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Résumé de l'article

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Exhibiting Ireland: The Donegal Industrial Fund in London and Chicago

Janice Helland, Queen's University

Résumé

Cet essai étudie l'histoire complexe et l'existence précaire de l'artisanat à domicile, survivant en marge des débats au sujet des expositions et du colonialisme. On y examine le "Donegal Industrial Fund," une organisation fondée en 1883 par Alice Rowland Hart à Londres et les contributions de cette fondation à l'exposition irlandaise de Londres (1888) et à la foire mondiale de Chicago (1895). L'article s'efforce de montrer que le colonialisme est implicitement mêlé à la renaissance de l'artisanat à domicile en Irlande (souvent appelé "home arts") qui correspond avec l'intensité croissante des débats au sujet du "Home Rule" et des appels à l'indépendance. De plus il réévalue le lien inextricable entre artisanat à domicile et philanthropie au dix-neuvième siècle dans les journaux et les magazines, une relation qui a contribué à une féminisation excessive de l'artisanat à domicile et à une marginalisation des arts ménagers ("home arts") dans les discussions sur le mouvement d' "Arts and Crafts" (Arts et Métiers) à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle.

The first Irish Exhibition organized for "mighty London"[1] opened at Olympia in June 1888 and, following the popular Great Exhibition of 1851, promoted the industries as well as the arts of Ireland. The *Irish Times* optimistically expressed the "strongest hope" that the display of "Irish industries, Irish art, and Irish traditions and customs" would create a "better feeling" toward Ireland as well as a "juster idea of its resources and wants."[2] These sentiments reiterated the mandate published in the exhibition's official catalogue. The organizers, including the Duke of Abercorn, Earl Cadogan, and physician-activist Ernest Hart, wanted to highlight "the worth and significance of Irish art," to moderate prejudices "at the very root of misunderstandings," and to encourage public interest in the revival of Ireland's industries.[3] Dublin's nationalist *Evening Telegraph* was certain the exhibition would "hasten the coming of Home Rule."[4] Although this large exhibition has not been singled out for discussion in the expanding body of literature that seeks to locate and describe nineteenth-century expositions as elaborate signifiers of the colonial project,[5] it certainly rests easily within those discussions. Even during the five-month tenure of the display, the contemporary press recognized and identified its merit; for example, Dublin's *Irish Society* insisted that London took more kindly to the "effort of Ireland at Olympia" than it had ever done before "with regard to any of the many Colonial and other shows with which, of late years, the metropolis of the world has been inundated."[6]

Within the larger exhibition, one faux Irish village, Donegal Village, achieved tremendous popularity with viewers and in the press. The Donegal Industrial Fund, founded in 1883 by Londoner Alice Rowland Hart "for the encouragement of Irish Home Industries and the benefit of Irish workers,"[7] recreated Donegal Village as a community of craft workers who demonstrated the making of objects in purpose-built exhibition cottages amongst already completed items offered for sale (fig. 1). It is the complex history and precarious existence of cottage crafts subsisting on the edges of debates about exhibitions and colonialism that I wish to address by describing Hart's project, the Donegal Industrial Fund, and its contributions to Olympia (1888) and to the Chicago World's Fair (1893).

This essay endeavours to expose the colonialism implicitly woven into and around the revival of cottage crafts (often called home arts) in Ireland,[8] which coincided with the increased intensity of Home Rule debates and calls for independence.[9] The rejuvenation of cottage crafts in Ireland, frequently sponsored and promoted by English women, grew simultaneously with rebellion against England and therefore cannot be disassociated from the political, even as the leaders of the cottage craft movement sought to distance themselves from politics. Ishbel, Countess of Aberdeen, founded the largest and arguably the most influential organization, the Irish Industries Association in 1886; Theresa, Marchioness of Londonderry, founded the London general committee of the Irish Industries Association in 1895; and English-born aristocrats such as Cecilia, Countess of Lucan, established individually-operated cottage craft ventures in the late 1880s that exhibited with the Irish Industries Association. It is imperative to acknowledge the embedded colonialism of home industries organizations as complicated and diverse while, at the same time, to recognize that cottage crafts have been marginalized within broader debates about exhibition and empire. In addition, I wish to re-evaluate the inextricable link made between home arts and philanthropy in nineteenth-century newspapers and magazines, a relationship that has led to an excessive feminization of cottage industries and also to the marginalization of home arts in discussions about the late nineteenth-century Arts and Crafts movement. The amorphous and categorically gendered home arts have been consistently pushed to the edges of the Arts and Crafts movement.

The Donegal Industrial Fund operated within the parameters of the nascent Arts and Crafts movement (a movement not named as such until 1888) and owed much to the writings of nineteenth-century art critic and social philosopher John Ruskin; thus, to consider it only as a philanthropic activity

Figure 1. *Old Irish Market Place*, the Irish Village at Olympia, 1888, published in *Queen*, 7 July 1888, p. 8 (photo: Toronto Reference Library)

oversimplifies extraordinarily complex sets of gendered and classed relationships between production and consumption, collaboration and exploitation, and exhibition and display. To ignore the colonialism woven together with the narrative of English women in Ireland, even though the Fund's founder, Alice Hart, seemed to comprehend the problems associated with England's colonial presence in Ireland, is to simplify a multifarious relationship. For example, during an 1891 lecture Hart showed her audience "photographs of eviction scenes" and remarked that, while she did not wish to pass any opinion upon the "rights or wrongs of the bitter fight" that was prevailing at the time, she had never seen "such sad and desolate scenes as those which were resultant upon evictions."[10] However, in an earlier lecture she had demonstrated "transformation scenes" where her pictures of "wretched interiors, starving women and children" were removed with a sponge that represented the Donegal Industrial Fund and were replaced "by a series of comfortable cottages, well-fed, well-warmed old folk,"[11] thereby suggesting the efficacy of English philanthropic intervention into colonized Ireland.

To situate the goals and aspirations of the Donegal Industrial Fund, I shall first leap ahead in time to the early twentieth century, then back to the 1880s, when Alice Rowland Hart organized the Fund, and then, finally, to the specific contributions of the Donegal Industrial Fund to Olympia and Chicago. While discussing the Donegal Industrial Fund, I argue that the various home arts and industries of the late nineteenth century each developed their own objectives and directions – although their intentions were complementary, each association had its own unique characteristics usually reflecting the influence of the founder or founders of the specific organization. They all were steeped in Ruskinian thought and developed in ways that replicated the ideals of the emergent Arts and Crafts movement, which included a desire "to provide an alternative code to the harshness of late nineteenth-century industrialism," to encourage the "creation of hand-made goods," and to promote an integration between art and craft.[12] At the same time home industries interacted with or implemented those ideals in very different ways.

Alice Rowland Hart (1848–1931): A Brief Biography

Hart was a complex and talented person. She had trained as a doctor in Paris and at the London School of Medicine for Women and retained, throughout her life, a concern for health and nutrition.[13] She painted: in 1896 a solo exhibition of pictures she made during a trip to the Far East opened in London, accompanied by a catalogue with an introduction written by London art critic and *Studio* editor Gleeson White.[14] She wrote travel books, published medical treatises, made weavings, actively participated in the Japan Society, and almost single-handedly established the Donegal Industrial Fund as an organization to revive and promote home arts and industries in the "congested districts" of Donegal.[15]

In 1904, in her new role as editor of *The House Beautiful and the Home*, with its descriptive sub-title "A journal for those who design, beautify, furnish and inhabit houses," Alice Rowland Hart lamented the "inextinguishable desire of the human mind" to yearn for easy money. Her editorial closed with a moralizing comment: "A sovereign earned is sweeter than a hundred won or found."[16] In the next issue of *House Beautiful*, Hart expressed regret for the depopulation of the British countryside and suggested the introduction of model farm schools to educate girls and boys. Positive action should be taken to "counteract the boredom of the country" by revitalizing the village hall with lectures, dances, concerts and instruction.[17] In April of the same year, Hart published an article by one of her favourite correspondents, Lucy Yates, about "Art for the People," a new international association formed in Paris. "[H]ad Ruskin been living," wrote Yates, "he'd be the first to support the organisation."[18] A slightly later article in January 1905 commended the cottage crafts produced by workers in Dublin's Dun Emer Industries[19] for their originality, individuality, and distinction, "which would have gladdened the heart of Ruskin." At Dun Emer, according to Hart's magazine,

> Ruskin would have found the realisation of many of his most cherished dreams. Here are fresh country girls, surrounded by trees and flowers, working out artistic designs and making them things of beauty, under the guidance of cultivated and refined women. No deafening roar of machinery, no hideous black smoke from factory chimneys: all is grace, tranquillity, peace and harmony.[20]

These few glimpses into *House Beautiful* introduce Alice Hart and establish her relationship with a way of thinking about art and social projects that owes much to John Ruskin. This is not to infer that she always agreed with Ruskin or his positions but she shared with her family, friends, and colleagues a relationship with society that grew out of Ruskinian philosophy and, even when she strayed from his ideals, her concerns for a life that embraced art remained constant. Her relationship with Ruskin's writings began in the late 1860s, before her marriage, when she was still living in her family home with her widowed, art-loving father,[21] her aunt, and her philanthropically-minded sister, Henrietta. Henrietta Rowland began working with social reformer Octavia Hill in the early 1870s, while she was still in her teens, and after her marriage to Samuel Barnett in 1873, she became assiduously devoted to philanthropic activities in London's East End, most notably to the establishment of the Whitechapel Art Gallery as a venue meant to bring culture – and with it morality – to the poor.[22] Henrietta Rowland Barnett wrote of her sister:

> To describe her is perplexing. She is very clever, generous-minded enough to forgive injuries, humble enough to forget them, full of the passion of pity and self-forgetful enthusiasm, with a child-like confidence in everyone which none of the disappointments she has suffered ever quenches. She narrates brilliantly but dislikes discussion, the bent of her mind being assertively scientific ... She reads voraciously, sketches dramatically, has a sunny temper, and is a trained doctor and an observant nurse.[23]

Alice Rowland married London physician and reformer Ernest Hart (1835–1898) in 1872, the year before her sister married Barnett. Hart had established his reputation as a crusader years earlier when he had agitated for the rights and education of Jews. He was only eighteen when *Fraser's Magazine* published his essay "The British Jews," written in response to a racist article published earlier in *The Quarterly Review*.[24] After winning a scholarship to Queen's College, Cambridge, but being ineligible for a degree because he was Jewish, Hart opted for a career in medicine, and, although he had a stellar reputation as a physician and as editor of the *British Medical Journal*, his obituary declared that his success was "largely owing to his extensive connection and high reputation among the wealthy members of his own religion."[25] Alice Rowland Hart shared with her husband a concern for health and justice informed by late nineteenth-century codes of morality, but, at the same time, she had to negotiate between her husband's Jewishness and her sister's Christian piety tinged with anti-Semitism.[26] Ernest Hart, wrote Henrietta Barnett, "was a Jew, a reverent agnostic, pursuing truth with a ruthless disregard of consequences, a man with a great love of beauty, a keen appreciation of art, and an unashamed enjoyment of luxury."[27]

It was their concern for truth that sent Alice Hart and Ernest Hart to Ireland early in 1883 to investigate reports of Irish misery and famine.[28] In preparation for the trip, Alice Hart read a series of books, pamphlets, published speeches, and reports "with ever increasing interest, mingled with feelings of pain, shame and indignation." As she read Irish history, said Hart in an 1885 lecture, she "felt for the first time ashamed of being an Englishwoman." She blamed England for willingly and knowingly destroying the glass and woollen industries of Ireland; she denied the commonly voiced characteristic of Irish idleness by insisting that the population wanted employment; she decided "that the most practical thing to do would be to revive the old Cottage Industries and to develop and improve the ancient arts of spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing and embroidery." [29] Her main concern was to provide work for an agricultural, rural population during the long winter months, thus supplementing the meagre income earned during the growing season: to this end she founded the Donegal Industrial Fund. Thus, the story of Alice Hart and the Donegal Industrial Fund includes Irish peasants, embroidered textiles, entrepreneurial élan, opulent lace, English Jewishness, and rural poverty.

The Donegal Industrial Fund

The Harts consistently characterized the population of Donegal as hard-working, honest, thrifty people. "No one," said Alice Hart in an 1887 lecture she gave in London, can visit Donegal "with seeing eyes and open mind, and not bear witness to the astonishing laboriousness of the people who, without capital and without help of any kind, have turned stoney wastes and barren bogs into arable farms and green fields."[30] More poignantly, and with reference to her own role in London society, she commented,

> Their courtesy of manner is charming. In the poorest hut a kindly welcome and the best the host can produce are placed at the disposal of the stranger. I have been received with

> more grace in an Irish pig-stye converted into a human habitation than in many a London drawing-room.[31]

Hart's programme coincided with growing concerns for the organization of home industries in Britain and Ireland. Eglantyne Louisa Jebb (1845-1925), born and educated in Ireland but married and living in England, inaugurated her Cottage Arts Association in Shropshire in 1884 "with the direct object of promoting happy and thrifty home life among the people."[32] By 1885 she had expanded her small venture, renamed it the Home Arts and Industries Association, and introduced it to London's "self-defined status group," fashionable Society,[33] with an exhibition in the Carlton House Terrace home of the Association's patrons, Earl Brownlow and Adelaide, Countess Brownlow.[34] Earl Brownlow became the Association's first president; Walter Besant, who "spoke encouragingly of the new scheme" at the influential Social Science Congress in Birmingham, became the Association's first treasurer.[35] Jebb's Home Arts and Industries Association became an umbrella organization for many affiliated groups that worked toward educating the lower or working classes in the making of crafts.[36] This was viewed as a way of inspiring in workers a desire for beauty and an understanding of taste, and concomitantly, of civilization. The *Lady*, a magazine that appealed to "upper-class British femininity,"[37] considered the Association a vital force in "civilizing" the uneducated poor during "an age in which the political sovereignty of the land threatens to fall into the hands of the masses."[38] The production of cottage crafts, then, became entwined with British culture as defined in the nineteenth century by Society, or the upper classes.

However, the designation "home arts and industries" cannot always be conflated with the Home Arts and Industries Association, even though many groups shared similar goals and grew up around analogous issues. Most of the groups, including the large and influential Association, were rooted in mid-century estate-based practices centred upon the concept of poverty relief. For example, in 1849 in the Highlands of Scotland, Harriet, Duchess of Sutherland, organized an Industrial Society for crofters in the south-eastern parishes of Sutherland, with annual exhibitions held in Golspie beginning in 1850; these exhibitions continued until about the mid-1860s.[39] In Ireland, "a number of ladies" expanded the lacemaking industry as an attempt to forestall the disasters of the famine.[40] These early ventures were not sustained, but, by the 1880s, they were energetically revived to correspond with the growing interest in cottage crafts evidenced by increasingly frequent industrial exhibitions, John Ruskin's highly publicized and intensely romanticized revival of hand weaving on the Isle of Man, and the rapid growth of markets for products that signified the handmade.

In many instances, the new or rejuvenated organizations relied upon the same funding structures as the old: the raising of money by aristocrats or with the help of aristocrats. For example, Eglantyne Jebb counted the Duchess of Westminster, the Marchioness of Waterford,[41] and Countess Brownlow among her patrons.[42] The powerful and committed Ishbel, Countess of Aberdeen, founded the Irish Industries Association in 1886, and Millicent, Duchess of Sutherland, revived the Sutherland Industrial Exhibition (later called the Highland Home Industries Association) in 1886.[43] Millicent Sutherland, along with Ishbel Aberdeen, Countess Rosebery, and Princess Louise, established Scottish Home Industries in 1889.[44] Many groups energetically organized events in London's most exclusively elite residences to advertise and raise money for their ventures. Millicent Sutherland held displays and sales in her luxurious London home, Stafford House; Ishbel Aberdeen frequently organized similar events in W.W. Astor's residence in Carlton House Terrace or in the Marchioness of Londonderry's residence in Park Lane; the Lord Mayor's Mansion House in the city provided the venue for an important lace exhibition under the patronage of "Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen and the Princesses of the Royal House."[45] These exhibitions, while raising money and promoting handcrafted articles, became social events, provided "dressing up" opportunities for the consuming viewers, and suggested political support for the beleaguered edges of the United Kingdom.

Significantly, the apparent similarities between the organizations served also to highlight their differences and, in so doing, articulated the multi-faceted characteristics of the organizations that eventually would be grouped under the generic title of "home arts and industries." Highland Home Industries, for example, like some of its counterparts in Ireland, fell under the aristocratic sponsorship of an antiquated feudal system. Years after its founding *The Times* printed a long essay titled "Survival in Scotland and Revival in England" that examined the growth of home industries. The irony of such projects is captured in the expressive language used by the reviewer to describe the use of home-spun fabrics: "[I]t is due to no accident and to no whim of fashion that home-spun is the chosen clothing of every sportsman in the North; but there is something of pathos in the thought that the highest placed and wealthiest in the land should be clad in fabrics made by the industry of the poorest."[46]

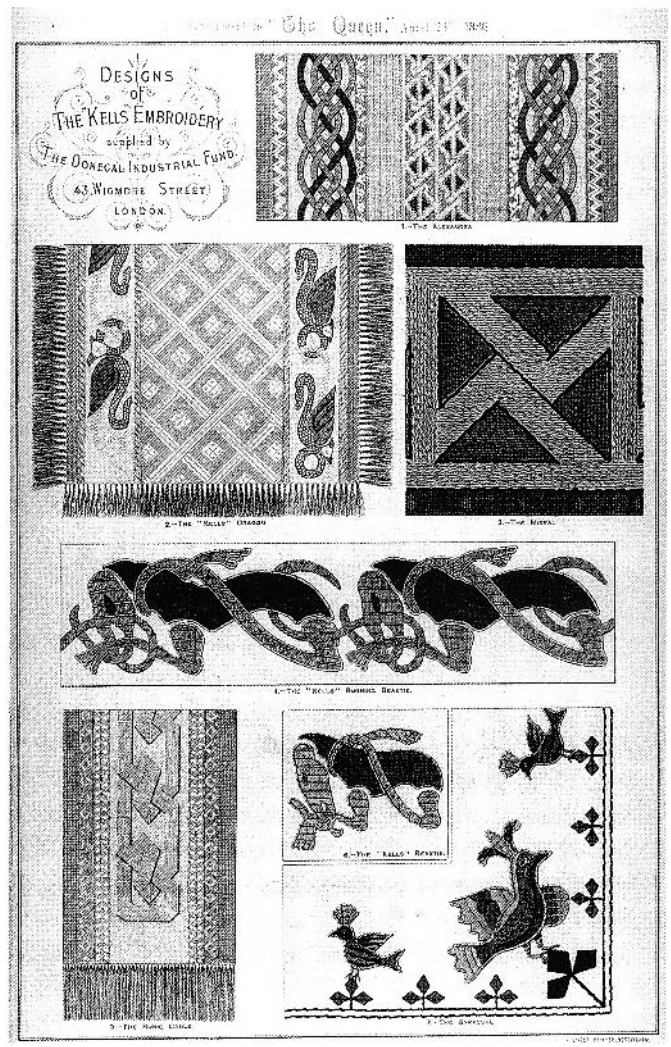
Hart's project certainly corroborated *The Times*' astute analysis, but it also challenged more estate-based directions of the organizations favoured by landed aristocrats. Unlike Millicent Sutherland, but similar in some ways to Jebb, Hart established an art industry that complemented the more market-driven production of home-spun flannels, tweeds, and knitwear. She

devised the Irish manufacture of Kells Art Embroideries (fig. 2), inspired by Ireland's Book of Kells. She later described the intensity of her feelings when she first turned the pages of the Book of Kells in the library of Trinity College. The manuscript, wrote Hart, "revealed to me a mine and storehouse of design. In a few square inches of these wondrous pages there was more design and more suggestion than in sheaves of original drawings turned out from South Kensington."[47]

Kells Art Embroideries, which became the trademark product of the Donegal Industrial Fund,[48] incorporated designs mainly derived from the ancient Irish illuminated books of the seventh and eighth centuries and from monuments of the pre-Christian and early-Christian eras, when Ireland, according to Hart, "was in questions of art far in advance of England."[49] These designs, based upon the Book of Kells, the Durrow Bible, and "other early Irish and Runic sources," were embroidered on Irish linens with dyed, polished flax threads, also of Irish manufacture. Thus, according to the *Magazine of Art*, the embroideries represented "patriotic objects," and Hart's efforts could be "regarded as a genuine attempt to revive the art as well as the industries of Ireland."[50] The production of Kells embroideries was for Hart a statement of Irishness – a reification of Irish culture and art in the reality of famine and hardship.

She shared, then, with Millicent Sutherland a concern for people who "were more or less fixed in the country by the tenure of their farms."[51] Like other patrons of rural cottage industries, Hart wanted the production of objects to take place in the craftworker's environment, and therefore she established weaving, embroidery, and wood-carving classes in towns and villages in County Donegal. Similarly, Eglantyne Jebb located her early wood-carving projects in Shropshire and Wales, and Millicent Sutherland worked with crofters and weavers in the Highlands. Unlike the later initiators of Arts and Crafts organizations, these women did not seek a quixotic relocation from city to country (like, for example, C.R. Ashbee's Cotswolds experiment), but rather they engaged with the inhabitants of existing poverty-stricken communities frequently located in remote areas. If, at times, the products and the producers were romanticized for patrons and buyers (nostalgia and romanticism figured largely in the major exhibitions), many of the organizers of home industries remained in touch with a harsher reality. The gap that existed between home arts and industries and the Arts and Crafts movement can be located in this space between urban and rural and, most significantly, between professional and amateur; home arts are consistently categorized as amateur. Nineteenth-century debates tended to suggest that professionals had been publicly trained, while amateurs had been educated privately, and that professionals earned their living from their craft.[52] However, in the instance of cottage

Figure 2. Kells embroideries of the Donegal Industrial Fund, published in *Queen*, 24 April 1886, p. 438 (photo: Toronto Reference Library).



workers, the overriding designators were undoubtedly class and gender (peasant and poor, female with no status).

While the organizations' intentions might seem commendable, they did represent internal colonization of the so-called Celtic fringe by London society, and, in addition, the colonialism was complicated and intensified by the location of the workers in remote rural areas. This rurality marginalized the products within the more rarefied, metropolitan world of the Arts and Crafts movement, even though, as Anthea Callen recognized, the women involved in establishment of craft organizations "were crucial in the widespread dissemination of the ideals and practices of the Arts and Crafts movement."[53] However, according to Alan Crawford, "It is impossible to imagine the Arts and Crafts Movement without architecture,"[54] and therein lies the crux of exclusion that has haunted the move-

ment since its inception. Despite the objectives so clearly desired by the early proselytizers of Arts and Crafts, including William Morris and John Ruskin, it was and is the cosmopolitan designers-cum-architects who have defined and described what is included and excluded. Cottage crafts, while fulfilling the movement's objectives, lacked the status and grandeur associated with the architect-designer and the sophisticated milieu of the city.

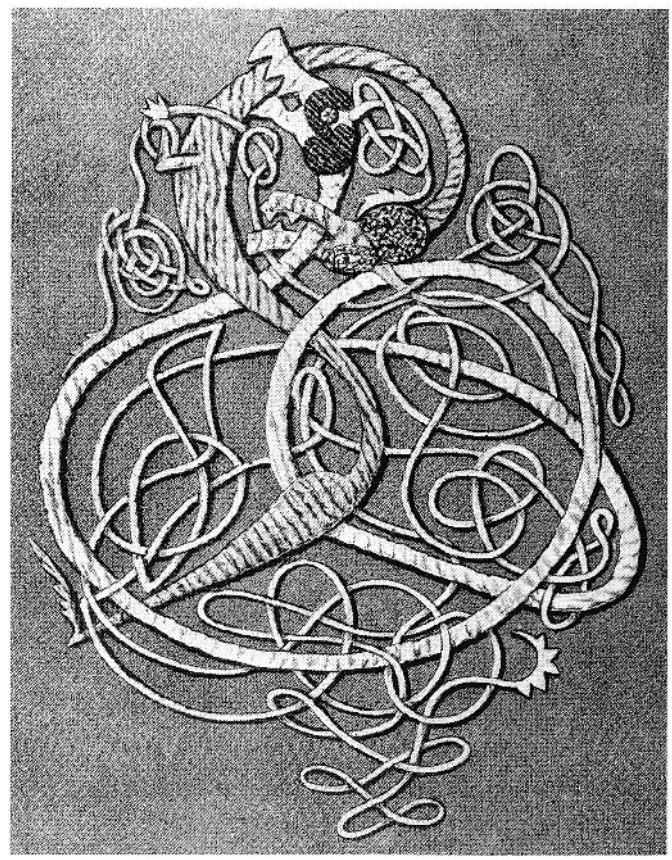
Hart organized items for exhibition almost immediately after founding the Donegal Industrial Fund. She successfully used the large International Health Exhibition in South Kensington (1884) as her first venue, and the Fund received a Diploma of Honour in the Dress Department, the equivalent of a gold medal.[55] Between this first exhibition and her much larger contribution to Olympia in 1888, the Fund received a silver medal at the New Orleans International Exhibition (1885) for its art embroideries and textiles, and a gold medal at London's International Inventions Exhibition (1885) for its display of Kells "flax on flax embroideries" and artistic woollen fabrics, which included a pair of portières of Irish woollen cloth decorated with "a singularly bold design taken from a Celtic illumination of the seventh century."[56]

In early May 1885, the Prince and Princess of Wales formally opened the International Inventions Exhibition, which celebrated the progress of inventions made since the Great London Exposition of 1862 and that of musical instruments since 1800.[57] "Trumpeters in gorgeous tunics blew a fanfare" as the royal couple entered the centre piece of the exhibition – the reconstructed Old London Street – and slowly made their way toward the Donegal Industrial Fund's showroom at "Ye Signe of ye Rose and Shamrock," which was devoted to the display of Irish goods. The showroom's name reminded viewers of the relationship between England and Ireland and highlighted the contradictions always present in Hart's work – she sought to alleviate poverty as she criticized the history of the English in Ireland, and at the same time, she promoted a harmony that was always only partially authentic. As if to draw attention to the incongruity, on opening day, Alice Hart together with the Marchioness of Waterford presented the Princess of Wales "with a specially prepared list of specimens of the knitting, weaving, embroidery, and other handiwork of Donegal peasants."[58] Political unrest in Ireland was linked to England and to the Irish aristocracy, many of whom like the Marchioness of Waterford remained loyal to the English crown. Even as visitors celebrated the exhibition, a series of bombings took place in London that highlighted the difficulties Hart faced in negotiating between her support for the Irish and her desires to obtain commissions from the conservative wealthy.[59] Unrest circulated around class and religion as much as nationality and allegiance, and by relying upon the patronage of aristocrats Hart embarked upon a necessary but conflicted path – she needed to attract customers and garner support as she championed Irish peasants and the goods they produced. Unlike many of the other home industries associations that proliferated during the late 1880s, the Fund did not wholly join forces with members of the aristocracy, but in true entrepreneurial fashion, Hart did enlist support where she could find it, and, particularly during exhibitions, socialites such as Louisa Waterford provided a link between the mercantile Hart and her upper class customers. In addition, aristocratic socialites such as the Princess of Wales and the Marchioness of Waterford provided the allure of aristocratic glamour, which attracted visitors and enhanced the Fund's popularity and appeal.

A review in *Queen* of the Donegal Industrial Fund's participation at the exhibition highlighted an ideology Hart attempted to subvert, while at the same time it illuminated the problems inherent in any philanthropic practice: Hart, according to *Queen*'s anonymous correspondent, might "claim an honourable place among the inventions made since 1862 if she and her philanthropic friends could show an invention for making the helpless Irish peasantry help themselves ... Nothing could be more depressing than to read the record of the industries set up and fostered by English capital and philanthropy," and, insisted the reviewer, "as long as these energetic ladies will push the go-cart themselves the cotters will probably consent to go in it."[60] Hart's work rode the edge of a sharp knife: she desired to provide Irish women with work where they had little or none, but she herself was an outsider and a participant in English imperialism even though, unlike many of her contemporaries, she could see the vestiges of colonialism and she understood the economic devastation of imperialism.

Despite criticisms, Alice Hart had learned the power of display and the rewards of successfully exhibiting Fund products. She quickly developed and expanded the concept of exhibition, relentless in her determination to bring the goods to the attention of a buying public. She exhibited hand-crafted objects before the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society began its large, high profile-events, and she participated in the same industrial exhibitions as William Morris and William de Morgan. She moved cottage crafts directly into large and public venues, and thus her home arts and industries programme obtained a high profile in the contemporary press and among the public before the umbrella Home Arts and Industries Association came to stand for cottage crafts in historical discourses. The Donegal Industrial Fund also participated in smaller exhibitions, such as the display of Irish lace and cottage industries held in the Royal School of Art Needlework (London) under the patronage of the Princess of Wales.[61] However, it was the critical attention the

Figure 3. Kells Embroideries *Dragon and Serpent*, detail from the curtains for the Associated Artists of New York, published in *Lady's World* (February 1887), p. 140, British Library PP.6004ob (reproduction by permission of The British Library).



Fund obtained from participation in international exhibitions such as those in Edinburgh (1886), Liverpool (1886), and Glasgow (1888) that propelled it onto a much larger and recognizably public stage.

When Alice Hart exhibited objects made by the Donegal Industrial Fund in the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, a commentator for *Queen* wrote that Kells linens woven on handlooms formed a "new departure in art linens: they were novel, artistic, beautifully coloured," and their production had "given employment to many who were sadly in want of work." The distinctiveness of the work, according to *Queen*, was the "artistic effect" obtained by using simple materials.[62] According to Hart, "the Kells arrow, the beast, and the dragon, taken from the ancient book of Kells," were the "naturally favourite designs" of the Fund, and, although the polished threads made from Irish material were so exquisitely tinted, brilliant, and smooth that they "might often be mistaken for silks," they were much more durable than "their more expensive rivals."[63]

In addition to winning medals, the Donegal Industrial Fund was also securing prestigious commissions. The Associated Artists of New York ordered a set of hangings of hand-spun and hand-woven madder-dyed serge, embroidered in yellow and red Kells threads (fig. 3). These were seen by Queen Victoria who "intimated her intention to order a similar series for Windsor Castle."[64] In 1887, Aimée Carpenter[65] designed a set of "magnificent" portières for the Council Room of the British Medical Association, which were subsequently embroidered by "poor Irish ladies" on material woven by Galway women.[66] The Fund was also acclaimed for its designing and making of dresses. In 1886, Ishbel Aberdeen had ordered a court dress decorated with Kells embroidery that was exhibited in Donegal House (London) and then sent to the Liverpool International Exhibition.[67] The *Liverpool Daily Post* described the costume as "conspicuous among articles shown," the front of the dress so solidly embroidered with the "finest coloured threads that not an inch of the original material is seen."[68] This lavish court dress included a train of white linen embroidered with sprays of Japanese apple blossoms outlined with gold thread. In addition, Lady Aberdeen had a luxuriously embroidered Celtic costume made for an extravagant garden party that she organized in 1886 to encourage support for Irish industries. This dress and mantle were inspired by Hart's Kells Embroideries even though the Royal Irish School of Art Needlework stitched the panels (fig. 4).[69] The embroidered gold designs that decorated the cream poplin overskirt and mantle replicated the elaborate interlacing found in the early Irish art so favoured by Hart and her designers and incorporated so intensely into what became their trademark designs. By 1888, the Donegal Industrial Fund was immensely successful and prepared to take on its largest project to date – the Irish Village at Olympia.

Olympia

Alice Hart, along with the Earl of Leitrim, oversaw the building of the Irish Village at Olympia. According to *Queen*, "[E]ver since Old London was set up at South Kensington, facsimile reconstructions of buildings, streets, workshops, cottages, market places, and villages have been amongst the most attractive features at various exhibitions."[70] Hart's work in recreating an "irregular street" with twelve thatched cottages that imitated "the ordinary construction of rough hewn stone"[71] prepared her for her work five years later in Chicago, and in that way, the two exhibitions complemented each another. The Olympia village was decidedly romantic. It included a "cross brought over from Ireland," the ruins of a "low Irish tower," and a "Holy well" located near the centre of the mock village,[72] and, typical of much contemporary writing, *Woman's World* commended the "little village" for its authenticity: it seemed transported from the "wilds of some of the poorest and most poverty-stricken parts of Ireland."[73] "Actual workers" from remote Donegal villages and other parts of Ireland "engaged in cottage industries" promoted by the Fund. For example, an illustration published in *Queen* showed the cottage where Mary Doherty, a

Figure 4. Lady Aberdeen wearing her Garden Party costume, published in *Lady's Pictorial*, 29 May 1886, p. 487 (photograph courtesy of Joseph S. Stauffer Library, Queen's University, Kingston).

spinner and carder from Gweedore, plyed her trade (the tower and the cross are also illustrated), while across the road, a young woman prepared a knitted garment (fig. 5).[74] Outside the largest of the cottages, the Kells Embroiders' Cottage, Shelah MacBride of Gweedore demonstrated the more arduous task of wool-dyeing. She used local plants from the district; heather alone, for example, could produce an "extensive range of colours, running through the gamut of pale buffs, yellows and browns" and with the added process of double-dyeing, the dyers could obtain "very vivid and delicate greens."[75]

Inside the Kells Embroiders' Cottage, in a large room devoted to a brilliant assembly of various goods displayed between two lateral screens hung with Kells embroideries, two young women demonstrated the making of objects for ecclesiastical and decorative purposes (fig. 6). Linen and flax threads, dyed woollens and silk filled the space with textiles covered with dragons, serpents, floral and geometric designs in what *Queen* called a "rainbow iridescence."[76] These luxurious objects represented the Fund's artistic handicrafts made largely for consumption in England, and their display may well have led to at least two important commissions. The Duke of Newcastle ordered lavishly decorated ecclesiastical embroidery for his Clumber Church, built to commemorate his marriage; the vestments were based upon a sixteenth-century Italian design worked in silver and mounted on ivory brocade. In addition, the Fund made bags, a chalice veil and burse.[77] Fascinatingly, given Hart's relationship with Catholic Ireland, the elegant embroideries came under attack for their perfidious Catholicness.[78] Not to be daunted by pro-English Protestantism, Hart's organization followed the Clumber Church debate by designing ecclesiastical embroideries for England's most Catholic aristocrat, the Duke of Norfolk. These textiles were exhibited in a Portman Street gallery before entering into use on the Duke's estate.[79] The Fund also worked less controversial but equally luxurious white embroidery for trousseaus for Princess Louise of Wales and for the Hon. Mabel Brassey.[80] Potential consumers and interested viewers could watch the women sitting in the Irish Village cottage, drawing their needles through the delicate cambric used for the trousseaus of the wealthy.[81]

Lacemaking, as might be expected from the trousseau commissions, obtained a place within the Fund's activities, although it most often resulted from collaboration with already established lacemaking organizations in Ireland. Mrs Glynn, a Limerick lacemaker who worked with "great rapidity" on her frame inside a cosy room off the reconstructed Donegal street, always attracted crowds eager to watch her needle "deftly and swiftly passed downward through the net." Glynn had recently completed a handkerchief for Princess Christian and two lace shawls "made to order," one of which was for Mrs Gladstone.[82] The laces displayed in the cottage attested to a cooperative relationship between Florence Vere O'Brien, who had revived the art of Limerick lacemaking,[83] and Hart's Donegal Industrial Fund, which acted as a depot for objects produced by women who worked in Vere O'Brien's Limerick school.

Vere O'Brien had successfully incorporated many of the suggestions put forward by Alan Cole after his visit to Ireland in 1883, when the English art educator (Science and Art Department, South Kensington) had sought to convince the designers and makers of Irish lace to introduce new patterns that might bring the Irish lacemaking industry to the standards of Burano (near Venice) or Bruges. Cole cited Burano as an example of what might be accomplished through the "energy of philanthropists and connoisseurs of art": there had been eight lacemakers on the Island in 1872, "while in 1881 there were upwards of 320."[84] His Irish reports coincided with revival of cottage crafts, and although Ruskin's activities on the Isle of Man rank high amongst possible influences toward revival, Cole's widely publicized efforts, which included offering South

Figure 5. A village street in Donegal in the Irish Village at Olympia, 1888, published in *Queen*, 7 July 1888, p. 8 (photo: Toronto Reference Library).

Kensington prizes for excellent designs for lace, were hugely influential and certainly contributed to the revival.[85] Cole insisted that within a year of his report (and with increased tourism in Ireland) sales of lace rose dramatically; for example, the Abbess of the Convent of Poor Clares in Kenmare wrote that they had sold "every bit of lace, as fast as it could be made" to tourists during the summer.[86]

Figure 6. *The Exhibits of the Donegal Industrial Fund*, Kells Embroiderers' Cottage in the Irish Village at Olympia, 1888, published in *Queen*, 28 July 1888, p. 109 (photo: Toronto Reference Library).

Although handmade lace was extremely expensive and considered the prerogative of only the very wealthy, it became part of the repertoire of Donegal House; however, it was embroidery that remained the Fund's mainstay and its trademark. This was confirmed at Olympia in the Kells Embroidery cottage and also in the display inside another of the smaller cottages that included an unnamed woman who worked on silver-stitch embroidery. She embroidered a panel for an ornate black satin court dress commissioned by the Countess of Aberdeen. Ishbel Aberdeen often used her own body to advance the cause of Irish industry, and this immensely extravagant court dress complemented her sartorial performance during the Irish Exhibition's "fancy fair." Lady Aberdeen tended a stall wearing a gown of white Irish poplin decorated with green ribbons and Limerick lace; her jewellery included a brooch and necklace carved from green Connemara marble in the shape of shamrocks.[87] Her dress-in-progress on display in the Irish Village attracted as much attention as, or more than, the Countess herself. The embroidered design, like the Duke of Newcastle's vestments, had been adapted from a medieval Italian original in Alice Hart's personal collection. Silver threads formed raised flowers that were "connected by stems formed of silver twisted cords," making an intricate pattern across the satin. Elaborate stitching decorated the skirt, the bodice, the leaf-shaped sleeves, and even the shoes. The silver stitch embroidery for Lady Aberdeen's dress (fig. 7) was probably, according to Hart, "the first time" that such work had been made in the nineteenth century and therefore constituted "an interesting artistic revival." The living display also represents an almost perfect reification of Ruskinian ideals: a woman working quietly on domestic embroidery based upon Italian medieval design, made in the carefully crafted manner Ruskin so admired: the raised work was done "over cut cardboard, as in the old Italian work."[88] In addition, this display signifies the ubiquitous and gendered colonialism implicit in the production of such costly artistic work – according to the popular press, the "young Irish girls" who learned to do this kind of highly specialized work had been only a few months earlier "running wild."[89]

This characterization informed the discourses favoured by the contemporary press and obviously endorsed by Alice Hart, while at the same time, both Hart and many press correspondents sought to locate the workers and their objects within an artistic milieu that remained at odds with the constructed image of "running wild." Most of Hart's contributions to the Irish

Figure 7. Court dress embroidered for the Countess of Aberdeen published in *Lady's Pictorial*, 7 July 1888, p. 12 (photo: Toronto Reference Library).

Exhibition encompassed the making of luxury goods, or what she called artistic handicrafts, for consumption in England; however, she also sought to convey a sense of work and place to an interested public. But it required an Irish correspondent to record, in print, a complete picture of the fictitious Donegal-in-London. According to the correspondent for *Irish Society*, peat had been sent to London to supply the fuel for "domestic purposes." Burning peat, the potato kettle, and the "usual humble furniture of an Irish cottage" contributed "characteristic features" to the interior of some of the cottages. However, the smell of the burning peat apparently inhibited some visitors from participation in the authentic experience. Others persevered, becoming somewhat accustomed to the "native smoke." Consequently, one "elegantly dressed lady" was quoted as saying that she "was so much pleased with what she had seen that she did not care if the odour of the peat should never leave her clothes."[90] *Irish Society* consistently stressed how "pleased" London visitors were with the Village, how interested they were in the products, how sympathetic they were toward the "inmates," and how much "stimulus" the exhibition would provide for "the sale of these humble women's work."[91]

Thus, the Donegal Industrial Fund participated in the widespread practice of the day – authenticating the natural or native experience of somewhere else and someone else.[92] This project has been widely discussed and in the process has become the quintessential identifier of the exhibiting of the colonial experience.[93] The exhibition was meant to be strategic and compensatory as Home Rule debates proliferated; in retrospect, it represents a microcosm of tensions on the eve of Parnell's fall from grace. It attracted the attention of displaced Irish in North America and Australia (a force to be reckoned with). Parnell participated, the Mayor of Dublin spoke (misunderstood by the English, wrote the *Irish Times*), aristocrats paraded and performed, liberals hoped for reconciliation, the Barrack Street Band from Cork refused to play the English national anthem,[94] and women in the Irish Village continued dyeing, carding, spinning, and weaving by hand the homespuns and linens they hoped to sell to English customers. The space represents the voyeuristic display of bodies in a colonial setting. *Irish Society* wrote that "sweeter or prettier specimens of Irish girlhood" had never crossed the Channel – they were all "charmingly and tastefully dressed," happy and proud.[95] Although now shifted from nineteenth-century charm into recent debates about exhibiting colonialism, the female producer and her homespun product remain marginalized. The venue and display of work (both object and labour) securely located the production amongst and within industrial exhibitions, thus excluding it from the more retrospectively rarefied world of the Arts and Crafts movement and trivializing it within discussions that seek to move women beyond the home. The players and the products circulate here uneasily, particularly when placed between the moralizing discourses of the nineteenth century and the intellectual debates of the present. The contradiction undoubtedly was partly responsible for the marginalization of the Donegal Industrial Fund in Arts and Crafts literature. Many of its objects, for example, the embroidered dresses (making luxury goods for display upon a privileged, aristocratic body), also take the Fund into the contested area of fashion and display.[96]

Embroidering dresses became an important part of the Fund's commissioned work. When Ishbel Aberdeen, as Ireland's Lady Lieutenant, visited Alice Hart's display in Dublin's luxurious Shelbourne hotel "to inspect the beautiful Kells embroideries, laces, dresses, and Irish tweeds of the Donegal Industrial Fund," the rank-and-file of Irish fashion followed her "excellent example" and ordered dresses to be made from Irish material and embroidered by Irish hands.[97] However, although Ishbel Aberdeen's commissions and purchases imply her support for Alice Hart and the Donegal Industrial Fund, the relationship between the commoner and the aristocrat disintegrated around the issue of exhibitions and possibly around issues of control. Conflict between Hart and Aberdeen quite likely was inevita-

ble, and the discord may well have originated as early as 1886 with the International Exhibition Association of Industry, Science, and Art in Edinburgh, when the highest award, the Diploma of Honour, was given to the Countess of Aberdeen for the "whole exhibit of Irish women's industries."[98] *Queen*, in one of its published comments about the Edinburgh exhibition, reported that the Irish Home Arts and Industries Association under the presidency of Lady Aberdeen promised to marshal many single endeavours which had assiduously but ineffectually attempted to cope with the misery that had "ravaged the bleeding kingdom of Ireland." The new association was to be a business enterprise "with nearly every lady of rank in the island, and several of England, on its committee."[99] Hart probably did not wish to put the Donegal Industrial Fund under Aberdeen's umbrella (Hart's organization was recognizably successful on its own), and, in addition, she may well have chafed at the committee being composed of "ladies of rank."

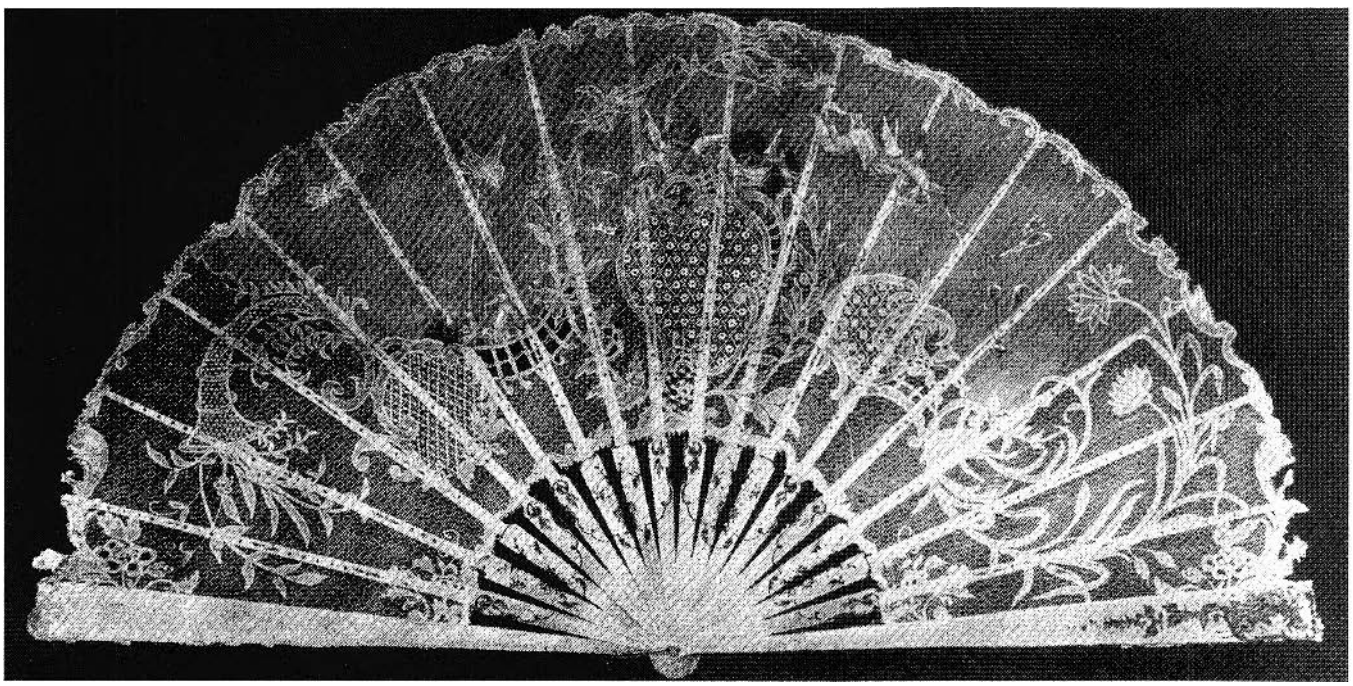
To add to the tension between the two women, the following month *Queen* published Lady Aberdeen's scheme for cottage industries in Ireland. There may be "much splendid persistence," wrote Aberdeen, as Alice Hart "shows with her Donegal manufactures, and yet in time there must come for individual effort a period of depression, which may be more than can be met, or of decay which cannot be arrested." Lady Aberdeen announced her intentions but noted that there were "special difficulties" at present standing in the way of the proposed association, and that she "earnestly hoped" the difficulties would be removed (for "special difficulties" read "Hart").[100] Even though Aberdeen staunchly supported Home Rule, it was a Home Rule that respected the English monarch and aristocracy; Hart considered the English aristocracy largely responsible for the ills of Ireland and would never have accepted Lady Aberdeen's arrogance or her attempts to extend "her own power and patronage."[101] The Countess of Arran and the Marchioness of Londonderry, for example, established a London branch of Irish Industries only with the Countess of Aberdeen's consent. Lady Aberdeen reigned supreme over the territory she had established as hers; only in 1897, after living in Canada for nearly four years, did she relinquish her title as head of the Irish Industries Association to Countess Cadogan.[102] Alice Hart apparently did not want to put her carefully developed Donegal Industrial Fund under the ever-expanding control of Lady Aberdeen, and consequently she refused to participate in the scheme to unite the cottage industries of Ireland.

This was not the only attempt by Lady Aberdeen to marshal the industries under one umbrella. Her managerial skills also surfaced in Scotland, first in her home county of Aberdeenshire with the organization of an annual exhibition of industry and art and, second, with her successful attempts to unite home industries in Scotland.[103] Her organizations (like those of Millicent Sutherland) focused upon a traditional kind of cottage industry and promoted the making of luxury goods or the production of materials used in sporting, for example, lace in Ireland and woven cloth made into Highland hunting gear. Alice Hart, like Home Arts and Industries founder Eglantyne Jebb, was concerned with education, training, and the production of art, as well as with the making of wearable luxury items. The differences between the aristocratically patronized cottage industries and the organizations directed by middle-class women appear to be class-based. Eglantyne Jebb, for example, was said to have had "little class-feeling and a genuine interest in people just as human beings."[104] The same could be said of Alice Hart, and although Jebb eventually searched for and found an aristocratic patron for her organization, Hart never obtained a patron for the Donegal Industrial Fund. In addition, Hart was committed to a programme of display that paralleled the directions of the fledgling Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. She made enormous efforts to have many of the products of the Fund recognised as "art," and to this end, she contributed work to the first exhibition of the Society in 1888 and to following exhibitions (see figs. 8 and 9). Neither Aberdeen nor Sutherland made such attempts.

Chicago, 1893

Hart's independence and her resolve to thwart the plans of the Countess of Aberdeen surfaced dramatically with the Donegal Industrial Fund's participation in the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. History, however, has largely forgotten the role played by Hart in Chicago. Jeanne Weimann, for example, in her study of women's participation in the Chicago Fair, acknowledged the existence of the Donegal Village but assumed that the Irish Industries Association under Ishbel Aberdeen was responsible for the entire Irish exhibition; she even mistakenly attributed Kells Embroidery to Aberdeen's organization.[105] Neil Harris corrected the error in his essay on the Irish contribution to the Columbian Exposition by acknowledging the contribution made by both women; he also astutely linked the craft revival so evident in the displays with national or ethnic identity.[106] Ishbel Aberdeen, in her own writing, mentioned the differences between her and Hart but also generously gave Alice Hart credit for Irish participation in the Chicago Fair: "The idea of a village," wrote Lady Aberdeen, had originated with Alice Hart "in connection with her Donegal Industrial Fund, but we persuaded her that it would be better for all concerned if the Irish Industries Association and the Donegal Industrial Fund combined for a joint effort, each taking shares of the expenses and profits." However, according to Aberdeen, "differences arose between the two sections," a meeting was adjourned, and before the disparate groups could meet again,

Figure 8. Painted fan executed in Ireland from Donegal House, published in *The Artist*, October 1896, p. 30 (photo: Boston Public Library).



Alice Hart was on her way to Chicago to make plans for her own concession.[107]

In February 1893, Lady Aberdeen visited Dublin, met with members of the Irish Industries Association, and then proceeded with her daughter to travel about Ireland, seeking out work that might be included in the Chicago World's Fair.[108] By March she was able to open an exhibition and sale of Irish handiwork, which included items earmarked for Chicago in W.W. Astor's London residence (fig. 10). Typical of exhibitions set up in private residences of the rich and famous, it was a "display of *demi-saison* fashions quite as much as of Irish industry," with Lady Aberdeen advertising her support by wearing a blouse of "electric-blue Irish poplin" and a skirt of blue Irish tweed.[109] The less aristocratic and more entrepreneurial Alice Hart had, by March, obtained the permission of the Fair's directors for a "special concession" enabling her to exhibit and sell products "well known to all visitors to Donegal House"; she also obtained permission for "the giving of lectures and entertainments."[110] Approximately 25,000 square feet at the entrance to the Midway Plaisance had been turned over to Hart for the building of an Irish Village. The Midway, where both Irish villages were located (figs. 11 and 12), has been called the "nonpristine underbelly" of the Columbian Exposition. It was "the Fair's other half, an arena of popular amusement and the preferred destination of thrill- and pleasure-seekers." It included exotic dancers, the first Ferris wheel, international concessions, and "evocations of foreign venues, including a street in Cairo, a

Figure 9. Corner of coverlet worked in Ireland from Donegal House, published in *The Artist*, October 1896, p. 30 (photo: Boston Public Library).

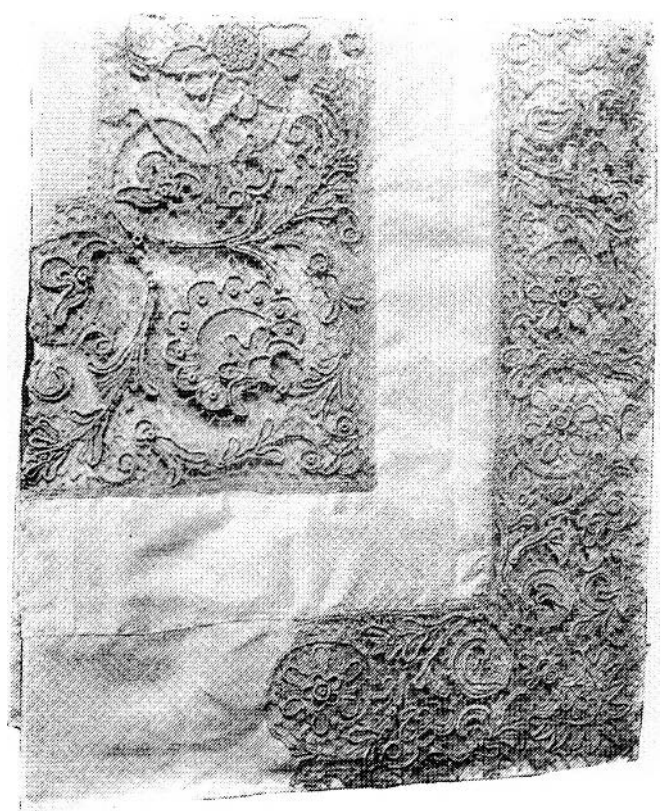


Figure 10. *Amongst the Irish Exhibits*, displayed in W.W. Astor's Carlton House Terrace residence, published in *Queen*, 11 March 1893, p. 393 (photo: Toronto Reference Library).

Chinese theater, a German castle, a Moorish palace, a Viennese square, and a Dahomey village where a hundred imported African tribespeople and their domestic and religious customs were on display."[111] Thus, while the mock Irish Village at Olympia was viewed as quaint, the reconstructed Donegal Village at Chicago, because of its proximity to the highly unusual and excessively different, became exotic and even further removed from the more "artistic" world of Arts and Crafts. The village became what Annie Coombes has called "spectacle"; mock villages "successfully fostered a feeling of geographical proximity, while the sense of 'spectacle' was calculated to preserve the cultural divide."[112] However, although Chicago's Donegal Village became "spectacle," it also represented and fostered a relationship between "home" and displacement by encouraging the large population of Irish Americans to reconnect with their homeland by viewing Irish objects and art.

Visitors entered the quadrangle made up of "typical Irish residences," seeing, as they walked, a reconstructed Donegal Castle in the background and an Irish Cross placed strategically in the centre of the square. Inside the cottages, Irish workers demonstrated domestic industries such as lacemaking, shirtmaking, sprigging and embroidery, home-spun weaving, spinning, dairying, wood- and stone-carving, and wrought ironwork.[113] Hart's concession gave her the right to charge an entry fee at the gate and to sell goods; all the money was to go to the Donegal Industrial Fund. According to *Queen*'s Chicago correspondent, the Donegal Industrial Fund was well-prepared for the large exhibition because it had already "obtained no less than thirteen gold medals and highest awards at great international exhibitions for its products when competing openly with other manufacturers." At the International Exhibition in Paris in 1889, wrote the correspondent, the Donegal Industrial Fund was awarded a "higher number of awards (namely, five) than any other British exhibitor." *Queen*'s correspondent, as if countering Ishbel Aberdeen's earlier claims, announced that, although the aim was philanthropic and Alice Hart's work "purely honorary," the Donegal Industrial Fund had been "established on sound commercial lines, Mrs. Hart being convinced that this alone gives the assurance of permanency and real success."[114]

The exhibits, displayed in the cottages "scattered around the picturesque Green," were all for sale, and "souvenirs of bog oak, Irish jewellery, [and] Belfast illustrated books" could be obtained at the stalls. The historical and artistic exhibits attracted attention, particularly the Druidical stones and early Christian crosses, the round tower, the St Lawrence Gate of Drogheda, and Donegal Castle, which together, according to *Queen*'s reviewer, formed a group of buildings as beautiful as they were interesting. A gallery of portraits of "great Irishmen" graced the interior of the reconstructed Donegal Castle along with paintings by Irish artists, pictures of Irish scenery and life, and "splendid reproductions of ancient Celtic jewellery," all of which lent "beauty and artistic interest" to the Castle.[115] Although twentieth-century writing about the Fair inevitably references Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village, at least one widely-circulated contemporary journal acknowledged Hart's Donegal Village as "the representative exhibit of Ireland," and the *Irish Textile Journal* wrote that it was the only one – of the two villages – mentioned for awards.[116] Certainly, much of what was created for Chicago was meant to romanticize Ireland and to commemorate the homeland for American descendents of immigrants. The famous "Wishing Chair" of the Giant's Causeway, for example, was replicated in a corner of the Tower Garden; Bertha Palmer, President of the Fair's Board of Lady Managers, romantically dedicated the Garden "by moonlight on the 28th of July." Thus, according to *Queen*, a patriot could stand on Irish soil, be seated on an actual stone brought from the Causeway, and could purchase the "living green shamrock of the 'ould sod'."[117] A patriot could also read the political into the exhibition: Hart included a model of the Memorial Chapel dedicated to Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847), the "greatest leader

Figure 11. Alice Hart's Irish Village at Chicago, published in *Lady's Pictorial*, 14 October 1893, p. 636 (Photo: Toronto Reference Library).

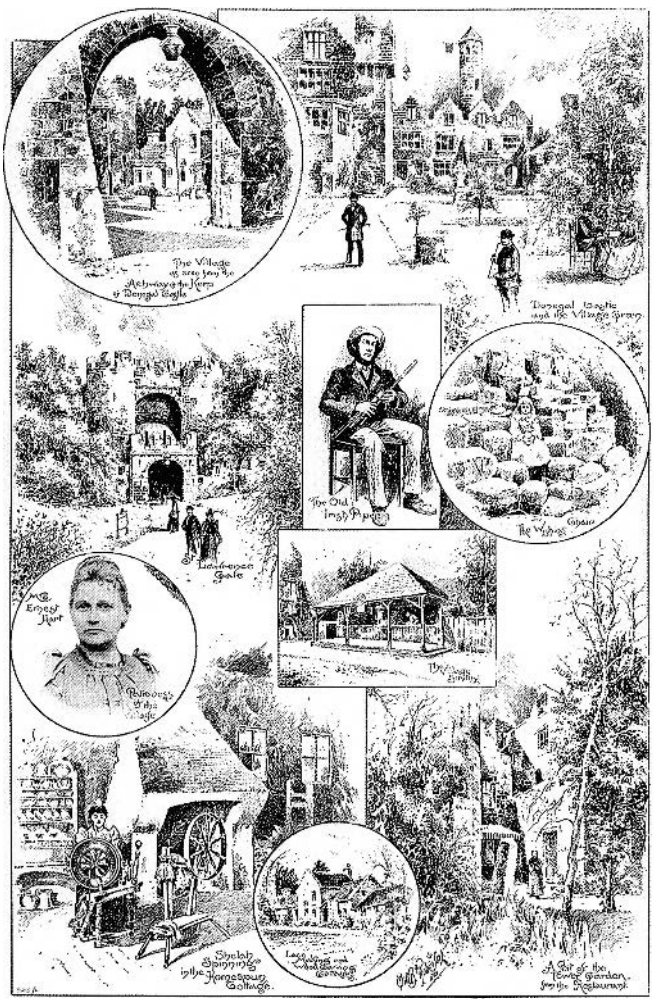
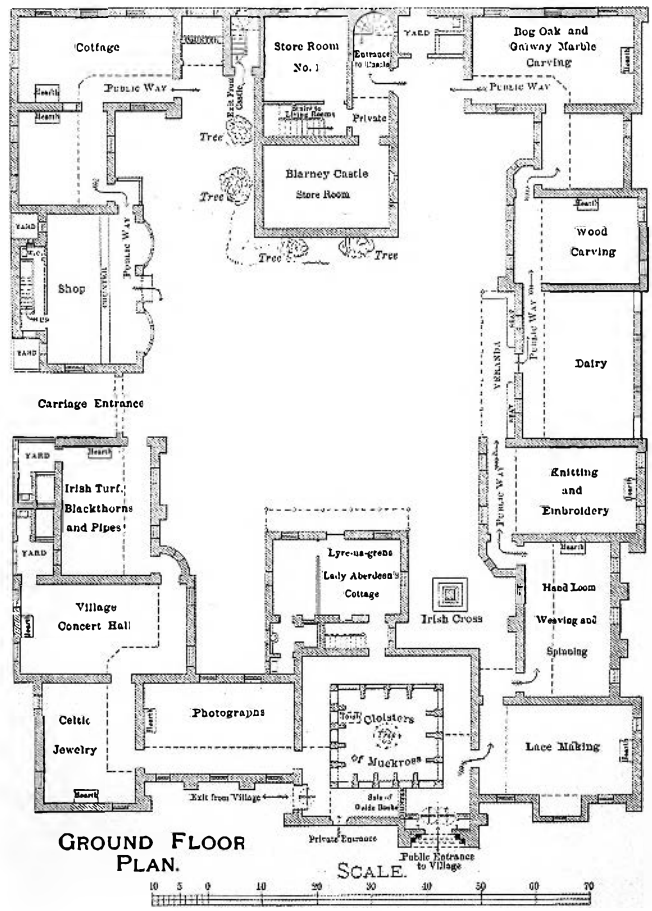


Figure 12. Ground plan of Aberdeen's Irish Village at Chicago, published in *Guide to the Irish Industries Village and Blarney Castle at the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago, 1893), p. 10 (photo: National Library of Ireland).



of Catholic Ireland."[118] In addition, jewellery exhibits highlighted Celtic reproductions and Hart's showpieces, Kells Art Embroideries, authenticated Irishness and represented for her a time when Irish art was superior to English art. All the signs of Ireland selected by Hart were lovingly recreated in pristine and national form, and affirm her commitment to Ireland and Irish art. *Queen* closed its lengthy and glowing commentary with sanguine reflection:

> All friends of Ireland will wish well to the Donegal Industrial Fund and its founder for bringing comfort and prosperity to many an Irish home. Every visitor to the Irish Village and Donegal Castle will aid the realisation of this wish, as all the proceeds of the Village will be devoted, after paying expenses, to the development of the industrial and technical teaching of the Donegal Industrial Fund, which has already achieved so remarkable a measure of success.[119]

Conclusion

The Donegal Industrial Fund and its participation in exhibitions characterizes the many home industries projects that proliferated in Britain and Ireland in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Although cottage crafts had a long history and the organization of the selling of goods can be traced back to aristocratic patronage on large estates, one of the first enduring attempts to revive and promote the cottage industries and crafts took place on the Isle of Man. Ruskin lent financial support to the revival of hand-spinning on the Isle of Man during the 1870s,[120] and this, along with the growing interest in the handmade object, propelled cottage crafts off the estate and into major national and international exhibitions. However, the connection established in the press between cottage crafts and philanthropic organizations founded by women meant that cottage crafts were unable to compete successfully for critical attention within the more established Arts and Crafts move-

ment. Alice Hart's Donegal Industrial Fund was no exception. Hart's medical background, her intense concern for the dispossessed in Ireland, her love of art, and her desire to imbue the products of the Fund with Irish history came together to produce one of the most successful of the home industries projects – a project steeped in the philosophies of the Arts and Crafts Movement, albeit rarely mentioned in Arts and Crafts literature. Alice Hart insisted that the products of the Donegal Industrial Fund were art fabrics, and "as all art fabrics should be," they were the work of "human hands and mind, and not of machinery."[121] Thus, the objectives of the Fund, its philosophy, and its programme of activities mirrored those of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society.

However, as was recognized at the time, the aspirations so ideally sought were seldom realized. Mabel Cox, in a review of the fifth Arts and Crafts exhibition in 1896, contemplated the contemporary dilemma: "There is a great deal of art: sound, wholesome, everyday art; but there is not much craft. The Society must be disappointed at receiving so little work from workmen, that is, from the working classes." Too much work, according to Cox, was "purely pictorial," but very little was by the person who "holds the tools."[122] This same review deplored the "absence of fabrics," while commending the Donegal Industrial Fund for its linens. The many lavishly illustrated books about the historical movement eschew Cox's critique of the 1896 Exhibition and, instead, perpetuate the absences by relegating cottage crafts to a silent periphery.

Alice Hart's solution for poverty – to revive cottage crafts in an area of destitution and dismay – resembles closely the tendencies of the aristocratic patrons of similar ventures, but her rationale and methods were somewhat different, and it is here that Hart's efforts erode the gendered characteristics of philanthropy. First, she searched for the historic origins (a futile but expansive exercise) of poverty in rural Ireland; and second, she set up funding and marketing strategies that suggested the modern rather than replicated the traditional. As causes of poverty, she cited the removal of Irish peasants into the "lean lands" during the settlement of Ulster by James I, the "enclosure of the great common pasture lands," famine, and the "extraordinary isolation and removal from markets."[123] Then, although she used her own capital as investment to begin the project, she applied for government funding to further her efforts. She did not attempt to obtain all her funding from "Society," but rather, she lobbied for government support – a tactic more familiar to the present day than to the late nineteenth century – and received £1000. Later, as editor of *House Beautiful*, Hart would chastise one of the most traditional and cherished forms of money-raising for good causes: the fancy fair or bazaar. Hart insisted that society appeared in all its finery mostly to show off dresses and jewels; she criticized the "performance," the display, and the ostentatiousness that surrounded the giving. "Why not," asked Hart, "just give?"[124] She also criticized the tendency, even amongst working women, to spend money on fashionable appearance,[125] and published scathing comments about the "immense capital" wasted on "quite useless gifts" made, for example, to a Rothschild couple upon their marriage (one such gift being a tiara of Cape diamonds and huge pearls worth £50,000 in 1905).[126] Consistent with her milieu, she championed morality and cleanliness amongst the poor: in an 1886 article Hart wrote that "ladies underlinen is sold as made, and must, therefore be kept spotlessly clean (in itself a discipline in an Irish home, involving a moral education)."[127] Concurrently, she recognized lapses of justice: "When a man and wife work together, the man afterwards generally speaks of their joint labours as 'mine'; and if a woman does the work alone it is called 'ours' on the theory that the greater includes the less; the less being, of course, the female."[128]

Hart's home arts and industries project, then, resonates historically within the problematic terrain of nineteenth-century philanthropy and presages the modern category of government-funded projects – her efforts crossed boundaries and alluded to the multifariousness of home arts. Following on from an acknowledgement of the complexities of the situation is the recognition of her sustainable efforts. Although in her history of "husbandry and housewifery" in Ireland Joanna Bourke claimed that "Irish women failed home industries,"[129] women today still make and sell knitted sweaters to a rapidly expanding tourist market, and although lacemaking may not be as much in the news now as in the late nineteenth century, the skills are lovingly maintained. For example, Clones Lace Guild was formed in 1989 when two local women decided to revitalize "a handcraft that had been so vibrant up until the 1930s." They established a cooperative in 1993 "with members from both sides of the border area" and encouraged older women in the community to pass their skills on "to a new generation of lacemakers who still work in the traditional way."[130]

Thus, Alice Hart's efforts were vital and protractible but have been eroded as a historical narrative because of the gendered categorization of home arts, the problematic definitions of labour and value, and the binary privileging of public over private. Alice Hart is one protagonist in one part of a continuous story that began long before she made her trip to Ireland and that carries on today. Mostly, this is a narrative of craft and art, of domestic work and subsistence, of fabric and stitches, and of consumers and desires, but, wholly, this is a narrative of women and poverty read by people of wealth and education, the buyers of the story and the goods. Only a reassessment of home arts and industries and the vital role they played in advocating the handmade will shift the rarefied discourses of Arts and Crafts and make them more inclusive.

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Notes

1 *Irish Society*, 9 June 1888, 278. The Irish Exhibition opened 4 June 1888 and closed 27 October 1888.

2 *Irish Times*, 5 June 1888, 4. For a discussion of the political agenda underlying the exhibition, see Brendan Rooney, "The Irish Exhibition at Olympia, 1888," *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, 1 (1998), 100–19.

3 *Official Catalogue of the Irish Exhibition in London*, exh. cat., Olympia, Kensington (London, 1888), n.p.

4 *Evening Telegraph* (Dublin), 6 June 1888, 2.

5 See, in particular, Annie Coombes, "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities," *Oxford Art Journal*, 11, no. 2 (1988), 57–68; and Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and the Spectacle, 1851–1914* (Stanford, 1990).

6 *Irish Society*, 9 June 1888, 278.

7 A short article in *The Times* dates the founding of the Donegal Industrial Fund to late December 1883. "Irish Cottage Industries," *The Times*, 8 December 1885, 4.

8 I use the terms "cottage crafts" and "home arts" interchangeably in this essay. Cottage crafts refers to objects made by cottagers or crofters in their homes, generally located in rural and often remote areas with difficult access to markets. Home arts refers to the same situation, although it might also include objects made in urban areas and has the added meaning, in the nineteenth century, of objects made in the nation (domestic) as opposed to foreign-made. The debates about domestic products versus foreign imports were particularly intense around the making of textiles and dress.

9 For an analysis of the debates see, for example, Alan O'Day, *Irish Home Rule 1867–1921* (Manchester, 1998).

10 *The Times*, 21 January 1891, 4. Hart delivered her lecture at the Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, on "Industrial Development and Technical Teaching in the Wilds of Donegal."

11 *Art Designer* (November 1886), 18.

12 Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London, 1991), 10–11.

13 Alice Hart matriculated at the Apothecaries' Society (London) and studied medicine in Paris and London. Interview with Alice Hart in *Women's Penny Paper*, 14 September 1889, 1–2.

14 *Catalogue of Pastel Studies of the Glories of the Sky and Sea in the Far East by Mrs Ernest Hart with a foreword by Gleeson White*, Dowdeswell Gallery (London, 1896).

15 Congested Districts were "over-populated, under-industrialised, poverty stricken regions of Ireland" that became the subject of a survey under a parliamentary Select Committee on Industries in Ireland in the 1880s. Judith Hoad, *This is Donegal Tweed* (Inver, Co. Donegal, 1987), 98.

16 Alice Hart, *House Beautiful and the Home* (February 1904), 51.

17 *House Beautiful and the Home* (March 1904), 94.

18 Lucy H. Yates, "Art for the People: An International Association," *House Beautiful and the Home* (April 1904), 141–42.

19 Elizabeth Yeats, Lily Yeats, and Evelyn Gleeson founded the Dun Emer Industries in Dublin in 1902 as an arts and crafts cooperative based upon William Morris's model. For a discussion of Dun Emer, see Gifford Lewis, *The Yeats Sisters and Cuala* (Dublin, 1994), particularly 53–76; and Elaine Cheasley Paterson, "Crafting a National Identity: the Dun Emer Guild 1902 to 1908," in J. Murphy and B. FitzSimon, *The Irish Revival Revisited* (Dublin, 2004), 106–18.

20 Miss C.T. Hamilton, "Irish Art Industries at Dun Emer," *House Beautiful and the Home*, January 1905, 26.

21 Her German born mother, Henrietta Ditges, died in 1851, shortly after the birth of Henrietta Octavia Weston Rowland.

22 Diana Maltz in her forthcoming book, *British Aestheticism and the Urban Working Classes, 1875–1900: Beauty for the People*, provides an insightful analysis of the relationship between social reform and the Aesthetic Movement in London, which includes a discussion of the Barnetts and their activities in the East End. I thank her for sharing her ideas with me. See also Gavin Budge, "Poverty and the Picture Gallery: the Whitechapel Exhibitions and the Social Project of Ruskinian Aesthetics," *Visual Culture in Britain*, 1, no. 2 (2000), 43–56; and Seth Kovan, "The Whitechapel Picture Exhibitions and the Politics of Seeing," in Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff, eds, *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles* (Minneapolis, 1994), 22–48.

23 Henrietta Barnett, *Canon Barnett, His Life, Work and Friends by His Wife* (London, 1921), 149.

24 *Fraser's Magazine*, March 1854, 304–14

25 British Biographical Archive, British Library.

26 Seth Kovan wrote that even though Henrietta Barnett "adored her Jewish brother-in-law, Ernest Hart, she used racist categories and language in describing both Jews and Blacks." Much of her anti-Semitism surfaced in her letters to American social reformer Jane Addams. S. Kovan, "Henrietta Barnett 1851–1936: The (auto)biography of a late Victorian marriage," in S. Pederson and P. Mandler, eds, *After the Victorians: Private Conscience and Public Duty in Modern Britain* (London, 1994), 52 n56.

27 Henrietta Barnett wrote that her "over sensitive husband" was often "pained" by Ernest Hart. However, according to Barnett, "it was evidence of beautiful traits in them both, that, for twenty-five years, they each subdued their natural incompatibility, in order that no stumbling-block should ever be placed in the way of the dominating devotion that has ever existed between my sister and me." Henrietta Barnett, *Canon Barnett*, 148.

28 The Harts went to Ireland in March 1883 "to inquire into the condition of the people and the causes of their distress." *Proceed-*

ings of the Select Committee on Industries (Ireland), Parlimentary Papers, 7 May 1885. See also Paul Larmour, "The Donegal Industrial Fund and Its Cottage Industries," *Irish Arts Review* (1990–1991), 128–33; and Paul Larmour, *The Arts & Crafts Movement in Ireland* (Belfast, 1992), 18–24.

29 Alice Hart, *The Cottage Industries of Ireland, with an Account of the Work of the Donegal Industrial Fund* (London, 1887), 3.

30 Hart, *The Cottage Industries of Ireland*, 10.

31 Alice Hart, *Cottage Industries: And What They Can Do For Ireland* (London, 1885), 4–5.

32 *Amateurs' Art Designer* (May 1884), 2. A slightly later account in the same journal announced that the Cottage Arts Association would begin work in October 1884 (August 1884), 12. According to the *Art Designer*, the "Cottage Arts Association" became "The Home Arts and Industries Association" in February 1885 (February 1885), 29.

33 Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society Etiquette and the Season* (London 1973), 37. Davidoff defines the privileged economic upper-class group called Society as a "system of quasi-kinship relationships which was used to 'place' mobile individuals during the period of structural differentiation fostered by industrialisation and urbanisation" (15). *Queen* used the term the "upper ten thousand."

34 Carlton House Terrace, located between St. James's Palace and Buckingham Palace, included a number of luxurious homes belonging to aristocrats such as the Brownlows as well as to the nouveau riche American W.W. Astor.

35 The Social Science Congress and the meetings of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry were important and highly influential forums for the promulgation of material on arts and crafts. Alice Hart give a lecture at the Edinburgh meeting of 1889: "Art and Technical Teaching of the Donegal Industrial Fund," *Transactions of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and its Application to Industry* (Edinburgh, 1890), 435–37. See also E.L. Jebb, "The Home Arts and Industries Association," *Magazine of Art* (1885), 294–98; or "The Home Arts and Industries Association," *Woman's World*, 1 (1888), 418–22.

36 For an excellent discussion of urban cultural philanthropy and its relationship to the rural cottage crafts movement, see Diana Maltz, *British Aestheticism and the Urban Working Classes, 1875–1900: Beauty for the People* (forthcoming 2005).

37 Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800–1914* (London, 1996), 106.

38 *Lady*, 9 July 1885, 607.

39 *Scottish Home Industries* (Dingwell, Scotland, 1895), 92–94.

40 See, for example, R.M. Martin, "The Manufacture of Lace and Crochet in Ireland," in *Irish Rural Life and Industry issued in Connection with the Home Industries Section, Irish International Exhibition* (Dublin, 1907), 128.

41 Louisa Anne Beresford, Marchioness of Waterford (1818–1891), was a painter and a philanthropist, known for her association with the aesthetic Grosvenor Gallery and her patronage of the Royal Irish School of Art Needlework.

42 *Amateurs' Art Designer* (November 1884), 25.

43 The three largest and influential organizations were the Home Arts and Industries Association, based in England, the Irish Industries Association, and the Scottish Home Industries Association. A cottage crafts association formed in Wales as well but not until 1898. There were numerous other groups such as Viscountess Duncannon's Garry Hill Cottage Industries (County Carlow, Ireland), the Countess of Lucan's Castlebar Tweed Industry in County Mayo, and Viscountess Castlerosse's Killarney School of Arts and Crafts; however, the smaller groups generally had some affiliation with one of the larger organizations.

44 Millicent Sutherland was the moving force behind the reorganization of the Sutherland Industrial Exhibition in 1886, although her mother-in-law Anne, Duchess of Sutherland, remained its figurehead patron until her death in 1888. For a discussion of Millicent Sutherland's organization, see Janice Helland, "Rural Women and Urban Extravagance in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Rural History*, 13, no. 2 (2002), 179–97; and Janice Helland, "Highland Home Industries and the Fashion for Tweed," *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, 9 (2004), 27–34.

45 "Irish Lace Exhibition," *The Times*, 19 June 1883, 8.

46 *The Times*, 27 June 1913, 38.

47 Alice Hart, "The Old Celtic Manuscripts as Sources of Design," *House Beautiful* (January 1904), 22–3.

48 Each item sold as Kells Embroideries was trade-marked "DIF 'Kells' Art Embroidery." "Viceregal Garden Party: How to Dress in Irish Materials May 1886," *Freeman's Pamphlets, Dublin,* reprinted from the *Freeman's Journal*, 9 (National Library of Ireland).

49 Hart, *Cottage Industries: And What They Can Do for Ireland*, 14.

50 *Magazine of Art* (December 1886), xi, and (January 1889); *The Times*, 6 December 1886, 6.

51 Hart, *Cottage Industries: And What They Can Do for Ireland*, 7–8.

52 See, for example, the discussion of professionals at the Arts and Crafts Exhibitions in *Queen*, 10 November 1888, 607.

53 Anthea Callen, *Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement* (New York, 1979), 5.

54 Alan Crawford, *By Hammer and Hand: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham*, exh. cat., Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery (Birmingham, 1984), 9.

55 *Irish Textile Journal*, 15 April 1886, 38; and *Proceedings of the Select Committee on Industries (Ireland), Parlimentary Papers*, 7 May 1885, 663.

56 *Queen*, 20 June 1885, 655. See also Hart, *The Cottage Industries of Ireland.*

57 *The Times*, 5 May 1885, 11. 25,000 visitors attended the Exhibition on opening day.

58 *Queen*, 9 May 1885, 477.

59 The *Illustrated London News*, 7 June 1884, 542, for example, wrote: "What may be the precise object of the Fenians in renewing their dynamite atrocities it were vain to conjecture, unless we are to assume that they wish to ensure the substitution of a coercive for a conciliatory policy in Ireland. The destruction caused by the explosions at the Junior Carlton Club and Sir Watkin Wynn's house in St James's-square, the design against the Nelson column, and the attempt to blow up the police station in Great Scotland-yard have

maimed a number of harmless people and frightened many others, but have done nothing to hasten the advent of the Irish Republic, and will not provoke reprisals against the Irish people as a whole." Again, the relationship between Ireland and the United States was invoked: the "diabolical plots" were "hatched in the United States."

60 *Queen*, 20 June 1885, 655.

61 *The Times*, 17 July 1885, 4.

62 "At the Glasgow Exhibition," *Queen*, 26 May 1888, 635.

63 *Queen*, 20 November 1886, 591.

64 *Queen*, 11 December 1886, 705; and *Magazine of Art* (December 1886), xi. Queen Victoria selected the Kells arrow pattern for her curtains, with Celtic knots and an interlaced border adapted from the Lindisfarne Gospels.

65 Aimée Carpenter and Una Taylor, along with Alice Hart, were the Fund's designers.

66 Each curtain was over 4 yards long by 4 yards wide; the designs were worked using flax thread in two shades of gold and golden-brown. It took two months to make the curtains; *Lady's Pictorial*, 15 October 1887, 400, claimed they represented "perhaps the largest pieces of modern handiwork in existence."

67 *Queen*, 24 April 1886, 451. This was one of at least three dresses commissioned by Ishbel Aberdeen from the Donegal Industrial Fund between 1886 and 1888.

68 *Liverpool Daily Post*, 14 May 1886, 3.

69 For a discussion of Aberdeen's costume and her garden party, see Janice Helland, "Embroidered Spectacle: Celtic Revival as Aristocratic Display," in J. Murphy and B. FitzSimon, eds, *The Irish Revival Reappraised* (Dublin 2004), 94–105.

70 *Queen*, 7 July 1888, 3. The Old London Street comprised part of the International Health Exhibition in South Kensington (1884). See Annmarie Adams, "The Healthy Victorian City: The Old London Street at the International Health Exhibition of 1884," in Zeynep Celik et al., *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (Berkeley, 1994) 203–12.

71 *Queen*, 7 July 1888, 3.

72 *The Times*, 14 May 1888, 11.

73 Mary Jeune, "Irish Industrial Art," *Woman's World*, 2 (1889), 159.

74 "Irish Exhibition at Olympia: Donegal Industrial Village," *Queen*, 7 July 1888, 3, 8.

75 *Queen*, 28 July 1888, 107.

76 *Queen*, 28 July 1888, 107. In the Kells Embroiders' Cottage, Hart displayed the kind of work available from the Fund: the St Bridget curtains were green, worked in gold with Celtic dragons; the Hiberian portière was made of madder-dyed cloth and worked in pink, gold, and pale blue designs based upon the Durrow Bible; other designs were inspired by Japanese motifs. "Women's Industries at the Irish Exhibition," *Queen*, 11 August 1888, 168. The Hiberian portière had been exhibited previously at the Decorative Art Exhibition in Dublin (January 1888). *Lady's Pictorial*, 25 February 1888, 194.

77 "Donegal Industrial Fund," *Women's Penny Paper*, 26 October 1889, 3; and the *Retford and Gainsborough Times*, 25 October 1889, 8. The vestments as well as curtains and a portière (based upon designs from the Book of Kells) were designed and worked at Donegal House under the direction of Una Taylor. Correspondence from Michael Hall, 17 October 2002. Significantly, George Bodley, an Arts and Crafts architect and early associate of William Morris, designed the church.

78 See, for example, "The Dedication of the Clumber Church," *The Times*, 30 January 1890, 12.

79 "Interview," *Women's Penny Paper*, 14 September 1889, 1.

80 *Lady's Pictorial*, 3 March 1888, 209; and *Queen*, 30 June 1888, 839.

81 "Women's Industries at the Irish Exhibition," *Queen*, 30 June 1888, 839. The *Lady's Pictorial*, 3 March 1888, 209, commented on Lady Brassey's "strong interest in the Donegal Industrial Fund"; she had "begged" that the preparation of her daughter's trousseau (Mabel Brassey) "be entrusted to the Irish workers whom the Donegal Industrial Fund is specially designed to benefit."

82 *Queen*, 28 July 1888, 107.

83 Londoner Florence Arnold Foster, cousin to the East End reformer Mary Ward, opened her lace school in Limerick in 1883 after her marriage to Robert Vere O'Brien. By 1907 she employed 56 workers. *Irish Rural Life and Industry issued in connection with the Home Industries Section, Irish International Exhibition* (Dublin, 1907), 134.

84 Alan S. Cole in *The Times*, 30 June 1883, 12.

85 Cole delivered a series of lectures on the "art of lace-making" in Belfast and Dublin as well as in London.

86 Alan S. Cole, "Irish Hand-Made Lace," *The Times*, 28 October 1884, 4. See also a long article on Cole's interventions into the Irish lacemaking industry in *The Times*, 23 January 1884, 7; and *Report by Mr. Alan Cole upon his visits to Irish Lace-making and Embroidery Schools in 1897* (London, 1897).

87 *Illustrated London News*, 28 July 1888, 106.

88 *Queen*, 28 July 1888, 107.

89 *Women's Penny Paper*, 14 September 1889, 1.

90 *Irish Society*, 9 June 1888, 279.

91 *Irish Society*, 16 June 1888, 293. The magazine also commented on the trepidation with which the English entered the exhibition, "as if it were a Sioux encampment"; their "fear and trembling" was soon put aside, according to *Irish Society*, when they realized the inhabitants were "the finest peasantry under the sun." Luke Gibbons succinctly discusses racism directed toward the Irish in "Race against time: racial discourse and Irish history," in C. Hall, ed., *Cultures of Empire*, (Manchester, 2000), 205–19.

92 I am using authenticating as an ambiguous term following from Nelson Graburn's discussion of the "construction of authenticity" in his essay "Ethnic and Tourist Arts Revisited," in R. Phillips and C.B. Steiner, *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (Berkeley, 1999), 335–53.

93 See, for example, Curtis M. Hinsley, "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893," in I. Karp and S.D. Levine, eds, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington and London 1991), 344–65.

94 "Disloyalty at the Irish Exhibition," *The Times*, 22 August 1888, 9.

95 *Irish Society*, 9 June 1888, 279.

96 See, for example, Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion* (Manchester, 1995); or Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge, 2000).

97 Princess Saxe-Weimar, Lady Guinness, Lady Martin, Lady Hamilton, and the Lady Mayoress all attended the small exhibition in the Shelburne Hotel in Dublin organized by Hart and Mary Power Lalor. *Queen*, 24 April 1886, 435, 451. The Countess of Aberdeen was in Dublin for seven months during 1886 when Lord Aberdeen was lord lieutenant.

98 *Queen*, 6 November 1886, 535.

99 *Queen*, 17 July 1886, 87.

100 "Cottage Industries in Ireland – Lady Aberdeen's Scheme," *Queen*, 21 August 1886, 203.

101 Maria Luddy, in *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge, 1995), 190, suggested that Lady Aberdeen "was not universally liked in Ireland. She appears to have interfered unduly with public departments, and was keen on extending her own power and patronage."

102 Aberdeen thought the president "ought to reside in Ireland at least part of the year." *Ladies Field*, 18 March 1898, 6.

103 *Queen*, 6 January 1883, 9.

104 Francesca M. Wilson, *Rebel Daughter of a Country House: The Life of Eglantyne Jebb Founder of the Save the Children Fund* (London, 1967), 29. Eglantyne Louisa Jebb's daughter, Eglantyne Jebb, founded the Save the Children Fund.

105 Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women* (Chicago, 1981), 408–9.

106 Neil Harris, "Selling National Culture: Ireland at the World's Columbian Exposition," in T.J. Edelstein et al., eds., *Imagining an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival 1840-1940* (Chicago, 1992), 93.

107 Ishbel Aberdeen, *"We Twa": Reminiscences of Lord and Lady Aberdeen* (London, 1925), 323.

108 *Queen*, 18 February 1893, 251, and 25 February 1893, 299. See also, *Guide to the Irish Industries Village and Blarney Castle at the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago, 1893), 31. Aberdeen spent ten days touring Ireland, and in addition to selecting objects to display, she engaged Irish women to perform their skills in Chicago. Mary Flynn demonstrated Clones lace-making and Ellen Murphy demonstrated the making of Limerick lace.

109 *Queen*, 11 March 1893, 393.

110 *Queen*, 11 March 1893, 366.

111 Judy Sund, "Columbus and Columbia in Chicago, 1893: Man of Genius Meets Generic Woman," *Art Bulletin*, LXXV, no. 3 (1993), 455.

112 Coombes, "Museums," 59.

113 *Queen*, 18 March 1893, 416.

114 "Mrs. Ernest Hart's Irish Village at the Chicago Exhibition," *Queen*, 14 October 1893, 638.

115 *Queen*, 14 October 1893, 638.

116 *Queen*, 14 October 1893, 638; and *Irish Textile Journal*, 15 November 1893, 133.

117 *Queen*, 14 October 1893, 638.

118 R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600–1972* (London, 1988), 291.

119 *Queen*, 14 October 1893, 638.

120 Albert Fleming, "Industrial Experiments in Connexion with St. George's Guild," in E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn, eds, *The Works of John Ruskin* (London, 1907), 330.

121 Hart, *Cottage Industries: and What They Can Do For Ireland*, 14.

122 Mabel Cox, "The Arts and Crafts Exhibition," *Artist* (October 1896), 15–16.

123 Hart, *The Cottage Industries of Ireland, with an Account of the Work of the Donegal Industrial Fund*, 5–9.

124 Alice Hart in *House Beautiful* (July–December, 1904), 6.

125 *House Beautiful* (July–December 1904), 7.

126 *House Beautiful* (March 1905), 94.

127 Alice Hart, "The Women's Industries of Ireland," *Queen*, 18 December 1886, 742.

128 *House Beautiful* (February 1904), 50.

129 Joanna Bourke, *Husbandry to Housewifery: Women, Economic Change, and Housework in Ireland, 1890–1914* (Oxford, 1993), 138.

130 Mamo McDonald and Maire Treanor established the cooperative; the revival was assisted by the E. U. Programme for Peace and Reconciliation. *The Story of Clones Lace* is an undated pamphlet produced for the Clones Lace Guild, Clones, Co. Monaghan. I thank Kat O'Brien for bringing this pamphlet and the work of the Guild to my attention. Co. Monaghan is the site of the oldest lace industry in Ireland. See Mary Gorges, "Irish Home Industries: Carrickmacross and Limerick Lace, and Clare Embroidery," in *The Chamber's Journal*, c. 1890, 375. (Archive of Art and Design, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, AAD 4/637–1978)