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Blarney in St. Louie: Performing Irishness at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904

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BLARNEY IN ST. LOUIE: PERFORMING IRISHNESS AT THE
LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION, 1904

A Thesis

Presented to

The Graduate Faculty

Central Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

Theatre Arts and Performance Studies

by

Cassandra Lee White

June 2015

CENTRAL WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Graduate Studies

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ABSTRACT

BLARNEY IN ST. LOUIE: PERFORMING IRISHNESS AT THE

LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION

by

Cassandra Lee White

June 2015

The dynamics of power between the privileged and those who must be subordinate to them was glaringly apparent at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. While natives from many countries were displayed in ethnographic villages, the Irish were represented in the Irish Industrial Exposition concession on the Pike. A group of ninety performers came from Ireland to show their skills this concession; among these were a troupe of actors from Dublin. The Dublin troupe was engaged to perform AE's *Deirdre*, but left before they had been at the exposition for a month because they felt that the Irish were not being well represented in the Irish Industrial Exposition. The performances given in this exhibit expounded on a view of the Irish that both challenged and conformed to prominent stereotypes of the time. By employing James C. Scott's *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, I reveal the complex and multifaceted power dynamics involved in the performances at the Irish Industrial Exposition.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE GAME AND THE PLAYERS

James C. Scott challenges the Gramscian notion of hegemonic incorporation. While Gramsci insists that the worldview distributed by the ruling class, which Scott would call the dominant group, becomes the worldview for everyone under the control of the dominant group.¹ Scott developed his analysis in part because Gramsci does not accurately explain some of the phenomena Scott observed while traveling to study people in various different cultures. What he observed was not new, even according to him, but his book *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* offers formal language to discuss this more complex understanding of the dynamics of power.²

Scott defined what he observed using the terms dominant transcript and hidden transcript. The dominant transcript is what is visible in any society. Scott offers the broad generalization that, “the greater the disparity in power between dominant and subordinate and the more arbitrarily it is exercised, the more the public transcript of subordinates will take on a stereotyped, ritualistic cast.”³ So if the power is very threatening, the subordinates will put in more effort to hide what they are really thinking. Scott asserts that rather than believing in what their superiors tell them, subordinates adopt survival tactics. Especially if the gulf between the dominants and subordinates is large, the subordinates will perform

¹ Bates, Thomas R., “Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony,” *Journal of History of Ideas* Vol. 36, No. 2, (April-June 1975) 351-366. JSTORE accessed October 14, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2708933>

² James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), x

³ Scott, *Domination*, 3

their roles in keeping with the dominant ideals. “The dominant never control the stage absolutely, but their wishes normally prevail.”⁴ What the dominant does not see is the defiance of the subordinate. The subordinate’s defiance is what Scott terms the hidden transcript.⁵ This is where Scott truly diverges from Gramsci. Gramsci asserts that, through cultural hegemony, subordinate groups truly believe the dominant ideals. Scott counters by saying that the only way to know what a subordinate is actually thinking is if the hidden transcript breaks through.⁶ This is the case with slave rebellions, for example.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 (LPE) was a site where the dominant ideals persisted. The scrutiny of later scholars, especially anthropologists, has shown the many faults with the ideology disseminated at the LPE. Their attention has largely been focused on displays of so-called native peoples. The LPE was blatantly idealizing colonialism, which was presented as something that would benefit those under colonial rule. The primary tool for propagating the dominant transcript of the LPE organizers was *The World’s Fair Bulletin*. One area of the LPE that has not attracted much attention from scholars is the Irish Industrial Exposition (IIE) located on the Pike. A large part of this neglect is because the workers at the IIE were much better off than those displayed in the official anthropology exhibits. Nonetheless, there were protests in the IIE by the workers and performers there. These protests break the hidden transcript and allow speculation about the true state of affairs in the IIE.

⁴ Scott, *Domination*, 4

⁵ Scott, *Domination*, 4

⁶ Scott, *Domination*, 4

There were many players in the transcripts of the LPE and IIE. First and foremost was David R. Francis, the president of the LPE. Francis held many political offices before becoming the president of the LPE. He was the mayor of St. Louis in 1885, elected as the governor of Missouri in 1888, and served as the United States Secretary of the Interior from 1896 to 1897 under President Grover Cleveland.⁷ Francis wanted to attract international attention to St. Louis and Missouri, and felt that a world's fair was an excellent vehicle for this. He campaigned for St. Louis to host the 1893 Columbian Exposition, but Chicago became the host city. One of the next expositions would celebrate the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase, and Francis secured St. Louis as the host city. Francis used the title president rather than the title director general and received no monetary compensation for his work, unlike previous directors.⁸

Francis appointed Frederick W. Taylor as the Director of Exhibits for the LPE. Skiff was hailed as “one of the leading, if not the lead, Exposition expert of the world.”⁹ Skiff was responsible for breaking the LPE's exhibits into sixteen large departments and 144 sub-groups within these sixteen. Skiff hoped that the exhibits at the LPE would be “interesting instead of fatiguing.”¹⁰

Since Ireland was not an independent country at the time of the LPE, they could not exhibit in the main area of the LPE, except under the auspices of Great Britain. Thomas F. Hanley, an Irish American, sponsored and was the president of

⁷ Alex E. Jacobs, ed., *World's Fair Manual: The Guide Book of The Louisiana Purchase Exposition*, (St. Louis: Ivory City Publishing Company, 1903), 9

⁸ Jacobs, ed., *World's Fair Manual*, 9

⁹ Jacobs, ed., *World's Fair Manual*, 26

¹⁰ Jacobs, ed., *World's Fair Manual*, 26

the IIE on the Pike. Hanley had invested in concessions at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and had several other investments on the 1904 Pike in addition to the IIE. Hanley was concerned with giving a respectful representation of Ireland, and partnered with the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland represented by their secretary T.P. Gill. Hanley also appointed Myles J. Murphy as the manager of the IIE at the suggestion of several prominent Irish businessmen. Murphy had a reputation as a theatrical manager and an avid student of Irish industries. Murphy also wrote articles for various Irish American periodicals about Irish literary and historical subjects, popularizing them in the United States.¹¹ Another Hanley appointment was James A. Reardon the Commissioner to Ireland.¹² Reardon was responsible for recruiting the Dublin actors who were to perform at the LPE. According to the manifest from the Ship Etruria, the actors who attended the LPE were Dudley Diggs, Gerald A. Ewing, Charles Caulfield, Patrick Kelly, Mary Quinn, and Elizabeth Young.¹³ The Diggs are Reardon obtained George Russell's (penname AE) permission to present his play *Deirdre* at the LPE. All of these men and women played a role in Ireland's representation and legacy at the LPE.

¹¹ M.J. Logan, ed., *An Gaodhal Vol 23*, Brooklyn, 1904. GoogleEbooks, 137

¹² M.J. Phillips, ed., "Reardon Discusses Ireland's Exhibit," *St. Louis Republic*, April 17, 1904

¹³ "Manifest for Etruria: Sailing from Queenstown," *Ellis Island Records*, 4/24/1904, 725-733

CHAPTER II

Educating the Masses:

Inclusion and Exclusion at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition

The entire exposition was designed to celebrate the perceived inevitability of the March of Progress and the unqualified fitness of the white American 'race' to lead that march. ... Colorado College president, William F. Slocum, wrote in *Harper's Weekly* that it would give visitors 'new standards, new means of comparison, new insights into the condition of life in the world' and help them discover a sense of purpose in America's rapidly changing society. To aid in this process, the LPE would do something novel. They would host 'the world's first assemblage of the world's peoples.' ... Its ultimate purpose was to serve as a guide toward a future, albeit vague, utopia.¹

The universal expositions (more commonly called world's fairs) historically have been opportunities for countries to gather in peace and display their recent progress and their hopes for the future. Historically, they have been educational experiences for the public, who attend the exposition. In addition, they serve as sites that display the self-dramatization of nations side by side, encouraging invidious comparison of the nations. Much like the grandiose spectacles by host nations at the Olympics, the universal expositions frequently were used to position one nation-state as superior to those surrounding it, even if, as is the case with the Olympics, they are ostensibly working together in a joint enterprise. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the United States utilized this vehicle of cultural representation offered by the universal expositions to support its claim of being an emergent world power. One of the largest universal expositions was the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition (LPE) held in St. Louis, Missouri and more than

¹ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 7

nineteen million people attended between April 30 and December 1, 1904. It covered more land than any exhibition² until the 2010 Shanghai Exposition.³ Though it was a gathering of sixty-three countries, many of the LPE activities have brought the censure of later generations.

Each universal exposition left a permanent monument at the site of the exposition. Some well-known examples of these are the Eiffel Tower in Paris (1889), the Křižíkova Fountain in Prague (1891), the Atomium in Brussels (1952), and the Space Needle in Seattle (1962). These monuments frequently become sites of memory for the people of the host country and become logos for the country in the international community. Each exposition would be compared to those that came before and those that would come after. Although each exposition had its positives and negatives, the constant comparisons began a cycle of remembering and forgetting, which continues into the historical discussion surrounding them. Today, the only permanent structure from the LPE grounds is being used for the St. Louis Art Museum. The monuments that remain are undeniable, but the memories left by the living exhibits are more difficult to capture.

Displays of so-called native peoples were some of the most popular exhibits at the LPE and have been widely criticized by anthropologists such as Robert Rydell. Anthropology took center stage at the LPE, and had the full support of the United

² John E. Findling, ed., *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988* (Westport: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1990), 178-179; Urso Chappell "Expo 2010 Shanghai, China" *ExpoMuseum.com* accessed 1/12/2015

³ Rydell, *All the World's*, 168

States Government.⁴ Obtaining government aid meant the organizers of the LPE had a greater ability to bring in displays of native people from the United States, especially the new colony of the Philippine Islands. The director of Anthropology for the LPE, W.J. McGee, was a prominent anthropologist who wanted to use the LPE as an opportunity to promote his own theory of “unilateral evolution,” a theory that had been developing among scientists since the 1860s.⁵ Anthropological villages were set up to allow anthropologists to study “natives” in their own environment. McGee assured visitors and scientists that the people in the villages would live exactly as they did in their homelands.⁶ These villages were arranged to clearly show McGee’s theory and ranked the peoples by degrees of barbarism. In this way the aspirations of the elite and their worldview were partially authorized by the display of the subaltern.

Many of the native people displayed were from countries under colonial control; one such nation was Ireland. McGee regarded the Irish as a separate race and they were on display as much as the some of the other colonized nations. However, their display was more complex than the display of customs that was typical in, for example, the Philippine Reservation. Instead, the Irish were allowed to showcase their industrial talents and more sophisticated arts, such as theatre. The theatre performed at the LPE was supremely important to understanding the conceptions of the Irish that were depicted.

⁵ Nancy J. Parezo, and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition*, (Lincoln: U of Nebraska, 2007), 10

⁶ Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology*, 266



Figure 1: The Cascades. The State Historical Society of Missouri, "Scott Joplin," *Historic Missourians*

Touring the LPE

Before going into a more detailed account of the theatre, it is essential to take a diversion to orient it in the context of the entire LPE. The 1904 exposition represented not only how the organizers saw their world, but also how they saw the future of it. In reality, the fairground was a model city, complete with its own fire department. The city buildings were modeled after the ancient Greek and Roman structures with many columns; the buildings were made by pouring staff, a mixture

of plaster of paris and cement, over wooden frames to make intricate designs.⁷ It was designed in the shape of a giant fan with the Palace of the Fine Arts as the central building. This palace was the only permanent structure on the fairgrounds. It was placed high on Art Hill and overlooked the rest of the LPE. All the other palaces spread out beneath it, displaying the best the represented countries could bring. The palaces of Mines and Metallurgy; Education and Social Economy; Electricity; and Machinery, were closest to the central palace, while the palaces of Liberal Arts; Manufactures; Varied Industries; and Transportation were on the edge of the 'fan'. Along one outside rib of the fan were the Palace of Horticulture and the Palace of

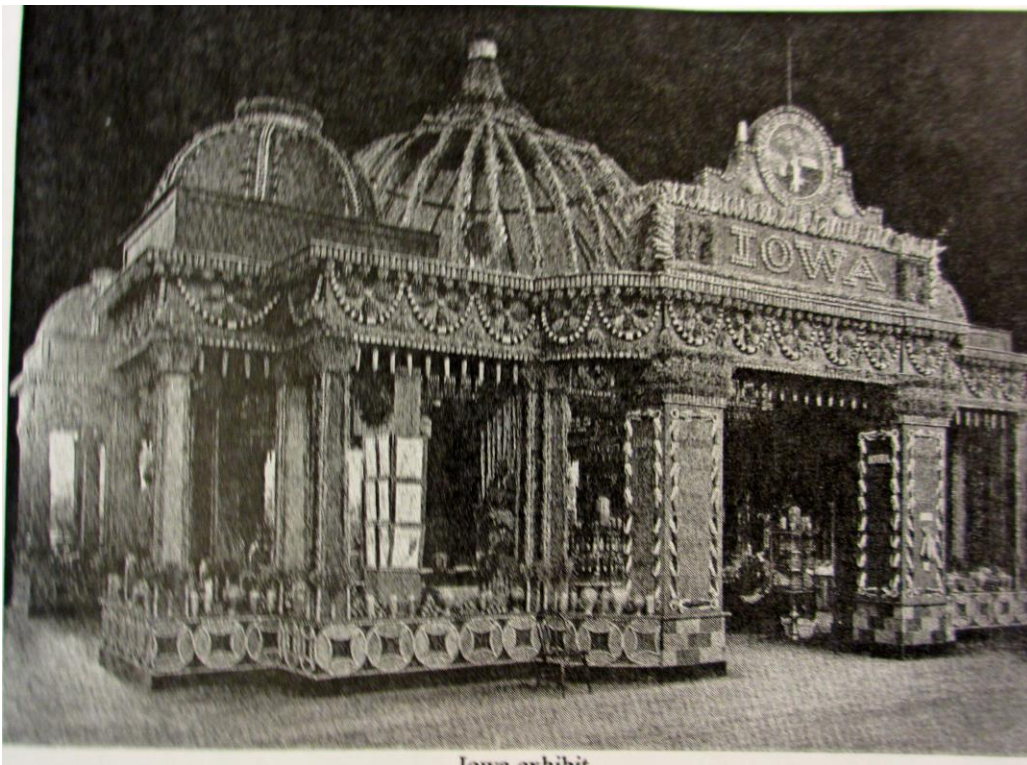


Figure 2: The Iowa Pavilion. *Inside the World's Fair of 1904*, 11

⁷ Tim Fox, and Duane R. Sneddeker, *From the Palaces to the Pike: Visions of the 1904 World's Fair* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1997.)

Agriculture; the other outside edge was devoted to the United States government. Each state was represented by a small palace of its own design; these palaces featured unique attributes of each state. For example, the Iowa exhibit was decorated with stylized ears of corn and mostly featured its agricultural advancements.

The primary focus of the LPE was education, through the design of David R. Francis, the president of the LPE. The universal expositions before this had focused on displays of goods and industries of world countries. With only a few exceptions, the universal expositions were also meant to promote the host country's national image. Specifically, the Exposition Universale, or Paris exposition of 1878, was held in the hopes of superseding the image of France as an object of pity and scorn, which persisted after the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune Revolt.⁸ The Vienna Weltausstellung of 1873 was structured to "boost the tarnished image of the Austro-Hungarian Empire."⁹ The American Exhibition of the Products, Arts and Manufactures of Foreign Nations, as the name suggests, had different rhetorical purposes. Held in Boston in 1883-1884, it did not feature any products from the United States.¹⁰

The 1904 exposition's aims closely resemble those surrounding the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris. The 1867 exposition was designed to be an answer to the 1862 London International Exposition, which was overshadowed by the memorable Crystal Palace at the British exposition of 1851. Emperor Napoleon

⁸ Findling, *Dictionary*, 63

⁹ Findling, *Dictionary*, 48

¹⁰ Findling, *Dictionary*, 80

used the 1867 exposition to venerate his empire. It was “an attempt to classify and organize every branch of human activity and to invest that activity with a moral purpose.”¹¹ Unlike the 1904 exhibit, which blatantly advocated for the advantages of continued imperialism, the 1867 exposition cloaked its imperialistic message under the conviction that “the bounty of nature could be transformed into universal harmony for the human race.”¹²

The first glimmer of what would become the extensive anthropological exhibits at the 1904 exhibition was seen at the 1878 Paris Exposition, where the nations exhibiting in the Palace of Industry were invited to build their own entrances to their exhibits. This collection was referred to as The Street of Nations, but though architectural diversity was featured, the people themselves were not yet objects of study.¹³ In 1886 the London Colonial and Indian Exhibition actually featured a Native Compound where visitors could view native craftsmen.¹⁴ This constitutes the first instance of natives working in situ, which would be featured so prominently in the Philippine Village in St. Louis. It was not until 1889 that an exhibition featured a pageant of “exotic cultures”, which were displayed “in an attractive jumble of huts, bazaars, and cafes attended by thousands of natives plying their crafts.”¹⁵ Anthropology became a focus within expositions beginning with the

¹¹ Findling, *Dictionary*, 31

¹² Findling, *Dictionary*, 31

¹³ Findling, *Dictionary*, 68

¹⁴ Findling, *Dictionary*, 95

¹⁵ Findling, *Dictionary*, 113

1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, with two displays of Native Americans.¹⁶

The 1898 Trans-Mississippi Exposition in Omaha featured an “Indian Congress,” which seems to have become a staple of other expositions. However, it was not until the St. Louis exposition that anthropology stepped into the limelight.

The organizers of the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition were concerned with promoting displays of a formal and classical nature, so they chose to locate amusement features outside of the LPE proper on a narrow strip of land called the Midway Plaisance. The Midway became infamous as a spot of seedy entertainment. This reputation continued with subsequent universal expositions in the United States, following Chicago’s example in sectioning off an area for entertainment. The LPE organizers hoped their entertainment section could avoid this stigma.

Exploring the Pike

As a first step in distancing, they named their amusement area “the Pike”. In the publication “The Piker”, the organizers explained this name; it was supposed to be reminiscent of the county road. The county pikes were the well-kept main roadways between towns and the county seat. It was the “ideal road” to match the ideal city.¹⁷ This mile-long street was not technically considered part of the LPE, but the LPE’s directors placed it strategically; it was between the two grand entrances to the LPE and had another outside entrance. As a visitor entered through the Lindell Boulevard grand entrance, seen in Figure 4, he would see a train station on his left

¹⁶ Bank, Rosemarie K. "Telling a Spatial History of the Columbian Exposition of 1893." *Modern Drama* 47, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 349-366. *Literary Reference Center*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 18, 2015), 353

¹⁷ David R. Francis, ed., “The Piker” in *The World’s Fair Bulletin* (St. Louis: World’s Fair Press, May, 1904), 1

with the model city septic tank right behind it, and on his right he would see the Tyrolean Alps rising majestically.



Figure 3: Lindell Boulevard Entrance. Fox and Sneddeker, *Palaces to the Pike*, 240

The organizers were insistent that the goal of education not be missing from the Pike. Each Pike concession was designed to perform some educational function, which was part of the proposal for their creation. The Galveston Flood allowed visitors to viscerally experience the horrific natural disaster; Royton's Naval Exhibit recreated naval battles using large model ships; and Ancient Rome displayed Roman architecture and art.¹⁸ Some exhibits' goals were more overtly didactic than others. The educational objective behind showing off the innovation of using incubators to

¹⁸ Fox, *Inside the World's Fair*, 221

treat premature infants was obvious. The educational intent of Water Chutes, large-scale water slides, was missing; instead, they were pure entertainment. The stigma of shady entertainment was not entirely avoided. The Pike famously has been described in the words of Edward McPherson “If the Pike had been a mile longer, it would have led to hell.”¹⁹ Many records speak of performances that were deemed “indecent” or “brazen”, especially the dancers in “Paris”.

Part of this reputation was, no doubt, owed to the openly mercantile nature of much of The Pike. Each attraction cost between ten and fifty cents for each person admitted. Once inside the attraction, there were numerous distractions to separate the visitor from his money. Several of the attractions on the Pike featured ethnic restaurants, and all had gift shops. The Pike was almost twice the size of the Chicago Midway, with 44 concessions compared to the Midway’s 25, and the estimated total cost for seeing all of the Pike attractions was \$20, much less than the \$35 it would have taken to see all of the Midway.²⁰

The Midway featured not one but *two* Irish Villages; however, the picture they presented of the Irish was significantly different from the one on the Pike. Lady Aberdeen organized one of the 1893 villages, and focused on her fascination with the Irish countryside. Her exhibit featured handcrafts that were largely outdated. The men doing the casting were “More concerned with finding pretty girls, than girls who could perform the crafts.” This resulted in many of these young women being taught

¹⁹ Francis, “The Piker”

²⁰ *The World’s Fair Bulletin* (June, 1904), 68

“traditional” crafts by Americans.²¹ By 1903, this exhibition had become derided in both the Irish and American presses.²² The president of the 1904 IIE, Thomas F. Hanley, was more concerned that Ireland be represented as a modern nation ready to take its place on the global stage. To emphasize this point, the Irish village officially was known as the Irish Industrial Exhibition (IIE hereafter).²³

Most of the Pike concessions had some sort of national affiliation. However, they generally were kept distant from the national displays in the LPE proper. It is also worth noting that, while the nations were represented, Americans generally organized these concessions with some help from representatives of the different countries. The Russian Village was the only presence on the fairgrounds from Russia, who had been planning to attend but could not due to the Russo-Japanese War (Feb 1904-Sept 1905). Japan, by contrast, was well represented by attraction Fair Japan as well as displays in all of the buildings. Japan’s aim at the LPE was, like the Irish, to show they were a modern nation ready to compete on a global scale. This was rather effectively underlined by their victories over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War.

McGee had an explanation for the sudden military successes, when asked by a *Post Dispatch* reporter he declared:

It’s the complexity of the blood. In the instance of the [Japanese] anthropologists find that they are the most complex nation of the Orient, just as the Anglo-Saxons ... were made the most complex nation of the Occident.²⁴

²¹ Maggie M. Williams, *Icons of Irishness from the Middle Ages to the Modern World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 83

²² M.J. Phillips, ed., *Irish Enthusiastic for Fair Exhibit*, *St. Louis Republic* August 4, 1903

²³ Francis, “The Piker,” 1

²⁴ Rydell, *All the World’s*, 181

In this way the Japanese were equated with Anglo Saxons and could fit into McGee's explanation for the races of man. This allowed the Japanese to overcome their non-whiteness and continue building their nation's global reputation. Japan did have the advantage over Ireland in achieving their mutual goals, since Ireland was still under colonial control while Japan was an independent nation.

The Pike was also where many so-called natives of different countries were displayed; the Cliff Dwellers, the Indian Congress in the "Wild West", and the Chinese Village are all examples of the display of native peoples. Because of McGee's intent that the anthropology exhibit be one of the LPE's main features, the most "exotic" people, such as the cannibals and headhunters, were reserved for the anthropology exhibit. At past universal expositions, they would have been displayed on the midway or Pike. Because of the Pike's prominent location McGee wanted to make sure that his message of evolution was carried out there as well. Parezo and Fowler explain that at first McGee considered some of the Pike concessions to be in competition with his displays, but as the LPE drew nearer, he extended the reach of his department to include some of the exhibits on the Pike. He had a list of favorite concessions toward which he directed visitors: Cummins's Indian Congress, the Cliff Dwellers, the Eskimo Village, Fair Japan, the Chinese Village, Mysterious Asia, the Gates of Jerusalem, the Tyrolean Alps, and the Irish Village.²⁵ Though some Irish manufacturers displayed

²⁵ Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology*, 237

Parezo and Fowler refer to the site as the Irish Village not the Irish Industrial Exposition

their goods under the aegis of Great Britain, the real display of Irish ingenuity was located on the Pike.²⁶

Robert Rydell states that,

[The LPE organizers] were out to build American society well into the 20th century as far as the eye could see ... They also did this with displays of indigenous people through the anthropology exhibits. Because what they wanted to do was project an image of American society that would show who would be in and in what capacity. Who would be included in American society. And who would not be so welcome in this city of the future.²⁷

The same logic of exclusion can be used when examining the Irish display on the Pike. The Irish were not included in the city of the future except as part of the British Empire (and a very small part at that), or as a sideshow attraction. They were not given the same stature as the Japanese.

Addressing the Irish

David R. Francis, the President of the LPE, applauded the participation of Irishmen in the organization of the entire LPE and pronounced himself to be “rejoiced to see that in addition they had a national representation of their own country, to which America owed so much,” invoking the image of Ireland as America’s metropole.²⁸ In his address at the opening of the IIE he also said,

The co-operation also of the department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, with the concurrence of the British Royal Commission, had been a point of the greatest consequence, and had given to

²⁶ David R. Francis, *The Universal Exposition of 1904*, (St. Louis, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1913), 574

²⁷ Robert Rydell, “Race the Power of an Illusion,” *PBS.org* accessed 1/12/2015, http://www.pbs.org/race/000_About/002_04-background-02-11.htm

²⁸ Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, comp., *Ireland’s Exhibit at the Fair: Formal Opening and Dedication*, (St.. Louis: World’s Fair Press, April, 1904), 3

this combined industrial, historic and artistic exhibition a character possessed, perhaps, by no other on the grounds.²⁹

Francis was quite right to state that this co-operation made the IIE unique in the LPE, but it was not necessarily a positive uniqueness, despite the optimistic tone of his address. This cooperation was continually accented by the media in their discussions of the IIE; as a result, Ireland was consistently referred to as a colony of Britain, subverting the projection of Ireland as an independent nation.



Figure 4: The Irish Industrial Exposition. *The World's Fair Bulletin* (March, 1904), 6

The Irish Village on the Pike, seen in Figure 5, was very similar in construction to the one sponsored by Lady Aberdeen on the Midway. The village took up 6.25 acres. The designers made conscious choices about which buildings

²⁹Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, comp., *Ireland's Exhibit at the Fair*, 3

would best represent their vision of Ireland. There were two entrances to the village; one entrance was through the St. Lawrence Gate. Above the gate was a sign saying “Irish Village: Our Theatre is Heated,” shown in Figure 6.³⁰



Figure 5: IIE Entrance. Fox and Sneddeker, *Palaces to the Pike*, 225

To the left of the gate a small cottage sat as a picture of pastoral Ireland. Although the house looked simple, it was of great interest, especially to the Irish-Americans at the LPE, for this house was the ancestral home of former President William McKinley. Particularly interesting is that McKinley’s grandfather, Francis McKinlay, was one of the rebels killed in the 1798 rebellion. His torture and burial was depicted in a series of paintings within the cottage.³¹ Here again Ireland is painted as the America’s metropole, providing great men to the country, even a

³⁰ Fox and Sneddeker, *Palaces to the Pike*, 225

³¹ Fox, *Inside the World’s Fair*, 53

president. The issue of rebellion rose again in a seemingly mundane form: dirt. Twenty-four tons of earth, six from each of the provinces of Ireland, was shipped to the exhibit.³² James Reardon, one of the organizers of the IIE, told *The St. Louis Republic* that the dirt was to be from historic spots in Ireland. He specifically mentioned that some of the dirt was to come from “the bloody acre,” used during Cromwell’s time as a place of slaughter. Supposedly, “every grain of that dirt is filled with blood.”³³ This was a potent reminder of some of the wrongs Ireland had suffered under Britain and why they needed to be unhampered by the British yoke.

The Industrial Hall had 24,000 square feet of display space, which was amply filled by the over 500 manufacturers eager to display at the Exhibition.³⁴ The exhibit was organized to include sections on, “General Industries: home, cottage and art industries; educational; minerals and statistics and intelligence; historic art industries and relics; historic engravings, portraits, etc.”³⁵ The Cormac Chapel set upon the Rock of Cashel was widely advertised as one of the churches on the fairgrounds and occupied a corner of the exhibit next to the Blarney Castle replica(see Figure 7). Blarney Castle was a scaled down version of the original, and thrill seekers could dangle over the edge to kiss a replica of the Blarney Stone. The inside was transformed. Instead of a drafty castle interior, the structure boasted a modern theatre; the only heated one on the fairgrounds.³⁶ Irish dramas would unfold within.

³²M.J. Phillips, ed., “Reardon Discusses Ireland’s Exhibit,” *St. Louis Republic*, April 17, 1904

³³ Phillips, ed., “Reardon Discusses Ireland’s Exhibit”

³⁴Henry King, ed., “Ireland at St. Louis,” *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, December 3, 1903

³⁵ M.J. Phillips, ed., “Irish Exhibit to Picture Country,” *St. Louis Republic*, April 2, 1904

³⁶*The World’s Fair Bulletin* (June, 1904), 68

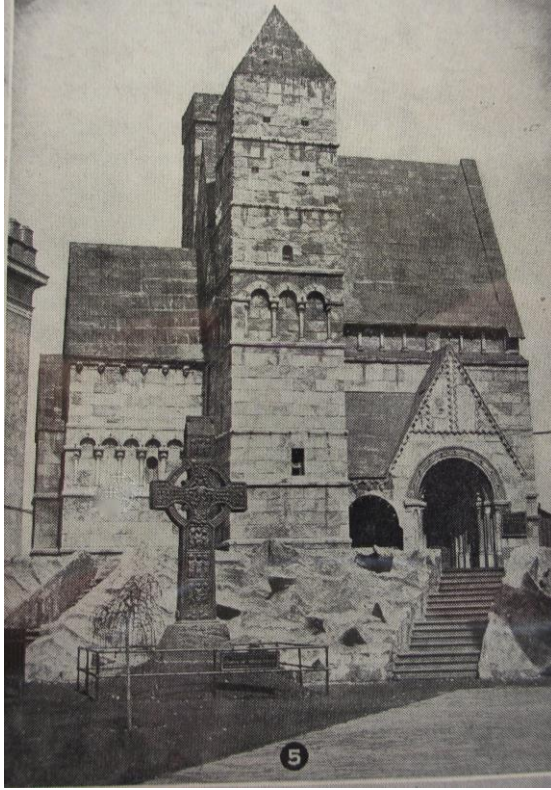


Figure 6: Cormac's Chapel. *The World's Fair Bulletin* (November, 1904), 5

The old Parliament Building stood on one of the most visible sides of the exhibit, and was the main entrance. No one could fail to notice its dignified columns and the resemblance between this building and those great ones on the fairground proper. This was a symbol that Ireland brought of its independence. It said 'not only are we ready to move on with our independence, but we have been ready for a long time'. The building was transformed into one of the nicer restaurants on the fairgrounds, with a menu that would appeal to Americans' best idea of Irish home cooking.³⁷

Like most of the other Pike concessions, the IIE did have an amusement ride. In the village, visitors could board a jaunty cart, driven by a handsome specimen of

³⁷Irish Industrial Exposition, *Bill of Fare: The Old Parliament House*, St. Louis, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904. Missouri History Museum Archives (St. L 606.09415 OLI).

Irish manhood, and jounce their way along The Rocky Road to Dublin.³⁸ Along the way they would view not only the buildings previously described but also murals of the Irish countryside.³⁹

Doctor J.J. Kane was one of the delegates from the LPE to Ireland and England in 1903, along with P.J. O'Brien; he told the *St. Louis Republic* that, "there was all the more reason for Ireland making a grand display seeing that the cost of the project rendered it highly improbable that another exhibition would be held on such a scale for many years to come. That being the case, ... and seeing that all the nations of the earth are to be represented, we want Ireland and her industries well represented."⁴⁰ The general opinion of the Irish people was against displaying in a corner of the British exhibits again. This sentiment was expressed more vigorously because the LPE was being organized during the 100th anniversary of the uprising of the Dublin Liberties, instigated by Robert Emmet, which became an example later used by Pearse in the Easter Week Uprising of 1916.⁴¹ The British Royal Commission officially gave its blessing for the IIE to be Ireland's primary display at the LPE.⁴² The manufacturers and supporters of the exhibit were excited to display their goods in a distinctly Irish area of the LPE. They expressed an absolute conviction that the Irish products, especially lace, marble, and carpets, would stand out among the displays from other nations.⁴³ The goal of the commission was to gain displays

³⁸ *The World's Fair Bulletin* (June, 1904), 68

³⁹ *The World's Fair Bulletin* (April, 1904), 5

⁴⁰ Phillips, ed., Irish Enthusiastic for Fair Exhibit," *St Louis Republic*, August 4, 1903

⁴¹ Phillips, ed., Irish Enthusiastic for Fair Exhibit," *St Louis Republic*

Alvin Jackson, *Ireland, 1798-1998*, (Oxford, UK, Blackwell,1999), 22, 205

⁴² M.J. Phillips, ed., "British to Display Irish Industries," *St. Louis Republic*, June 9, 1903

⁴³ Phillips, ed., Irish Enthusiastic for Fair Exhibit," *St Louis Republic*, August 4, 1903

from each county in Ireland, so that Ireland, through the coherence of its material culture and the inclusion of northern goods, would be presented as a unified nation. There was another motivation behind the industrial display; in a letter to *The St. Louis Republic* Reardon lists the Irish resources that would be on display and boldly stated that capital investment in Ireland was an obvious choice once the display had been viewed.⁴⁴ Manufactured goods were not the only focus of the exhibition. Collections of old manuscripts and antiques were prominently displayed, including the famous Book of Kells, the Ardagh Chalice, and the Cross of Cong, all relics of Ireland's pre-colonial culture.⁴⁵

Performing Irishness

One of the most advertised features, and the one that is of most concern for this paper, was the drama performed in the Blarney Castle replica. Six members of an Irish Dramatic Company journeyed from Ireland to perform AE's *Deirdre*; the company members were Dudley Diggs, Gerald A. Ewing, Charles Caulfield, Patrick Kelly, Mary Quinn, and Elizabeth Young.⁴⁶ It is possible that once in St. Louis, they recruited additional actors from the local population.⁴⁷ They were not the only performers to grace the stage in St. Louis. They were joined by six jig dancers, five

⁴⁴ M.J. Phillips, ed., "Irish Industries Ready for Fair," *St. Louis Republic*, February 21, 1904

⁴⁵ Phillips, ed., "Irish Enthusiastic for Fair Exhibit," *St. Louis Republic*, August 4, 1903

Patrick Ford, ed., "The Irish Exhibit," *The Irish World*, Nov 15, 1904, 5

AE was the penname of George Russell

⁴⁶ Phillips, ed., "Reardon Discusses Ireland's Exhibit," *St. Louis Republic*, April 17, 1903

"Manifest for Etruria: Sailing from Queenstown," *Ellis Island Records*, 4/24/1904, 725-733

"World's Fair Irish Exhibit," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, March 27, 1904 lists the actors as Elizabeth Young, Shela Dillon, Mary Quinn, Dudley Diggs, Gerald Ewing, and Patrick Kelly

There is an alternate list of people who went in Peter Kuch's *Yeats and AE*: Kuch says that Dudley Diggs, C. Caulfield, Marie T. Quinn, Elizabeth Young, and P.J. Kelly went to the fair.

⁴⁷ William Barnaby Faherpty, "World's Fair and World War" in *The St. Louis Irish: An Unmatched Celtic Community* (Saint Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 2001), 153-161

vocalists, one harpist, and two bagpipe players.⁴⁸ One of the vocalists was John McCormack, a young tenor who would soon rise to worldwide fame. He opened the theatre on the first official day of the IIE.⁴⁹ There was a marching band of between forty and sixty men (the records cite both numbers); they were advertised as the band of “Sixty Sober Irishmen.” They were actually the Dublin Army Band; this form of advertising hinted at the controversies over the stage Irishman that were to come.⁵⁰

Ireland has a history of domination and even more so of resistance. Bandit heroes are celebrated in songs such as “The Wearing of the Green” and “The Minstrel Boy.” At the time of the LPE, Ireland was still under Great Britain’s colonial control. It had been over 100 years since the last major rebellion, the Irish Rebellion of 1798. The failed Fenian Rising of 1867 made the Irish Fenian an easy boogiemán.⁵¹ Much of the paranoia surrounding the Fenian movement was generated out of the perception that the movement was orchestrated by Irish Americans. The *Weekly Dispatch* published a statement that “The Irish rebellion has its source and centre in America, from thence comes its inspiration, its military chest, its leaders, its organization.”⁵² Sometimes, this generation of Irish men and women are considered to be less rebellious than their forbears, but they were simply employing different methods of resistance more consistent with the situation in which they were living. At this point Ireland had several members in the British

⁴⁸ Phillips, ed., “Reardon Discusses Ireland’s Exhibit,” *St. Louis Republic*, April 17, 1903

⁴⁹ Fox, *Inside the World’s Fair*, 52

⁵⁰ Fox, *Inside the World’s Fair*, 53

⁵¹ Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 144-146

⁵² De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, 147

Parliament, but there was a large amount of division between those who had supported Charles Stuart Parnell, and those who had not. In the wake of Parnell's death, John Redmond took over as the Parnellites' leader. Redmond was an advocate for Home Rule, a policy under which Ireland would be an independent nation under the auspices of Great Britain with its own Parliament and government – much like Canada. There was also a very vocal faction that was against Home Rule, claiming that only a truly independent republic would suffice.

The IIE was a display to the world of the positive potential of Ireland as a free nation. Nonetheless, there was a persistent transcript of resistance in the village from the moment the Irish participants arrived in St. Louis. The Irish band began playing “The Wearing of the Green” and continued to play despite the attempts of police to make them cease.⁵³ The popular song's chorus:

*Oh the wearing of the green
 Oh the wearing of the green
 For their hanging men and women
 For the wearing of the green*

refers to the British repression of supporters of the Rebellion of 1798. In June, the rebellion of several of the Irish actors showed another hidden layer of resistance, which was not exposed in the transcripts of the dominant group. James C. Scott's *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* is essential in understanding the complex interactions between the dominant and subordinate groups involved in the IIE. In a time of relative peace, this will help to further clarify the actual statements of the IIE, and how they were being made. Scott's analysis of the effects of even minor

⁵³ M.J. Phillips, ed., “Stalwart Men and Pretty Girls Represent Ireland at the Fair,” *St. Louis Republic*, April 26, 1904

The story does not specify why the police were trying to silence the band.

rebellions on a society contextualizes the actors' rebellion as the valiant act of defiance it truly was. Using Scott also illuminates the reasons that the actors' revolt is absent from the literature surrounding the LPE.

The Chain of Power in the IIE

When examining the LPE, there are several dominant groups to whom the participants of the IIE would have been subject. The first and most directly responsible for the IIE performers are the organizers of the LPE: specifically Francis, the director of the LPE; Frederick J.V. Skiff, the director of exhibits; and McGee, the director of anthropology. These three men were the most responsible for devising the goals and expectations of the LPE and were also in charge of many of the LPE press releases and the publishing of *The World's Fair Bulletin*. The organizers of the IIE were subordinate to these men. These organizers had to meet the approval of the LPE directors before they could begin work on the village: Reardon was the main organizer of the IIE, but the British Government also had to give its approval for the plans for the IIE. No authority from Ireland was asked for approval. Since Ireland was still in Great Britain's power, it was that government which needed to approve how the Irish would be represented.

The relation of all of these powers of domination may be more clearly explained using the listing of "frames" as enumerated by Viktor and Edie Turner in their article "Performing Ethnography". Turner stresses that framing means a portion of a community's life and culture must be selected to be performed.

It is often reflexive, in that, to "frame, " a group must cut out a piece of itself for inspection (and retrospection). To do this it must create – by rules of exclusion and inclusion – a bordered space and privileged time within which

images and symbols of what has been sectioned off can be “relived” scrutinized, assessed, revalued, and, if needs be, remodeled and rearranged.⁵⁴

It is crucial that the idea of creating a bordered space and privileged time is understood in the context of Scott, who asserts that it is always the dominant who defines the regions of what is public and what is hidden. The first frame, which sets the interconnection of all of the others, was the relationship between Ireland and Great Britain. Britain allowed this public space of the IIE to exist and in so doing ensured the existence of the concession itself would not be seen as an act of rebellion. The next frame is the frame of the entire LPE. The goals of its directors would shape everything allowed to be associated with the LPE. Specifically, they were determined to educate the masses. William F. Slocum, president of Colorado College in 1904, saw the LPE as the model university of the future and described the people who he thought would benefit most from visiting the LPE:

the great mass of unlearned, if not unlettered, people whose first really wide outlook is to come to them now, and that other class possible as large, who have never known the widening influence of travel, but have learned from their reading the fact that here much that the ordinary traveler may fail to see is made accessible to them.⁵⁵

So the IIE was framed to be widely accessible; the formula was: let the masses learn. The third frame is that of the anthropological goals of the LPE, since the IIE was specifically listed by McGee as one of the Pike concessions that fit with his overall design for anthropology at the LPE. The fourth frame was set by the men organizing the IIE, especially Reardon, and their goals. They wanted to show Ireland’s potential as an industrialized nation, the specifics of which will be explored later. The concept

⁵⁴ Victor Turner, Eddie Turner, “Performing Ethnography,” in *The Performance Studies Reader*, Henry Bial, ed., (New York: Routledge, 2007), 324

⁵⁵ Rydell, *All the World's*, 155

here was to let the masses glorify Ireland and build her reputation. Myles J. Murphy was the director of amusements, having direct control over the actors and other IIE performers.⁵⁶ The frame has narrowed from international politics, to 1,272 acres, to a concession and will narrow even further. The next frame is actually determined, to some extent, by the Irish actors. This is the frame presented with in the theatre itself, that of the play. The actors chose to perform AE's *Deirdre*, though Yeats denied them the option to perform other plays. Yeats did not trust the players to do the performance credibly; he also was planning on touring the Irish National Theatre in the United States within the next couple of years and wanted to reserve his plays for that troupe.⁵⁷ The formula that exists within this frame will be explored in the next chapter.

The subordinate group was the Irish people at large as they were represented by the participants at the IIE. Irish manufacturers had some say in how their products were displayed, but also encountered discrimination, which will be discussed in chapter II. The group brought over from Ireland were the living exhibits and performers in the village. There was almost certainly a hierarchy among these subordinates. It is possible that the performers who needed to have special skills could be above the others in a hierarchy. For instance, the people who were quoted specifically in the newspaper article about the Irish arriving in St. Louis were all actors. Other members of the IIE were quoted but not named. The written records of the LPE primarily are in newspaper stories, *The World's Fair Bulletin*, and

⁵⁶ M.J. Logan, ed., *An Gaodhal Vol 23*, Brooklyn, 1904. GoogleEbooks, 137

⁵⁷ Peter Kuch, *Yeats and A.E.: The Antagonism That Unites Dear Friends* (Gerrards Cross, Bucks: Colin Smythe, 1986), 220

other official records. So, as is the case with much of history, anyone wishing to know more about the conditions of the subordinates must read between the lines of the dominant transcript. The hidden transcript, which will be speculated on in chapter III, generally does not appear in such publications. Scott's assertion is that one cannot assume the behavior that subordinates display in front of those with more power than themselves is their true face. Scott says, "Without a privileged peek backstage or a rupture in the performance we have no way of calling into question the status of what might be a convincing but feigned performance."⁵⁸ One example that he refers to repeatedly is that of the fictional Mrs. Poyser, from George Eliot's *Adam Bede*, who in finally speaking her mind to her landlord, Squire Donnithorne, allows the hidden transcript to become known. Mrs. Poyser had displayed all of the necessary signs of respect that she needed to as a matter of daily survival, until she was pushed over the edge. One of the particularly interesting aspects of her speech that Scott points out is that it was in many ways written by the entire community and composed of their collective complaints against the Squire.⁵⁹

Scott states the subordinate groups are frequently socialized into accepting a view of their interests from above. This is his response to the idea of hegemonic incorporation propounded by Gramsci, because the evidence clearly shows that, for example, slaves do not believe their slavery is either just or inevitable.⁶⁰ Certainly, the Irish have a long history of protesting their treatment at the hands of the British government. The message of the universal expositions was certainly an attempt to

⁵⁸ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), 4

⁵⁹ Scott, *Domination*, 7-8

⁶⁰ Scott, *Domination*, 19-20

normalize a view of the world that privileges the white male. Skiff, the director of exhibits, chose to organize his exhibits in order to display “a sequential synopsis of the developments that have marked man’s progress.” The LPE itself had sixteen categories of exhibits. The first rank consisted of the departments of Education, Art, Liberal Arts, and Applied Sciences (Manufactures, Machinery, Electricity, and Transportation), which, according to Skiff, “equip [man] for the battle and prepare him for the enjoyments in life.” Man’s uses of the forces of nature, and his implied command over these forces, was displayed in the departments of Agriculture, Horticulture, Mining, Forestry, and Fish and Game. Three areas were considered unique enough to stand on their own: Social Economy, “where man considers the welfare of communities”; Physical Culture, “where it is demonstrated that a sound mind and moral character demand a healthy body”; and, most importantly, Anthropology, the study of man. Skiff favored Anthropology as the overarching aim of the LPE claiming “a universal exposition is a vast museum of anthropology and ethnology, of man and his works.”⁶¹ This attitude led to the appointment of McGee as the director of the Anthropology Department, who desired to use the exposition to promote his personal theories on the evolution of man. Like many of his colleagues and predecessors his observations were derived from phrenology, the study of human skull shapes, and were based on the theory of unilateral evolution that had been developing since the 1860s.⁶² McGee carried this concept further by asserting that the forces behind the upward evolution of humanity, which he saw as

⁶¹ Rydell, *All the World's*, 159-160

This entire paragraph is sourced from Rydell who is one of the best secondary records of the LPE

⁶² Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology*, 10

fact, were cephalization – the gradual increase in cranial capacity of different races – and cheirization – the regular improvement of manual dexterity among the races. By these arguments McGee constructed the anthropological justification of the white man’s burden.⁶³

While it is possible that a person of color or a person belonging to one of the races McGee termed less evolved would look at the LPE and believe in their own inferiority, it is more likely that this served to reinforce the dominant ideology for the members of the dominant group. Scott says that while dominants may intend to convince subordinates of their place, “Any argument claiming that the ideological efforts of ruling elites are directed at convincing subordinates that their subordination is just must confront a good deal of evidence suggesting that it often fails to achieve its purpose.”⁶⁴ A good deal of stereotyping was present in the newspaper articles surrounding the LPE, especially in cartoons. One cartoon that appeared in an article advertising the Pike concessions was topped with the caption “International Complications are Certain to Bob Up Now and Then” (see Figure 8). The satirical tone of this caption is assured by the other cartoon accompanying the story, with the same caption, which depicts an “African native” talking to a “Moor”. The African man, with highly exaggerated features that make him resemble a monkey asks the

⁶³ Lee D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 1998), 69

⁶⁴ Scott, *Domination*, 68



Figure 7: International Complications. *St. Louis Post Dispatch*

other man, “What do you think of the Panama question?”⁶⁵ The appearance of the two men is meant to make the question ridiculous. After all Panama is part of the “White man’s burden” and not to be considered by such men as these.

⁶⁵ M.J. Phillips, ed., “Here is the Pike, You Can Take a Peek,” *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, January 15, 1904

While much of the language used to describe the Irish people throughout the LPE literature and the newspaper stories has a positive, if stereotypical slant, the cartoon showing the many nationalities on the Pike brings up a more negative image. The character on the bottom left of the cartoon appears to be a monkey or gorilla wearing a top hat and a puzzled expression. This image matches many of the images that had been appearing in British political cartoons since the late eighteenth century, as documented by Michael de Nie in his book *The Eternal Paddy*, which details how the Irish were portrayed in the British press from 1798 through 1882. Members of the Fenian movement – which was comprised of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Fenian Brotherhood, and members of the Irish Land League – frequently were depicted as apes. The goals of the Fenian movement, which wanted to establish an independent Irish republic through armed force, were deeply troubling to the British populace. Although Fenian panic only held sway in Britain for a few years, from 1867-1870, the images associated with it carried on for longer.⁶⁶

In many ways, the villages on the Pike and the ones inside the LPE proper closely resemble the ideal Potemkin villages created for Katherine the Great when she wished to tour Russia to see how the common people lived. Teams of workers would travel ahead of her and fix up the villages so the peasants would seem happy. Likewise, many fair visitors left with the picture of naively content natives. The language used in *The World's Fair Bulletin* enforced this impression repeatedly referring to members of different groups as “graceful”, “funny”, and “darling.” Fair

⁶⁶ De Nie, *Eternal Paddy*, 146

goers were also conditioned by McGee's displays to feel that the lives of the indigenous people were improved by western education, which was showcased in the Model Indian School and the school on the Philippine Reservation. These schools were the reflection of McGee's assertion that in this time period "perfected man is over-spreading the world." The vision of perfection was, of course, the Caucasian man, specifically "The two higher culture-grades – especially the Caucasian race, and (during recent decades) the budding enlightenment of Britain and full-blown enlightenment of America." McGee thought to improve meant "the extinction of the lower grades as their representatives rise to higher grades."⁶⁷ Thus, the LPE was one more opportunity for the civilized cultures to uplift the less educated and evolved races, but it also served to eliminate the unworthy from the public transcript. One of the transgressive draws of the LPE for white people was the opportunity to rub shoulders with people of different nations. Several of the articles in the *World's Fair Bulletin* emphasize this sea of humanity with pictures of the crowds on opening day. One elaborates on the "cosmopolitan spirit pervading the Pike" by describing the opening of Mysterious Asia where "some of the best known families in St. Louis mixed indiscriminately with the hoi polloi of oriental life."⁶⁸ However, in reality much of the LPE was segregated. For example, Scott Joplin was only allowed to play on the Pike because his music was not considered to be appropriate for the more refined areas of the LPE.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Rydell, *All the World's*, 161

⁶⁸ *The World's Fair Bulletin* (June, 1904), 68

⁶⁹ The State Historical Society of Missouri, "Scott Joplin"
<http://shs.umsystem.edu/historicmissourians/name/j/joplin/>

Scott notes that in the typical hierarchy of relationships, no connection is shown between subordinates. Their only connection is their master. This structure reflects the dominant group's fear of subordinates communicating with each other and their desire to prevent subordinates thinking of themselves as entities apart from their master.⁷⁰ In June of 1904, McGee listed several Pike concessions he felt had ethnological value in their displays: Cummins's Indian Congress, Tobin's Cliff Dwelling, Crane's Eskimo Village, Fair Japan, the Chinese Village, Mysterious Asia, the Tyrolean Alps, the Gates of Jerusalem, and the Irish Village. He did not include concessions that featured Native Africans, black Americans, and Southeast Asians because they did not support his conceptual scheme of human progress.⁷¹ The only connection advertised between these concessions was the connection McGee gave them. While the Pike could have been seen as a gathering of subordinates who could potentially form bonds with one another, this list, the jokes of "International Complications", and the white male organizers of each concession reassured the audience that these groups were only connected by their superordinates. Ireland had a further connection to the rest of the LPE. Its connection to Britain was advertised in most stories about the Pike, and the fact that Britain had granted permission for this display was emphasized. These assertions kept Ireland firmly in the subordinate category despite the success of its industrial displays. Presumably, this is what the IIE's organizers strained against, making them rogue dominants.

Because the British gave permission for the construction of the IIE, the gathering of people there could be viewed as an authorized gathering of

⁷⁰ Scott, *Domination*, 62

⁷¹ Parezo and Fowler, *Anthropology* 237-238

subordinates, much like the crowds attending a parade. Also, much like a parade, the IIE was designed around a very specific central ideology. Four main aspects of Ireland were emphasized in the publicity and the artifacts featured in the exhibit; the order of importance that was ascribed to these attributes would depend who was ranking them. One of the primary foci was certainly: Ireland is industrial. This was emphasized by the official name of the concession. Unlike the villages at the Chicago exposition, the main focus of Ireland's industry was machinery instead of on the cottage industries. Beginning with the loud and popular machinery gallery at the 1851 London Exposition, large machines were some of the most memorable features of the universal expositions, and now Ireland was a part of that tradition.⁷²

The pastoral aspects of the Emerald Isle and Ireland's value as a site of romantic nostalgia were still central features of the exhibit. Blarney Castle, the Cormac Chapel, and the McKinley cottage were all features that exemplified Ireland's romantic past. The presence of "rosy cheeked girls" dancing in the village only added to the pastoral mystic.⁷³ A contrast to the perceived simplicity of pastoral life was the emphasis on the educated and non-British culture of Ireland as displayed in the ancient manuscripts and the dramas that were presented in the Blarney theatre. The initial advertisements specifically mentioned plays by Yeats, and even though none of his plays were performed, these advertisements still set the tone for what type of drama was to be expected.

⁷² Findling, *Dictionary*, 7

⁷³ M.J. Phillips, ed., "Stalwart Men and Pretty Girls Represent Ireland at the Fair," *St. Louis Republic*, April 26, 1904

The final, and perhaps most subtle, of the main themes was that Ireland was a self-governing nation: an obvious nod to the Home Rule movement. The parliament building is the obvious symbol of government in the IIE, and it was augmented by the visit of several Irish parliamentarians, including John Redmond, in September. However this theme is most apparent in the speeches given by the organizers and their guests at the opening of the IIE. Archbishop Glennon, who was invited by the organizers to speak at the opening, said:

he saw all around him when he visited Ireland evidences that the shackles of ages were falling from Ireland's limbs. Her religion had been emancipated, her industries were now emancipated, and the time of her political emancipation could not be long delayed, for freedom and success in one direction promoted the same objects in every other as well.⁷⁴

However, they felt Ireland would certainly need the help of the descendants of the greatest resource that she had sent to the United States, her people, in shaking off the chains of her bondage to Britain. T.P. Gill, the secretary of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, explained the circumstances that resulted in the IIE being located on the Pike. The Department for Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland was one of the main partners in organizing the exhibit. Gill thought that Irish industries would be lost amidst the displays of the greater industrial nations and that:

Ireland's need was too sharp and urgent for those who are charged with looking after her interests to stand upon ceremony where a chance of doing a good stroke of business for her presented itself, and they were entrusted with the duty of promoting her industrial interest by every means open to them could only adopt one course as practical and earnest men.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, comp., *Ireland's Exhibit at the Fair*, 3

⁷⁵ Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, comp., *Ireland's Exhibit at the Fair*, 5

These goals, especially being stated by wealthy and prominent men in positions of power, open up the possibility of what Scott defines as rogue dominants. The organizers of the LPE and the village were very clear in their desire to see Ireland as an independent country, or a state such as Canada. And while they certainly saw the United States as a superior country, they also believed that it was because of the immigration of many Irishmen.

The Irish-Americans owed much to the old country, which preserved for them their soul and sent them there, if poor in other respects, with a priceless jewel in their possession. (Applause.) He would not dwell upon that debt – that sacred debt – for it had been nobly understood. But the American nation owed a debt to the country which had contributed so valuable an element of her population as the Irish-Americans - an element whose great part in the building up of this republic from the earliest days is beginning to be fully recognized – an element which furnished virtuous and able citizens in every walk of life, which in every city in the Union could parallel the same scene which he saw around him to-day, an array of citizens of the highest consequence and character of the city. Now Ireland was contributing a precious asset to the population of America, she was giving her own population, which America was draining away. That asset was now becoming more valuable than ever, with the improvement of education at home, with the very work of technical education, which their department was doing. They were often charged with training up population for America – with spending their slender funds on doing work of which the American nation would reap the benefit (hear, hear!), and this was true, and they must go on doing it; it was an inevitable part of their duty.⁷⁶

By raising the Irish race so much in his speech, Gill gave the subordinate group, especially of those working in the village, power. Because of the tensions that exist in most relationships between dominants and subordinates, Scott asserts that any power given to the dominants to serve the subordinates will be taken advantage of

⁷⁶Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, comp., *Ireland's Exhibit at the Fair*, 8-10

by the subordinates.⁷⁷ It does not matter if this power was only to give a show of service or if it was a genuine offer. Gill's speech continued:

America owed them in Ireland something –something for which she could easily give the return Ireland most needed and would most esteem. She owed them more than she owed to other nations. (Hear, hear!) Why? Because while other nations were sending to America the normal surplus of increasing population, Ireland was sending her vital stream, her life blood itself. ... And could they, in America, afford to see the extinction of that old, yet youthful race, which had not yet had its day? (No, no!) Could they afford to draw no more on that noble stock whose qualities the sun of favoring circumstance had yet to make flourish and to flower ... No, they cannot afford, nor could the so-called "English-speaking world" afford, that this race should die ere it had had its chance of coming to maturity and fruition and fulfilling the mission for which God had placed them in the world.⁷⁸

Emigration was framed a debt which America should pay. With the other statements released about the IIE spurring investment in Ireland, the form of repayment was probably meant to be investment in the country; however, this call could be seen as an injunction to support Ireland militarily in their independence efforts. Because the organizers of the IIE spoke so openly about their desire to help the Irish and their conviction that they were helping, they also opened themselves up to the attack that they are not fulfilling their stated function. This is what happened. Several of the Irish actors chose to either ignore their subordinate role, or were emboldened by the promises of aid in the opening speeches. It is even possible that these speeches began a rumor of independence within the IIE. If nothing else, these wealthy and powerful Americans with Irish sympathies were

⁷⁷ Scott, *Domination*, 95

⁷⁸ It should be noted that the parenthetical notations in these quotes and the ellipses were inserted in the original document. The parenthetical notations were the responses of the audience as noted by the author of the packet.

exactly the people that various nationalist and revolutionary groups would depend on for financial assistance in their independence efforts.

CHAPTER III

MORE THAN CASTLES:

THE IRISH NARRATIVE AT THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION

The old adage, “there are two sides to every story” certainly applies in the context of the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition (LPE). Enormous palaces and glowing accounts of the wonders of every nation displayed belong to the dominant transcript. The hidden transcript is by definition harder to find. However, careful reading of newspaper stories and official statements from officials of the LPE give hints at a tumultuous undercurrent. In the Irish Industrial Exposition (IIE), the breakthrough of rebellion came in the resignation of three Irish actors. The rebellion and its instigators were not tolerated by the organizers of the LPE and IIE. James C. Scott’s *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* is very helpful in understanding the scope and consequences of this rebellion. This is an especially difficult case because of the presences of rogue dominants as the organizers of the Irish Industrial Exposition; the organizers hoped to promote Ireland as an independent country. The conflict between their stated goals and the rebellion of the actors enhances the uncertainty of what truly happened in the IIE.

What Will Play at the LPE?

The dialog of resistance began before any performers for the IIE even arrived in America. The advertisements in the *World’s Fair Bulletin* indicate the IIE’s organizers were hoping to prominently feature the plays of W.B. Yeats in the theatre. The first advertisement, in April, specifically mentioned both Yeats and

Russell (penname AE).¹ An advertisement in May said that the dramas would be by “Yeats and other Irish poets”.² These minor uncertainties in the advertising were the only official American record of a heated debate that was taking place in Ireland.

Reardon, in his capacity as commissioner, approached the Irish National Theatre Society asking them to come to St. Louis and act in some Irish plays.

At first they were eager to go, but when they realized that they would all have to give up their jobs and form themselves into a professional company because they would have to stay in America for several months, they all, with the exception of P.J. Kelly declined.³

When the Society was first formed, under the title of the Irish National Dramatic Company, one of their main principles was that all of the actors were to have amateur status. This status allowed for a feeling of volunteerism, which initially led to cohesive community before Yeats began to narrow the focus of the Company to be more in line with his goals and aesthetics.⁴

The actors of the company were all members of nationalist organizations around Dublin – Inghinidhe na hEireann, the Celtic Literary Society, and the Gaelic League – and (except for the organizers, the Fays) were amateurs who saw their work in the theatre as primarily a nationalist enterprise.⁵

This amateur status was almost threatened by the exploits of Dudley Digges and Marie Garvey, who took numerous professional engagements outside the society, so in 1902, a new bylaw of the Society was passed so that any member who wished to

¹*The World's Fair Bulletin* (April, 1904), 56

²*The World's Fair Bulletin* (May, 1904), 18

³Peter Kuch, *Yeats and A.E.: The Antagonism That Unites Dear Friends* (Gerrards Cross, Bucks: Colin Smythe, 1986), 119-222

⁴Mary Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatres: Political Performance and the Origins of the Irish Dramatic Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 105, 110

⁵Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatre*, 113

perform at any outside engagement must first request permission.⁶ In 1903, several members of the Society resigned over the fervor of *In the Shadow of the Glen* by J.M. Synge, which was declared to be anti-national and immoral. The Celtic Revival wanted to view an ideal of peasant life and was outraged at a portrayal that included a wife leaving her husband for a passing tramp and violence among the peasantry.⁷ Maud Gonne and Arthur Griffith resigned as did Dudley Digges and Marie Quinn.⁸ Digges and Quinn joined Inghinidhe na Heireann with Maud Gonne.⁹ Reardon may not have been aware of the political stew that he had become involved in when he asked Digges and Quinn to join the company going to America.

Digges and Reardon approached AE for permission to perform his *Deirdre*. Knowing that several of the players who were going to the LPE had done the play before, AE agreed to allow them to perform it there.¹⁰ They also wanted to perform several of Yeats' dramas, but Yeats was on a speaking tour of the United States from November of 1903 through March of 1904, so no consent could be gained.¹¹ Upon Yeats' return, the issue became much more heated.

Yeats was furious a company was going to the LPE, that would be representing Ireland, and that they had presumed to advertise his plays without consulting him. This troubled him because he was planning to take the Irish

⁶ Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatre*, 110

⁷ Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatre*, 112

⁸ D.E.S. Maxwell, *A Critical History of Modern Irish Drama 1891-1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 15

⁹ Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatre*, 112

¹⁰ Richard J. Finneran, ed., George Mills Harper, ed., and William M. Murphy, ed., *Letters to W.B. Yeats*. Vol. 1. (New York: Columbia UP, 1977), 137-138

¹¹ Robert Welch, *The Abbey Theatre 1899-1999: Form and Pressure* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 27

National Theatre Society on a tour of the United States within a few years.¹² He felt the presence of an acting company at the LPE would irreparably damage Ireland's dramatic reputation in the U.S. He wrote to Reardon in April of 1904 demanding that any company that was to perform must be a professional one, and even then they could not perform his plays.¹³ He also wrote to AE urging him to retract his consent for the performance of *Deirdre*. AE refused and contended the company performing would do the plays well. He also encouraged Yeats to allow some of his own works to be presented, since the company could do the small plays satisfactorily. AE even went so far as to obtain a promise from Reardon that “by permission of the Irish National Theatre Society” would be printed on each theatrical program at the LPE so that there would be no confusion.¹⁴ Yeats, citing the bylaws forbidding outside engagements, accused AE of being disloyal to the Society and of acting illegally.¹⁵ AE's scathing response was:

I have quite as much interest in the Company as you have, and in my own way have worked quite as much as you have to preserve it here, settling to the best of my ability rows which threatened its existence, but if they were to assume the right to control the disposal of what I could write outside these islands I would withdraw from them at once.¹⁶

AE resigned from the Society over this episode after Yeats used the bylaw to have Kelly expelled from the Society for his consent to perform in St. Louis.¹⁷

¹²Kuch, *Yeats and A.E.*, 220

¹³Faherty “World’s Fair”, 153-154

¹⁴Finneran, *Letters to W.B. Yeats*, 138-139

¹⁵Kuch, *Yeats and A.E.*, 221

¹⁶Kuch, *Yeats and A.E.*, 221

¹⁷Joseph Holloway, *Joseph Holloway’s Abbey Theatre: A selection from his Unpublished Journal Impressions of a Dublin Playgoer*, ed. Robert Hogan and Michael J. O’Neill (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1967), 38

Yeats even went so far as writing to a Dublin newspaper, *The Gael*, decrying the troupe of actors' use of the phrase National Theatre Company. Yeats, in a pithy letter to the editor, said:

Dear Sir: - I see in an article in THE GAEL that the holders of the Irish Concession at St. Louis have named their theatre "The Irish National Theatre."

This choice of name is unfortunate, as a certain number of people will confuse it with the original Irish National Theatre, on which I spoke a good deal in my lectures in America. It has no connection with it.

The article states that certain of my plays are to be acted at St. Louis. This is not the case. In accordance with the wish of the Irish National Theatre Society, of which I am president, I, together with others of our playwrights, refused permission.

The society does not wish to be identified with any other body of players. I hope America may have an opportunity of seeing their own fine and characteristic work within the next two or three years.¹⁸

The editor replied in print that:

It is true the theatre in the Irish section at the St. Louis World's Fair has been named The Irish National Theatre, but we are assured it was so named because of the intention to present there a series of typical Irish plays truly National in spirit and sentiment, and not with any idea of trading on the fame of the original society in Ireland.

The fact that a National Theatre Society has just been formed in Cork indicates that the word national is not considered the exclusive property of any organization, even in Ireland.

We think what Mr. Yeats means to convey is that he does not wish his plays presented to the American public through the medium of the Irish actors now in St. Louis, and does not wish to see their art taken as the standard of art of the original company or society of which he is president.

We sincerely hope Mr. Yeats will reconsider his refusal to permit his plays to be produced at the Fair, as we feel Mr. Myles J. Murphy, a thoroughly competent and experienced manager and director, can be safely intrusted with the arrangement of the cast, the staging of the plays, and their production in a manner that will leave nothing to be desired.¹⁹

¹⁸ M.J. Logan, ed., *An Gaodhal Vol 23*, Brooklyn, 1904. GoogleEbooks, 234
This book is the record of all of *The Gael* from 1904. This exchange took place in the "Correspondence" section in June.

¹⁹ Logan, *Gaodhal Vol 23*, 234

The editor may have been one of the many Irish who had great hopes for the exposition, or he may have simply objected to Yeats's desire to retain the term national for his society alone. Nevertheless, drama from an Irish poet would be performed at the LPE. It was clear when the IIE's organizers gave up on Yeats; until May, his name was still listed on advertisements, after that month, the ads only refer to the theatre as "Real Celtic players in Hibernian Drama."²⁰

Deirdre: An Unsuitable Drama

The Irish actors expressed some dismay when they arrived in St. Louis and were told of usual representation of the Irish on the American stage.²¹ They were asked about Joseph Murphy, Edward Harrigan, and other American performers who depicted the Irish on American stages; none of the actors recognized these names. When two plays "Shaun Rhue" and the "Kerry Gow" were explained to the actors "they shrugged their shoulders and expressed the fear that Ireland had been badly misrepresented in American Theatres."²² These plays were the successors to the stage Irishman, and resulted from the growing status of Irish Americans. Instead of the comedic buffoonery of the stage Irishman, these were sentimental plays with no significant plot, which featured handsome tenors.²³ While these plays were not the blatant insults found in the routines of the stage Irishman, they enforced the routine version of a heroic, quick-witted Irish lad.

²⁰David R. Francis, ed., *The Universal Exposition of 1904. Exhibits, Architecture, Ceremonies, Amusements*. (St. Louis, 1904), 28

²¹M.J. Phillips, ed., "Stalwart Mean and Pretty Girls Represent Ireland at the Fair" *St. Louis Republic*, April 26, 1904

²²Phillips, ed., "Stalwart Mean and Pretty Girls Represent Ireland at the Fair" *St. Louis Republic*, April 26, 1904

²³ Andrew Davis, *America's Longest Run: A History of the Walnut Street Theatre*, (University Park: Penn State Press, 2010), 167

Their desire to oppose the grotesque adds certainty to the idea that the staging for *Deirdre* was very similar to its debut at St. Teresa's Hall two years previously. In that case, a green-lit screen or gauze was stretched across the front of the stage; the actors played behind it, becoming only ghostly shadows from the mythological past.²⁴

Russell's version of the *Deirdre* legend is highly poetic, but not very well suited to the stage. It is one of the only plays that AE ever wrote, and he frankly admitted that at the time he wrote the play, he knew nothing of the stage.²⁵ Despite this, it very popular when it was performed alongside Yeats's *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* at St. Teresa's Hall.²⁶ Detailed reviews of the play did not make it into the newspapers or the *World's Fair Bulletin*. This was the serious drama that the Irish actors had lauded upon their arrival, but Americans were more used to, and in the mood for, lighthearted entertainment like what they were used to seeing in the theatres in dime museums. These plays were abridged so the audience's attention would not have time to wander.²⁷

Instead, the audience was given the tragedy of Deirdre, the most beautiful woman in Ireland, and Naisi, one of the heroes of the Red Branch warriors. Deirdre was kept alive despite dire prophecies at her birth that she will be the cause of the

²⁴ Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatre*, 96

²⁵ Herbert V. Fackler, Introduction to *Deirdre, a Legend in Three Acts* by George William Russell (Chicago: De Paul U, 1970), 1-7

²⁶ W. B. Yeats, "Acting at St. Teresa's Hall" in *Later Articles and Reviews: Uncollected Articles, Reviews, and Radio Broadcasts Written after 1900*, comp., Colton Johnson (New York: Scribner, 2000) Holloway, Joseph Holloway's,

²⁷ Don B. Wilmeth, *Variety Entertainment and Outdoor Amusements: A Reference Guide*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982), 95

end of the Red Branch; Conchubar, the king, decided that he would wed Deirdre when she was grown. The first act showed a beautiful naïve young woman, who was beginning to thirst for love and adventure. At this auspicious moment, Naisi, the brave young hero, arrived in the valley with his two brothers. With the blessing of the Druidess Lavarcham, the men, otherwise known as the sons of Usna, spirited Deirdre out of the valley.

The second act showed the main characters after their escape to Scotland, where they lived happily for several years until Fergus, a champion of the Red Branch, arrived with news that the King has pardoned them for stealing Deirdre away. Deirdre felt that the King was false, but the sons of Usna would not listen to her warnings. As act three began, the four exiles had returned to Ireland in the care of Fergus and his sons.²⁸ Conchubar decided to try to unite all of the provinces of Ireland under one banner, and was in negotiation to make this a reality. Unfortunately, he caught sight of Deirdre. He had been told by Lavarcham that Deirdre's beauty had faded, but this was not the truth. At the sight of her, Conchubar deserted his honor, reneged on his pledge to pardon the brother, and began scheming to kill the sons of Usna and take Deirdre for his wife. Fergus was separated from the company through deceit and was not there to protect the exiles when Conchubar's warriors and druids arrived. The sons of Fergus and the sons of Usna died leaving Deirdre alone. She mourned for her lost love and for the bloodshed and died in the arms of her first protector, Lavarcham. As the play ends,

²⁸ The theme of exiles returning to a beloved homeland would likely resonate with the Irish American audience. Many popular songs dealt with the dreams of returning to Ireland.

Fergus marched to avenge the deaths of those who were under his protection, and Conchubar knew the Red Branch is doomed.

A National Legend with a Hidden Message

Much like the Arthurian legends in Britain, the *Deirdre* story is a national legend. Joseph Roach in his analysis of circum-Atlantic performance, *Cities of the Dead*, views such legends a part of the “myth of origin.” Roach states that performances like these not only give a historic, if mythic, account of the culture but also, as evocations of the past, suggest alternatives for the future.²⁹ *Deirdre* not only shows the mythic past, but also offers a warning on the dangers of splintering groups and betrayed trust.

AE’s was the first of three well-known versions of the Deirdre myth. Yeats wrote his own version in 1907, and J.M. Synge authored his *Deirdre of the Sorrows* in 1909. Yeats and Synge’s plays both present clear political messages; they both portray the struggle between Deirdre, Naisi, and Conchubar as the struggle between England and Ireland.³⁰ In Yeats’s version of the play, Conchubar’s bridal bed for Deirdre is hung with jewels from foreign lands; Conchubar is a conqueror and desires to conquer Deirdre who is an obvious symbol for Ireland. In each version of the play Deirdre was under Conchubar’s power from the time of her birth and was saved to serve his purposes later; she escapes from his control but is brought back through deception. AE’s version has not received the scholarly attention of either Yeats’s or Synge’s versions; some scholars even dismiss its merits because it does

²⁹ Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1996), 43

³⁰ Charity Fowler, “Deirdre: Beyond Politics Into Poetry and Myth” published online at <http://www.charityfowler.com/writing/literary/writing/literary/criticism/deirdre/>

not appear to be a political allegory as the versions written by Yeats and Synge unquestionably are.³¹

I assert that AE's version is in fact political, though perhaps less overtly so than the other versions. In his portrayal of the tragic love story, I see an allegory for the dangers of Home Rule. Home Rule would have established the Irish as a subordinate state under the auspices of the British government. It was one of the options that was being pursued heavily by Irish parliamentarians at the time, and it was a plan to which nationalists, like AE, were divided on. AE served as the assistant secretary of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society beginning in 1897; his position in the group meant that AE was not free to speak about his political opinions, but it was no secret that he was a Nationalist.³² The second Home Rule Bill had failed to pass the British House of Lords in 1893; the Irish Agricultural Organization Society was established in the same year. That version of the bill provided for a Home Rule assembly in Dublin and the retention of eighty Irish MPs at Westminster³³ Deirdre can easily be read as a stand in for Ireland, indeed devastatingly beautiful women were often used to represent Ireland even in the British press, where it was the apish Fenian who sought to lead the fair beauty of Ireland, Hibernia, astray.³⁴ In her article on the three versions of *Deirdre*, Fowler asserts:

³¹ Fowler, "Deirdre: Beyond Politics Into Poetry and Myth"

³² Shannon Eichelberger, "1867-BIRTH OF Æ (GEORGE RUSSELL)," *Halla Mór*, published 7 Apr. 2007, accessed 18 Mar. 2015, <http://www.hallamor.org/8-april-1867-birth-of-ae-george-russell/>

³³ Alvin Jackson, *Ireland, 1798-1998*, (Oxford, UK, Blackwell,1999), 145

³⁴ Michael de Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 262

In AE's version, it is not only Conchubar in his lust and greed who looks to quell her spirit, but Naisi as well. In many ways, by his portrayal of her, AE's Deirdre is tamed, for the description of her he gives never quite matches up with her voice which is more suited to a dithering debutante than a Celtic debutante who defies a king.³⁵

In this analysis of how Naisi treats Deirdre I see an Ireland being swayed by its own politicians. Deirdre sees the fault in the plan of returning to Conchubar, but allows herself to be swayed by Naisi. In this way the man she trusted most led both of them to their doom. Naisi returns because he believes in the honor of Conchubar. However, the moment Conchubar, in his desire to possess Deirdre fully, betrays his word seems inevitable. If Conchubar represents Britain, then this is a clear warning not to trust promises that seem to bring an end to a long stand off. These promises will be quickly broken. The naïve who believe these promises will not only drag down themselves, but also all that they love.

Unlike Yeats and Synge's versions of the play, AE's version truly skirts the bounds of impropriety. One of the requirements that Scott lays down for the hidden transcript is that it must be capable of two readings.³⁶ He uses folk tales as illustrations of stories that have two meanings, but where the hidden interpretation is concealed so it can be denied. The danger of something that is this well disguised is that it may fail to get the point across.

Even without the more complex interpretation involving Home Rule, this tale certainly spoke to the desire for independence that was continually growing stronger in Ireland and among Irish-Americans. It also warned that internal struggles would tear Ireland apart and pled for internal union. The source myth was

³⁵ Fowler, "Deirdre: Beyond Politics Into Poetry and Myth"

³⁶ Scott, *Domination*, 157

considered one of the three great tragedies of Ireland. The poetry, though not well suited for the stage, did convey the beauty and sorrow of the story. However, *Deirdre* was out of place at the LPE. Other entertainments on the Pike consisted of bawdy shows, farces, and massive spectacle. The play certainly could not have competed with the exotic animals at Hagenbeck's Animal Circus, which was just one concession away from the IIE.

American audiences wanted spectacle and it appeared that the IIE's organizers decided to oblige. This happened despite the statements released to the newspapers and in the *World's Fair Bulletin*, which made it clear that the IIE's organizers had every intention of displaying Ireland as a developed and competitive country, one that was ready to be free of British rule. The most interesting quote to this end came from the official opening of the IIE courtesy of the Archbishop of St. Louis, John J. Glennon. In the course of his speech he said that:

he saw all around him when he visited Ireland evidences that the shackles of ages were falling from Ireland's limbs. Her religion had been emancipated, her industries were now emancipated, and the time of her political emancipation could not be long delayed, for freedom and success in one direction promoted the same objects in every other as well. He had been deeply struck by the testimony to this advance which he had seen in the Exhibition, and which formed the finest collection of Irish art and industry ever brought together. ... As regards the theatre, to which Mr. Devoy had alluded, he had made careful inquiries and had satisfied himself that no performance which was unworthy of the Irish people or to the objects of the Exhibition would ever find a place there.³⁷

³⁷Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, comp., *Ireland's Exhibit at the Fair: Formal Opening and Dedication*, (St. Louis: World's Fair Press, April, 1904), 3

The Archbishop mentioned he was slow to accept the invitation to the dedication because of certain criticisms of the IIE, which he now found groundless.³⁸ He was certainly referring to the stir in Ireland surrounding the LPE company, which was ardently advanced by Yeats. Somewhere in the noble intentions of the organizers, something must have gone wrong.

Piping Up Protest in the IIE

Three of the actors, Dudley Digges, Mary Quinn, and Gerald Ewing, declared that they “wouldn’t take part in performances where the Irish race is burlesqued.”³⁹ There is some dispute about whether this declaration came before or after they were fired by Mr. Murphy, the IIE’s director of entertainments. Murphy alleged that the actors could not act, and that the play had been a flop.⁴⁰ He reportedly offered to allow them to return to Ireland immediately, but the actors refused, wishing to pursue their protest.

Eventually the three performers decided that rather than continuing, they would return to Ireland.⁴¹ However, they did not have the funds to return under their own power. The LPE Board demanded that the actors issue an apology before they were allowed to leave St. Louis, but the actors refused.⁴² There is no mention in the newspapers or the *World’s Fair Bulletin* of any apology ever being issued.

Digges stayed in the US as a stage manager for Charles Frohman and George Arliss

³⁸Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, comp., *Ireland’s Exhibit at the Fair*, 3

³⁹ “Apology is Price for Return to Erin,” *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, June 17, 1904

⁴⁰ Mary M. Lago, “Irish Poetic Drama in St. Louis,” *Twentieth Century Literature* Vol. 23, No. 2, (Duke University Press, May, 1977): 180-194, JSTORE accessed January 11, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/441340>, 187

⁴¹Lago, “Irish Poetic Drama in St. Louis,” 187

⁴² “Apology is Price for Return to Erin,” *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, June 17, 1904

and pursued a moderately successful film career, arriving in Hollywood in 1930.⁴³

Quinn also remained in the country as is evidenced by her 1907 marriage to Digges; they were engaged at the time of the LPE.⁴⁴

The ostensible cause of this rebellion was the performance of a piper named Touhey. However, some of the statements Murphy released, especially to *The Irish World*, seemed to indicate this was not the sole motivation. Apparently, the actors had protested at Touhey's performances a month earlier. They were not heeded and Touhey continued to perform. As a protest the actors decided not to go on one night for their performance. Using the actors' accounts of these circumstances, this rebellion was absolutely a "cooked" public declaration as defined by Scott. The actors had planned to make a protest about Touhey and had pursued other avenues of protest initially. Scott says cooked declarations of the hidden transcript are:

more likely to be nuanced and elaborate because they arise under circumstances in which there is a good deal of offstage freedom among subordinate groups, allowing them to share a rich and deep hidden transcript.⁴⁵

The protest was planned, as were the bids for media attention to their protest. . One newspaper story in the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* stated that all of the eighty-one people who came to work at the exhibit from Ireland were put up at the Inside Inn, a hotel inside the fair grounds.⁴⁶ Whether or not the company remained at the Inside Inn for the entirety of the fair or were housed inside the Irish concession is not recorded in the newspapers or *World's Fair Bulletin*. However, these confined living

⁴³ Trotter, *Ireland's National Theatre*, 112

⁴⁴ Lago, "Irish Poetic Drama in St. Louis," 188

⁴⁵ Scott, *Domination*, 216

⁴⁶ "Irish Contingent Here," *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, April 28, 1904

quarters, as well as the circumstances of the Pike workers' mess hall as described by Lillian Shumaker, would be ideal for griping and forming a transcript of the workers' complaints against the people running the concessions.⁴⁷ Murphy recounts the incident in a different light, alleging that the actors had already been fired because they could not act and because *Deirdre* "didn't take." There had only been three performances of *Deirdre* thus and none were to packed houses.⁴⁸ Murphy contended that Touhey was quite a popular performer, his warm reception a stark contrast to the Irish Players' cool audiences. He also asserted, "We [the IIE officials] have made a heavy investment, and are obliged to give the public what it wants."⁴⁹

Conflicting Accounts

The main contention with Touhey's act was the accusation that he was portraying the "stage Irishman." This character was, according to the Irish American presses, introduced by the English to mock the Irish.⁵⁰ The appearance of the stage Irishman resembled the caricatures of the Irish that appeared in the British presses in the mid to late 1800's; he wore a top hat and bore a distinct resemblance to a monkey. One of the jokes Touhey supposedly told was that he had been mistaken for a monkey while he was walking up and down the Pike. He also made a joke about Irish drunkenness: "It takes an Irishman thirty days to celebrate St. Patrick's Day, one to celebrate it and twenty-nine to get over it."⁵¹ If these jokes were told, it certainly supports the claim that the "Irish race was burlesqued."

⁴⁷ Lillian Schumacher, *World's Fair Diary*, 1904. Missouri History Museum Archives (A1489 Folder 2).

⁴⁸ Patrick Ford, ed., "Gaelic League Notes. Gaelic Notes," *Irish World* June 11, 1904, 8

⁴⁹ Ford, ed., "Gaelic League Notes. Gaelic Notes," 8

⁵⁰ Ford, ed., "Gaelic Notes," *Irish World*, July 2, 1904, 8

⁵¹ Ford, ed., "Gaelic Notes," *Irish World*, July 2, 1904, 8

The actual time line of events seems to have been recounted best by the *St. Louis Star* on June 1, 1904 with some additions from other accounts. The trouble began on the first night of performances; the actors overheard Touhey's routine and saw his makeup. They then drafted a round robin, a traditional document of mutiny where signers' names appeared in a circle so that no name appeared at the head of a list, to the IIE's managers asking that Touhey not be allowed to perform such skits. The managers promised to be more sensitive, but the performances continued. The final straw was apparently Digges overhearing a song that Touhey was singing. It was a parody of the song "It Takes the English to Beat the Dutch," which was a reference to the South African Boer War. The lyrics of the parody bragged about the superiority of the Irish as compared to the Germans/Dutch. While the Irish were lauded as superior they are also referred to as "Micks" throughout the lyrics.⁵² The song also ignores the fact that many of the Irish saw the Dutch resistance in the Boer War as inspiring. In an exposition designed to highlight the benefits of colonialism, this song also clashed with the stated desires of the IIE organizers to promote Ireland as an independent nation.

When Digges heard Touhey performing the song, he apparently tried to go on stage and stop the performance himself. The stage manager, Luke Martin, stopped him. According to Digges, Martin struck him and dragged him outside; according to Martin, he brushed Digges aside. Murphy informed Digges that he was not welcome on the premises any longer, and Quinn and Ewing tendered their resignations as well. The company had been asked to play a comedy instead of playing *Deirdre*, but

⁵² "It Takes the Irish to Beat the Dutch," *Library of Congress: National Jukebox*, accessed April 11, 2015, <http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/recordings/detail/id/6058/>

they said they did not know any comedies. Murphy derided their acting skills but said:

Posey and sweet dreams are all right sometimes, but they don't agree with the public appetite every day. We would have kept Digges and the others if they had not objected to Tuohey. They wanted an exclusive dramatic performance and the public didn't.⁵³

This quote seems to indicate the issue was not actually with the play but more centered on the actors' objections. Murphy felt the actors were trying to run the theater and he was blocking their attempts. There is some dispute about whether the other actors were also fired, if they took roles in a comedy sketch, or if they left in protest. Digges, Ewing, and Quinn were offered two weeks' pay and a trip back to Ireland if they signed an apology, but the actors refused.⁵⁴ Indeed, at this point they would have been scorned by all the papers they had brought to their cause, if they relented so easily. It also would have given credence to Murphy's claim:

J Dudley Digges and Miss Mary Quinn found a chance to pose as 'indignant patriots' in the performance of Patrick Touhey, who has played the pipes at the New York 'Feis Ceoil' several times. There was nothing whatever to cause a row in the man's work.⁵⁵

Touhey's performances at "Feis Ceoil" were meant to serve as evidence of his cultural legitimacy and add merit to the decision to keep him. The actors were dismissed, and the committee decided on their consequences without allowing them to tell their side of the story.

The Irish actors chose their target well to ensure that their story would be promoted in Irish-American newspapers. The *Irish World* took up their story with

⁵³ Ford, ed., "Gaelic Notes," *Irish World*, June 18, 1904, 8

⁵⁴ "Apology is Price for Return to Erin," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, June 17, 1904

⁵⁵ Ford, ed., "Gaelic Notes," *Irish World*, June 25, 1904, 8

particular fervor, though they were also careful to try to obtain the facts of the story from both sides, and even invited Murphy to submit a statement explaining the incident from his point of view.⁵⁶ However, the editors were very firm in their stance on the stage Irishman. They were less concerned with insults given to the actors than that any stage-Irishman performances were halted immediately and an apology issued by the management. In discussing their views on the stage-Irishman, they also conveyed their certainty that this stereotype was a damaging one.

We are thoroughly convinced that this institution of English origin, slandering and ridiculing the Irish race, is to a larger extent than any other one agency responsible for the lamentable lack of race pride and self-respect so evident on all sides among our people, and particularly among Irish Americans.⁵⁷

The editors also had doubts about Murphy's version of events because he repeatedly refused to address the issue of the stage Irishman. His quote citing Touhey's performance in New York counted for little to them, because he would not have dared to perform such jokes at that event, since he would have immediately been turned out. They also heap scorn on Murphy for his preference of Touhey over the actors. After belittling his tastes, the editor writes: "Imagine a low-tasted, vulgar specimen like that saying Digges could not act and Ewing could not sing!"⁵⁸

Eventually the media fervor over the actors died down, and they drifted into relative obscurity. Part of the media sensation was prolonged by the participation of Arthur Griffith from Ireland and Major John MacBride in St. Louis, who both

⁵⁶ Ford, ed., "Gaelic Notes," *Irish World*, June 25, 1904, 8

⁵⁷ Ford, ed., "Gaelic Notes," *Irish World*, July 2, 1904, 8

⁵⁸ Ford, ed., "Gaelic Notes," *Irish World*, June 18, 1904, 8

supported Digges's side of the story.⁵⁹ This was perhaps part of an effort to continue his support of Digges and Quinn for joining him in the exit over *In the Shadow of the Glenn*. The last story about the Irish players appeared in the *Irish World* on September 3rd. It was not truly about the actors, but about Martin, the stage manager who has assaulted Digges. When Martin left, the managers of the concession honored him upon leaving. The *Irish World* used heavy sarcasm recounting, "But now this strenuous and patriotic individual comes to be rewarded again by another great patriot, Mr. Andrew Mack."⁶⁰ Mack acted in playlets, which the editors clearly despised, though the *Irish World* had run ads for him.⁶¹

Consequences of Rebellion

Though the rebellion of the Irish actors was confined to a few papers, the drama of their rebellion was still important. Scott states unequivocally that

a direct, blatant insult delivered before an audience is, in effect, a dare. If it is not beaten back, it will fundamentally alter those relations. Even if it is beaten back and driven underground, something irrevocable has nonetheless occurred. It is now public knowledge that the relations of subordination, however immovable in practice, are not entirely legitimate.

The actors made sure that the public was looking for things to criticize in the IIE.

The immediate reprisals against these actors, who were the best known of the group of Irish people who came to work in the IIE, may have been enough to dissuade other workers from protesting. But, with the media focus now on the performances, the management had to be more careful about how they acted.

⁵⁹ Lago, "Irish Poetic Drama in St. Louis," 186, 189

⁶⁰ Ford, ed., "Gaelic Notes," *Irish World*, Sept 3, 1904, 8

⁶¹ Ford, ed., "Andrew Mack," *Irish World*, February 14, 1903, 12

The actors had a very specific target for their protests, the people using and continuing harmful stereotypes of the Irish. Even with the accusation of minstrelsy in the IIE, their protest was not very radical by Scott's definition. According to Scott:

The least radical step is to criticize some of the dominant stratum for having violated the norms by which they claim to rule; the next most radical step is to accuse the entire stratum of failing to observe the principles of its rule; and the most radical step is to repudiate the very principles by which the dominate stratum justifies its dominance.⁶²

The Irish actors seemed to focus their attention on the dominants as represented by Murphy for allowing Touhey to continue performing. They did not question where the IIE was, what the effects of romanticizing Ireland could be, or on any preferred method of gaining independence. Their attention was focused on combating persistent old stereotypes of the Irish. In this vein the dominants that they were criticizing were not the IIE's organizers, but rather the British. This method of protest also won them more support than if they had denounced wealthy Irish Americans as a dominant group. At this time period, any Irish American who had risen to prominence was considered something of a folk hero and a positive example to the world of the potential of all of the Irish. Newspapers like *The Irish World* spent a good deal of space valorizing Irish Americans who had entered a position of power such as the IIE's organizers.

Near the end of June two new performers arrived to perform in Blarney Castle, Callahan and Mack. These performers were to present a playlet called "The Old Neighborhood." The two men had just returned from a world tour, and appeared to be much more in line with the representations of the Irish the American

⁶² Scott, *Domination*, 92

public was used to seeing. They performed “songs, skits, and terpsichorean feats” to the general approval of the St. Louis newspapers.⁶³ Reviews of the act in other papers such as the *Denver Post* and the *Boston Herald* actually lauded this act. The *Post* wrote:

By far the best vaudeville bill of the season is being given at Manhattan Beach this week, and from the opening of the performance until the curtain falls on the last picture of the bioscope there is scarcely a dull moment. Callahan and Mack is the headline number, and as the name indicates it is an Irish skit, but it is utterly unlike any other Irish sketch that has been seen here. Instead of burlesquing and ridiculing the race, Callahan & Mack in excellent make-ups, give a delightful portrayal of the Irishmen. The sketch is entitled “The Old Neighborhood,” and is especially delightful from some really wonderful music, rendered with a pair of Irish bagpipes. “The Old Neighborhood” contains many pleasant quips, some smart repartee and, on the whole, is the best thing that has been seen on the vaudeville stage this summer.

It seems the management of the theatre was finding the middle ground between the Dublin players and *Deirdre* and Touhey.

Concealing the Irish

Despite the apparent popularity of the act, the official literature of the LPE did not mention the Irish theatre again after the actors’ rebellion. The rebellion itself was only very briefly mentioned in *The World’s Fair Bulletin*, and very little attention was paid to the IIE after they depart. There was one review of the IIE in July; it specifically stated that the author of the review “had been rather slow ... to accept the invitation to visit the Irish Exposition, owing to sever criticisms which had been passed upon it, but he was glad to say they were without foundation.”⁶⁴ Though this may seem to exonerate the exhibit, it was a restatement of the

⁶³ M.J. Phillips, ed., “Irish Village Entertainers,” *St Louis Republic*, June, 20, 1904

⁶⁴ *The World’s Fair Bulletin* (July, 1904), 66

Archbishop's speech at the opening exhibit earlier in the month. Perhaps this assurance was hoped to mollify Irish Americans even though it was made before the actors rebelled.

One further scandal was to erupt in IIE. In September, it was announced that the Irish manufacturers would not be eligible to receive awards for their displays. Apparently, an agreement had been made between Britain and the LPE Commissioners that because the IIE was privately funded it would not be eligible.⁶⁵ The *Irish World* declared that a great deal of public money had gone into this enterprise whether or not the concession was ostensibly privately funded. President Hanley, of the IIE, wrote to the *St Louis Republican* with assurances that the Irish would not be excluded, and the whole debacle was a misunderstanding.

Even this did not diminish Irish and Irish American enthusiasm for the Irish display. John Redmond and several other Irish MP's visited the IIE in September, and were greatly impressed. Redmond even wrote to Hanley requesting the exhibit be displayed again in New York or even Dublin because of the progress it made towards eliminating harmful stereotypes about the Irish and representing the Irish to the world in a positive light.⁶⁶ Irish Americans in New York took up this plan with enthusiasm, and private money was raised to make it a reality. The exhibit was displayed for a month in New York in 1905; the Ancient Order of the Hibernians was one of the primary sponsors of this display.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Patrick Ford, ed., "Ireland's Exhibits Debarred," *Irish World*, Sept 24, 1904, 5

⁶⁶ Patrick Ford, ed., "The Irish Exhibit," *Irish World* Dec 24, 1904, 5

⁶⁷ Patrick Ford, ed., "The Irish Exhibit," *Irish World* Dec 24, 1904, 5

Historically, rebellious groups who did not fit the story that the dominant groups were hoping to tell have been removed from the historical accounts. This is especially visible when such groups break the law, as Roach points out in his analysis of the defiance of *Code noir* in French Louisiana in 1803.⁶⁸ Though the Irish protesting at the IIE were not technically violating any laws, they certainly were defying the will of the dominant powers. They had also not only gathered in protest, but had also rallied support from the media.

Despite the praise for the IIE at large, the Irish disappeared from *The World's Fair Bulletin*. Perhaps it was the last rebellion from inside the IIE that resulted in their exclusion. Ireland Day was on November fifth, and was well attended according to newspaper accounts of the event.⁶⁹ However, unlike all of the other national days held during the LPE, Ireland Day was not included in the December issue of *The World's Fair Bulletin*. Instead room was given to the visit of President Roosevelt, an in depth look at David Francis, and the end of the LPE. Ireland was erased from the dominant transcript.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 58-59

⁶⁹ There is no mention made in the *World's Fair Bulletin* or any other newspapers that I could locate of a connection between the date of Ireland Day and Guy Fawkes Day.

⁷⁰ This erasure persists today, when I visited the Missouri History Museum's permanent exhibit on the LPE, I discovered that Ireland Day had been omitted from their electronic calendar of events. I informed a docent, so, hopefully, some part of this erasure has been addressed.

CHAPTER IV

OBJECTS WITH A MISSION

DISPLAYING NATIONALITY AND PROGRESS IN THE IRISH INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION

“One of the most densely thronged places on opening day was the Irish exhibition. From noon until midnight there was an incessant stream of visitors to this most interesting concession.”¹

The official literature of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (LPE), better known as the 1904 World’s Fair, describes it as an idyllic overview of the achievements of mankind, but this picturesque view does not hold up under the scrutiny of history. The previous chapters have shown how the dominant groups used the LPE to further their own goals. They have also explored the reasons that the Irish Industrial Exposition (IIE) has been largely overlooked by anthropologists and Irish historians alike. The IIE was situated on the mile-long Pike, which although technically outside of the LPE grounds proper, contained attractions representing many different nations and cultures. The Pike, like the Midway at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, was built with amusement as its primary goal. However, the promoters of the Pike hoped to avoid the seedy reputation of the Midway by incorporating the larger theme of education, which persisted throughout the rest of the LPE, into the entertainment. The Pike and the Midway both featured aspects of the carnivalesque, but, because of the Pike’s focus on education, the Pike

¹ David Francis, ed., "From the Emerald Isle," *The World's Fair Bulletin*, (St. Louis: World's Fair Press, May, 1904), 5

also contained heavy elements of the festival. In her chapter "Objects of Ethnography, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett declares:

Public and spectacular, festivals have the practical advantage of offering in a concentrated form and at a designated time and place what the tourist would otherwise search out in the diffuseness of everyday life, with no guarantee of ever finding it.²

This chapter explores the IIE on the Pike as a collection of objects that have been fragmented from their original context to create a new message. This exhibition was very successful in offering the view of the Irish the organizers desired, despite several instances of rebellion within the IIE.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues mimetic displays in museums and elsewhere, she specifically cites ethnographic villages, are able to:

Enlarge the ethnographic object by expanding its boundaries to include more of what was left behind, even if only in replica, after the object was excised from its physical, social, and cultural settings.³

The IIE went beyond this in attempting to create a display "in-situ." The organizers did not merely want to display the objects of the culture, as is typical in modern museums, but also wanted to include the living, breathing culture, as they perceived it. In attempting to display the culture of Ireland, the organizers of the IIE compiled a collection of ethnographic fragments, selectively detached from their original context, with an eye to the aesthetic principles of those outside the culture.⁴ This applied not only to the objects displayed but also to the types of people and performance featured.

² Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, (Berkeley: U of California, 1998), 386-443

³ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," 389

⁴ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," 388

The Irish concession, though it was on the Pike, was designed to show the world that Ireland was a country with promise. The Irish Village at the Chicago exposition was not remembered fondly in Ireland, or by Irish Americans. Thomas F. Hanley, the president of the IIE, was determined that - this time - a different statement would be made. James Reardon, one of the organizers, was sent to Ireland to acquire people and objects for the IIE. In 1903, Reardon announced to the *St. Louis Republic* that the value of the items displayed would total one million dollars.⁵ Some of this, he bragged, would be the very valuable Irish lace, which was finer than that found in France, but more was to be newer products of Irish manufacturing, which were flourishing in Ireland unbeknownst to the rest of the world.⁶ A three-story structure, 320 feet long, was built to accommodate the enormous displays of manufactured goods.⁷

The IIE enjoyed quite a bit of popularity. The final accounts state it grossed \$439,234.96 by the time the LPE closed.⁸ Part of this popularity was due to the growing American infatuation with Ireland, which stemmed from an idyllic view of the rural traditions, rather than the modern industry the organizers hoped to promote. This view of the cultural climate at the time is born out by other scholars such as James Gilbert who states:

During this turn-of-the-century era, both Irish and German populations had begun to make considerable progress in remolding the stereotypes that had once defined their identities. Historian William Williams finds that Ireland

⁵ M.J. Phillips, ed., "Reardon Discusses Ireland's Exhibit," *St. Louis Republic*, April 17, 1904

⁶ Phillips, ed., "Reardon Discusses Ireland's Exhibit" *St. Louis Republic*, April 17, 1904

⁷ Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, *Irish Industrial Exhibition: Preliminary Notice of Exhibits*, 9

⁸ Elana V Fox, *Inside the World's Fair of 1904: Exploring the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Bloomington, IN: 1st Library, 2003), 54

(“The Emerald Isle”) became an enchanted rural paradise in contemporary commercial popular culture, populated by handsome young men and women. This rural Eden corresponded closely to the American idyll of the country homestead.⁹

Hanley both capitalized on and challenged this idea of Ireland as a rural paradise. He intended to not only display Irish material goods, but to give examples of Irish culture as well. Several of these displays of culture would be visible from a distance, including replicas of Blarney Castle, the Parliament Building, and St. Lawrence Gate. Once inside the IIE, visitors could travel on the Rocky Road to Dublin in jaunty cars, to see Irish dancers and musicians performing in the courtyard area (see figure 9). By entering the IIE on the “Rocky Road to Dublin,” an environment of sensory saturation was established; this was in keeping with the environment of the entire Pike. One small structure that drew a great amount of interest from visitors and the press was the McKinley cottage, home to former President William McKinley’s great grandfather. Despite his best intentions, though, Hanley did not manage to produce a completely acceptable exhibit; the IIE was, and remains, a contested site, much like Colonial Williamsburg or New Salem.

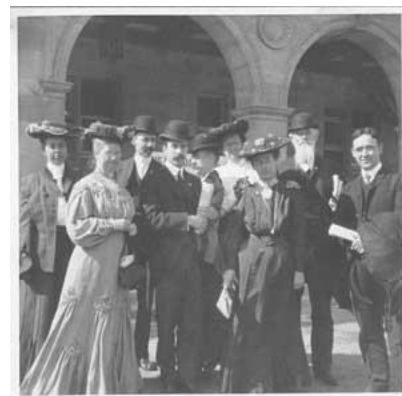


Figure 8: People at the Fair. Fox, *Inside the World's Fair*, 53

⁹ James Burkhart Gilbert, *Whose Fair?: Experience, Memory, and the History of the Great St. Louis Exposition*, (Chicago: U of Chicago, 2009), 162-163

The Question of Authenticity

The IIE, especially the McKinley Cottage, shared several key features with the New Salem Village. Both featured people dressed in appropriate costume for the time and place being represented. The performers at the IIE were dressed in costumes to play the part of Irish villagers, though their costumes were not as exotic as the costumes of some of the other nations represented on the Pike, such as the Japanese geishas. The difference between the Irish performers and the fairgoers is easy to see in the side by side photos of a group of librarians at the fair and the Irish pipers and dancers performing in the IIE. Some notable differences include: the performers' lack of hats, the shorter skirts of the dancing girls, and the knickers worn by the Irish men. These differences would have been acceptable to some, but not all, Irish cultural nationalists.

The performers at the IIE also conducted craft demonstrations akin to those found at New Salem. Though the IIE featured mechanical looms, it also featured older handlooms; similarly, lace was made by hand at the IIE. The featuring of "traditional skills" was not as stimulated as that of the 1893 exposition, where girls were taught to spin so that they could show off the craft supposedly as it was practiced in Ireland.¹⁰ Instead, people who already knew the crafts of lacemaking and hand weaving were the ones doing the demonstrations. The obvious difference between New Salem and the IIE as sites of performance is that the New Salem Village, set up in 1922 showcased the distant past, while the IIE displayed a mixture of the mythic past, the distant past, and the present.

¹⁰ James P. Byrne, Philip Coleman, and Jason King, *Ireland and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History: A Multidisciplinary Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008)

The similarities between New Salem and the McKinley Cottage are enhanced because both displayed the distant, but still remembered past. The original cottage was built and occupied by Francis McKinlay; the spelling of the family name was changed later. The replica used some of the original materials of the cottage, including a piece of timber from the roof with the brand "F.McK." The cottage also contained several pieces of furniture from the original cottage: the family baby cradle, three chairs, and the family's spinning wheel.¹¹ The New Salem site is also able to claim several authentic objects and one authentic building, so it shares this "aura of authenticity."¹² The McKinley Cottage was constructed so that these antiques would not look out of place, so it appears aged, with cracks in the plaster of the walls. However, when Francis McKinlay built the cottage, it, like the houses in 1830s New Salem, would have looked new. This type of authenticity is frequently debated in museum studies, with some arguing that the aged look supports the authenticity of the site and some arguing that it detracts.¹³ The difference in how the authenticity of the McKinley cottage and New Salem were perceived hinges on the presence of first person interpreters in New Salem. There is no record of any of the Irish performers or employees impersonating Francis McKinlay or any of his

¹¹ Fox, *Inside the World's Fair*, 53

¹² Edward M. Bruner, "Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism." *American Anthropologist* 96.2 (1994): 400

¹³ Susan Vogel, "Always True to the Object, in Our Fashion." *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Ivan Karp, ed., Steven Lavine, ed., (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1991) 191-204

Edward M. Bruner, "Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism," *American Anthropologist* Vol. 96, No. 2, (American Anthropology Association, June, 1994), 397-415, JSTORE accessed September 12, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/681680>

relative or descendants. Because of this absence, the argument that the aged appearance is more authentic bears more weight in the case of the cottage.

These two sites also shared the “notion of authority” lent by official recognition.¹⁴ In the case of New Salem, the state government of Illinois designated the village as the official reproduction and gave this authority. The IIE was authorized not only by the Fair Board, but also by the British government and the Irish people. A visit of prominent Irish parliamentarians to the fair in September gave the impression, to Americans, that there was a formal approval by Irish members of the British government. The approval of both nations was specifically mentioned in newspaper articles.¹⁵

Ireland: An American Metropole

For many Americans, the draw of the cottage would have been the relationship of the original owner to the recently assassinated President, William McKinley. However, Francis McKinlay was a folk hero in his own right, much like Abraham Lincoln.¹⁶ In Ireland, McKinlay was known as one of the martyrs of the 1798 Irish Rebellion, the most significant armed rebellion until the 1916 Easter Rising.¹⁷ In seeking to highlight his participation in the rebellion, three paintings were included in the cottage showing the execution of Francis McKinlay, the taking down and burial of his body, and the burning of the cottage by British forces after

¹⁴ Bruner, "Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction," 400

¹⁵ M.J. Phillips, ed., "Irish Enthusiastic for Fair Exhibit." *St. Louis Republic*, August 4, 1903
Patrick Ford, ed., "Strictly Irish Exhibits," *Irish World* April 23, 1904, 5

¹⁶ Bruner, "Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction," 398
Fox, *Inside the World's Fair*, 53

¹⁷ Alvin Jackson, *Ireland, 1798-1998*, (Oxford, UK, Blackwell, 1999), 7

his execution.¹⁸ Obviously, these would not have hung in the original cottage, but they do enhance the cottage's link to the original owner and his participation in rebellion. The purpose of the cottage's inclusion in a display meant to highlight the growing industries of Ireland, as well as its history, was to serve as a connection to the burgeoning United States. At the opening of the IIE, prominent men gave speeches highlighting the contributions Ireland had made to the United States, introducing the idea of Ireland as an American metropole.¹⁹ By emphasizing the connection of one of Ireland's former rebels to a U.S. President the display's organizers strengthened this claim, which they probably hoped would induce Americans to support Ireland's bids for freedom.

The McKinley Cottage was not the only building on the grounds of the IIE that could be described as an authentic reproduction. As already stated, this term garners a considerable amount of controversy in the field of museum studies. The hope with a reproduction that is deemed "authentic" is that it will capture the essence of the original. In the IIE, the public was asked to believe they had transitioned into a world apart, a world that constituted the essence of Ireland. The McKinley cottage captured a part of that essence that invoked both the sense of the idyllic Irish countryside, enhanced by murals throughout the IIE, and the sense of rebellion and grievance among the Irish people.

¹⁸ Fox, *Inside the World's Fair*, 53

¹⁹ Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, comp., *Ireland's Exhibit at the Fair: Formal Opening and Dedication*, (St. Louis: World's Fair Press, April, 1904), 3

Sectarian Representations

Another aspect of enchanted rural charm of Ireland were the enormous structures from earlier times which were thought to encapsulate a sense of nobility. Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village on the Midway in 1893 has attracted criticism because it promoted the idea that the Irish countryside was full of castles standing grandly in the fields.²⁰ The Irish concession on the Pike could be cited for a similar offense. Especially since it, like the 1893 village, contained a replica of Blarney Castle.

This copy of Blarney Castle loomed over the rest of the village, allowing adventure seekers to lean out precariously to kiss a replica of the famous Blarney Stone. This stone is in many ways the embodiment of the "luck of the Irish" as it has been depicted in popular culture in America even through the modern day; it also aptly captures the image of Ireland as a site of tourism. The interior of the structure was no drafty medieval castle, but instead a modern theatre, the only heated theatre on the fair grounds. The performances of several varieties, which took place on this stage, have been discussed in detail in the previous chapters. Harpers, pipers, dancers, and actors all took their turn on the stage in a manner that could call to mind the bardic performances in ancient castles. The public offered their patronage to the performers with the fifteen-cent fee required to view any of the performances in the castle, continuing the image of an unbroken dramatic tradition.²¹

St. Lawrence's Gate was another reproduction of a structure from the days when fortifications were needed on castles, churches, and towns to keep them safe

²⁰ Maggie M. Williams, *Icons of Irishness from the Middle Ages to the Modern World* (New York: Palgrave macmillan, 2012), 90

²¹ Fox, *Inside the World's Fair*, 54

from raiders and bandits. The original gate is located in Drogheda, and was built to fortify the town in the thirteenth century; Drogheda's protections enabled them to repulse an attack from Edward the Bruce's Scottish army.²² At first it was simply referred to as the East Gate, but it was renamed in the fourteenth century because it leads to the hospital of St. Lawrence.²³ St. Lawrence was one of the early martyrs of the Catholic Church; he was martyred in 257 A.D. three days after the martyrdom of Pope Sixtus I. The legend of St. Lawrence asserts he was one of the seven deacons of Rome and responsible for the Church's goods and alms giving. Pope Sixtus told Lawrence that he would die three days after himself, so Lawrence used the forewarning to sell the relics of the church with which he had been entrusted and gave the proceeds to the poor. When the Roman Prefect demanded he produce the 'treasures' of the Church, Lawrence gathered the poor and sick of Rome and displayed them to the Prefect. He was sentenced to death by roasting over a fire.²⁴ It seems natural that a town in Catholic Ireland would give his name to a hospital to cure their sick.

The town of Drogheda played an important role in the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, when it surrendered to King William's force after harboring Jacobite forces. July twelfth, the date of the battle, remains a day of celebration for Protestant orders such as the Orange Order. The annual marches in commemoration of the battle

²² Drogheda Tourist Office, "Drogheda Info," *Irish Walled Towns Network* accessed 4/16/2015 <http://irishwalledtownsnetwork.ie/page/drogheda/drogheda-info>

²³ Failte Ireland, "St. Laurence's Gate - Drogheda Walls." *Discover Ireland.IE*, last updated 2013, accessed Feb. 2015, <http://www.discoverireland.ie/Arts-Culture-Heritage/st-laurence-s-gate-drogheda-walls/74684>

²⁴ Burns, Paul. 2005. *Favourite Patron Saints*. London, GBR: Burns & Oates. Accessed May 1, 2015. ProQuest ebrary.

In some sources Lawrence is spelled Laurence

were regular occasions of sectarian violence in the nineteenth century as Sean Farrell explains in his book *Rituals and Riots*. Though the rebellion of 1798 was, at the time of the LPE, the last major rebellion against England, clashes between Protestants and Catholics persisted throughout the nineteenth century especially in Ulster. The persistence of laws that explicitly excluded Catholics from participation in the governing of Ireland until the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829 added considerably to the tensions. Even after the Relief Act, the majority of MP's elected from Ireland were Protestant as were many of the largest landholders.²⁵ Though the gate was named for a Catholic saint, including the St. Lawrence gate in the IIE included Irish Protestants.

The Catholics of Ireland were not without a symbol of their own in the concession. Cormac's Chapel sat upon the Rock of Cashel inside the IIE. It was also advertised in the *World's Fair Bulletin* with the other churches on the fair grounds; the advertisement stated, "All of them are replicas of famous places of worship."²⁶ The other churches included in this advertisement were: the Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem, Visayan Church in the Philippines, The Temple of Shinto in "Japan", the Swedenborg Church, and the church of the Disciples of Christ on the Plateau of the States. Of these churches, the only one that represented the Catholic faith was Cormac's Chapel. The Catholics were also represented by the Archbishop Glennon who spoke at the opening of the Irish concession.²⁷

²⁵ Marjorie Bloy, Dr., "Catholic Emancipation," *A Web of English History*, last modified 9/26/2013 accessed 1/12/2015, <http://www.historyhome.co.uk/peel/ireland/emancip.htm>

²⁶ Francis, ed., *The World's Fair Bulletin* (November, 1904), 5

²⁷ Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Ireland's Exhibit at the Fair: Formal Opening and Dedication*, 3

The inside of the church featured a very special painting, which drew attention to the mysticism of Catholicism and Ireland. The painting was “In the Shadow of the Cross” painted by Henry Hammond Ahl. Ahl was an American, but had been sent to Ireland by the United States government to paint the McKinlay cottage.²⁸ The story around the painting is that Ahl was attempting to paint a figure of the “Christ-man”, but could not complete the face. One of the many visitors to his studio was “a well-known lecturer on Biblical characters, who became intensely interested in this picture and tried to make the artist understand the appearance of Christ as revealed to him in a vivid dream.”²⁹ Some period of time later Ahl felt inspiration and painted in the face and called upon the lecturer who declared, “Now you have painted Christ as I saw him.”³⁰ One evening, Ahl went into his studio in the dark and found that the painting glowed without illumination from any other source and that there was a cross behind him that the artist had never intended to paint. Hailing it as a miracle, Ahl left the painting unfinished.

At the LPE the four by seven foot canvas was displayed in a room without any windows so that it could be viewed both by electric lights and in complete darkness. Five years later, the painting was displayed at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle in the Swedish pavilion. The pamphlet advertising the painting there is almost an exact duplicate of the one distributed in St. Louis, with the only change being to the testimonial quotes on the cover. One of these quotes was from the St. Louis Star: “The most amazing phenomenon appears... The only real novelty at the

²⁸ “Cross Shows Only by Light of Moon,” *Los Angeles Herald*, March 30, 1909, 8

²⁹ *In the Shadow of the Cross*, St. Louis, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1904. Missouri History Museum Archives (St.L 05 P636), 2

³⁰ *In the Shadow of the Cross*, Missouri History Museum Archives (St.L 05 P636), 2

World's Fair."³¹ There is no justification given for why the painting was displayed in the Irish concession at the LPE. However, Ahl's painting of the McKinley ancestral home does give him some connection to the IIE. It seems fitting that a "miracle painting" such as this one should be displayed inside a building with some connection to Christianity. I conjecture that since the other Christian churches on the ground were Protestant ones (the Visayan Church in the Philippines, the Swedenborg Church, and the Disciples of Christ on the Plateau of States) it seemed more fitting to put an image that was thought to be a marvelously accurate painting of Christ's face in a Catholic church, where there would be no accusations of iconography. The Oberammergau Church was in the Alps, but it displayed pictures of the town's famous passion play and detractors would not have been wanted.³²

The Siren Song of Independence

The replica of the Old Parliament House was a departure from the ancient and romantic image of Ireland. The main entrance to the concession was through the Parliament House, and a portion of it was also a restaurant. The Irish Parliament House was probably the first building deliberately designed to house a parliament. Edward Lovett Pearce, who was an MP, designed the building and the foundation was laid in 1720. Pearce was an enthusiast of Palladian architecture and used that style as his inspiration for the design. One of the features of the original building that has been repeatedly commented on is that Pearce's design gave more distinction to the House of Commons, of which Pearce was a member, than the

³¹*In the Shadow of the Cross*, Seattle,, Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, 1909. The Seattle Public Library (759.13 In357)

³² David Francis, ed., "Ober Ammergau Passion Play," *The World's Fair Bulletin*, (St. Louis: World's Fair Press, April, 1904), 54

House of Lords.³³ The central chamber of the building was rebuilt in 1796 after a fire. The building's design appeared very inconsistent, so in the late 1790s a curved exterior wall of columns was added; aerial shots of the building still show the disjointed interior structure. The wall of columns, crowned with a statue of Hibernia, was the first thing that a visitor to the IIE would see; Ireland translated into Latin is Hibernia, and this personification of Ireland into a beautiful woman persists in representations of the country. It is notable that both of the entrances to the IIE featured architecture that was in some way aligned with the Protestant factions of Ireland. The Protestant connection to the St. Lawrence Gate has already been explained, and at the time that the Parliament building was in use, only Protestants were allowed to hold seats there. Following the Act of Union, the Parliament House was sold to the Bank of Ireland under the condition that it no longer be used for political purposes.³⁴ Though the original structure was never again used for political purposes, the presence of Ireland's symbol of the government it lost in the Act of Union certainly intensified the message of the IIE's organizers. Ireland should be an independent nation once more.

The impression of Ireland communicated by these combined fragments of architecture was a mixed one. Ireland's romantic and mythic pasts were both

³³ Andrew Cusack, "The Houses of Parliament, Dublin: Physical Incarnations of Ireland's Golden Age," *Andrew Cusack*, last updated 6/16/2010 accessed 1/12/2015, <http://www.andrewcusack.com/2010/parliament-house-dublin/>

Irish Georgian Society, "1803 - Former Houses of Parliament/Bank of Ireland, College Green, Dublin," *Archiseek*, <http://archiseek.com/2010/1803-former-houses-of-parliament-bank-of-ireland-college-green-dublin/>

³⁴ Andrew Cusack, "The Houses of Parliament, Dublin: Physical Incarnations of Ireland's Golden Age," *Andrew Cusack*, last updated 6/16/2010 accessed 1/12/2015

emphasized, and recognition was given to both the Protestant and Catholic sects of Ireland. It is not clear whether the organizers meant to give prominence to either religion or if it was accidental. Rebellion was given a place of honor and veneration in the form of the McKinley cottage and the paintings within. Perhaps most importantly, the elegant façade of the Old Parliament House eloquently, if silently, spoke of the rights of government that had long been denied.

Celts on Parade

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that people in ethnographic villages, such as the IIE, can themselves become objects of ethnography.³⁵ Though displays of living humans at museums are more rare in this century, they were fairly common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was particularly the case in dime museums like the one run by P.T. Barnum. Barnum began his career as an itinerant showman, but soon showed his true flair for innovation and publicity in his revamping of the American Museum. A large part of what Barnum did to garner repeat business was introduce live acts along with the museum's well-known taxidermy collection. He featured such acts as: Benjamin Pelham, "the great Pagannini whistler," Yan Zoo, the Chinese juggler; and J. Nathans, the serpent charmer as well as an assortment of ropedancers, glass blowers, ventriloquists, jugglers, and any other acts that seemed exotic or intriguing.³⁶ The concessions on the Pike were advertised in much the same way, but in seeking to advertise the

³⁵ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," 411-413

³⁶ Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr., Philip B. Kunhardt III, and Peter W. Kunhardt, *P.T. Barnum: America's Greatest Showman*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 36-37

exotic, advertisers routinely emphasized stereotypical representations of the people on display.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett asserts:

Live displays, whether recreations of daily activities or staged as formal performances, also create the illusion of authenticity, or realness. The impression is one of unmediated encounter. Semiotically, live displays make the status of the performer problematic, for people become signs of themselves. ... Whether the representation essentializes (one is seeing the quintessence of Balineseness) or totalizes (one is seeing the whole through the part), the ethnographic fragment returns with all the problems of capturing, inferring, constituting, and presenting the whole through parts.³⁷

Both recreations of daily activities and staged formal presentations occurred in the Irish concession. With these performances came the difficult evaluation of the performers and the performers' bodies that Kirshenblatt-Gimblett discusses. Given the stated goals of Hanley and the other organizers, it they likely hoped the performances would convey the essences of Irishness to the American populace.

"Irish Americans in this period struggled against ethnic stereotypes and slurs and, in particular, the racial designation 'Celtic.'"³⁸ However, they found no shelter from these in the IIE. Almost every piece of official advertisement and stories about the IIE contained the words Celt, Celtic, or Hibernian. Hibernian was a term that Irish Americans claimed and used to describe themselves, as seen with the Ancient Order of Hibernians, who were responsible for bringing the IIE to New York City after the end of the LPE.³⁹ All of the advertisements for the sixty-piece Dublin band

³⁷ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," 416

³⁸ Gilbert, *Whose Fair?*, 164

³⁹ Partick Ford, ed., "The Irish Exhibit," *The Irish World*, Nov 15, 1904, 5

refer to them as “the band of sixty sober Irishmen,” indicating that seeing a sober Irishman is part of the novelty, and perhaps also a sign of progress.⁴⁰

Even with these ethnographic stereotypes, the state of the Irish actors was better than the performers in some of the other ethnographic villages. This is partly because the Irish had several advantages over their fellows; namely they were white and spoke English as a first language. Several newspaper stories attempted to emphasize some physical characteristics that were stereotypically Irish in the performers at the Irish concession. The *St. Louis Republic* covered the arrival of the Irish contingent and like the other major papers emphasized the “glowing red cheeks of the colleens impress exposition visitors.”⁴¹ Also present were the stereotypes associated with the stage Irishman, though comics, like the one in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, and reportedly through the performances of Patrick Touhey.⁴² The stage Irishman was a portrayal of the Irish that was intended to be comic, but was minstrelsy. The stage Irishman essentially appeared to be a gorilla in a top hat.⁴³

Despite these prevalent ideas of the Irish appearance, the members of the IIE could have walked through the grounds without encountering the issues that were faced by those who did not appear as white as the Irish, another marker of Ireland’s progress. Conversely, members of the Filipino Scouts and Constabulary found, “Any attempt to cross the forward limits of the racial hierarchy imposed on the riders

⁴⁰ Fox, *Inside the World’s Fair*, 52

⁴¹ M.J. Phillips, ed., “Stalwart Men and Pretty Girls Represent Ireland at the Fair,” *St. Louis Republic*, April 26, 1904

⁴² Phillips, ed., “Here is the Pike, You Can Take a Peek,” *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, January 15, 1904
Partick Ford, ed., “Gaelic Notes,” *The Irish World*, June 18, 1904, 8

⁴³ Partick Ford, ed., “Gaelic Notes,” *The Irish World*, July 2, 1904, 8

down the road to utopia would be met with serious consequences,” when they accepted an invitation to escort young white women schoolteachers from St. Louis around the city and fairgrounds.⁴⁴ Verbal slurs, specifically using the word “nigger,” did not stop the parade, so several United States Marines with the active cooperation of the LPE’s police force kicked the Filipino escorts to the ground and threatened to arrest the white women.

This ability to see the LPE with relative impunity certainly set the Irish contingent apart from the inhabitants of the other ethnographic villages. Another benefit that the Irish received was that their private quarters were not on display. Whether they continued to reside in the Inside Inn after their arrival or were housed in the Irish concession, they did not suffer the indignities faced by the people in the Igarot village, who had fairgoers and anthropology students intruding into their sleeping areas. The residents of many of the ethnographic villages that were part of the official anthropological display also had to build their own shelters with materials imported from their countries of origin. Members of the anthropological villages were required to wear their normal clothing all of the time despite the drastic differences in climate that some experienced. And while the skirts of the dancing girls were short for the time period, the Irish contingent was not forced to change their costume to meet the sensibilities of fairgoers as happened with the Igarot people. Many visitors were dismayed by the scanty garments worn by both men and women, so the residents of the village were supplied with pants to make them more acceptable to the audience, however after outcry from anthropologists

⁴⁴ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 176-177

for destroying the authenticity of the dress, the stipulation was revoked.⁴⁵ The Irish display avoided the semblance of the panoptic gaze that was prevalent in the Philippian villages. Those gave the idea that one may view every aspect of the life of the people on display, while the Irish put on demonstrations akin to those seen at historical sites. Demonstrations at the IIE specifically included crafts from the cottage industries such as making lace, spinning, and weaving, markers of Irish productivity.⁴⁶

There is some debate as to the method by which members of the official anthropological villages were recruited. Some speculate that all members were willing volunteers, even if they weren't fully prepared for the conditions that they would be living in, while others argue that they were forced to work at the LPE. The members of the Irish concession were definitely recruited by Reardon and were paid for the time that they worked in the IIE.⁴⁷ This contract of employment allowed them more freedom to terminate their contract, but they still faced the difficulty of returning to Ireland if they resigned. The members of the Dublin theatre troupe recruited to perform in the Blarney Castle theatre found this out after they resigned over their objections to Touhey's performances. An apology for the accusations they had leveled against the entertainment in the IIE was required before the organizers would agree to pay for them to return to Ireland.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Rydell, *All the World's*, 172-174

⁴⁶ Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, *Ireland's Exhibit at the Fair: Formal Opening and Dedication*, 6

⁴⁷ Williams, *Icons of Irishness*, 83

⁴⁸ "Apology is Price for Return to Erin," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, June 17, 1904

The entirety of the LPE was an ideological descendant of the Gallery of All Nations featured in Reimer's Anatomical and Ethnological Museum in London. Given this it should not be surprising that the performers themselves were as interesting to the fairgoers as the performances.⁴⁹ Articles that gave details about what songs were played, and when, lavished equal or greater detail on the appearance of the "stalwart men and pretty girls" who performed.⁵⁰ When the members of the exposition first arrived from Ireland, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* declared: "Most all of the girls are pretty and every feminine member of the party has those glowing red cheeks that would make her conspicuous if nothing else would."⁵¹ The performances in the IIE did, at least, escape the lasting stigma of the Filipino Village and some of the other concessions displaying so-called "primitive people," because their use of people as part of the IIE was decidedly more theatrical than zoological.

The reason for this difference was intrinsically bound up with the organizers' goals for the IIE. As Gilbert recounts, it was thought that,

Irish popular culture, particularly in song and other performance, might help convince Anglo-Saxon Americans that this past was also their past. This was, no doubt, also the achievement of such experiences as the Blarney Castle.⁵²

In this way, the fragments of culture that would best appeal to the ideal of

"The Emerald Isle" were selected to appear in the Blarney Castle theatre.

Unlike the performances in the courtyard of the IIE, these Terpsichorean feats

⁴⁹ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," 399

⁵⁰ Phillips, ed., "Stalwart Men and Pretty Girls Represent Ireland at the Fair" *St. Louis Republic*, April 26, 1904

⁵¹ "Irish Contingent Here," *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, April 28, 1904

⁵² Gilbert, *Whose Fair?*, 163

did not pretend to be in context. Instead, they offered a fragment of the absent whole of Irish culture, hoping that the interest in ethnographic objects that conformed to the idyllic vision of Ireland would enhance “the aura of [the performances’] realness.⁵³ Despite the mimetic nature of these performances, they could never be neutral representations of Irish culture, because of the agenda that drove their selection.

Even with the controversies and rebellions that took place in the IIE, the prevailing historic dialog was positive. Undoubtedly, the stark contrast between the treatment of the Irish and the treatment of the people in the other ethnographic villages mitigated some of the negative and stereotypical language and images around the IIE. The positive effect of the IIE was so great that it was displayed again in New York under the auspices of the Ancient Order of the Hibernians and other groups hoping to promote Ireland’s bid for freedom from the control of Great Britain.⁵⁴ The image of the Irish left in St. Louis was both bucolic and progressive.

⁵³ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," 389

⁵⁴ Partick Ford, ed., "The Irish Exhibit," *The Irish World*, Nov 15, 1904, 5

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

An advertisement for the IIE in the May edition of the *World's Fair Bulletin* asserted, "no true Celt would go where he couldn't have fun, even if it was at his own expense."¹ This was patently untrue and the result of this attitude was the debate about the stage Irishman at the IIE. Hanley and the other organizers of the IIE hoped to present Ireland in a new and progressive light, but their ambitions were not fully realized. Despite controversies, the IIE was an enormous step forward for Ireland. For the first time, Ireland was not portrayed as a simple, bucolic, romantic land, but as a country with promise.

A little over a decade after the LPE concluded, the 1916 Easter Rising brought fresh momentum to armed resistance of British rule in Ireland. The Anglo-Irish War commenced in 1919 and ended with the signing of the Anglo Irish Treaty on December 6, 1921. One year later, the Irish Free State seceded from Britain, and the hopes of the organizers of the IIE were finally fulfilled. The IIE did promote awareness of Irish manufacturing in the United States, and almost certainly helped attract Irish Americans to invest in the armed struggles in the decades to come. While the IIE had issues, it was ultimately a successful exhibition.

¹ *The World's Fair Bulletin* (May, 1904), 62

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