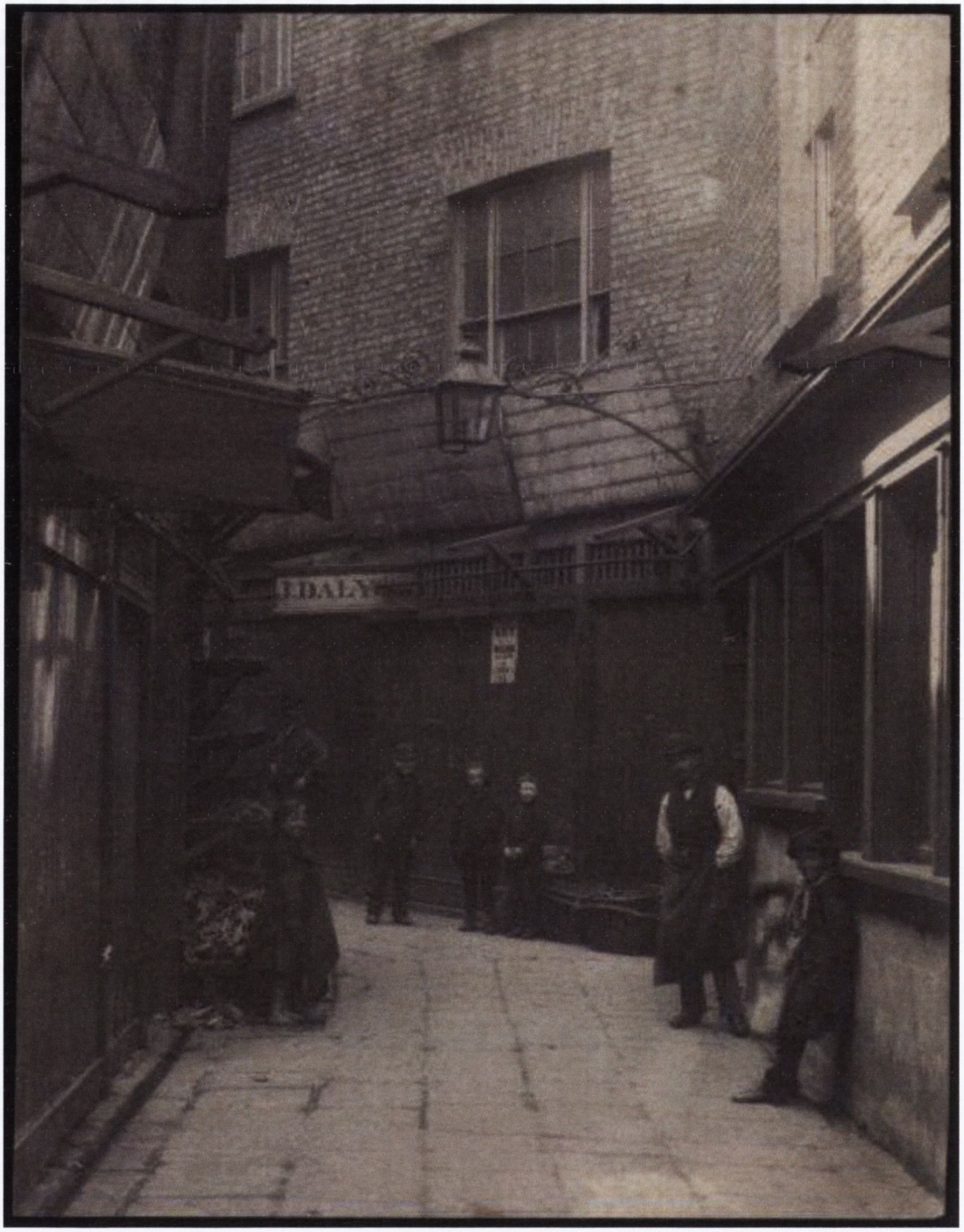


Figure 2:7 Photograph of the Leinster Market, Walter Osborne Archive, Centre for the Study of Irish Art, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 2:8 Walter Osborne, *Interior of St Patrick's Cathedral*, c.1887, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 2:9 Walter Osborne, *Children in Church*, c.1889, oil on panel, private collection.



Figure 2:10 Walter Osborne, *Near St Patrick's Close, an Old Dublin Street*, 1887, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 2:11 Walter Osborne, *A Bit of Old Dublin*, 1891, pastel, private collection.



Figure 2:12 Walter Osborne, *The Fishmarket, Patrick Street*, 1893, oil on canvas, Dublin City Gallery The Hugh Lane.



Figure 2:13 Walter Osborne, *Life in the Streets: Hard Times*, 1892, pastel on paper, Tate Gallery.



Figure 2:14 View of Patrick Street, Walter Osborne Archive, Centre for the Study of Irish Art, National Gallery of Ireland.

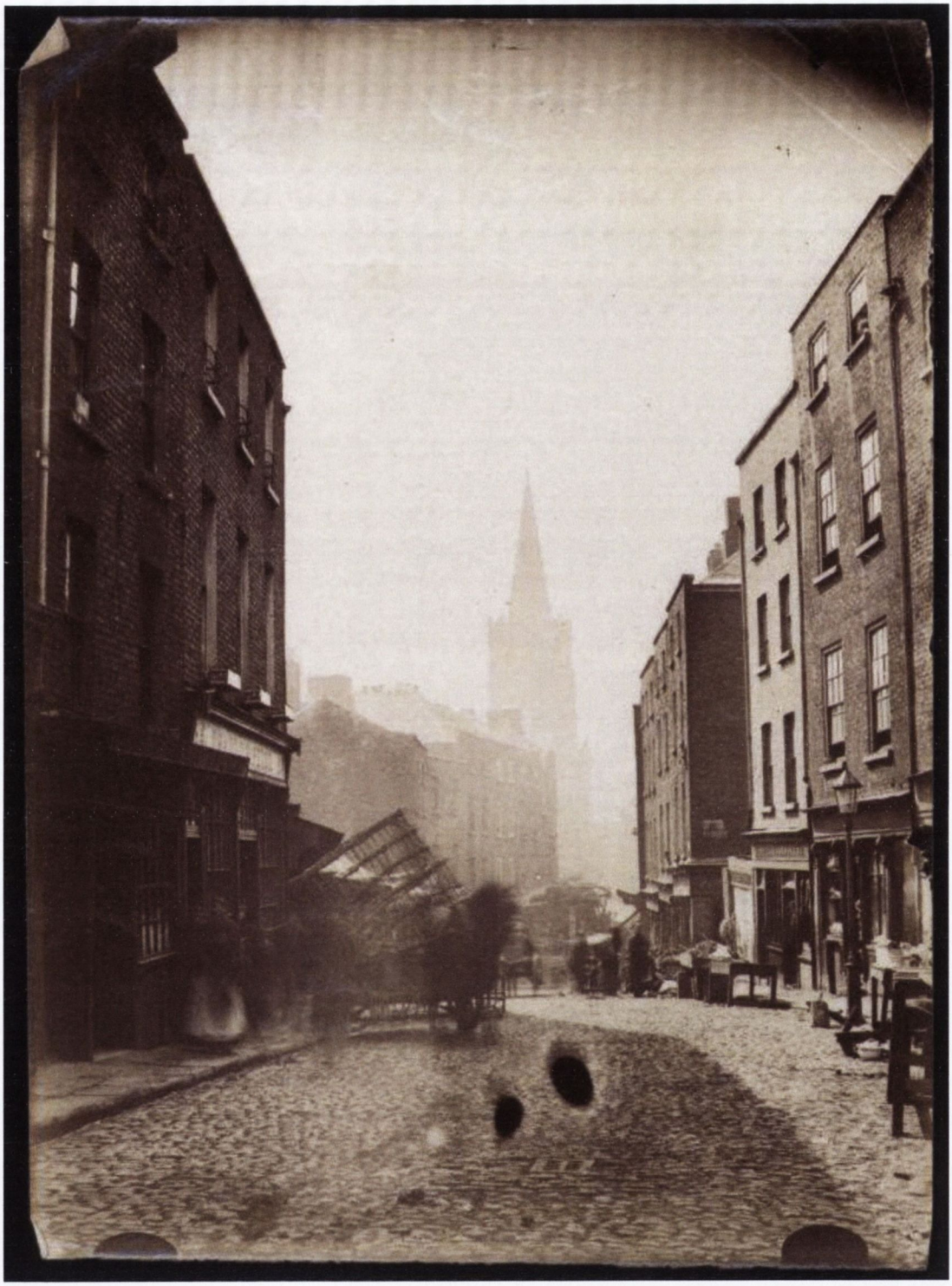


Figure 2:15 View of Patrick Street, Walter Osborne Archive, Centre for the Study of Irish Art, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 2:16 View of Patrick Street, Walter Osborne Archive, Centre for the Study of Irish Art, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 2:17 Walter Osborne, preparatory sketch for *Life in the Streets: Hard Times,* 1892, pencil on paper, private collection.



Figure 2:18 Walter Osborne, *Street Market*, c.1892, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 2:19 Victor Gilbert, *The Maubeuge Market, Paris*, 1877, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 2:20 William H Jobbins, *The Fish Market, Venice*, 1881, oil on canvas, Nottingham City Museums and Galleries.



Figure 2:21 Richard Toovey, *Breton Market*, 1885, oil on canvas, Lemington Spa Art Gallery & Museum.



Figure 2:22 Percy Robert Craft, '*Hevva Hevva*', 1887, oil on canvas, Penlee House Gallery & Museum.



Figure 2:23 Walter Osborne, *Cherry Ripe*, 1889, oil on canvas, National Museums of Northern Ireland.



Figure 2:24 Walter Osborne, *The Dublin Streets: A Vendor of Books*, 1889, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.

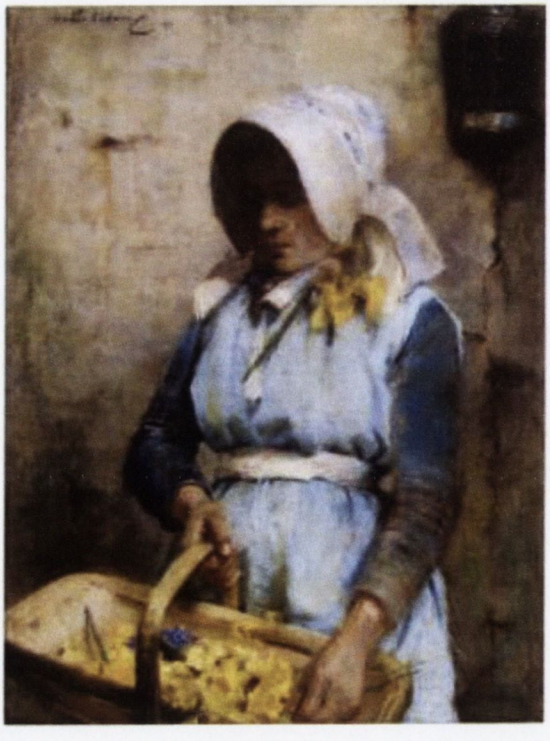


Figure 2:25 Walter Osborne, *Daffodils*, 1888, pastel on paper, private collection.



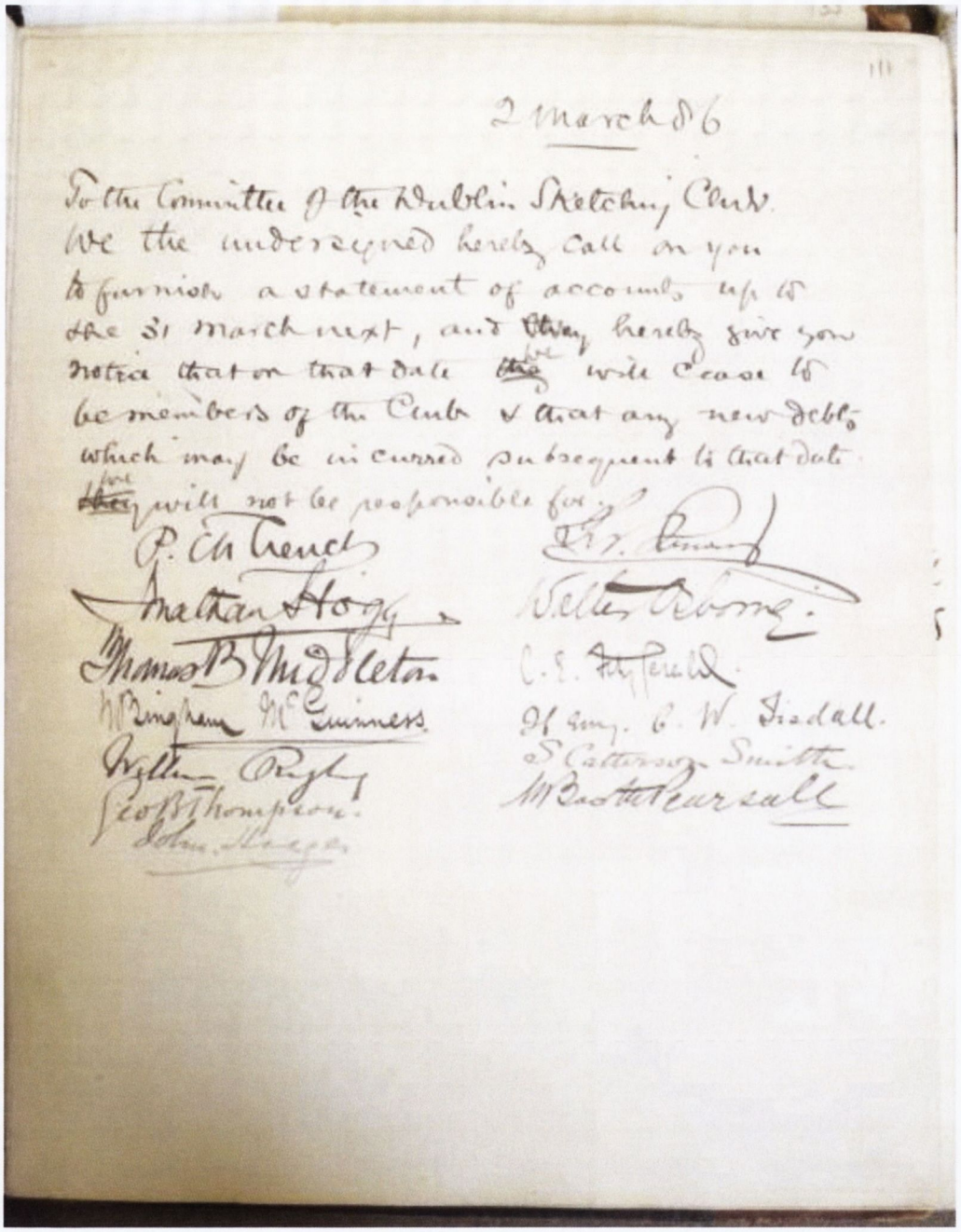
Figure 2:26 William Logsdail, *St Martin-in-the-Fields*, 1888, oil on canvas, Tate.



Figure 2:27 Walter Osborne, *In Stephen's Green*, c.1895, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 2:28 Walter Osborne, *In a Dublin Park: Light and Shade*, c.1895, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.



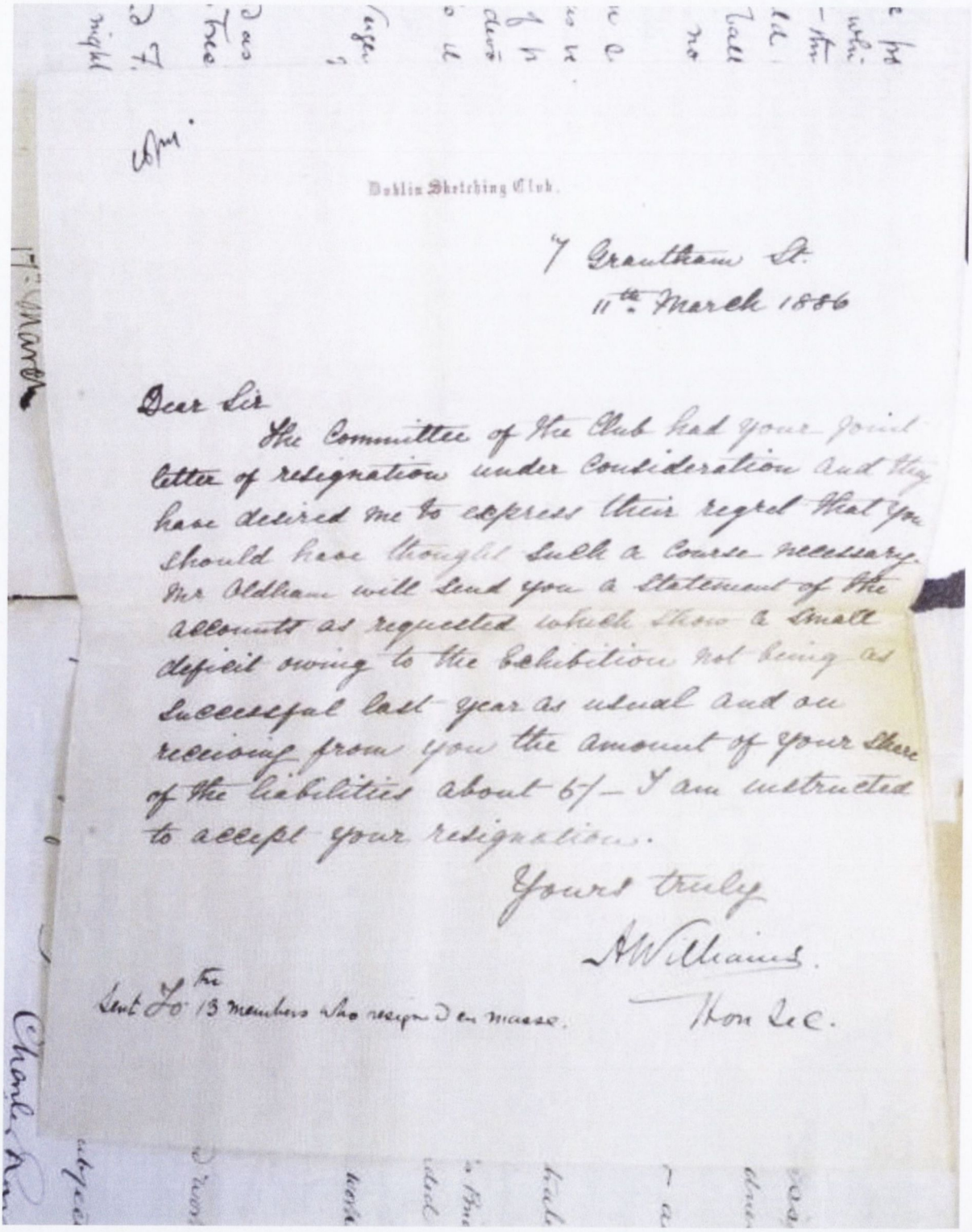
111

2 March 86

To the Committee of the Dublin Sketching Club.
We the undersigned hereby call on you to furnish a statement of accounts up to the 31 March next, and ~~they~~ hereby give you notice that on that date ~~the~~ we will cease to be members of the Club & that any new debts which may be incurred subsequent to that date ~~they~~ we will not be responsible for.

P. Ch. French
Nathan Hogg
Thomas B. Middleton
W. Bingham McGuinness
Walter Rigby
Geo B. Thompson
John Haggar
[illegible]
Walter Osborne
C. E. Fitzgerald
H. Emy. C. W. Tisdall
S. Catterson Smith
M. Bastie Pearsall

Figure 2:29 Transcript of letter sent to Alexander Williams, President, Dublin Sketching Club, announcing resignation of members, including Walter Osborne, 2 March 1886. Dublin Sketching Club Archives, National Library of Ireland, NLI ACC 4786.



Dublin Sketching Club.

7 Grantham St.
11th March 1886

Dear Sir

The Committee of the Club had your joint letter of resignation under consideration and they have desired me to express their regret that you should have thought such a course necessary. Mr Oldham will send you a Statement of the accounts as requested which show a small deficit owing to the Exhibition not being as successful last year as usual and on receiving from you the amount of your share of the liabilities about 6/- I am instructed to accept your resignation.

Yours truly
A Williams.
Hon Sec.

Sent to the 13 members who resigned en masse.

Figure 2:30 Copy of reply from Alexander Williams, President, Dublin Sketching Club, in response to resignation members, 11 March 1886. Dublin Sketching Club Archives, National Library of Ireland, NLI ACC 4786.



Figure 2:31 Photograph showing the Dublin Arts Club Exhibition, Walter Osborne Archive, Centre for the Study of Irish Art, National Gallery of Ireland.



THE CHRONICLE OF ART. 117

Figure 2:32 Page from *The Magazine of Art* with examples from exhibition of French posters held in London and Dublin, 'The Chronicle of Art', *The Magazine of Art*, January 1895, 117.

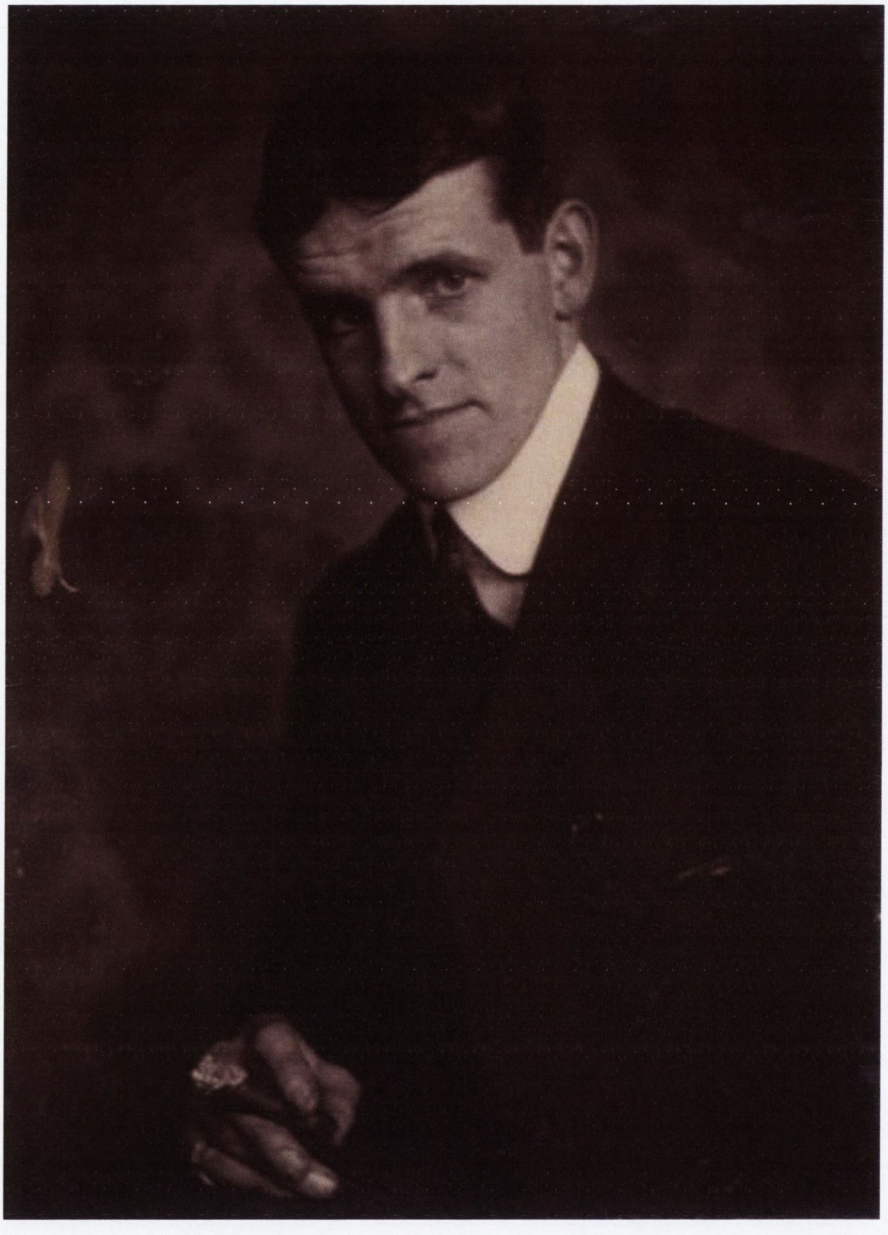


Figure 3:1 Alice Boughton, photograph of Jack B Yeats, 1904, Charles Scribner's Sons Art Reference Department, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian, Washington DC.



Figure 3:2 Jack B Yeats, *The Tatooer's Shop on the Quays of Dublin*, from *A Broadside*, 6, no.3, August 1913.

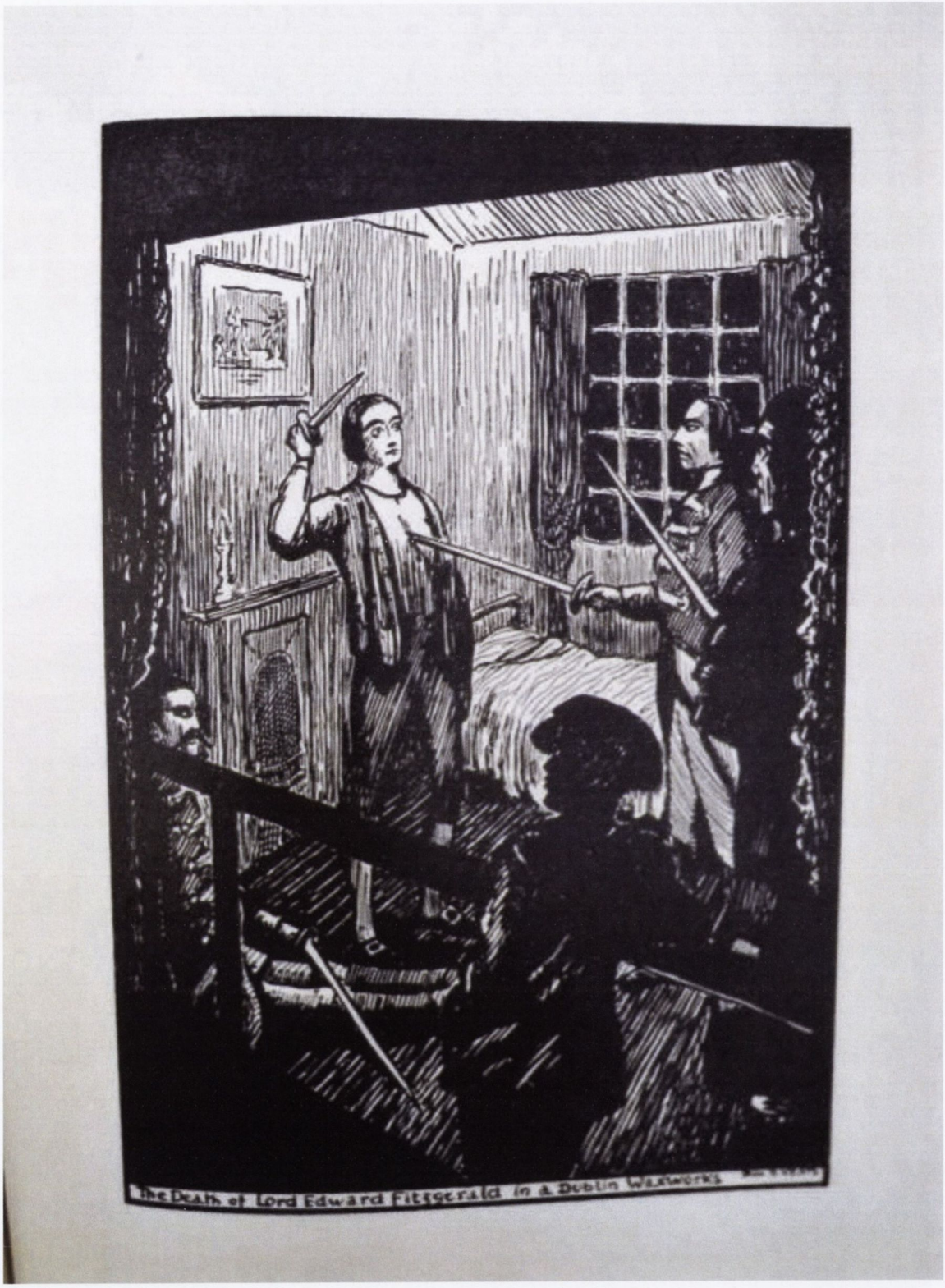


Figure 3:3 Jack B Yeats, *The Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, from *A Broadside*, 6, no. 11, April 1914.

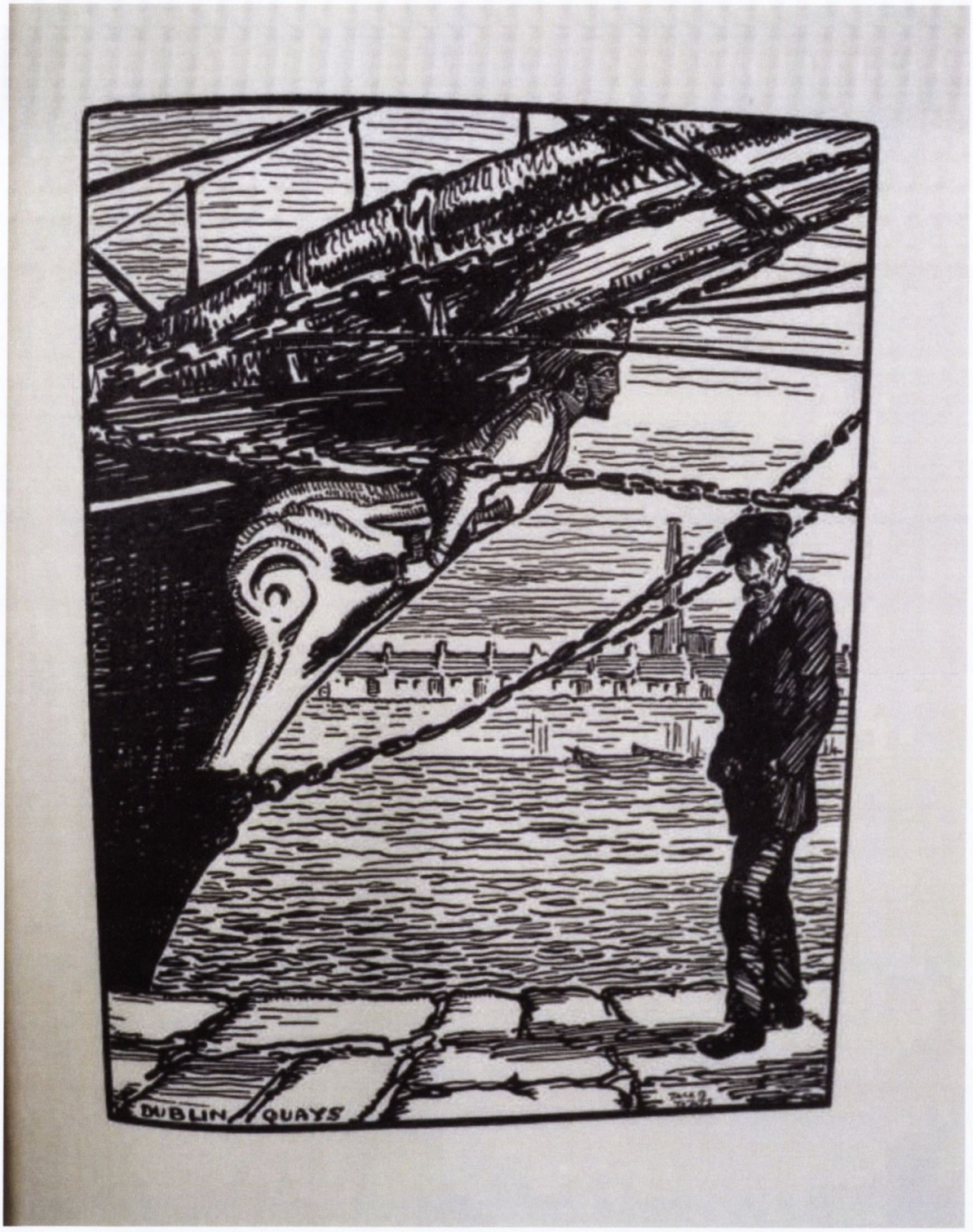


Figure 3:4 Jack B Yeats, *The Dublin Quays*, from *A Broadside*, 7, no. 5, October 1914.



Figure 3:5 Figure head from the HMS Calcutta, show at the Tate British Folk Art Exhibition, 2014. 1831, teak, National Museum of the Royal Navy, Portsmouth.

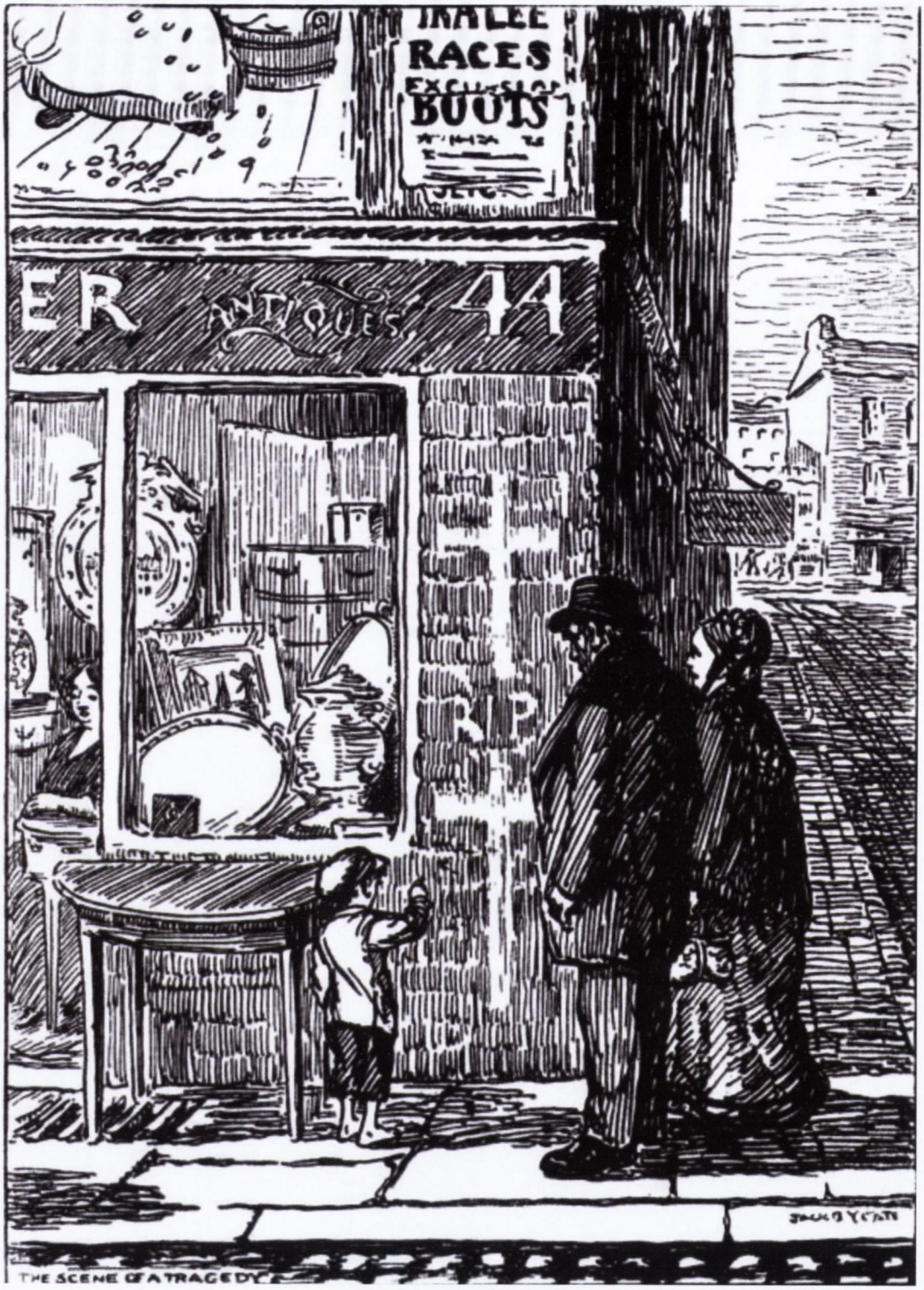


Figure 3:6 Jack B Yeats, *The Scene of A Tragedy*, from *A Broadside*, February 1915.



Figure 3:7 Jack B Yeats, *A Dublin Newsboy*, 1912, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 3:8 Jack B Yeats, sketch of a newsboy, Dublin, 1905. From sketchbook 106 [52], Yeats Archive, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 3:9 Jack B Yeats, *Bachelor's Walk, In Memory,* 1915, private collection, on loan to the National Gallery of Ireland.

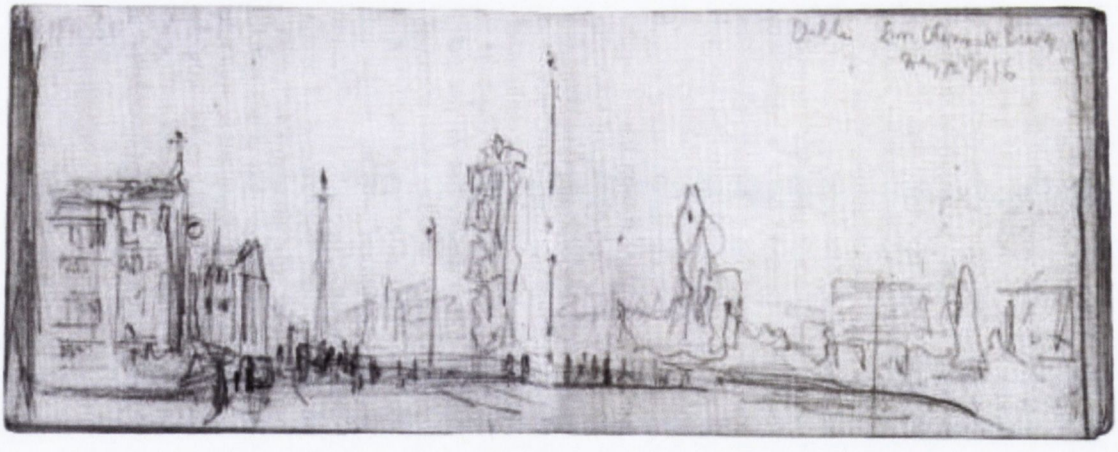


Figure 3:10 Jack B Yeats, sketch of O'Connell Bridge and Street, 12 May 1913. From sketchbook 138, Yeats Archive, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 3:11 Jack B Yeats, *A Westerly Wind*, 1921, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 3:12 Jack B Yeats, *Dublin Newsboys,* 1923, oil on panel, private collection.



Figure 3:13 Jack B Yeats, *In Capel Street*, 1923, oil on panel, Crawford Art Gallery.

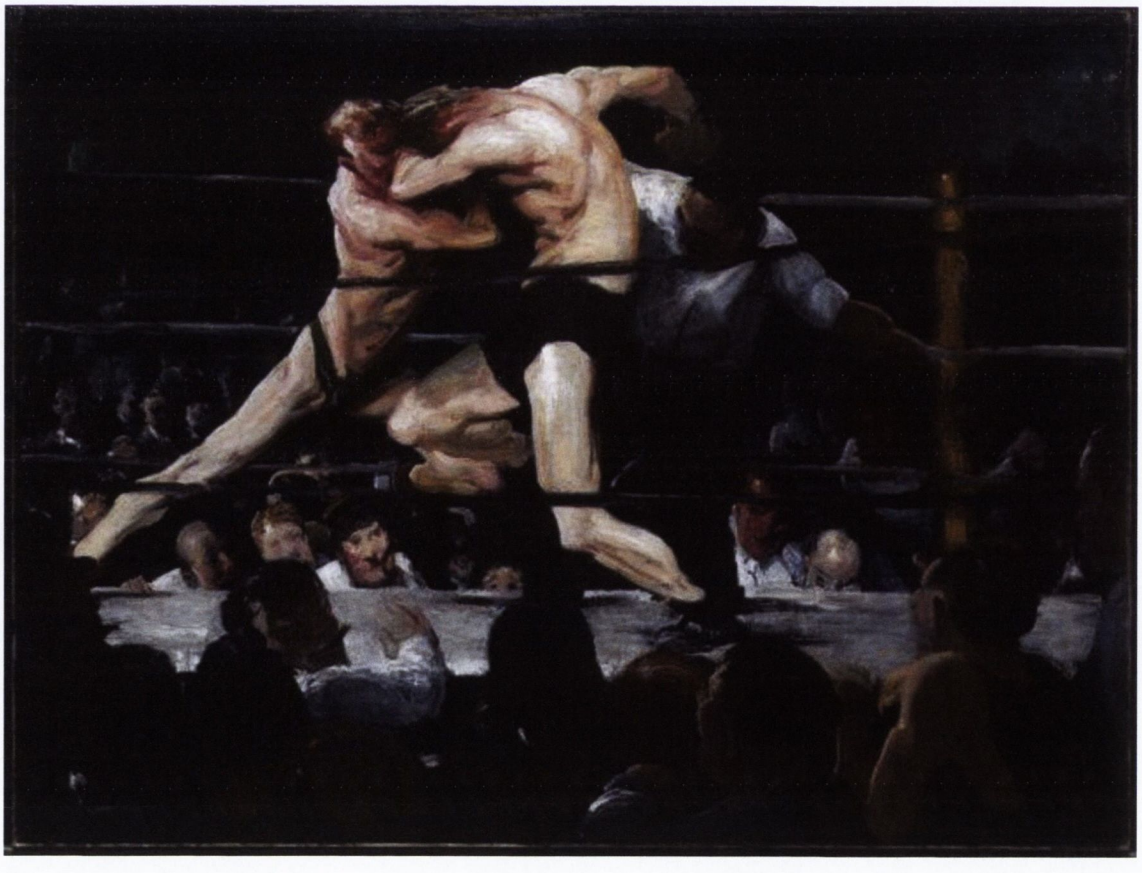


Figure 3:14 George Bellows, *Stag at Sharkey's*, 1909, oil on canvas, Cleavland Museum of Art, Hinman B Hurlbut Collection.



Figure 3:15 Robert Henri, *Street Scene with Snow (57th Street New York City)*, 1902, oil on canvas, Yale University Art Gallery, Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.



Figure 3:16 John Sloan, *Sixth Avenue and 30th Street, New York City*, 1907, oil on canvas, Philadelphia Museum of Art.



Figure 3:17 Robert Henri, *Yeats at Pepitas'*, 1910–c.1914, oil on canvas, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington DC.



Figure 3:18 Jack B Yeats, *The Liffey Swim*, 1923, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 3:19 Jack B Yeats, *In the Tram*, 1923, oil on panel, National Gallery of Ireland.

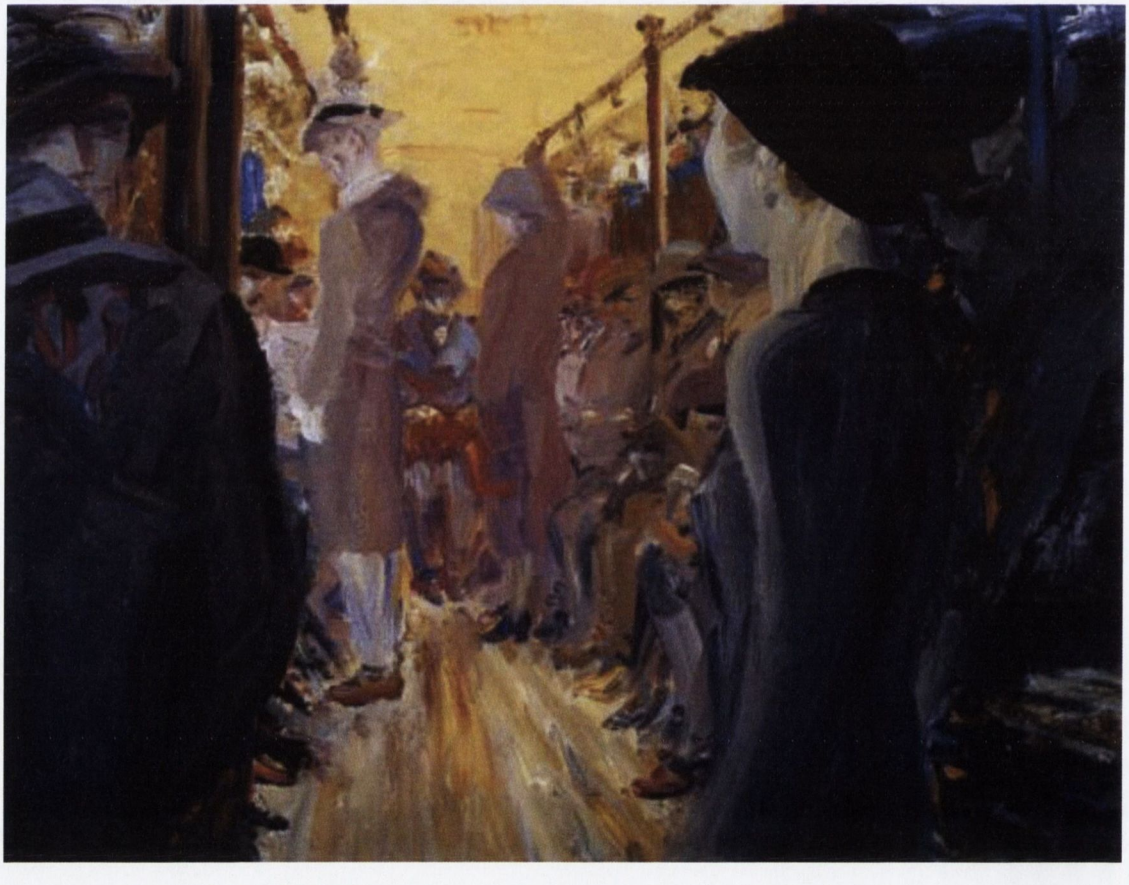


Figure 3:20 Jack B Yeats, *A Full Tram*, 1923, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 3:21 Jack B Yeats, *O'Connell Bridge*, 1925, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 3:22 Jack B Yeats, *From the Tram Top*, 1927, oil on panel, private collection.



Figure 3:23 Jack B Yeats, *Morning in A City*, 1937, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 3:24 Still from 'Percival Mackey and His Boys', with dance by Monti Ryan, British Pathé, 1933.



Figure 3:25 Jack B Yeats, *A Flower Girl, Dublin*, 1926, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 3:26 Jack B Yeats, *The Merchant's Arch,* oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 3:27 Jack B Yeats, *Jazz Babies*, 1929, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 3:28 Jack B Yeats, *The Railway Bar*, 1924, oil on panel, private collection.



Figure 3:29 Jack B Yeats, *Boys and Girls*, 1925, oil on canvas, Smurfit Art Collection.



Figure 3:30 Jack B Yeats, *People in a Street*, 1936, oil on canvas, Waddington Galleries, London.



Figure 3:31 Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Friedrichstrasse, Berlin*, 1914, oil on canvas, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart.



Figure 3:32 Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Street, Berlin*, 1913, oil on canvas, MoMA.



Figure 3:33 Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Potsdamer Platz*, 1914, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



Figure 3:34 Jack B Yeats, *Three Traders of Dublin*, 1927, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 3:35 Jack B Yeats, *Paper Bag for Hats*, 1925, oil on canvas, oil on panel.



Figure 3:36 Jack B Yeats, *From the Metal Bridge*, 1923, oil on panel, private collection.



Figure 3:37 Jack B Yeats, *Crossing the Metal Bridge*, 1928, oil on panel, private collection.



Figure 3:38 Jack B Yeats, *Lingering Sun, O'Connell Bridge*, 1927, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 3:39 Jack B Yeats, *The Bus by the River*, 1927, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 3:40 Jack B Yeats, *Dublin, Number One Ferry*, 1927, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 3:41 Jack B Yeats, *The Readers*, 1928, oil on panel, private collection.



Figure 3:42 Jack B Yeats, *Dancing on the Deck of the Royal Iris*, 1932, oil on panel, private collection.



Figure 4:1 Photograph of Harry Kernoff, taken at Romoff Photographic Studio, London, c.1921.



Figure 4:2 Harry Kernoff, *Harcourt Street Station Nocturne*, 1926, oil on panel, CIÉ.



Figure 4:3 Harry Kernoff, *Georgian Houses, Harcourt Street*, 1926, oil on panel, private collection.



Figure 4:4 Harry Kernoff, set design for Georg Kaiser's *Gas* Act 3 'The Worker's Hall', National Library of Ireland.



Figure 4:5 Harry Kernoff, costume design for Karel Capek's *R.U.R*, National Library of Ireland.



Figure 4:6 Harry Kernoff, set design for Seán O'Casey's *The Shadow of a Gunman*, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 4:7 Harry Kernoff, set design for *Easter Week, 1916*, pencil on paper National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 4:8 Grace Oscroft [member of the East London Group of Artists], *Bryant and May's, Bow*, undated, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 4:9 Humphrey Spender, William Coldstream painting 'Worktown' [Bolton], April 1938, Bolton Worktown, Photography and Archives from the Mass Observation Project, Bolton Council.



Figure 4:10 Raphael Soyer, *East Side Street*, 1928, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 4:11 Harry Kernoff, *Yonah Shimmel's Knishe Bakery*, 1939, watercolour on paper, private collection.

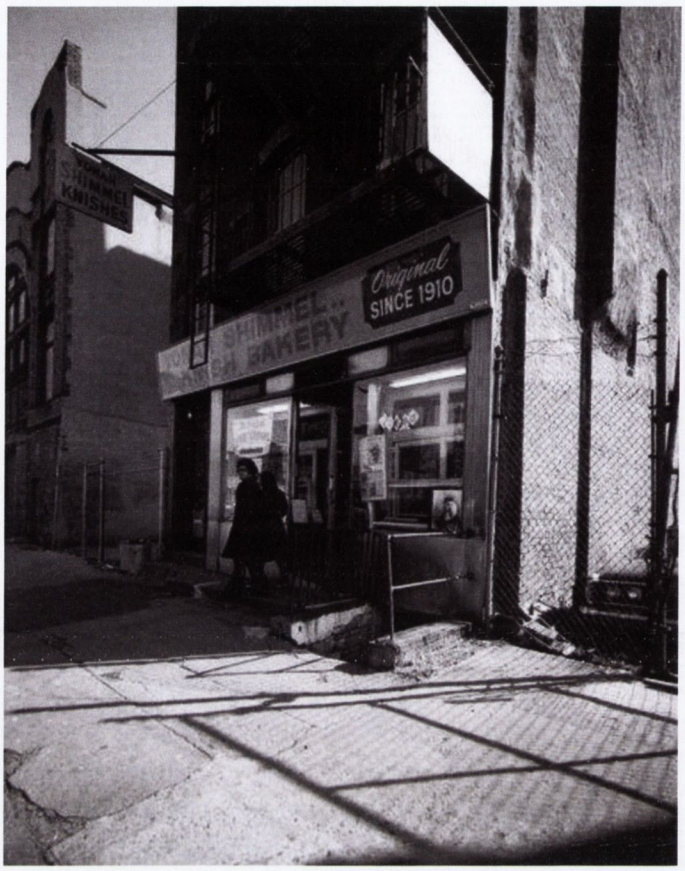


Figure 4:12 Edmund V Gillon, *Yonah Shimmel Knish Bakery, 137 East Houston Street*, c.1977, Museum of the City of New York.



Figure 4:13 Harry Kernoff, *Bend in the Road, near Richmond, Surrey*, 1947, oil on board, National Museums of Northern Ireland.



Figure 4:14 Harry Kernoff, *Liberty Hall, Night*, 1928, ballpoint pen, ink and graphite on card, mounted on board, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 4:15 Harry Kernoff, *Liberty Hall, Summer's Evening*, 1934, watercolour on paper, private collection.



Figure 4:16 Harry Kernoff, *On the Dublin Quays - Johnny Forty Coats*, 1945, watercolour on paper, private collection.



Figure 4:17 Photograph of P J Marlow, 'Johnny Forty Coats', 1943, National Library of Ireland.



Figure 4:18 Harry Kernoff, sketch for *Forbes Street, On the Dublin Quays*, 1935, pencil on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 4:19 Harry Kernoff, *Misery Hill*, c.1936, pastel on board, private collection.



Figure 4:20 Harry Kernoff, sketch for *Misery Hill*, 1936, pencil on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

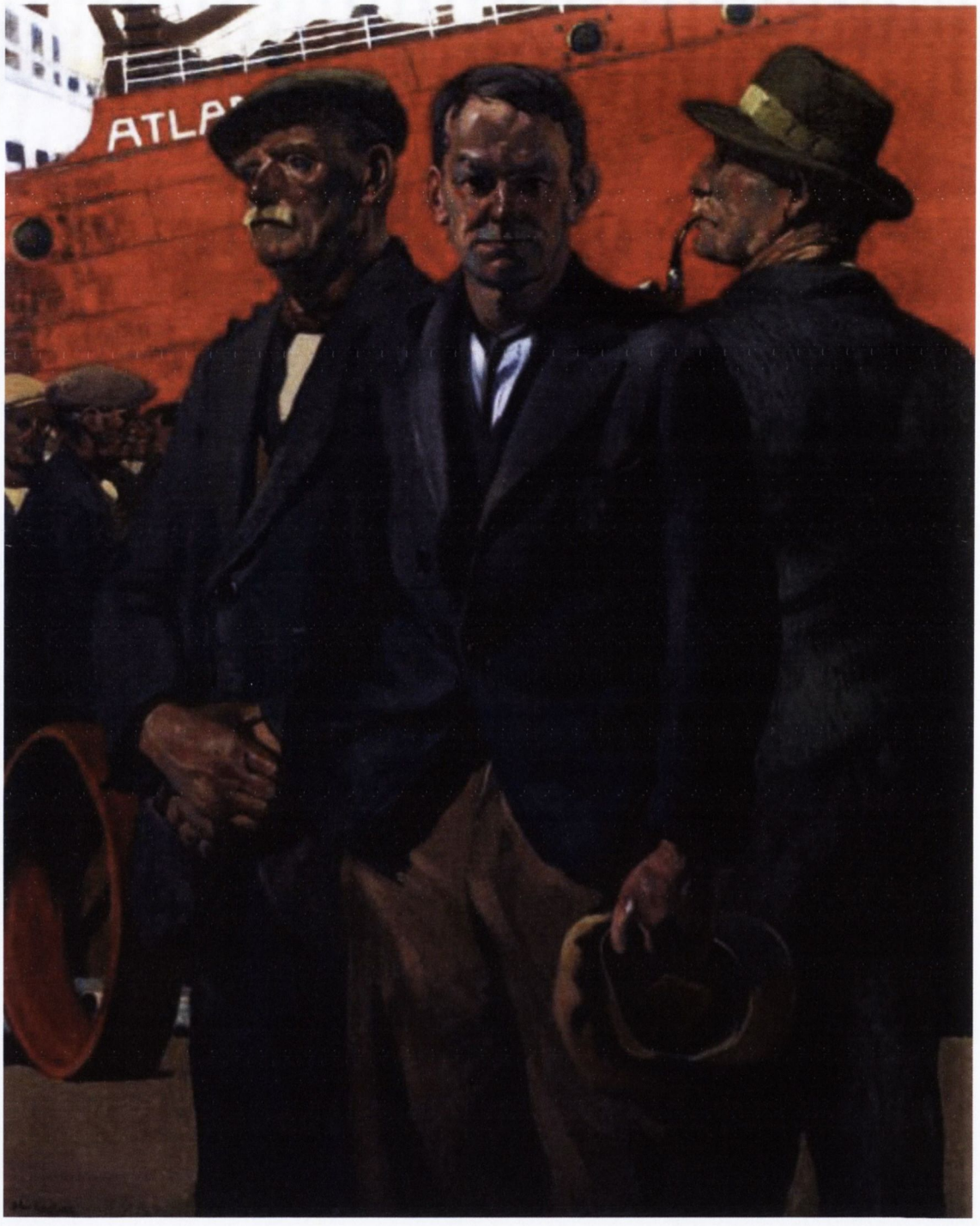


Figure 4:21 Maurice MacGonigal, *Dockers*, 1933-34, oil on canvas, Dublin City Gallery The Hugh Lane.



Figure 4:22 Harry Kernoff, *Unemployed*, date, medium, and location unknown.



Figure 4:23 Harry Kernoff, *Unemployed*, from *Woodcuts*, Dublin: Cahill, 1942.



Figure 4:24 Harry Kernoff, *The Guinness Brewery*, 1928, from *A Book of Dublin: Official Handbook*, Dublin: Dublin Corporation, 1929.



Figure 4:25 : Harry Kernoff, Jacobs Biscuit Factory, 1928, from *A Book of Dublin: Official Handbook*, Dublin: Dublin Corporation, 1929.



Figure 4:26 Harry Kernoff, Great Grain Silo of the Merchant's Warehousing Co, Ltd, 1928, from *A Book of Dublin: Official Handbook*, Dublin: Dublin Corporation, 1929.

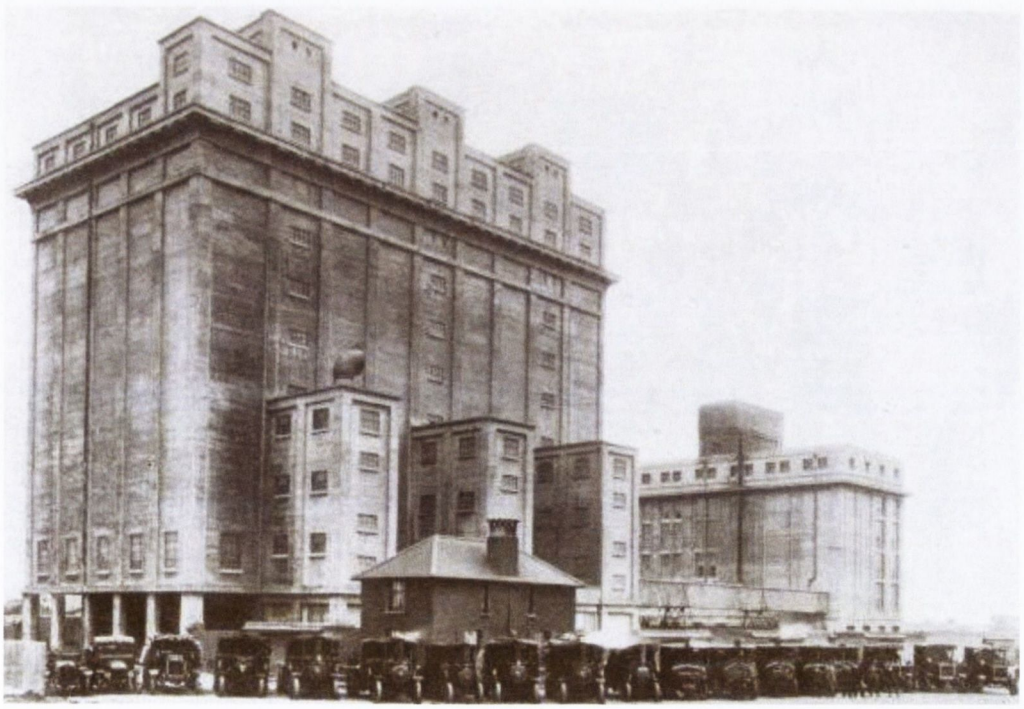


Figure 4:27 The Great Grain Silo of the Merchants' Warehousing Compnay, Alexandra Basin, Dublin, 1926, from *The Port of Dublin: Official Handbook*, 1926.



Figure 4:28 Harry Kernoff, *Dublin Dockyard*, 1930, oil on board, private collection.

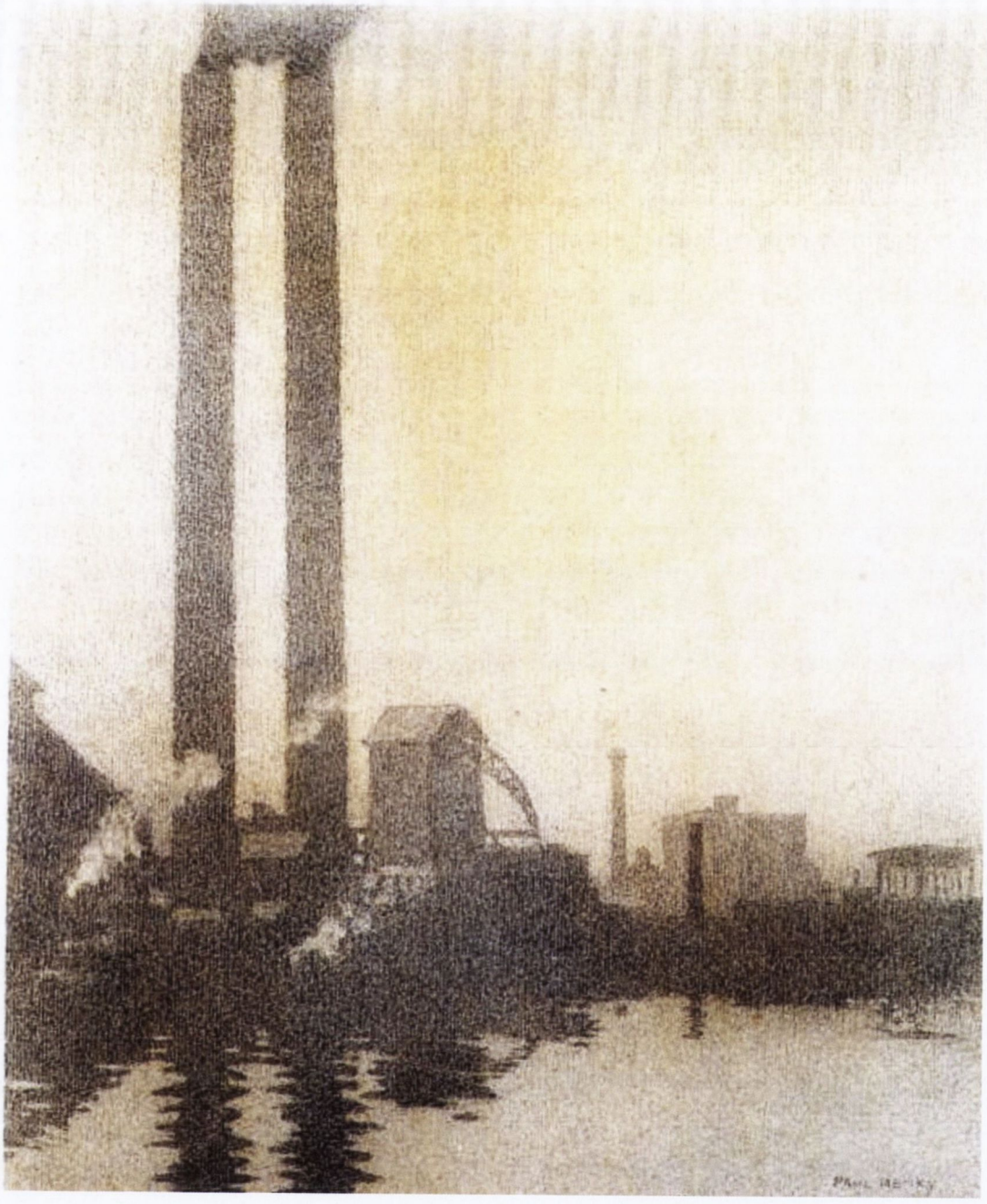


Figure 4:29 Paul Henry, *The Grand Canal Dock, Ringsend, Dublin*, 1928, charcoal on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

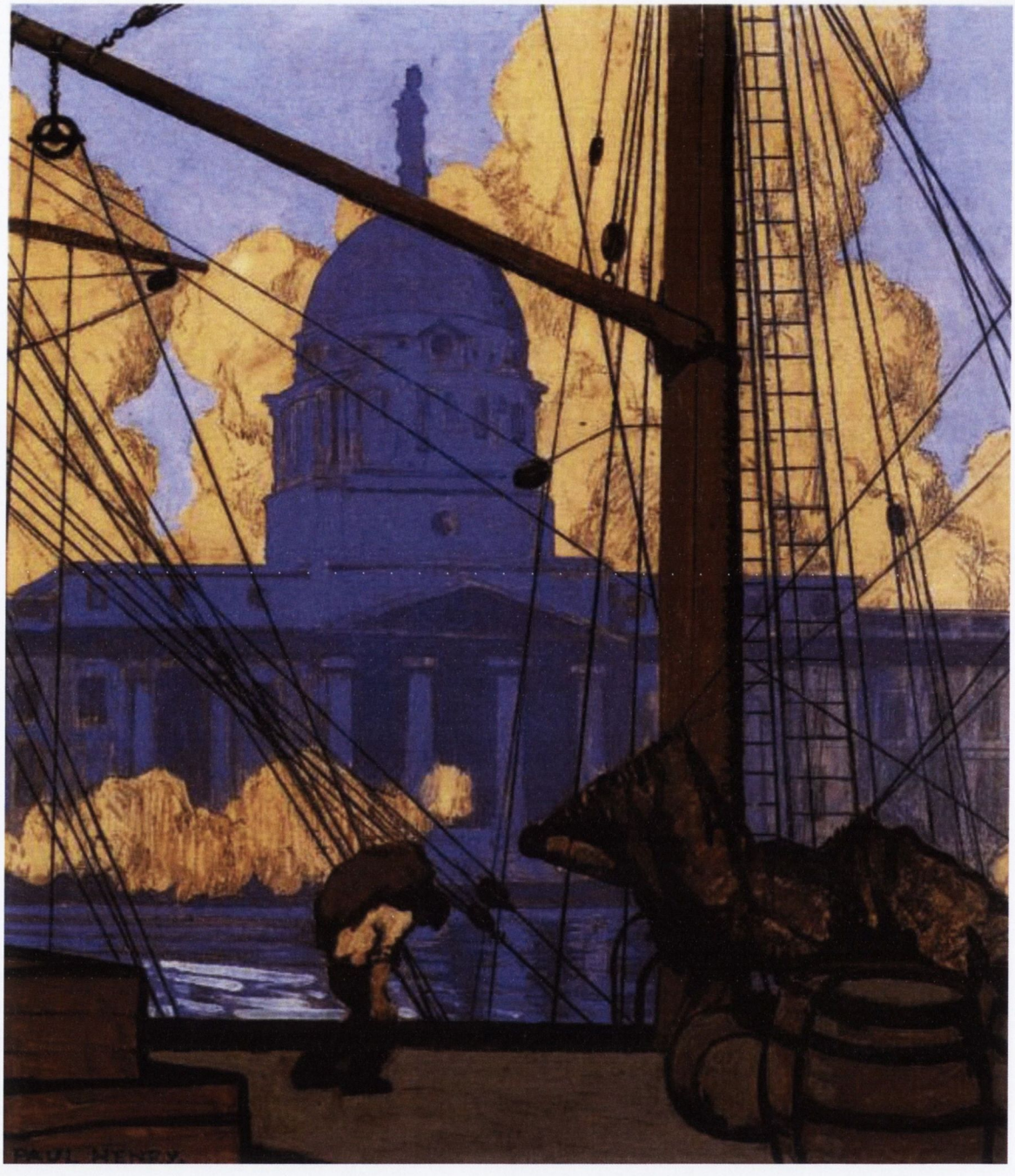


Figure 4:30 Paul Henry, *The Customs House, Dublin*, 1929, oil and charcoal on board, private collection.



Figure 4:31 Harry Kernoff, *Dublin Docks*, 1931, charcoal on paper, private collection.



Figure 4:32 L S Lowry, *Coming from the Mill*, oil on canvas, 1930, The Lowry Collection, Salford.



Figure 4:33 Harry Kernoff, *St Stephen's Green,* 1935, watercolour on paper, private collection.



Figure 4:34 Harry Kernoff, *Winetavern Street*, 1934, oil on panel, Dublin City Gallery the Hugh Lane.



Figure 4:35 Harry Kernoff, *Winetavern Street*, c.1940, oil on board, private collection.



Figure 4:36 Harry Kernoff, *Winetavern Street*, c.1940, watercolour on paper, private collection.



Figure 4:37 Harry Kernoff, *Red Seat Near Baggot Street Bridge*, 1947, oil on board, Dublin City Gallery the Hugh Lane.



Figure 4:38 Harry Kernoff, *Boland's Mills*, 1931, watercolour on paper, private collection.



Figure 4:39 Harry Kernoff, *Boats at Anchor - Grand Canal Quay*, 1937, watercolour on paper, private collection.



Figure 4:40 Harry Kernoff, *On the Liffey, South Wall, Dublin*, undated, oil on board, private collection.

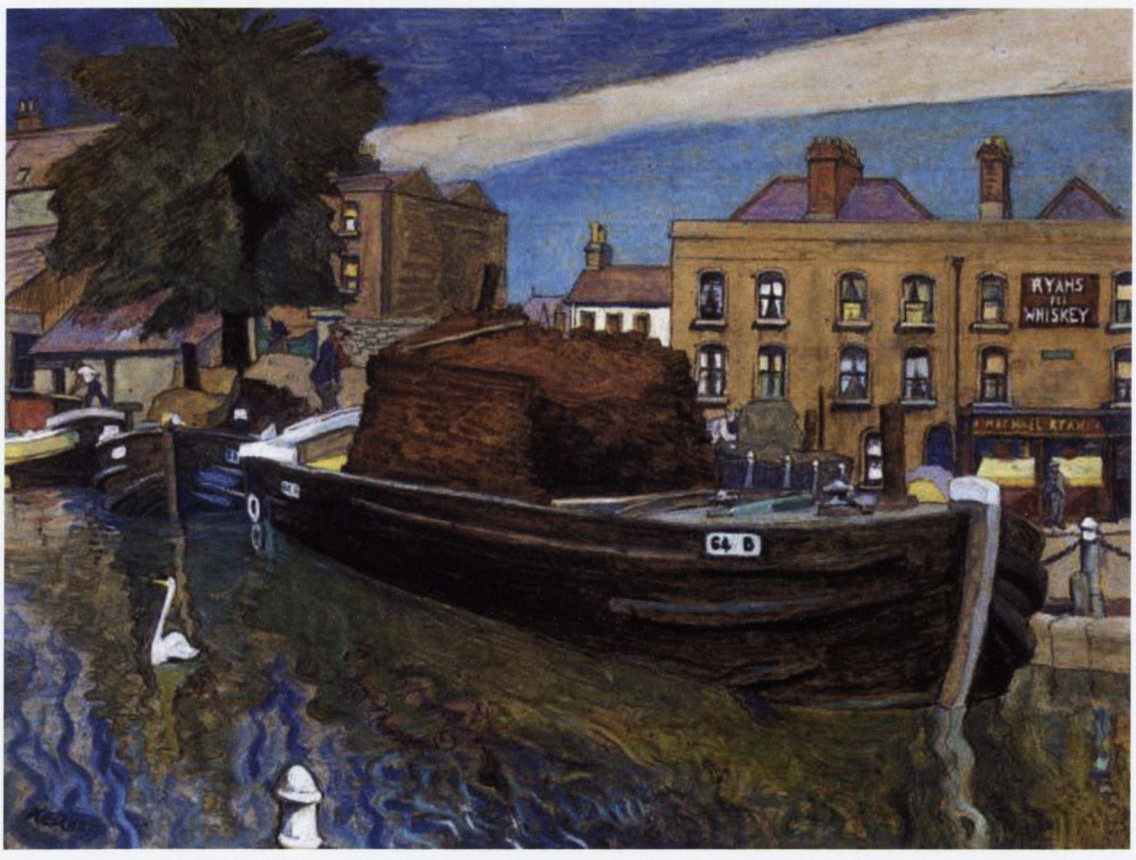


Figure 4:41 Harry Kernoff, *Portobello Harbour*, undated, gouache and oil with pencil, private collection.



Figure 4:42 Harry Kernoff, *Summer's Day, Leeson Bridge*, 1936, oil on panel, private collection.



Figure 4:43 Harry Kernoff, *Leeson Street Bridge, Dublin*, undated, watercolour on paper,



Figure 4:44 Harry Kernoff, *Huband Bridge, Grand Canal, Dublin*, 1936, oil on panel, private collection.



Figure 4:45 Harry Kernoff, *The Peppercanister from Percy Place*, c.1939, watercolour on paper,



Figure 4:46 Alan Reeve, *Dublin Culture*, 1940.



Figure 4:47 Harry Kernoff, *A Bird Never Flew on One Wing*, 1947, oil on board, private collection.

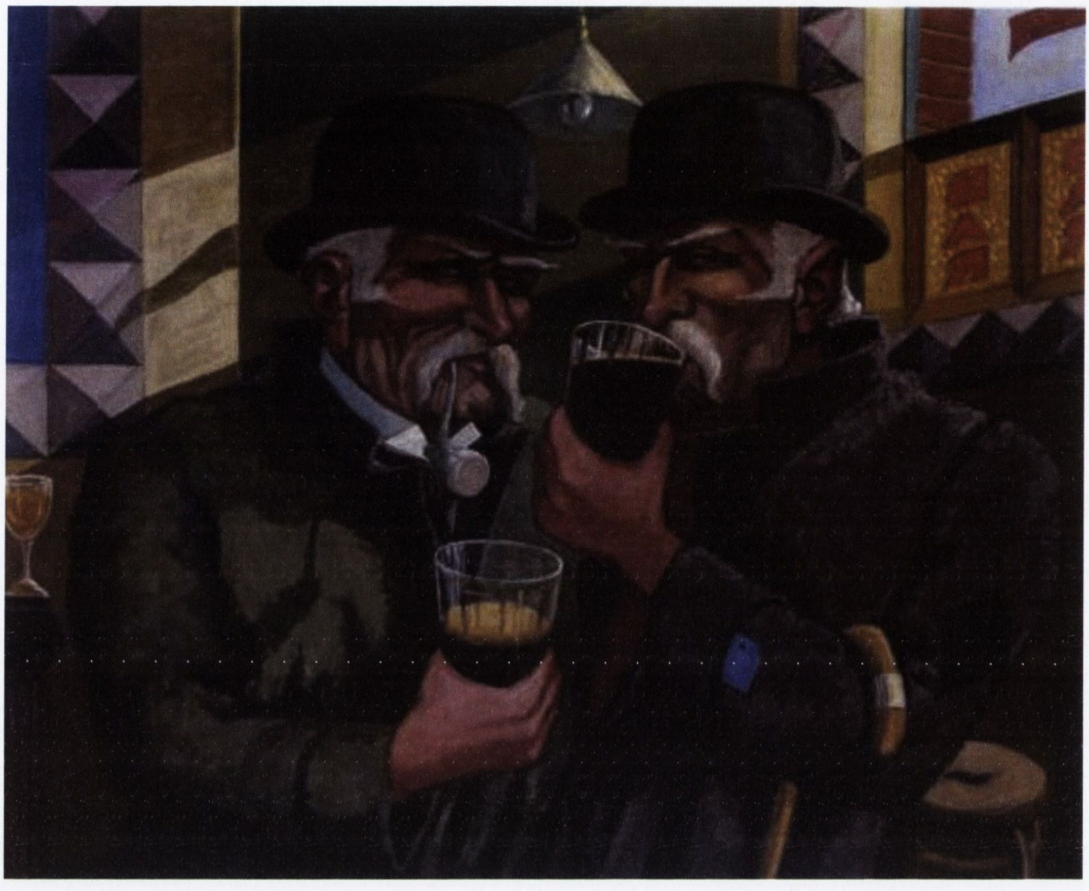


Figure 4:48 Harry Kernoff, *The Twins (There's Only a Few of Us Left)*, c.1936, oil on board, private collection.



Figure 4:49 Harry Kernoff, *In Davy's Back Snug*, 1936, oil on board, private collection.



Figure 4:50 Harry Kernoff, *In Davy's Parlour Snug, portrait with Davy Byrne and Martin Murphy*, c.1938, oil on board, private collection.



Figure 4:51 Harry Kernoff, *Study for In Davy's Parlour Snug*, 1941, watercolour on paper, private collection.



Figure 4:52 Harry Kernoff, *Self-Portrait of the Artist in his Studio*, 1929, oil on paper, private collection.

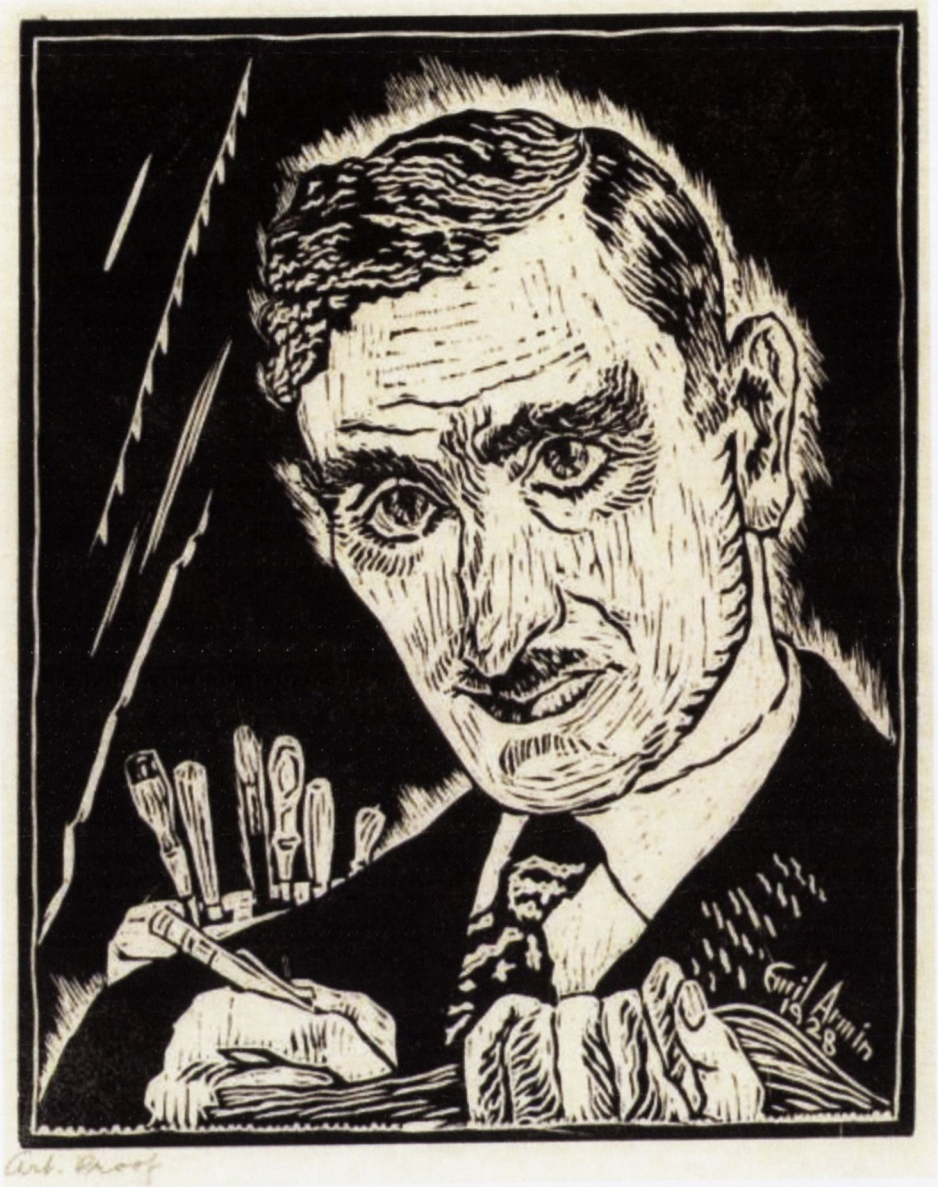


Figure 4:53 Emil Armin, *Self-Portrait*, 1928, woodcut on paper, The Art Institute of Chicago.



Figure 4:54 Raphael Soyer, *Self-Portrait with Self-Portraits of Rembrandt, Corot and Degas*, 1959, oil on canvas, location unknown.

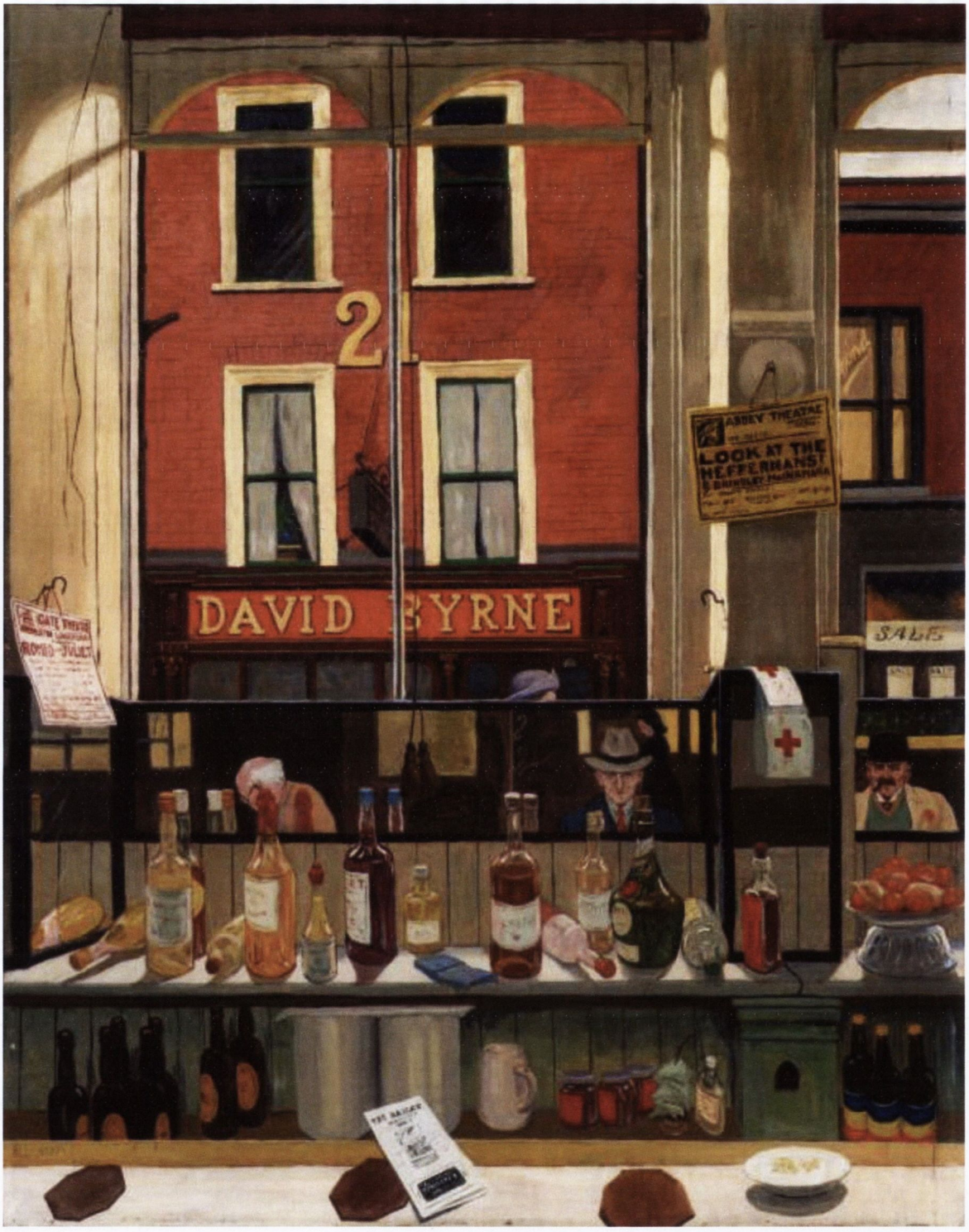


Figure 4:55 Harry Kernoff, *Davy Byrne's Pub, Dublin, from the Bailey*, 1941, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 4:56 Harry Kernoff, Sketch for *Davy Byrne's Pub, from the Bailey*, 1941, pencil on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

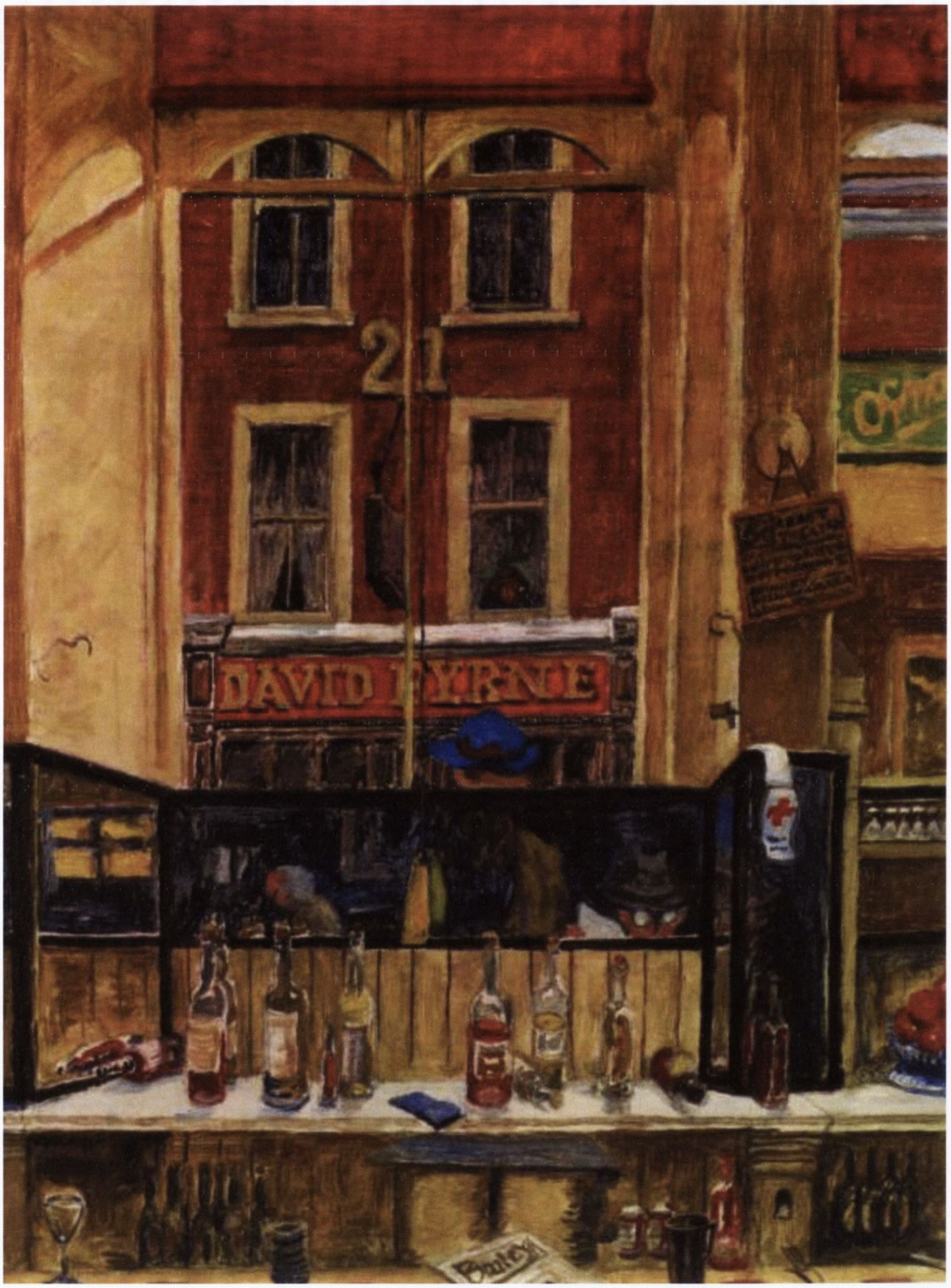


Figure 4:57 Harry Kernoff, *Study for Davy Byrne's Pub, from the Bailey*, 1941, watercolour on paper, private collection.

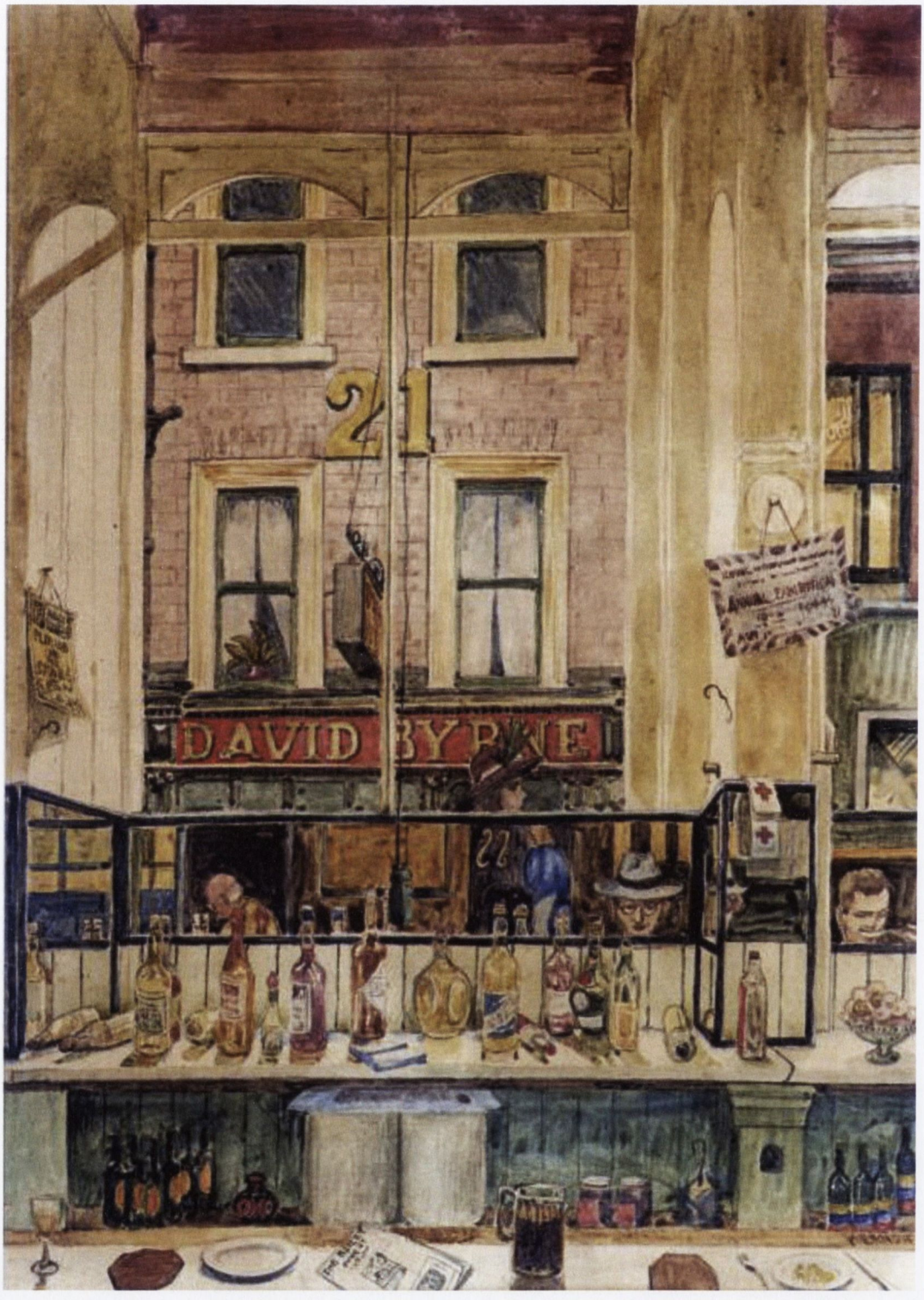


Figure 4:58 Harry Kernoff, *Study for Davy Byrne's Pub, from the Bailey*, 1941, watercolour on paper, private collection.

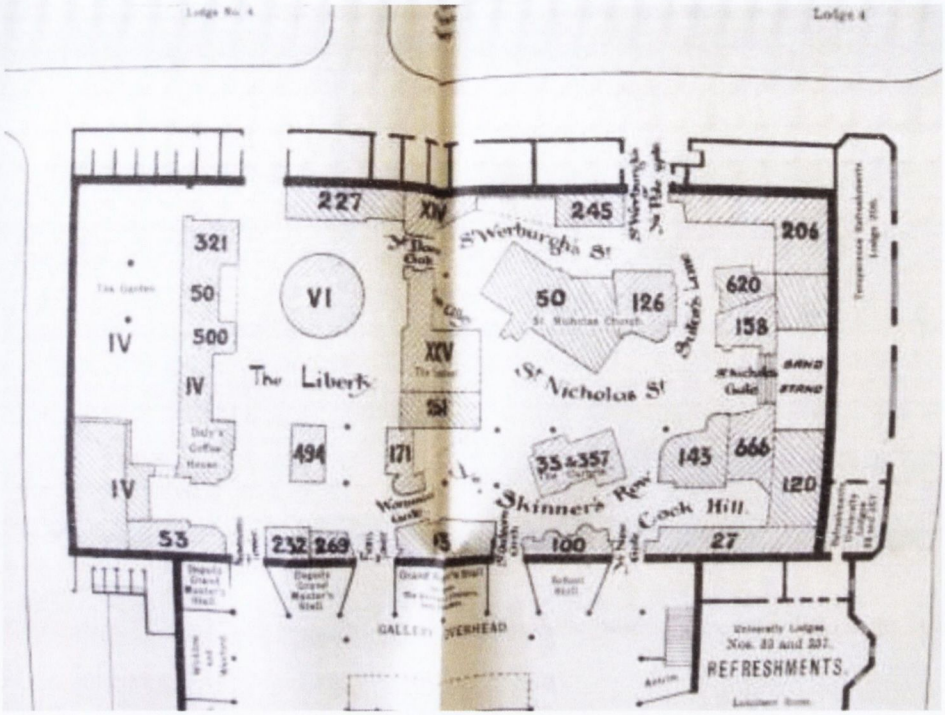


Figure 5:1 Section from floor plan of the 1892 Masonic Bazaar, showing 'Old Dublin'. From *The Book of the Centenary*.

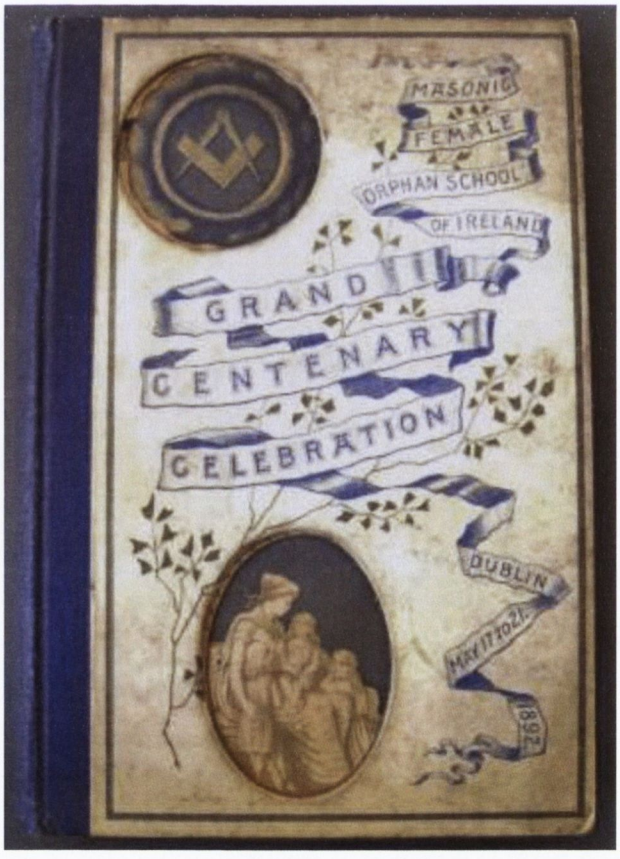


Figure 5:2 Stuart, Thomas, ed. *Book of the Centenary of the Masonic Female Orphan School of Ireland, including the Official Catalogue*. Dublin: Wilson, Hartnell, & Co., 1892.



Figure 5:3 Composite photo showing attendees of the Masonic Bazaar. Note the 'Old Dublin' buildings in the background. From *200 Years of a Future Through Education: a History of the Masonic Girls' Charity* (Dublin: Dublin Masonic Girls' Benefit Fund, 1992).

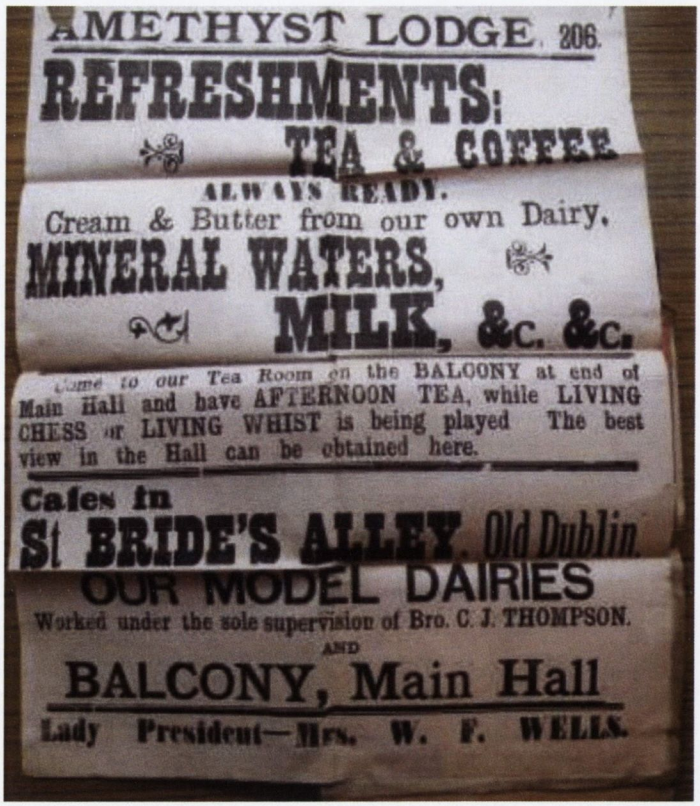


Figure 5:4 Poster from the Masonic Bazaar, Freemason Archive, Grand Lodge of the Freemasons' of Ireland, Molesworth Street, Dublin.



Figure 5:5 Henry Bryne, *The Interior of the Royal Exchange*, 1834, watercolour over ink on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 5:6 James Malton, *View of Capel Street, Dublin, with the Royal Exchange in the Distance*, c.1760-1803, watercolour on paper, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 5:7 James Malton, *The Tholsel, Dublin*, 1792, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.



Figure 5:8 George Petrie, *Post Office Dublin*, engraved by Benjamin Winkles. From *Ireland Illustrated in a Series of View of Cities, Towns, Public Buildings, Streets, Docks, Churches, Antiquities, Abbeys, Castles, Seats of the Nobility &c. &c.* London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1829.

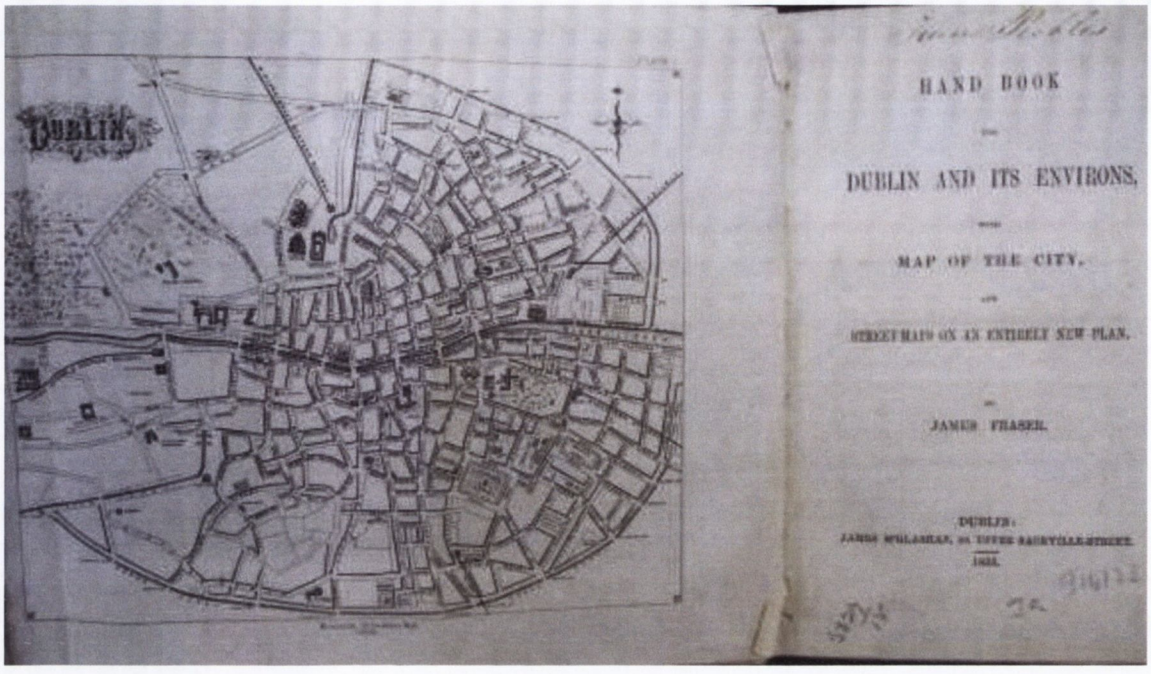


Figure 5:9 James Fraser, *Hand Book for Dublin and Its Environs with Map of the City, and Street-Maps on an Entirely New Plan*. Dublin: James McGlashan, 1853.

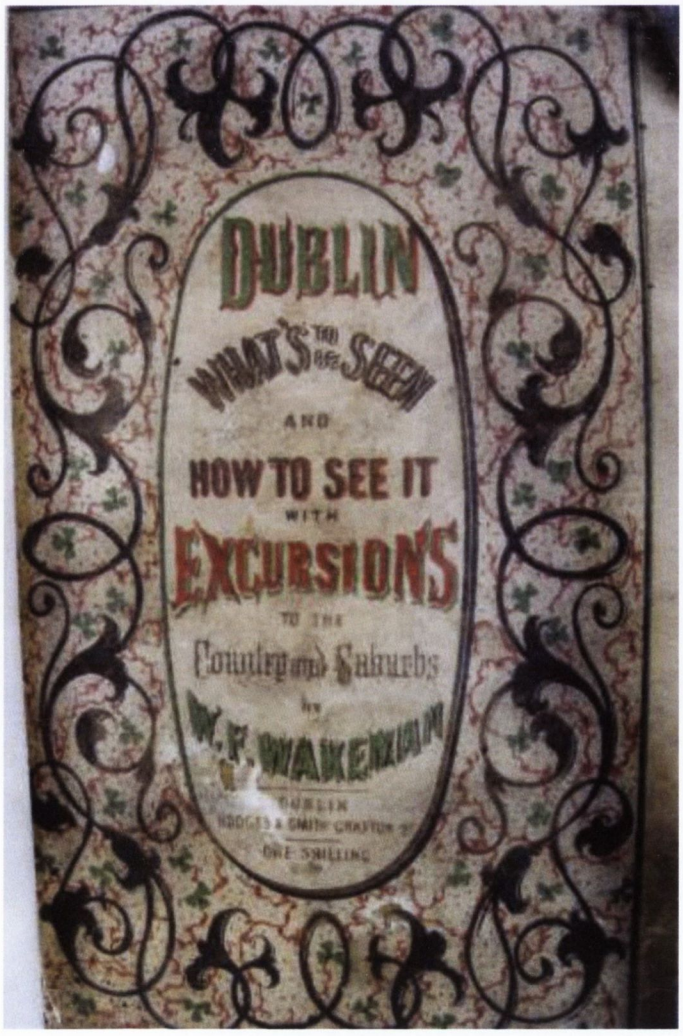


Figure 5:10 W F Wakeman, *Dublin: What's to be Seen and How to See It with Excursions to the Country and Suburbs*. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1853.



Figure 5:11 Samuel Frederick Brocas and Henry Brocas Jnr, *View of the Lying-in Hospital and Rutland Square, Dublin*, c.1820, etching and line (coloured), National Library of Ireland.



Figure 5:12 Rose Barton, *College Green*, 1887, watercolour heightened with white and scratching, private collection.



Figure 5:13 Rose Barton, *College Green*, 1887, watercolour on paper, private collection.

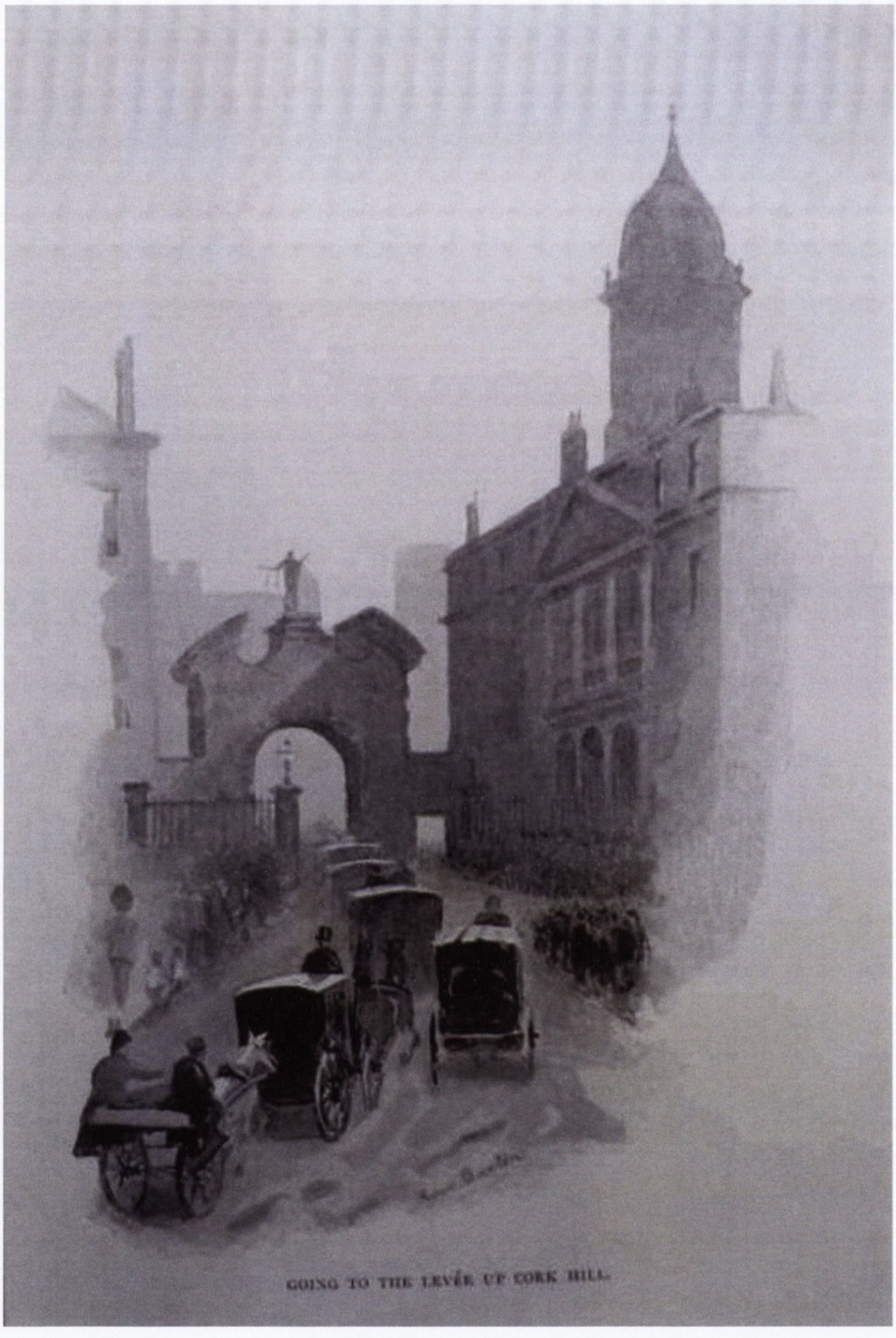


Figure 5:14 Rose Barton, *Going to the Levee*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.



Figure 5:15 Rose Barton, *Going to the Levee,* 1897, watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland.

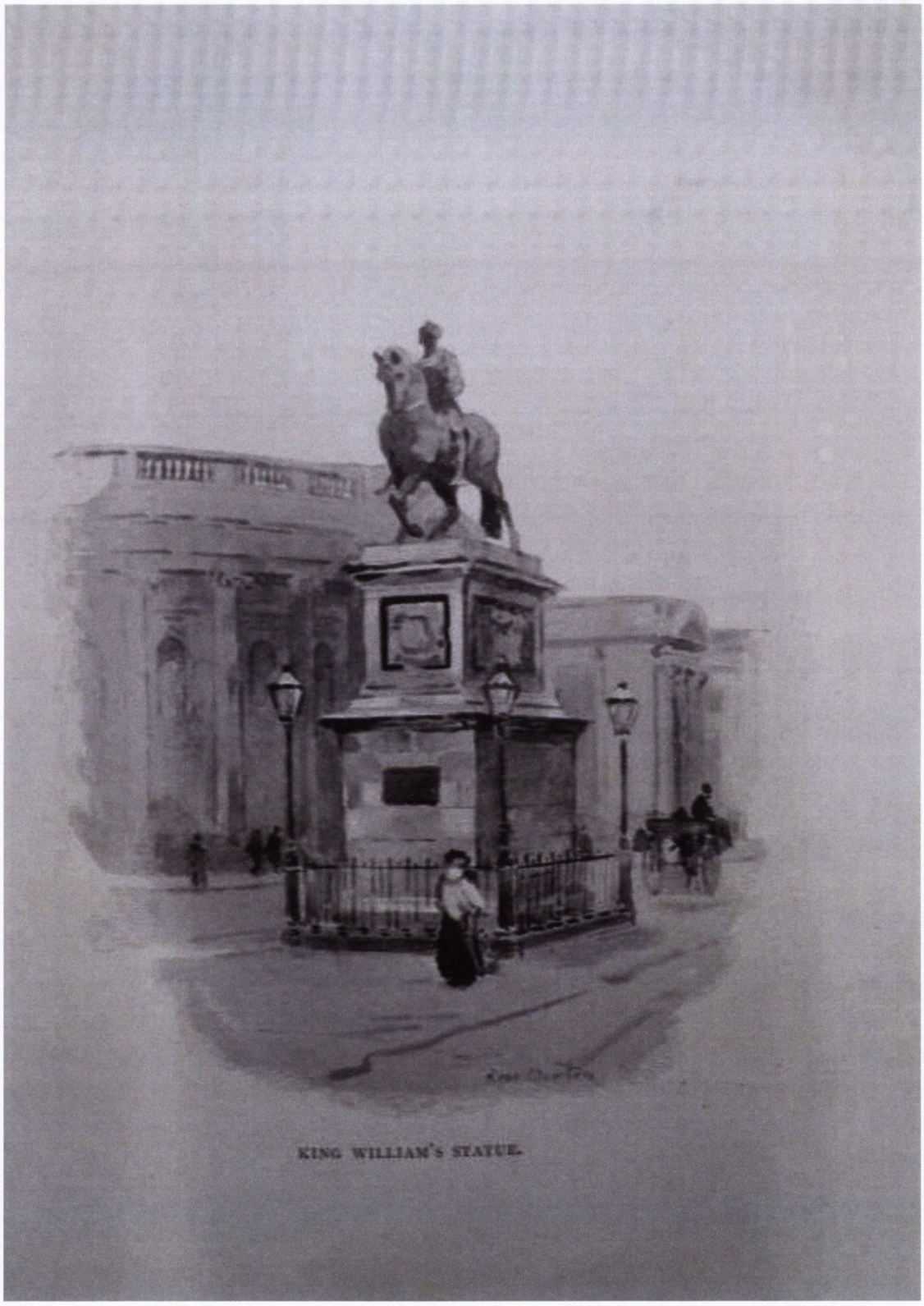


Figure 5:16 Rose Barton, *College Green*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.

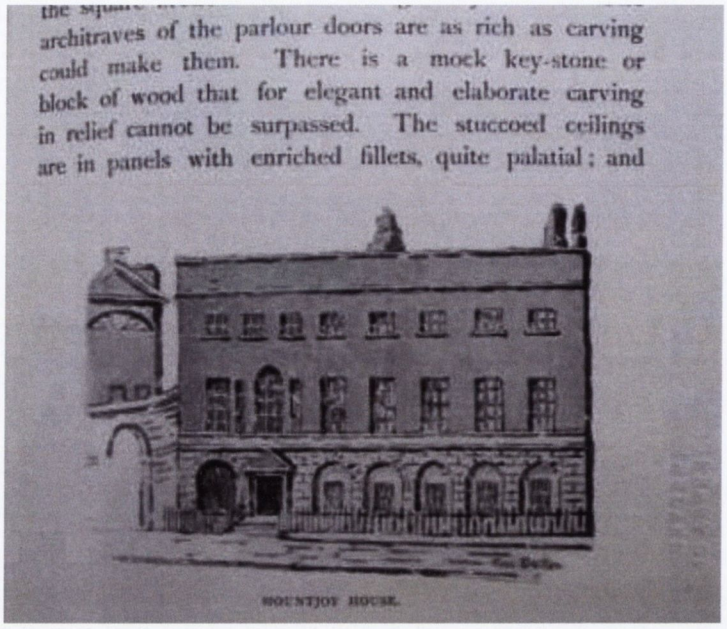


Figure 5:17 Rose Barton, *Mountjoy House*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.

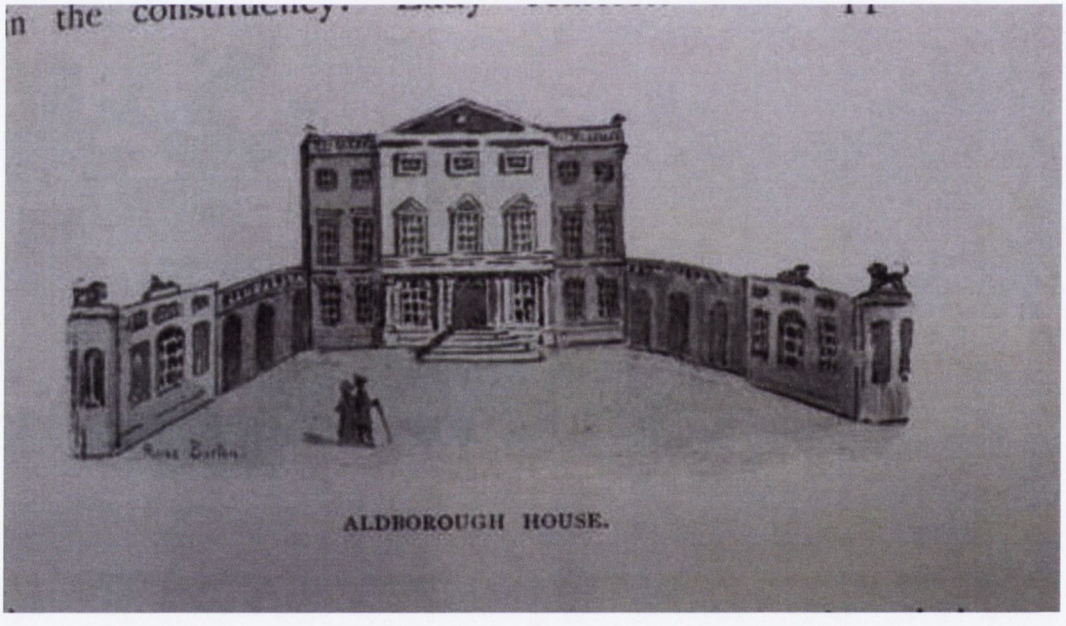
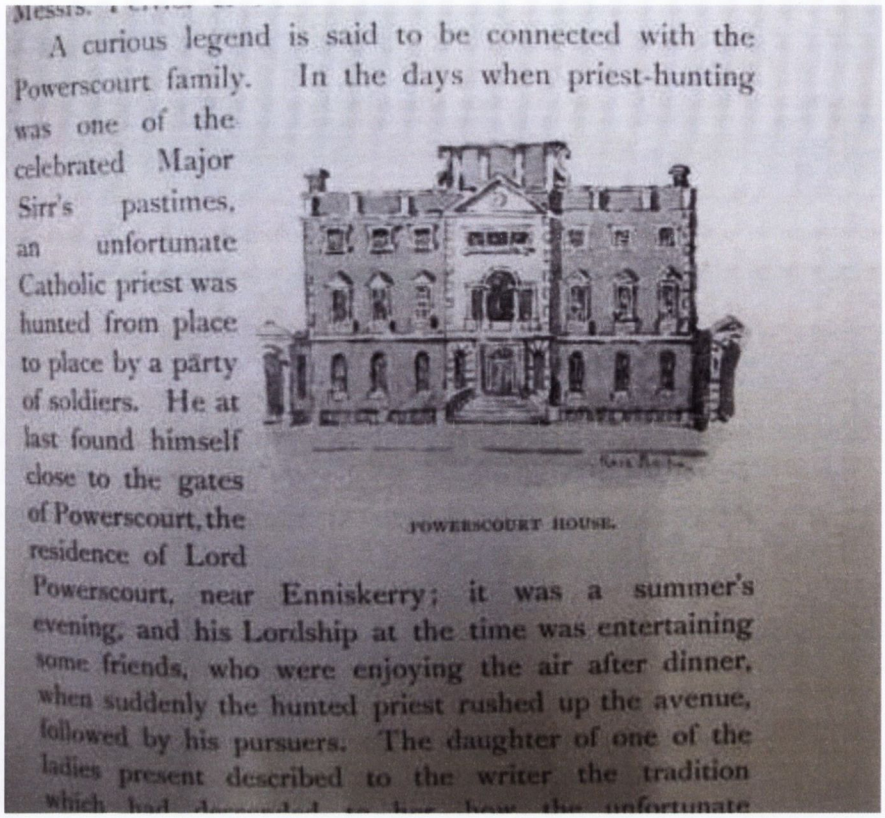


Figure 5:18 Rose Barton, *Aldborough House*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.



A curious legend is said to be connected with the Powerscourt family. In the days when priest-hunting was one of the celebrated Major Sirr's pastimes, an unfortunate Catholic priest was hunted from place to place by a party of soldiers. He at last found himself close to the gates of Powerscourt, the residence of Lord Powerscourt, near Enniskerry; it was a summer's evening, and his Lordship at the time was entertaining some friends, who were enjoying the air after dinner, when suddenly the hunted priest rushed up the avenue, followed by his pursuers. The daughter of one of the ladies present described to the writer the tradition

POWERSCOURT HOUSE.

Figure 5:19 Rose Barton, *Powerscourt House*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.



MOIRA HOUSE.

Figure 5:20 Rose Barton, *Moira House*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.



Figure 5:21 Rose Barton, *St Patrick's Close, Dublin*, 1887, watercolour and body colour on paper, National Museums of Northern Ireland.



Figure 5:22 Rose Barton, *The Weaver's hall, with Statue of George II*, from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.



Figure 5:23 Rose Barton, *Huguenot Houses, Weaver's Square,* from Frances Gerrard, *Picturesque Dublin: Old and New*, London: Hutchinson and Company, 1898.



Figure 5:24 Estella Solomons, *Self-Portrait*, undated, pencil on paper, Estella Frances Solomons Papers, Trinity College Dublin.



Figure 5:25 Estella Solomons, *Two Boys on a Height*, c.1918, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 5:26 Estella Solomons, *Street Urchins and a Bird Cage*, c.1918, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 5:27 Estella Solomons, *The Leinster Market, 1915*, from *The Glamour of Dublin*, Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928.

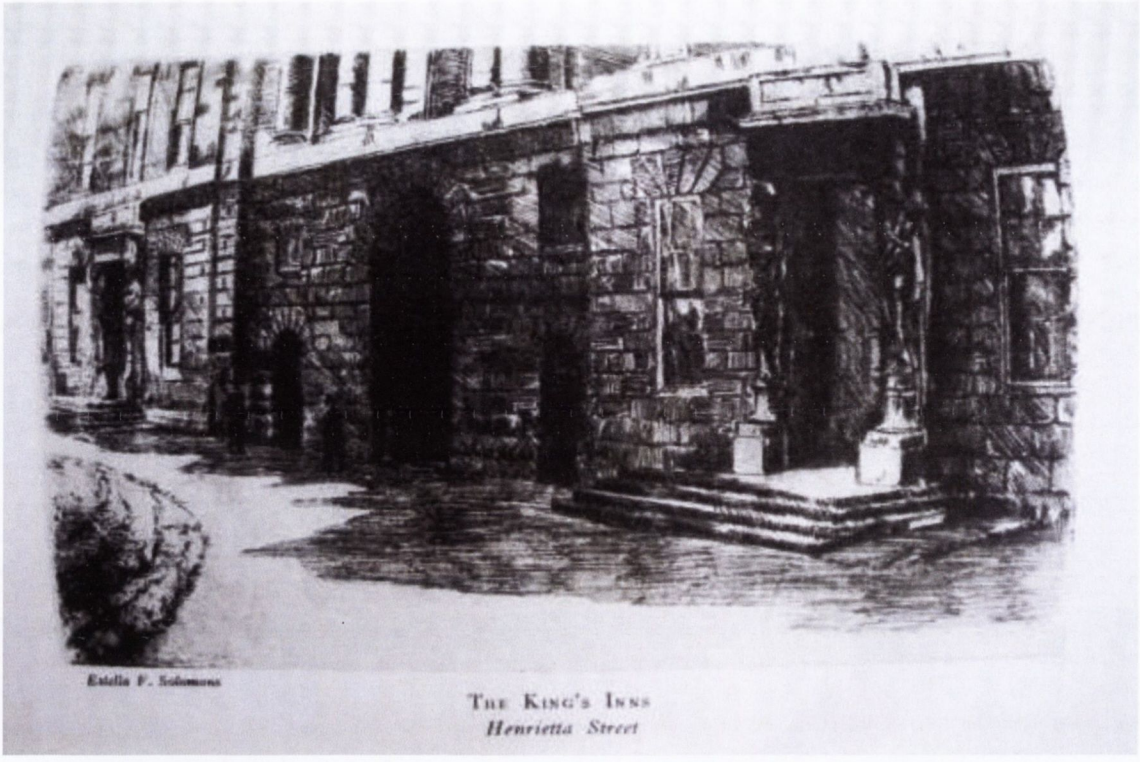


Figure 5:28 Estella Solomons, *The King's Inns*, from *The Glamour of Dublin*, Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928.

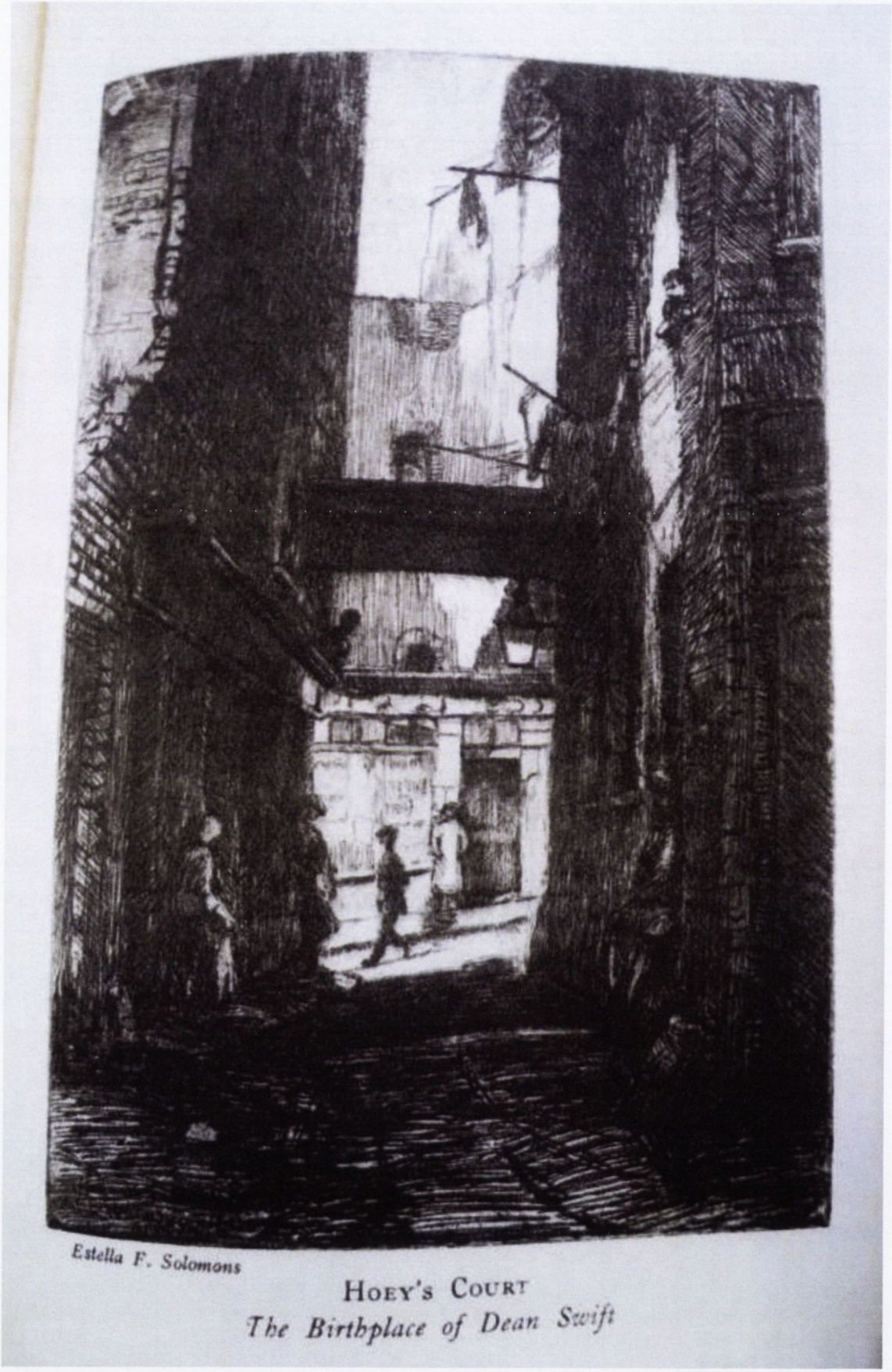


Figure 5:31 Estella Solomons, *Hoey's Court, the Birthplace of Dean Swift*, from *The Glamour of Dublin*, Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928.



Figure 5:35 Publicity Boards from The Talbot Press, showing etchings by Estella Solomons included in *The Glamour of Dublin*, National Library of Ireland.



Figure 5:36 Flora Mitchell, *Tom Moore's Birthplace*, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included in *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.



Figure 5:37 Flora Mitchell, *Winetavern Street*, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included in *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.



Figure 5:38 Flora Mitchell, *The West Side of Bride Street*, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included in *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.



Figure 5:39 Flora Mitchell, *York Street*, 1964, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.



Figure 5:40 Eleanor Wiltshire, photographs of York Street during protests against evictions, 1964, National Library of Ireland.



Figure 5:41 Flora Mitchell, *Dominick Street, Dublin*, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.



Figure 5:42 Flora Mitchell, *Dorset Street*, 1965, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.



Figure 5:43 Flora Mitchell, *Paradise Court*, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.



Figure 5:44Flora Mitchell, *Henrietta Street*, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.



Figure 5:45 Flora Mitchell, *Hamilton Lane*, ink and watercolour on paper, National Gallery of Ireland. Included *Vanishing Dublin*, Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1966.