Wade in Cork:

The Arts and Crafts movement from the 1880s to the 1920s

An essay and exhibition guide by Vera Ryan



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Exhibition: 18 November 2016 to 25 February 2017

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Made in Cork: The Arts and Crafts Movement from the 1890s to the 1920

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Section 1 Introduction

November 2016 is the centenary of the Honan Hostel Chapel in Cork. Built in the Hiberno-Romanesque style with money bequeathed by Miss Isabella Honan (1861-1913), it is rightly regarded as the jewel in the crown of the Arts and Crafts movement in Ireland. Cork architect James McMullen designed the chapel and Sisk and Company built it from local limestone and made some of its fine furniture. While William Egan and Sons on Patrick Street made the vestments and some altar plate, many of the great masterpieces of the Honan, such as the eleven Harry Clarke windows, were designed and made in Dublin by Dublin based artist-craftworkers. In the current exhibition we explore some aspects of local engagement with the Arts and Crafts movement in Cork, with particular emphasis on the School of Art, and on Youghal.

In Cork, the lace industry successfully exemplified the ideal of the application of art to industry, widely held in Britain since the middle of the nineteenth century. To suggest the atmosphere of the years in which it was thriving – 1883-1914 – we show some designs and period photographs (10, 27, 28a and 28b). We also exhibit three full garments in different techniques (32, 36, 59).

The movement evolved from different beginnings in Ireland than in England, where the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society was founded in 1888. In Ireland, initiatives to counter poverty were the basis on which some early Arts and Crafts successes were built. The creative consciousness expressed in the movements in both countries inevitably relates to their different histories. England was an empire on which the sun would never set; Ireland its first colony. In colonised countries, nationalising motifs were popular before, during and after the Arts and Crafts movement. Ireland's relationship to England and to the art educational system in particular meant that the movement here had a lot in common with the English one.

In England the Arts and Crafts movement was initially Utopian in ethos. Its wealthy and charismatic leader and co-founder William Morris (1834-1896) was concerned with the threats of industrialisation and mass production to the well-being of the individual worker. Morris had briefly studied theology at Oxford. He championed the individual creativity of the craft-worker and the rights of all people to having functional objects of beauty in their homes. Looking back to the past and especially to the medieval workshops and guilds, where fine art and craft of equal merit were equally valued, inspired Morris, C. B. Ashbee and others. They cherished ideas of achieving social reform through craft and creative brotherhoods. Morris put his ideas into practice, founded a firm (1861) after the experience of decorating his own home, lectured energetically and wrote prolifically. Visits to Ireland were few. In 1877, he advised Lady Emily Bury on 'doing up' Charleville Castle in Tullamore, county Offaly. Because his designs were hand-printed, they were necessarily expensive. In 1886 he lectured in Dublin.

In order to compete with the textile industry in France, commercial trade interests in Britain required high quality design. The idea of applying 'art to industry' was espoused by the British establishment as well as by utopian socialists like Morris and Walter Crane (1845-1915), the latter becoming the first president of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in England. Government-sponsored art education, available in the Cork School of Design which opened in 1849, was recognised as central to the improvement in drawing and design skills. The acquisition of these skills was a subject of wide interest. In 1852 George Sharp was advocating the use of French systems of drawing and exhibited his methods in Cork. Over thirty years later, in 1884, the Royal Commissioners



on Technical Instruction were still critical of the lack of connection with local industry and the poverty of design.⁵

The Arts and Crafts movement in Ireland was part of a wider Celtic Revival. Across Ireland, cultural nationalism gathered pace after Catholic Emancipation was achieved in 1829⁶. Thomas Davis (1814-1845), the Young Irelander who was born in Mallow, county Cork, drew attention in *The Nation* to the idea that 'our portrait and landscape painters paint foreign men and scenes... Irish history has supplied no subjects for our great artists"⁷. Writers like Standish O'Grady (1846-1948), who came from a County Cork family, captured the imaginations of young and old with books such as *Cuculain and His Contemporaries* (1880). Antiquarianism was influential on thinkers from many denominations in many disciplines.⁸ Seminal studies of Irish place-names, surnames and the compilation of Irish language dictionaries date from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

As industrialisation or emigration removed many people from their roots, the concept of the local was interrogated across Europe. This was stimulated by the global element to the Great Exhibition [of the Works of Industry of All Nations] in London in 1851. Confidence in the local and the national characterised the thinking of people like George Coffey (1857-1916), sole Irish exhibitor at the inaugural Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in England in 1888 and later a member of the executive committee of ACSI⁹. That year, he questioned the London-controlled art educational system in these islands, expressing the belief that "the South Kensington system is an attempt to administer art as a department of government controlled from an Imperial centre. Now it is impossible to administer art, because it is essentially local and individual ... art is national". ¹⁰ In the commissioned Report on the inaugural exhibition (1895) of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland the author wrote that "it was of the essence of art to have local and national characteristics". ¹¹

Illustrated publications such as Margaret Stokes's *Early Christian Art in Ireland* (1887) were especially important in design education. Photographic reproductions improved in quality towards the end of the century and illuminated pages of the ninth-century Book of Kells became easily available. Its pages influenced design, including that of many objects shown in this exhibition. Specific archaeological finds like the ninth-century Tara brooch (1850) and the eighth-century Ardagh chalice (1868) caught the imaginations of unionists and nationalists alike. Students in art schools made drawings and watercolours of such treasures (6). Ireland of the golden age of saints and scholars, before the 700 years of invasion, was idealised and sometimes commercialised. Key artefacts were replicated for sale. In the process of making replicas the craftsmen learnt a great deal about the intricacies of early Irish metalwork. Skills thus learnt became important to Edmond Johnson later on when making altar plate for the Honan Chapel. Queen Victoria acquired two replicas of the Tara brooch shortly after George Waterhouse, who had come over from Sheffield to Dublin in 1842, purchased and replicated it. Royal and aristocratic patronage of such items and of local handcrafts helped create market value in the years before and after the movement was consolidated as the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland in 1894.



Section 2 The Formation and Values of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland

The foundation of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland [ACSI] reflects an energy and optimism characteristic of aspects of late nineteenth-century Irish culture. It was founded in 1894 by Lord Mayo and others a year after Douglas Hyde co-founded the Gaelic League to stimulate use of the Irish language and ten years after Michael Cusack founded the Gaelic Athletic Association to revive Irish games. Lord Mayo, Dermot Robert Wyndham Bourke, 7th Earl of Mayo, had founded the County Kildare Archaeological Society of Ireland in 1891 and was the leading personality in the ACSI. Perhaps the success of the two Irish villages, where Irish craft-workers demonstrated their skills in the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, was one inspiration in the founding of the ACSI. Lady Aberdeen, whose husband was twice Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, organised one of these villages. *Arts and Crafts Essays* with a foreword by William Morris, published in England in 1893, may also have provided encouragement. The Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in England, founded in 1888, was a clear precedent.

Some years later, Lord Mayo (1851-1927) was reported as saying that "He had known William Morris and had obtained his advice about the Irish Art movements, and he should never forget what it was to have known and conversed with such a great man. He did not, however, want to see Ireland imitating Morris or anyone else." ¹³

The aims of the ACSI were to foster and promote the development of artistic industries in Ireland, to exhibit Irish art and craft and to promote it by lectures, demonstrations, publications, and provisions of designs. Lectures were given by Lord Mayo and other distinguished committee members such as George Coffey, who tried to give guidance on the judicious use of Celtic ornament in his lecture 'The use and abuse of Celtic ornament'. In Cork, the School of Art had been pioneering in the provision of lace designs since the mid 1880s¹⁴. The short-lived journal of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland was an important critical publication.

In a letter to the press seeking support for the Society's foundation Lord Mayo made it clear that originality of design and form would be required in the numerous exhibition categories. These included book-binding and illustration, embroidery, hammered ironwork, stained glass, leather work, lace design and making, porcelain and pottery and wood, stone and marble carving. No copies need be sent for exhibition selection. "One becomes a little tired of the shamrock, as an emblem, excellent but combined in a design decidedly wearisome", he wrote in January 1895 when communicating his ideas on work he hoped would be submitted for selection in the forthcoming inaugural exhibition. That work included photography "an art in which our Dublin workers especially excel." Counterbalancing originality of design was respect for the individual crafts person. Like William Morris, Lord Mayo wished the craftsperson to be less of a machine than he was in contemporary industrial England. Every designer, maker, and exhibitor would be named in the catalogues. To promote the "welfare and wellbeing of the working classes", books of tickets to the 1895 exhibition were made available for purchase to "employers of labour." It was hoped that attendance at the exhibition "would be of educational value to the artisans of Ireland." 17

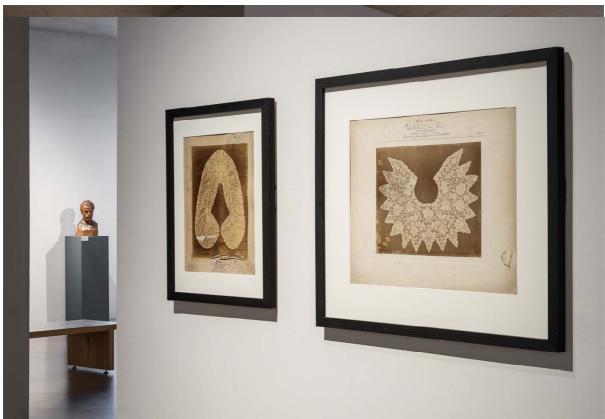
He particularly impressed on all who he "ever spoke to about the exhibition that it was not in any sense to be an industrial exhibition." The ACSI did not have a dedicated exhibition space and successfully participated in broader ventures, as well as initiating their own exhibitions. Their work with the Cork International Exhibition of 1902¹⁸ was important to artists like Michael J. McNamara who taught at his *alma mater*, the Crawford School of Art. We exhibit his green vase (17) which



relates to the Della Robbia pottery demonstrations at the Cork International Exhibition, and the Certificate of Participation awarded to the Crawford (18). Demonstrations of art metal work at the 1902 Exhibition led to the formation of Youghal Art Metal Workers, whose circular copper framed mirrors for the new Abbey Theatre (1904) we exhibit (19,20,21). The ACSI's participation at the St Louis World Fair in 1904 and the Dublin International Exhibition of 1907 was also important to Cork participants.

Their own seven exhibitions held between 1895 and 1925 were a major focus of the ACSI's activities and showed contemporary Irish work. The inspiring loan exhibitions organised by them, whether from the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society of England (1895, 1899, 1910) and /or exhibitions of earlier Irish artefacts and replicas, were important complements to some of these seven exhibitions.

While Lord Mayo and his wife Lady Geraldine (née Ponsonby) were themselves very creative, as was Sir Edward Sullivan a co-founder of the ACSI, in its early days the Society did not have at its organisational core people who made their living in the arts and crafts. In 1909 the ACSI liaised with the Guild of Irish Art Workers. This made the work of the ACSI more the responsibility of crafts-people themselves. The ACSI was initially quite Leinster-based but in 1909 they also established important provincial committees.



Courtesy Cork Public Museum; Private Collection © Crawford Art Gallery, Cork (photo@Jed Niezgoda)

One of the letters in this exhibition was written from London by Lord Mayo after a visit to Cork that year (33). Crisp in tone, it relates to the organisation of a lecture he was to give in Cork; he needed a

table on which he would place some Arts and Crafts objects. Another exhibit (33a) is the diary of Robert Day (1836-1914), a member of the Munster committee, in which he mentions that Lord Mayo visited him, both at his business premises, 103 Patrick Street and in his home Myrtle Hill House in Tivoli. Here Day's superb antiquarian collection was displayed in museum-like conditions.



To show context, in the present exhibition we show archival material and work by some of the people who were involved in the movement, not necessarily as exhibitors, but perhaps serving on ACSI committees (1, 2, 3, 8a, 8b, 8c, 29, 30, 33a, 39, 49, 51, 60, 61). Amongst these are three photographs from the Day collection (8a, 8b, 8c). Images of South Mall from Grand Parade c. 1861, of armed constabulary standing to attention and of Patrick Street en fete for the royal visit of 1903 give a sense of the city before and during the period²⁰.

The ACSI exhibitions of 1917 and 1925 travelled from Dublin to Belfast and Cork. The exhibitions in Cork were held in this building, then the Crawford Municipal School of Art as well as the Crawford Municipal Art Gallery. Sir John O'Connell (1868-1943), who commissioned the Honan Hostel Chapel and wrote the essay in the 1917 ACSI catalogue, lent some works from the Honan Hostel Chapel to the 1917 exhibition, including the superbly embroidered black poplin chasuble (41) shown here. George Atkinson, who was born in Cobh in 1880 and studied at the Crawford School of Art, organised the 1921 ACSI exhibition in Dublin. We exhibit the catalogues of the 1921 and 1925 exhibitions (60, 61). It was clear by 1921 that Joseph Higgins, a prize winning student also from Cork, was an exceptionally able sculptor. Michael J. McNamara (1865-1929) taught him in the Crawford and had himself studied there before going to London to study with Walter Crane. When looking at aspects of the Arts and Crafts movement in Cork, it is interesting to contemplate the idea that Ireland's finest Arts and Crafts sculptor was part of it; Higgins's work is arguably as good as Oliver Sheppard's and Rosamund Praeger's²¹. After a career as a commercial traveller, he became an art teacher in Youghal. Higgins died in his 40th year, in 1925, the year the Society held its last exhibition.



Section 3 Artistic Styles and Political Allegiances in the ACSI

Paul Larmour writes that in Ireland "stylistically the movement was closely associated with the revival of Celtic ornament but it also encompassed art nouveau, the legacy of the pre-Raphaelites and some aspects of Modernism".²²

The pre-Raphaelite influence is evident in the watercolours by M. J. McNamara (12) and in the stained glass cartoons by James Watson and Company of Youghal (42). The Art Nouveau influence, skilfully combined with the shamrock motif, is visible in the brass book cover made by one of the Youghal Art Metal Workers (24). Their three shield -shaped mirror frames in repoussé copper which hung in the Abbey Theatre in 1904 (19, 20, 21) are a celebration of Celtic interlace and artisan craftsmanship. The carved armchairs, one by 'lady amateur' Annie Crooke (9), also demonstrate the popularity of Celtic motifs.

Modernism is most evident in Joseph Higgins's sculptures (34, 38, 25, 50). Both Rodin and German Expressionist sculpture may have been influences on him. Much of his furniture is carved with Celtic interlace typical of the day (45). Higgins exhibited with the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland and we can see his absorption of their values in the beautiful objects he made for the family home (47). His sculptures, whether modelled or carved, and his paintings (46, 53) make him one of the most interesting figures in the Irish Arts and Crafts movement. Higgins's teacher, M.J. McNamara was taught in the Royal College of Art in London by Walter Crane, who was something of a political activist. Nicola Gordon Bowe writes that "at the 1890 English Arts and Crafts exhibition he showed his Irish National Banner, emblazoned with Irish emblems and Charles Stewart Parnell's signature."²⁴

While Parnell was an MP for Cork, in the 1880s, nationalist feeling ran high among the populace. The reception which the Prince and Princess of Wales met on their visit to Cork to open the new extension to the School of Art in 1885 was mixed, to say the least. The Prince was not in favour of Home rule. J. J. Horgan, son-in-law of Dr Bertram C. A. Windle, and Munster committee member of the ACSI in 1917 and 1921, remembered this tense visit and contrasted it with the warm reception the royal couple received in 1903. The prince was not in favour of the ACSI in 1917 and 1921, remembered this tense visit and contrasted it with the warm reception the royal couple received in 1903.

Despite the energy generated by the Home Rule movement from the mid 1880s, there were probably many people involved with the ACSI before and after it was founded in 1894 who considered themselves wholly Irish, without having any interest in separation from Britain. T. W. Rolleston (1857-1920), honorary secretary to the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland from 1898 to 1908, "believed that Ireland's regeneration had to be economic rather than political."

Douglas Hyde's ancestral family came from Castle Hyde in county Cork. His reminder that we could not continue to simultaneously ape and hate all things English was psychologically perceptive. Hyde (1860-1949) gave his famous 'The Necessity for De-Anglicizing the Irish Nation' lecture in Cork in 1893 and wished the Gaelic League which he co-founded later that year to be non-sectarian and non-military, which it was for a decade. Cultural activities organised by the Gaelic League sometimes related to Arts and Crafts activities and ideology and to the spirit of co-operation advocated by Horace Plunkett: "Wherever the Gaelic League thrived there his own work was more appreciated.²⁸"

In 1895, echoing ideas of social reform through craft held by some members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society in England, Lord Mayo expressed the hope that "Arts and Crafts may be the means of leading us to a peaceful and friendly understanding of one another." Horace Plunkett may have been distancing the Society from politics in 1904 when he said that the Arts and Crafts Society of



Ireland had no enemies, as everyone knew they operated from two motives and two motives only, that is, love of art and love of their country.³⁰ Both men were nominated to the Senate of the Irish Free State; in 1923 their homes were burnt down in a series of attacks on government supporters.

Although many people involved with the ACSI believed in the politics of accommodation, in 'The Irish Arts and Crafts movement: Aspects of Nationalism (1886-1925): Suggested Parallels and Contexts' Nicola Gordon Bowe has pointed out that Arts and Crafts movements flourished in countries which sought independence from major powers.³¹

Towards the end of their essay in the Mansion House Exhibition 1883 catalogue Ben Lindsey and C. Harry Biddle wrote that the lace industries "taught the peasantry to see in their rulers their friends." No outstanding local aristocratic philanthropist's name has come down to complicate a first chapter of the story in Cork. The story of the Arts and Crafts movement in Cork, except for the story of lace, may prove to be one of town and gown, of merchant and maker, with a sharper political edge to it in the twentieth century. Joseph Higgins's father had been imprisoned for Fenianism in 1866³². His brother Pat was actively involved in the republican cause³³. Joseph Higgins himself is not known to have had a particular interest in politics; nor is M.J. McNamara. Higgins was friends with Terence MacSwiney (51), whose portrait by Hugh Charde, a Munster committee member of ACSI, we show³⁴. But the ardent nationalism of Barry M. Egan (1879-1954), who succeeded Terence MacSwiney (1879-1920) as deputy Lord Mayor in 1920, is well known. His family firm William Egan and Sons Ltd had been renowned silversmiths, turning to making vestments by machine in 1875 as mass produced silver from England made it impossible to compete. 35 The making of hand-embroidered, high quality vestments was underway in 1914 when Sir John O'Connell commissioned the firm owned by Jesuit-educated Barry Egan to make vestments and some altar plate for the Honan Hostel Chapel (41, 40). It was an earlier commission from the president of the university in Cork, Dr Bertram Windle, which marks the revival of hand-wrought silver in Cork. A friend of Douglas Hyde's from his days in Trinity College and a distinguished antiquarian, Windle (1858-1929) decreed that the college mace commissioned from Egan's had to be made locally. It was commissioned to mark the transition from being a Queen's university to being one of the national universities of Ireland. A mace is a symbol of authority borne in procession to herald the dignity of an occasion.

As with the School of Art, here we see town and gown working in rhythm, endorsing arts and crafts values of respecting the handcrafted, locally made functional object and its makers³⁶. Egan's had a close relationship with the School of Art. Many of the girls and women who sewed the Honan vestments had been pupils there, while James Archer who worked on the enamels on the mace, had a long association with the School, both as a student and teacher. His brother Richard was foreman silversmith in Egan's. When Crown forces burnt Patrick Street in December 1920, Egan's premises at number 32 were destroyed and so were many documents which might throw light on the history of this important Irish firm. Barry Egan moved from house to house to avoid assassination by Crown forces and took refuge in Paris, where he been apprenticed as a silversmith many years earlier.³⁷ Among other things such as the ciborium (40) for the Honan Chapel, we exhibit a beautiful Republican silver rose bowl made by the firm, during the Civil War, with inscriptions in Irish telling us about its historic provenance (54).



Section 4 James Brenan and the 1883 Exhibition

This exhibition opens with a painting by "Ireland's most distinguished art educator of the 19th century", James Brenan RHA.³⁸ The Committee of Inspection (1877) (2) represents a scene with which the artist was personally familiar, as he was closely involved in raising the standards of handmade textiles produced in Munster homes. Brenan's intimate genre scene is sympathetically ethnographic in concept and realist in style. He captures the apprehensive faces of the figures in the ill-lit interior of a cottage. Inspections were important to keep up standards, but the advent of mechanisation in Cork, as elsewhere, made it increasingly difficult to compete. Memories of the tenweek tailors' strike in Cork in 1870 were probably still fresh when this work was painted in 1877. Fears of the effects of mechanisation as well as the need for wage increases had led to that strike. "The active hostility towards machines gradually changed over the course of the century to periodic complaints."39 Nash and Harty's cotton mill had opened on Albert Quay in 1868, with 150 power looms tended by 80 girls. By 1870, "the number of power looms had increased to 200." 40 It was dubiously mooted that "A smart girl could easily earn 16s a week, attending four looms." The enterprise was bankrupt by 1871. But female labour was indeed becoming more common in the textile industry. Brenan lights the figure of the young woman to the foreground of the picture, while the man weaving in the background is almost invisible. Male hand weavers in Cork were rapidly declining in numbers. Maura Cronin writes that "The city's 463 weavers in 1831 had fallen in numbers to 160 by 1851, to 25 by 1871 and had disappeared from the census by 1901, while in the county numbers fell over the same period from 2,409 to fifty-seven."⁴² She points out that "as the male dominated textile industry flickered out, there emerged a female-based domestic manufacturing movement producing ... lace, crochet, and embroidery". 43 Brenan's awareness of the volatility of the textile industry informed his approach to lace making in particular.

Dublin-born Brenan (1837-1907) was headmaster at the Cork School of Art from 1860 to 1889. He took up his employ in a then shabby if historic building in the centre of a politically fraught city. The condition of the School of Art was "a reproach to the city of Cork." One newspaper said of the city that "During the 1860s fenianism permeated the life of Cork to the extent that many viewed it as the capital of sedition in the Three Kingdoms."

Though a painter himself Brenan's educational achievements were mainly in the design, craft and applied art areas, perhaps because he saw how improvements would help alleviate unemployment. "There were approximately 4,000 craftsmen in Cork in 1870, representing 20% of the male population over 20 years of age." John B. O'Brien writes that the population of the city did not change much between 1821 and 1899, remaining at approximately 80,000. "While Ireland's population dropped by more than 40 per-cent between 1841 and 1891 Cork's declined by only 6%." Migrant workers coming into the city from the hinterland limited the decline in population while increasing the tension among workers. Brenan was keen to attract the artisan class to the School of Art, which held subsidised evening classes, and concern was frequently expressed that they did not attend these in resounding numbers.

Like many people then, Brenan moved easily and urbanely between Ireland and England. Links with the Department of Science and Art in South Kensington in London were critically important to art and design education in Ireland in the later nineteenth century. Brenan had been trained as an art educationalist in South Kensington (3). This and his work with Owen Jones (1809-74) was formative on him. Jones designed the interior spaces for the Great Exhibition [of the Works of Industry of all Nations] held in the Crystal Palace in London in 1851. Some of the 100,000 objects displayed became



part of the South Kensington Museum when it opened in 1857 with Henry Cole as director. Now the Victoria and Albert Museum, it has fine examples of Irish lace and lace designs in its collection.⁴⁸

Other industrial exhibitions followed, including one in Cork in 1852. These exhibitions were important as places where goods were displayed, ideas exchanged and taste developed. Handmade Irish lace and crochet was exhibited at most of the major Exhibitions, including the Great Exhibition of 1851. In 1883 James Brenan was in charge of the Fine Art Section in the Cork Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition, held at Anglesea Street. Six cases of tapestry, lace, glass and porcelain selected by him were lent by the South Kensington Museum. Exhibited items were judged, prizes awarded, reports written and later published. This exhibition in 1883 was of fundamental importance to the improvement of craft standards in lace, metalwork and woodcarving in the Cork region⁴⁹.

In his magisterial Report on the 1883 Exhibition, Dr William K. Sullivan, president of Queen's College Cork, cautioned against indiscriminate use of supposed national emblems such as the wolfhound. The wolfhound had relatively recently been rescued from extinction to become a Victorian construction. Dr O'Sullivan did not deplore the use of interlace, which can be seen on a medal awarded to William Hegarty and Sons (4) for curried leather. Curried leather is tanned by working oils and greases into the hide to increase its strength and waterproof properties, whereas tanning is a process to transform hides and skins from their perishable form to a more permanent leather. Tanning and currying were declining industries in Cork by this time. In 1919, it was observed that "About 1845 there were 60 tanyards in the city of Cork ... William Hegarty, who went into French factories as a working man in order to make a detailed study of the processes there employed, established with his brother, calf skin tanning and currying ... By 1893, with a few notable exceptions such as the firms of Messrs Hegarty and Sons employing over 200 hands, and Messrs Dunn Bros, the tanning industry was lost to Cork. The former firm was subsequently closed." This medal (4) was in the collection of the great scholar Jeanne Sheehy whose book *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830-1930* was a milestone in studies of Irish art and craft. 50

Tooled and embossed leather work was very important in the ACSI exhibitions, particularly in 1921 when Sarah Reynolds who taught in the School of Art, exhibited numerous pieces. Albina Collins's mirror in embossed leather was selected for the second ACSI exhibition, held in 1899. She had studied at South Kensington, was a lace maker in Kinsale and later a member of the Guild of Irish Art Workers. Regrettably we exhibit very little leatherwork in "Made in Cork". Two small purses (48a and 48b) evoke the personal usage of their maker, Katherine Turnbull, a day student at the Crawford School of Art and later Joseph Higgins's wife.



Section 5 Lace: the successful application of art to industry and the role of design

Lace and crochet designs from the Crawford School of Art were selected for exhibition in the first two Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland (ACSI) exhibitions, in 1895 and 1899, and praised in the Reports. This shows the Society's endorsement of the high standards which had made Irish handmade lace so desirable by 1895. From 1883, James Brenan and others successfully built on earlier developments, in a structure where classes in the School of Art complemented those in outlying branches where lace was also taught and made. This was an industry where women were prominent as designers, teachers, makers, wearers and entrepreneurs. In his own narrative of this success story, co-operation with South Kensington was critical.⁵¹

Early developments would include one of the first crochet centres in Ireland, in Blackrock, county Cork where the Ursuline nuns were teaching it in 1845. In Youghal, the Great Famine (1845-1852) motivated Sr Mary Ann Smith in the Presentation Convent to unpick some Italian flatpoint lace in order to learn how to make it. She wished to instruct poor girls in a skill that could avert poverty, in an industry where little or no capital expenditure was required. By 1861 a nun from Youghal was instructing nuns in the Poor Clare Convent in Kenmare, county Kerry, where crochet sales throughout the decade were most encouraging. Mother O'Hagan was successful in making Kenmare a great lace centre, benefitting from the tourist trail. And Mother Frances Bridgman in Kinsale, were pragmatic. In the decades after the Famine and before mechanisation fully impacted, many women made livings or part livings from producing lace and crochet.

It is extremely difficult to determine employment figures, as many women did piece meal work at home, and may or may not have been considered employed when so doing.⁵⁵ H. D. Gribbon has quantified the number of females working in the lace and embroidery industry all over Ireland. "Census returns show an average of 4,500 women and girls employed in lace-making and employment in the years 1871-1891, rising to 5,900 in 1901 and 7,800 in 1911."⁵⁶

Pat Earnshaw quotes one of James Brenan's later observations on work produced in the homes of lace workers: "Some of the finest fabrics are produced by country girls who often give to lace making only those hours which they can spare from working on their father's farm ..., a matter of wonder to find spotless pieces of exquisite work delivered from homes which seem oddly out of keeping with their dainty products." ⁵⁷

The increases in the numbers of females making lace reflect demand. This was fuelled by a number of factors, not least the wearing of hand-made lace by high ranking society ladies. Concerted efforts were made in order to make it fashionable in Ireland, as it was all over the Western world. The economic power to purchase hand-made Irish lace, especially Youghal lace which was the most expensive, signalled privilege. Similarly with Limerick lace, which was a little less expensive and more widely made; in county Cork alone in 1907 it was being made in seven centres. Furchase of handmade Irish lace suggested a praiseworthy commitment to the paid employment of Irish girls and women who often made it in their homes.

Alan Cole (1841-1934), son of the director of the South Kensington Museum, was perhaps the most influential of the 10,000 visitors to the 1883 Exhibition in Cork. His auspicious visit was recalled by James Brenan in a lecture delivered to the ACSI in 1897. The two men, who had met in London, famously walked through the exhibition, noting the poor design of exhibits and contrasting this with



the high standards of execution.⁵⁹ They agreed to write to the convents who had exhibited work, asking for interviews. After several of these visits, a scheme was devised whereby James Brenan would visit the convents once a month, inspect the work, lecture and guide the lace-making. In this way, convents who had lace centres for years became branches of the School of Art. New centres were opened and by 1888 there were eight branch classes. Four of these were run by the Presentation nuns at Youghal, Killarney, Tralee and Skibbereen.

The names of Irish laces usually denote the places where the distinctive technique began, as well as the technique itself. Limerick lace, for example, began in Limerick but was made in several locations. Designs for Limerick lace might be drawn up in Cork and the lace made in Kinsale. Youghal lace was made in Kenmare as well as in Youghal. Youghal lace is considered to be 'true lace' as it is made with a sewing needle and thread only, and is a needlepoint lace, while Limerick lace is a form of embroidery on machine-made net, as is Carrickmacross lace. These are older laces than Youghal lace. Youghal lace is based on a technique where buttonhole stitching is looped together.

The principle of designing for a technique which the designer understood was already well established; sometimes designs were tried out by lace-makers as they were being made. Alan Cole raised £500 as prize money for designs. Very quickly, the high standards in the School of Art, sometimes called the Central School after 1884, to distinguish it from the branch schools, were rewarded. Ten of the forty-three prizes established by Alan Cole went to its pupils.⁶¹

The 1883 Exhibition committee in Cork voted £200 from its profits towards the purchase of good examples of antique lace, some of which are shown in this exhibition (1). Lace was not just wearable; it was collectible. Mrs Alfred Morrison was a great collector and donated generously to Alan Cole's prize fund. From the purchase of good examples of alace-work fan for her in 1890. From the purchase of good examples of alace-work fan for her in 1890. From the purchase of good examples of alace-work fan for her in 1890. From the purchase of good examples of antique lace, some of which are shown in this exhibition (1). Lace was not just wearable; it was collectible. Mrs Alfred Morrison was a great collector and donated generously to Alan Cole's prize fund. From the purchase of good examples of antique lace, some of which are shown in this exhibition (1). Lace was not just wearable; it was collectible. Mrs Alfred Morrison was a great collector and donated generously to Alan Cole's prize fund. From the purchase of good examples of alace was not just wearable; it was collectible.

There had been another important exhibition in 1883: the Mansion House exhibition of Irish lace in London. In the catalogue, Ben Lindsey of the Irish Lace Depot in Dublin and C. Harry Biddle in London wrote that, "The hope to obtain from the present schools of art in Ireland designs adapted to its lace productions are fruitless and vain." This puts the achievement of Brenan and Cole in rapidly organising the teaching of good design for lace in perspective. Very quickly, the students studying lace in the School of Art drew designs which were available to lace centres not making their own. Drawing, including free-hand drawing, drawing from photographs and drawing from plants, was also taught in the lace centres in Kinsale, Kenmare, Youghal, Skibbereen and in the Ursuline Convent at Blackrock, Cork. St Vincent's in Cork was also a centre. Youghal and Kenmare were known for needlepoint lace, while crochet and Limerick lace were strong in Kinsale. In the 1897 lecture, James Brenan praised Mrs Vere O'Brien in Limerick "as one of the first to perceive the value of change of pattern" and said that the "Cork School of Art was indebted to her for many encouraging orders for designs". In 1887 and 1888 the retailers Todd and Company in Limerick were also placing orders with the School of Art. Orders from London came from Biddle Brothers and Hayward Brothers.

The lace-makers were creative too. In *Youghal Lace: The Craft and the Cream*, Pat Earnshaw writes that, "The convents at Youghal and Kenmare fostered inventiveness among the workers and undoubtedly many of the stitches are the fruits of their creative imaginings." The workers developed at least fifty stitches. 66



In 1888, Mr Robert Scott, chairman of the Art Committee in the Crawford School of Art, "commented that over 300 workers associated with the various lace schools in Cork and Kerry were now 'earning a very decent and respectable living'." Though very highly skilled, lace-making was not especially well paid. Women's work was not as well paid as men's in general. Janice Helland points out that the 100 girls and women who made Youghal lace were earning between ten and twelve shillings a week in 1888. However, the sale price of lace was significantly more than this: Pat Earnshaw writes that in 1885 a five yard flounce of Youghal lace which was 14 inches wide cost £60 at a South Kensington exhibition. 68

Fintan O'Toole in 'Exquisite Lace and Dirty Linen: The Taming of Girl Power' draws attention to the social structures which allowed unpaid child labour in the lace industry.⁶⁹ The Good Shepherd Convent in Cork were among those to whom lace designs made in the School of Art were sold.⁷⁰ Females who worked in the Convent, whether making lace or doing laundry, were not paid, nor were they usually treated humanely⁷¹.

Convents were lace and crochet centres in Cork from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. A listing in the brochure of the Irish International Exhibition in Dublin in 1907, of the places in Cork city and county where lace and crochet were made, and the numbers at work, shows that convents remained important centres. However, by far the largest number working was in the Youghal Co-Operative Lace Society, which had 500 "hands." The nuns had given the lace centre over to be run as a cooperative in Youghal in 1897. Another important secular venue was the Lace Class at the Crawford Municipal School of Art, where crochet and Limerick lace was made by 65 "hands." In the convents, Limerick lace and crochet was made in Kinsale by 140 "hands." In Queenstown, now Cobh, there were 60 people working on Carrickmacross lace and crochet in the Convent of Mercy. In the Presentation convents, in Douglas Street in Cork there were 58 people making needlepoint, Limerick lace and crochet, while in Bandon 30 "hands" were making Carrickmacross lace and crochet. Overall in the city and county in 1907, more than 900 people were working on lace or crochet.

In Cork, co-operation between the nuns in the various religious orders and James Brenan and Alan Cole was a major factor in this level of employment in the lace industry. Without the skills of designers, the lace-makers and entrepreneurs, and without elite patronage, the demand might not have been so high. Arts and Crafts thinking played a part, even though the Society was not formed when the momentum began. However, James Brenan's views were in the tradition of the group of English thinkers whose ideas led to the formation of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland. The Cork Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition of 1883 was a specific event of enormous importance to developments in lace, wood carving and to a lesser degree, silversmith-ing in the city and county.



Section 6 Women as philanthropic entrepreneurs

In Arts and Crafts industries it is notable how women were successful as designers and entrepreneurs.⁷² By the mid 1880s Mrs Florence Vere O'Brien (1854-1936), herself a talented designer, had revived Limerick lace, which had been an early commercial venture.⁷³ Mrs Alice Hart (1848-1931), another artistic Englishwoman, revived the textile cottage industry in Donegal in the mid 1880s. Mrs Mary Montgomery in County Tyrone had organised needlework classes but was eager to provide work for men and employed a disciple of C.R. Ashbee to teach art metalwork. She studied art metalwork before setting up the illustrious Fivemiletown Art Metalwork Class in 1892. Lady Geraldine Mayo (1863-1944), wife of the ACSI founder, re-invigorated the Irish School of Art Needlework in Dublin in 1894. Artist Sarah Purser (1848-1943) was the greatest Irish-born woman entrepreneur in the Arts and Crafts movement.⁷⁴ She painted portraits of many creative and influential people of the time. Evelyn Gleeson (1855-1944) showed her prowess in the early years of the twentieth century as founder the Dun Emer Guild. These latter two women were important to the Honan Chapel glass and textiles.

Perhaps the grandest figure among these women is Lady Ishbel Aberdeen (1857-1939), whom James Brenan also praised in his 1897 ACSI lecture. This initially wealthy Scots Liberal was actively involved in issues of Irish craft and health from the mid 1880s to 1915, making several visits to Cork. She raised funds in Ireland and America to prevent and treat tuberculosis. She believed that lacemaking had come to be regarded as the chief industry for women in Ireland. Brenan said that from 1884 Mr Cole paid visits once or twice a year to the most important centres to report to the Countess of Aberdeen. Great credit is due to her practical efforts to help this along with other industries ... she purchased 76 Grafton Street for the purposes of enabling the lace centres to have an opportunity of disposing of their work. With the expert Alan Cole advising her on where to source the best lace for the depot at Grafton Street in Dublin and with James Brenan on the committee, stock must have been good. She purchased the depot, which had been in existence since 1868, in 1892. Sales went from £5,000 in 1895 to £23,000 in 1900. There was also a depot in London.

Marketing Irish handmade lace outside Ireland was always a challenge. Earnshaw quotes J. Bowles-Daly writing in 1889: "The statistics of our own day show that over £1,000,000 worth of foreign handmade lace is imported every year into Great Britain, a fact which is greatly to be regretted, as much of this industry might be conducted in their own country by Irishwomen." ⁷⁸

Market strategies devised by Lady Aberdeen included organising a strong presence of workers making lace in the Irish Village in Chicago in 1893 and organising lace sales in Dublin and London. High-ranking ladies would have stalls at these fashionable lace sales. Annual sales were held by many organisations such as the Irish Industries Association, where T. W. Rolleston was managing director from 1894 to 1897. Rolleston "sought to integrate the arts and crafts revival with other contemporary developments, co-operating with the Congested Districts Board." The lace sales were intended to cut out middle-men and so, in principle, more profit was available for the lace-makers. Attending and creating social occasions where lace would be worn was another strategy. A commentator on the Irish lace exhibition organised from Dublin and held in London in 1883 remarked that Irish ladies did not wear Irish lace. The achievement of making it *de rigueur* to wear Irish lace owed a lot to improvements in design but also to themed social occasions such as the Lace Ball hosted by Lady Aberdeen in Dublin in 1907.



Jeanne Sheehy writes that, "Viceregal society in Dublin, at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, was an area in which arts and crafts were important, largely because they gave the wives of Lord Lieutenants the chance to do active charitable work without getting involved in anything politically contentious." In an essay 'Philanthropy and Irish Craft, 1883 -1900' for the catalogue of the recent exhibition in Boston, *The Arts and Crafts Movement: Making it Irish*, Janice Helland acknowledges the complexities of such philanthropic craft promotion in these years. She concludes that much practical good was achieved by Lady Aberdeen. ⁸¹



<u>Section 7 Design at the Crawford School of Art and Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland exhibitions</u> <u>before 1916</u>

The investment and effort generated by the 1883 Cork Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition was reflected in examination results in the School of Art. In 1888 "for the first time, a student from Cork had been awarded the national gold medal, the highest honour awarded by the department in London. This student, Caroline Beatson, had also been awarded the £25 Princess of Wales prize for her lace designs. Miss Beatson ... and Emily Anderson had been invited to London to attend lectures." ⁸²

Emily Anderson was associated with the School of Art since 1885, had exhibited a watercolour painting and a tea set in the 1883 Exhibition and, in time, designed for several laces. In *A Renascence of the Irish Art of Lace-Making*, published in 1888, Alan Cole illustrates Limerick lace borders and flounces designed by her. Anderson designed lace curtains of net and linen appliqué, which were made in the Convent of Mercy, Kinsale, for Mr and Mrs Alfred Morrison in 1889.⁸³

In the same book Cole also illustrated lace designed by Miss Perry and crochet supervised by Michael Holland at Messrs Dwyer and Company, Cork. Michael Holland (1855-1950) was an expert lace and crochet designer. Mary Leland gives an interesting vignette of this Cork School of Art-trained designer who worked for Dwyers for most of his adult life:

"Referring to the pattern-books created in 1846 by Mlle Riego de la Branchardière, Holland advises Mr Piatt, the American consul in Cork, that Dwyers were able to preserve the correct working of the designs and materials, a circumstance much neglected in the manufacture of Irish lace generally ... the consul was told that Venice with its noble traditions of centuries, its subsidy from the State and its powerful commercial patronage can hardly excel the modest communities of Youghal, Kenmare and New Ross."

In 1917 he sat on the Munster committee of the ACSI. In 1921 Holland's portrait was painted by his friend Henry Jones Thaddeus, who had attended the Cork School of Art. This fine portrait is in the Crawford collection and at present hangs on the stairs of the Gallery.

As Janice Helland states, the three most mentioned lace designers in newspapers and magazines of the period were Michael Hayes, Alice Jacob⁸⁵ and Emily Anderson. Helland points out that Caroline Beatson and Lizzie Perry were also mentioned.⁸⁶ By 1897 Alan S. Cole was recommending the use of Emily Anderson's designs to the convent of the Poor Clares in Kenmare. Mrs Florence Vere O'Brien in Limerick had been using her designs for years. Design education in the School of Art was clearly very good by the late 1880s. While they were students, Caroline Beatson, Emily Anderson, Minnie Nagle and Lizzie Perry were winning prizes in a highly competitive educational structure. In 1897, as Peter Murray points out, almost 100,000 works were submitted from schools and classes throughout the UK, of which almost 6,000 were selected for the National Competition and 875 medals and prizes awarded. As the average number of awards to each School of Art in the UK was just a fraction over two, the achievement of the Crawford School of Art in obtaining 13 medals and book prizes was a source of considerable pride.⁸⁷

Emily Anderson's designs for cut linen and a *guipure* lace flounce were exhibited at the first ACSI exhibition, held in Dublin in 1895. In his Report, William Hunt wrote that he thought the Exhibition of over 400 exhibits poor in general design but believed there were some particularly good exhibits of lace and crochet. He praised Emily Anderson's work. Her design for a lace fan was shown in the second ACSI Exhibition, for which James Brenan was a selector, in Dublin in 1899.



Emily Anderson presented the Crawford Gallery with a watercolour *Chrysanthemums*, which we exhibit (62).



Emily Anderson, Chrysanthemums © Collection Crawford Art Gallery, Cork (photo@Dara McGrath)

Harold Rathbone, the artist who founded Della Robbia Pottery in Birkenhead in 1894, was one of the exhibitors in the English Arts and Crafts loan exhibition shown during the second ACSI exhibition. Nonetheless, he gave his "perfectly independent outside opinion" in the Report⁸⁸ commissioned from him. Commenting on the lace, he wrote that "the great beauty of this industry as displayed by many of the designs ... [that] fairly took us by storm." In 1899 the Crawford School of Art submitted work by several of its students for selection in the ACSI exhibition. Georgina Sutton's designs for handkerchiefs in needlepoint lace and crochet work by the Whitelegge sisters were selected. The Whitelegge girls had been prize-winning students at the School for years, as had Georgina Sutton. Georgina Sutton came from a well-known business family. The Whitelegge girls were surely related to Rev'd Whitelegge (d.1905), who for 63 years was minister at the Unitarian Church on Princes Street⁸⁹.

Rathbone thought highly of Miss Nagle's work and wrote admiringly of at least three of her pieces. "A fan in needlepoint, by Miss M. Nagle in the School of Art, Cork was thoroughly well constructed and adaptable to the material ... the peacocks sufficiently comfortable on their branches of acanthus ... a lovely and spontaneous design." The peacock was a quintessential arts and crafts motif.

Embroidery classes at the School of Art date from 1897. In embroidery, Miss Nagle's "lovely though simple design" [of a flower] he found "admirable and appropriately rendered. There is no finer example in the exhibition of how, by the knowing disposition of a simple design, the ground may be



converted into a valuable quantity". ⁹¹ Harold Rathbone thought her design for a damask tablecloth was "a graceful and well constructed design, rich and sweet."

Walter Mulligan, ARCA, a good if not prolific painter, succeeded James Brenan as headmaster in Cork. His portrait (30) of the first curator of the Crawford, John F. O'Mahony (1836-1910), marks a shift towards the increasing importance of the Gallery's collection. A member of the Guild of Irish Art Workers, Mulligan sat on the Munster committee of Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland and encouraged participation in their events. Insight into some teaching values can be gleaned from the comments on one of the designs exhibited here (27). On this design for a lace fan, there is a reference to page 137 of Margaret Stokes's book *Early Christian Art in Ireland* (1887). This book had over 100 woodcuts of her drawings and so was useful to design students. Naming it as a research source for the student designer, the tutor writes "Mr Mulligan may have a copy of the work if you haven't one." Mrs Mulligan led a number of lace demonstrations at the 1902 Exhibition.

The ACSI committee felt that their participation in the World Fair at St Louis in 1904 meant that the best lace was in America while Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland exhibition of that year was taking place in Dublin. Despite the reservations about the Limerick lace "indifferently represented" in the ACSI exhibition in Dublin on this occasion, where "in no case was there lace of very surpassing merit," it was noted that "Irish schools were unable to make all that was needed to supply the market." Cork retained a good position. It was reported that "in crochet the nine exhibits from the Crawford Municipal School of Art ... the best and most promising as regards originality of design as well as superiority of workmanship"; of the 379 exhibits, 100 were from Cork (29).

As a new headmaster of Dublin Metropolitan School of Art in 1904, R. H. A. Willis wrote an article entitled 'Some Impressions Derived from the Arts and Crafts exhibition of 1904.'93 He mentioned that much good was being done by the exhibitions organised by the various branches of the Gaelic League. As selector, he contemplated the "... numerous suppressed works to get to the root of the defects which underlay those which were rejected." He expressed the views that a certain amateurism was noticeable and better draughtsmanship still required. Awards were sometimes dictated by "sympathy for earnest labour rather than for extreme merit." R.H.A Willis had been headmaster in Manchester School of Art from 1882 to 1992. Strickland wrote that Willis made it the most important art teaching centre in England during his time there S. Willis warned in his article that "lace does not rank high among the art industries ... one would wish to see Ireland progressing better in the higher branches of industrial art than is at present the case."

In the 1910 exhibition, the fourth ACSI exhibition, a Limerick lace flounce executed by Miss Falvey was based on Miss Sarah A. Reynold's design. Mary O'Neill's designs were the basis for a wedding veil and the altar fall in Limerick lace executed and exhibited by Mrs Kate Breton in the 1917 ACSI fifth exhibition. Bessie Anglin's design was the basis for the Limerick lace parasol cover shown that year.

That was the year, 1917, when the ACSI exhibition travelled to Cork and all eyes were on work relating to the Honan Chapel. Lace was not to feature in the great project of the Honan Chapel. A major turning point in the history of the working life in the city came in 1917 when the old racecourse became the site of Henry Ford's factory. For decades, thousands of people enjoyed the security of good working conditions in Ford's, even if they did not have a sense of participation at all levels of tractor and car design and construction in accordance with Lord Mayo's ideals.



Section 8 Déanta i nÉirinn. Royal and Religious patronage

The fame of Youghal lace was widespread. In an advertisement in 1895 the Presentation Convent, Youghal, is described as "the parent home of lace in Ireland." Demonstrations of lace-making by Irish girls like Ellen Ahern in Lady Aberdeen's Irish village at the World's Columbian Exposition in in Chicago in 1893 helped to popularise 'real lace.' Large orders, such as the Youghal lace commissioned for Pope Leo XIII, were often newsworthy. In 1887 "A recent article in the *Illustrated London News* had represented a design for a piece of Irish lacework, which was to be presented to the Pope by the bishops of Ireland, and which had been designed in Kenmare and executed in the Presentation Convent at Youghal." Pope Leo XIII's portrait was painted by the young Cork artist Henry Jones Thaddeus in 1885. The order to mark the tenth jubilee of the Pope included an altar fall, an alb and a rochet, all of which were complete by 1888. (An alb is a long loose white garment that is sometimes girdled with a cincture while a rochet is similar to a surplice but has narrower sleeves.)

Fans, flounces and fichus were among the desirable objects of female adornment. A fichu is a French term for a small shawl or scarf. A flounce is a piece of lace which can be sewn to the ends of sleeves or skirts to embellish them. Fichus and flounces could be conveniently attached to an outfit and were easy to wash.

In the nineteenth century fans were important fashion accessories. Sr Mary Regis Lynch, like Mother Mary Ann Smith (d.1872), was a talented designer in the Presentation Convent in Youghal. Sr Mary Regis died in 1895 and her fan was exhibited in 1899 at the second ACSI exhibition by the Irish Lace Depot. Mr Rathbone praised the fan in needlepoint designed by the late Sr Mary Regis as "an altogether lovely production, which should be owned by a princess out of a fairy book, so that it should last forever."⁹⁸

Rathbone would have been aware that real princesses did own Youghal lace, "the Queen of Irish laces." The British Royal family purchased Irish lace and numerous examples of gifts of Youghal lace were made to them. Lace was popular as wedding gifts and was inserted into wedding dresses ever since Queen Victoria had used Honiton lace in hers in 1840. The Queen wore a dress and bonnet trimmed with Limerick lace on her visit to Ireland during the Great Famine ¹⁰⁰.

An example of a gift is the one that Princess Beatrice, Queen Victoria's daughter, received in 1885 on the occasion of her wedding. This was a fan of Youghal lace made in Cappoquin from a South Kensington design. We show a design for a lace fan (10) around the inner rim of which is a note written in blue, which says it is the design for a lace fan gifted to the Princess May by Lord Houghton, (who was viceroy from 1892 to 1895)¹⁰¹. This is surely the design for the lace fan which was presented to Princess Victoria May when she married the Duke of York in 1893 (later King George V).¹⁰² The lace train made for her as queen, and now in Buckingham Palace, is one of the greatest achievements of the Youghal lace enterprise.

In 1863 Princess Alexandra had been presented with a shawl of Youghal lace on the occasion of her marriage to the Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII). This royal couple visited Cork at least twice. Day's photograph (8c) shows the festive street preparations for their visit to the Cork International Exhibition in 1903. 104

We show two sepia photographs of lace which were used for educational or promotional purposes (28a and 28b). One of the photographs is of a Youghal lace fichu presented to Queen Victoria on her Diamond Jubilee Day, June 22nd 1897, by the ladies of Dublin.





Courtesy Cork Public Museum; Private Collection © Crawford Art Gallery, Cork (photo@Jed Niezgoda)

The Irish Industrial Development Association believed that large quantities of non-Irish lace and other goods were imported into America as Irish goods. It is clear that this could adversely affect the market. The campaign for an Irish trademark was successful and in December 1906 the Irish trademark *Déanta i nÉirinn* was registered by the Irish Industrial Development Association[I.I.D.A.]¹⁰⁵ Lady Aberdeen, who could be relied on to recognise the importance of public spectacle to communicate ideas, wore a dress "of Irish saffron poplin embroidered with the Irish trade mark" for the Irish Industries pageant of 1907.¹⁰⁶

One of the great Irish lace stories pivots around this trade mark and is told by Veronica Stuart, Life President of the Traditional Lace-makers in Ireland. One of the most prestigious commissions for Youghal lace came in 1911, when a train "which contained over five million stitches, was created in just over six months, with sixty lace makers working on it day and night."107 It was ordered by Robinson and Cleaver of Belfast and financed by the ladies of Belfast. 108 Queen Mary had sometimes been called Princess May before her husband ascended to the throne, and this name inspired the inclusion of hawthorn sprays in the floral design for the train. 109 Floral motifs were generally favoured in Youghal lace. She wore the train of nearly 18 feet by 28 inches over a cloth of gold hanging from the shoulders on a royal visit to India. In an accession ceremony in December King George V and his queen affirmed British control over India. He wore a specially made crown which had over 6,000 precious stones in it. The royal imperial couple sat on silver thrones as they received pledges of allegiance from hundreds of Indian princes and rulers. 110 Local legend grew up around the lace train. It was said in Youghal that the lace-makers were brought across to Buckingham Palace and were working away on the train when they saw a lady quietly sitting among them. When she slipped away they were told that lo! it was none other than Her Majesty herself. Veronica Stuart told this story to Pat Kenny on the radio in 2011. After the programme, an anonymous email was received at the radio station. The person who contacted the radio station wrote that their grandmother at the age of 35 had been one of the lace-makers and that she and her two friends



decided that the new trade mark of "Deanta in Eire" (*sic*) should be part of the splendid lace train. When this was seen, the authorities were less than pleased.

"A number of mounted Hussar troops escorting an empty carriage collected my Grandmother and her two friends in the early hours of the morning and bundled them off, unceremoniously to a ... military barracks, and were held there under duress until they had un-picked the "DEANTA IN EIRE" (sic) (written in Gaelic) the three of them had surreptitiously incorporated into their design, and afterwards made to repair the 'damage' under the eagle-eye of a Sergeant at Arms!! Although the ladies were admonished for their chicanery, they were still treated with respect by the Troopers while they were repairing the lace, "Fed and watered, but received no payment for their labours!" and sent home by the local railroad system."

The West Cork dress, as it sometimes known, shown here (36) dates from the same period as the royal train. The sprigging technique on the linen is associated with work done in Rathbarry, while the crochet is Irish crochet. The glorious Youghal crochet dress in the exhibition (32) dates from around the time of the introduction of the Irish trade mark. It is very similar to the crochet dress *c*. 1905 from Youghal, which is in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland. That was priced at £5, which would be about €360 today. It is not known where the dress on display here was made or who then owned it. As Janice Helland points out, lace was subject to the caprices of fashion. This stylish and wonderful work of craftsmanship was rescued from a skip in Donegal some years ago.



Courtesy Private Collection; Abbey Theatre; Private Collection © Crawford Art Gallery, Cork (photo@Jed Niezgoda)

Walter Mulligan, M. J. McNamara, James Archer and James Watson attended and subscribed to the Twelfth Annual Public Meeting of the Cork Industrial Development Association in March 1915. Mr Wesley Frost, the American Consul at Queenstown, began by mentioning lace when outlining possibilities of co-operation between the United States of America and Ireland. "It is a happy coincidence that the goods Ireland sells are the goods America must buy ... we buy seven and a half million pounds worth of lace annually ... of which only 1% is from Ireland ...". The liners which came into Cobh created opportunities for sales of lace to travellers, as immortalised by Fr Browne's



poignant photograph taken on the *Titanic* on 11 April 1912. The effort to improve lace exports to America might have seemed like an encouraging challenge to some, despite the high duty¹¹³. But the Great War was on and the tragedy of the *Lusitania* just months away. All this marked the end of further hopes of advancing the artistic industry of hand-made lace in Ireland. In the 1921 ACSI exhibition some Limerick lace from Cork was exhibited. In the catalogue, organiser George Atkinson noted that "the student of Irish industry misses the exquisite needle-point lace of Youghal and other centres."



Section 9 Changing structures; early twentieth century art and design education

When the Department of Art and Technical Instruction (DATI) took over responsibility for art and design education in Dublin from the Science and Art Department in South Kensington in 1900, a new era in Irish craft began. Under the leadership of its vice-president Horace Plunkett, DATI were brilliant organisers of the 1902 Cork International Exhibition, and ACSI worked with them on the Historic Loan Collection shown¹¹⁴. Nicola Gordon Bowe assesses the broad spirit of co-operation at the time.

"With its active stimulus and encouragement of local industries as well as the language, in a programme of de-anglicization, the Gaelic League complemented the ceaseless efforts of Horace Plunkett, channelled through the Irish Agricultural Organization Society (founded in 1894) towards non political expansion on a co-operative basis". 115

The Gaelic League *feiseanna* began at the end of the 1890s and were celebrations of Irish music and dance. Medals and plaques were given as prizes in the competitions. Some were made in Youghal, which centuries earlier had a great silver-smithing tradition. Pieces exhibited here, such as the plaque for a *Feis* in 1907 or the brass book cover, suggest the range of work made by the Youghal Art Metal Workers (16, 24). Using metal for a book cover makes reference to Celtic shrines or reliquary-like caskets which were used in the 9th and 10th century to hold precious manuscript texts. Demonstrations held at the 1902 Cork International Exhibition included art metalworking demonstrations. To this end, Mr Spark from Keswick School of Industrial Art near the Lake District in England was employed by the Gaelic League. Youghal Art Metal Workers were subsequently set up and flourished, working mainly in copper and brass. Mr H. Houchen, who was art master at the Cork County Technical Committee, and gave an address in Cork when exhibiting in the 1910 ACSI exhibition, provided designs¹¹⁶.

Youghal Art Metal Workers showed work in the Oireachtas exhibition held by the Gaelic League in the Rotunda in Dublin in 1904. 117 It is not known if W. B. Yeats saw the work there but in *Samhan* in December 1904, he wrote about the decoration of the new Abbey Theatre: "The large copper mirror frames are from the new metalworkers at Youghal." The three circular framed mirrors in this exhibition are indeed large; two are five feet in diameter(20, 21) and one is four feet (19). Although Paul Larmour has listed some names of Youghal Art Metalworkers such as Donald Richardson, Daniel Ahern, Maurice Dwyer, Edward Hill, John Hill and David Murphy, 119 we do not know who made these particular mirrors. The swirling interlace on these shield-shaped mirrors made them very suitable for the new theatre, which embodied the fervour of the literary movement in quest of inspiration from a Celtic past. Interlace was historically linked to Celtic magic knots which warded off evil spirits.

William Morris had been Yeats's "idea of a heroic leader," and "the focus of W. B. Yeats's attention" in the years between 1886 and 1889. He was determined to learn from Morris who "made his ideals work in constructing a successful life for himself" unlike Yeats's own father. He probably met Morris in Dublin in 1886 when Morris visited the Contemporary Club where he was sketched by John B. Yeats. In London in the late 1880s, Yeats attended Morris's Sunday gatherings. Yeats's siblings exhibited regularly in ACSI exhibitions. Lily embroidered for May Morris for six years before coming back to Dublin and Dun Emer.

Craft teaching had been improving under James Brenan's leadership in the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art (who had moved from Cork in 1889), and its scope was now extended. However, it was a cross section of people who made the employment of A. E. Child and P. Oswald Reeves possible.



Figures like W. B. Yeats, Edward Martyn and Lady Augusta Gregory were massively influential on the new directions in Irish Arts and Craft education.

Sarah Purser (1848-1943) set up An Túr Gloine in 1903. Nicola Gordon Bowe writes that the "stained glass cooperative, An Túr Gloine (The Tower of Glass) in Dublin ... was to be the most successful and long-lasting venture of the Irish Arts and Crafts movement." Its fine windows in the Honan Chapel complement the more intense ones by Harry Clarke. Like many Arts and Crafts practitioners, Alfred E. Child (1875-1939) combined his teaching duties with his craft, making stained glass in An Túr Gloine. An Túr Gloine, the Dun Emer Guild and the Yeats sisters exhibited work at the 1904 ACSI exhibition, a small exhibition of Irish work only. Despite the view that the best lace had gone to St Louis where the exhibition lasted for six months, the 1904 ACSI exhibition was regarded as having a "real upspringing of artistic feeling and endeavour among Irish craftsmen and craftswomen."

The ACSI reported in its 1906 *Journal and Proceedings* that the experience of organising the Historic Loan Collection for the Cork International Exhibition of 1902 was very useful when organising the Loan Collection illustrating art, history and social life of Ireland over 4,000 years for the St Louis Exhibition of 1904. This exhibition included 500 Irish treasures made over thousands of years. Like Chicago, it had a replica of various historic buildings, including Blarney Castle. Robert Day lent his collection of eighteenth-century volunteer medals, including a medal of Napper Tandy's. Carrickmacross lace made in Queenstown and Bantry, needlepoint from Youghal and Limerick lace were all exhibited, as was Michael Holland's crochet. Of the eight entries in the Ecclesiastical section, three were from Cork. James Watson and Company from Youghal showed stained glass. Retailers on Patrick Street, Cork, William Egan and Sons showed plate while John Perry and Sons showed communion rails.

1904 marked a changing of the guard in Dublin Metropolitan School of Art. James Brenan retired as headmaster and the fine tooled leather album presented to him was exhibited in the ACSI exhibition. He was succeeded by "an enthusiast for the development of 'nationalism' in Irish art education." This was R. H. A. Willis, whom he had taught in Cork, and who had won a scholarship to South Kensington. Strickland wrote that Willis "was accounted the best student who ever went through the [South Kensington] schools." The date of the magnificent over/mantel or door-style style circular relief with the long-haired girl and putto is not known (15). His style suggests the influence of Renaissance-inspired realism. Willis exhibited a smaller roundel relief sculpture called *Fate* (23) in



the 1904 ACSI exhibition. The classical winged figure of Fate spins the thread of life, a life that R. H. A. Willis was to lose after one year as headmaster in Dublin.

Left: R.H.A. Willis (1853-1905) Fate © Collection Crawford Art Gallery, Cork (photo@Jed Niezgoda)



Section 10 Made in Cork City: silver, metal and enamel work. Egans, Archers and Windles

The Cork Industrial Exhibition of 1883 played its part in the revival of silversmithing in Cork, just as it had played its part in the advancement of the lace industry. A small sign suggesting the beginnings of a revival might be seen in the description accompanying James F. O'Crowley's large figurative exhibit, based on Miss Caroline Beatson's design, that in the catalogue is described as the first piece of heavy silver work in Cork for years. Antiquarian Robert Day (8a, 8b, and 8c) and Edmond Johnson, master of the Corporation of Goldsmiths in Dublin, were judges in the Jewellery section. In their Report they

"observe that many of the exhibitors are making very praiseworthy efforts to manufacture articles of precious metals and with a certain amount of success, but we are of the opinion that their energies are not exactly directed in the proper channel, in point of fact, that the workmen seem to take as their models articles which are manufactured in Birmingham or London in very large quantities and with whom it would be impossible to vie in price. We think if jewellery of good silver and gold and fashioned after the type of our ancient Celtic work, such as bangles, collars and pendants, copied from the antique, and indeed jewellery generally of a good description was manufactured in Cork that there would be a good chance of the re-establishment of a branch of manufacturing for which we were at one time famous". 129

The exhibition by award-winning firm William Egan and Sons of a silver model of Shandon Church shows a sense of the potential of making objects of specifically local interest. Edmond Johnson certainly knew how inspiring "ancient Celtic forms" could be. After the Royal Irish Academy purchased the eighth-century Ardagh Chalice, which had been found in a bog in county Limerick in 1868, they commissioned him to clean and restore it. In the process, he learnt to appreciate the technical virtuosity of the eighth-century craftsmen who made the chalice. His painstaking craftsmanship won him the admiration of many, including Robert Day who nominated him as a member of the Royal Irish Academy. Johnson made replicas of many early Irish treasures, which were shown with other work of his at Chicago in 1893 and in the first ACSI exhibition at Dublin.

The high status of the craftsman in the eighth-century must have added to the appeal of the Chalice, with its 200 intricately crafted parts. The undated watercolour study of the Ardagh Chalice (6) was painted by an unknown student of the School of Art as part of the Historic Studies programme. The artist has paid attention to the polychrome nature of the silver and gilt chalice, making the blue enamel bosses stand out. There are eight of these and their symbolism relates to the numerology of the Resurrection. Christ was believed to have risen from the dead on the eighth day¹³².

Metalwork classes at the School of Art in Cork seem to have begun a little later than in Dublin, where Oswald Reeves began teaching in 1903. It was 1906 when James Archer (1871-1946), who had been a prize-winning student in 1888 and was still a student at the Crawford School of Art in 1893, began the classes. He had gone to London for further study and came back, like M. J. McNamara, to teach in Cork. Like Barry M. Egan he came from a family of established silversmiths and jewellers. The Archers came to Cork in 1850. We exhibit the Archer coat of arms made by them (5) and some later pieces.

The 1910 ACSI exhibition was the first of the newly organised Society. Walter Mulligan and M. J. McNamara were among the members of the Guild of Irish Art Workers listed in the catalogue. They sat on the Munster committee as did Robert Day, James Watson and Dr Bertram Windle, who were also Foundation members. A Foundation member was one in sympathy with the aims of the ACSI.



The ACSI catalogue tells us that the mace in silver and enamel for University College Cork (cat. no 178) was designed by J. Moring, executed by James and Richard Archer, J. Connor, J. Stanley and J. Wynne and exhibited by William Egan and Sons Ltd. 133 This commission was an endorsement of the long-established firm and is credited with the revival of the art of silver-smithing in Cork. Monica Taylor, Sir Bertram Windle's first biographer, gives insight into this commission. "Dr Windle had suggested that staff and friends should provide a mace for University College. £100 was subscribed for the purpose. True to his principles of giving his practical support to Irish industries, he saw to it that the workmanship was wholly Irish."134 Sir Bertram's second daughter Nora was a student at the Crawford School of Art and two pieces made by her were selected for the 1910 exhibition. An enamel box was designed by James Archer and executed and exhibited by Nora Windle. Catalogue 239 was an enamelled coat of arms made by Nora Windle under James Archer. "Nora was very artistic, inheriting her father's love of the plastic arts, and became extremely skilful at enamelling," 135 writes Taylor. She further remarks that "Dr Windle had always been particularly interested in enamelling. This year [1910] his daughter Nora gave him a birthday present of a beautiful coat of arms executed by herself which greatly delighted him. 'Seldom was I better pleased with anything,' he writes in his diary." ¹³⁶ Perhaps it was a conciliatory gift. His daughters' mother had died when they were very young and parenting was difficult for him. "His ongoing troubles with his youngest daughter Nora were a cause of concern," writes Ann and Dermot Keogh. 137 Perhaps Windle's love of enamel influenced his friend Sir John O'Connell's commissions for the Honan Hostel Chapel.

James Archer himself exhibited in the 1910 ACSI exhibition as did others working under him. His brother Foster showed an oval enamelled box, a bronze box inlaid with silver and enamel, and a steel cross damascened in gold, all made under James Archer. Mrs Mahony executed and exhibited a silver bowl designed by James Archer. J. Windass ASAM showed two copper boxes and a copper bowl in repoussé made under James Archer. H. Houchen ASAM, who taught at the Youghal Art Metal Work school, exhibited a mirror in a copper frame costing £10 10s. A copper over-mantle designed by him and made by his pupils was also exhibited in 1910. This may be the one recently acquired by the National Museum of Ireland.

In the 1917 ACSI catalogue Sir John O'Connell expressed the belief that "Since the Exhibition of 1910 the general improvement in art work has been confirmed". P. Oswald Reeves's tabernacle door panel was among items commissioned for the Honan Chapel and lent by Sir John O'Connell, including two chasubles and their accessories, and an antependium. The Archer family were prominent in the 1917 exhibition. Foster Archer exhibited an enamelled coat of arms and William Archer a silver brooch or cloak clasp, a copy of an Irish antiquity. A silver casket and a silver bowl designed by James Archer were both executed and exhibited by Richard Archer. Mrs Mahony executed and exhibited a silver bowl also designed by James Archer and Paul Myers showed an enamelled box made under James Archer.

Paul Larmour has described the Archer casket (44) which graces the cover of his pioneering book *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Ireland*: "a wood-lined metal casket combining engraved steel borders, repousse copper panels and cast brass elements, and set with enamel roundels depicting Irish mythological characters, is a superb example of the work carried out in the Cork School of Art¹³⁸". Tall stylised birds anchor the corners, their beaks touching their breasts like pelicans. The gestures of the characters in enamel are dramatic, and the difference in the copper interlace on each of the front panels enhances this drama. The Celtic belief that interlace was linked to magic knots used to



ward off evil spirits is evoked in the copper panel where the blue-cloaked king is encircled by a stylised snake-like green eyed form¹³⁹. In contrast to the copper repousse work, the steel work is elegant and structural, the birds on the lower steel rim having a graceful and sustained rhythm. In the oval enamel on the lid Cu Culainn and Eimear stand hand in hand in a landscape setting.

Born in Queenstown (now Cobh), George Atkinson RHA, ARCA (1880-1941), studied in the School of Art in Cork, and later in London. We exhibit a watercolour study of a skeleton by him from his student days (7). A fine printmaker and calligrapher, he exhibited two boxes in the 1917 ACSI exhibition, one that was chased and enamelled and another that was chased and engraved. In 1918 he became the third headmaster in the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art who had been at the School of Art in Cork in some capacity during the years of the Arts and Crafts movement.

Writing in the catalogue of the sixth ACSI exhibition held in 1921, George Atkinson reveals how attitudes had changed since Robert Day and Edmond Johnson wrote their Report on the 1883 Cork Industrial Exhibition. Atkinson believed that "much skill is still expended by craftsmen who attempt, with naïve insolence, to 'reproduce' the Ardagh Chalice, or the Book of Kells and become thereby slaves of tradition and basely vulgarise a great national heritage." ¹⁴⁰ He felt that

"the idea still seems to prevail to some extent that a design, however bad as decoration, which even remotely suggested Celtic derivation, possessed, for that reason alone, some peculiar merit and a special claim to recognition ... this special pleading on behalf of the national traditional ornament is no longer justifiable".¹⁴¹

In 1921 Richard Archer showed a gold bracelet and gold snake pendant and necklet in the Jewellery category. His silver rose bowl made under James Archer at the School of Art was the sole item exhibited in the Silversmith category.

Aodh O'Tuama has written about the silver rose bowl made by Egan's the following year (54). "All silverware made for sale in Ireland must ... be sent to the Assay office ... in Dublin, to be assayed and hallmarked". During the Civil War transport systems were in chaos and it was not possible to send silver to Dublin.

"In order to keep his staff at work Barry Egan ... got his engraver to cut two dies, one a castle, the other a ship. The dies were similar to the old Cork marks in that they consisted of a castle and a ship, but the ship on the new dies had only two masts, whereas the ship of the earlier marks had three masts. The silver made by the firm during the period July-September 1922 was stamped with the new dies together with W.E., the maker's mark and thus Cork Republican silver came into being." 142

The inscriptions on this bowl (54), which is 9" in diameter and 4½" in height, are in themselves of historic interest. All are in Irish. The earliest one translates as 'Gift to a friend Christmas 1925' and 'In memory of a hard life'. The reference is surely to the troubled times Cork had been through. The gift was to Thomas Dowdall (1872-1944), a successful Cork businessman and founder member of the Cork Industrial Development Association. During the Civil War he acted as intermediary between the warring factions. Mary Kate Ryan had been Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh's first wife but died in 1934. Dowdall gave the bowl as a wedding present to Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh (1882-1966) and Phyllis Ryan, Mary Kate's sister, when they married in 1936. The 1936 inscription translates as 'God bless your marriage. A token of great respect and good wishes to Minister Seán T. Ó Ceallaigh T.D. and his dear spouse on their wedding day 1.9.1936 from their friend Thomas Dowdall in Cork'. Thirty years later they were the only surviving married couple both of whom had been in the GPO in 1916 and who





received combatants' medals. Seán T. had let Phyllis Ryan into the GPO. 144 He had been manager of the Gaelic League paper *An Claideamh Soluis* and the League's national secretary following Douglas Hyde's resignation, and became president of Ireland from 1945 to 1959. 145 His widow Phyllis gave the rose bowl to Cork Public Museum

Courtesy Cork Public Museum; Private Collection © Crawford Art Gallery, Cork (photo@Jed Niezgoda)



Section 11 Wood and Stone Carving and Modelling in the Crawford School of Art, 1883-1924

The work of Joseph Higgins (1885-1925) encompasses the fine and applied arts. He stands as an unusual figure in the Irish Arts and Crafts movement, where many people were very versatile but only a few achieved highly in both, as he did. Also a modeller and stone-carver, he can be seen as the third generation of wood carvers at the School of Art in Cork¹⁴⁶.

In Ireland in the 1880s and 1890s rural wood carving classes were widespread. Paul Larmour points out that carving schools were sometimes set up in connection with the Home Arts and Industries Association. Schools in Ahane and Clonkeen in county Limerick, in Killarney, in Stradbally in county Laois, and in Bray and Terenure, produced remarkable work which was exhibited at the Royal Dublin Society, the Dublin International Exhibition of 1907, St Louis in 1904 and some ACSI exhibitions. Doneraile Sawmills exhibited an oak hanging cabinet and an oak tray on legs at the 1899 ACSI exhibition. Margaret Whittaker Walker's rich carvings, now in the collection of UCC, may relate to one of these rural schools.

The urban art schools started wood carving classes later; it was 1911 when they began in the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art. In Cork, the 1883 Exhibition created the necessary stimulus for the setting up of the class at the School of Art. Shortly after they had begun "the wood carving classes ... had to be suspended temporarily, in 1884 and 1885, due to the work on the new extension to the School of Art ... But one of the students of this class a John Linehan had so excelled as a student ... that he had been awarded a free studentship at the London School of Wood Carving for two years running, with additional financial assistance from the executive committee of the Cork Exhibition [of 1883]." Linehan was a prize-winning student in 1888 and, by 1886 had been "installed in the School of Art in Cork as the teacher of a wood-carving class, which was described as the first example of a 'technical workshop' in connection with the School." 149

Walter Mulligan was energetic in bringing those who made their living during the day into the evening classes. It was reported in 1893 that numbers had more than doubled since he took up the post of headmaster. Bona fide' workers were subsidised. In 1900, their classes cost half a crown (2s 6d) a quarter, while the lady amateurs paid ten shillings.

Peter Murray notes that in the 1893 School of Art Report, Mulligan "encouraged the lady students to try the wood-carving classes." This encouragement may relate to the selection of Annie Crooke's carved oak armchair (9) for Lady Aberdeen's Irish Village at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Lady Aberdeen had a replica of Blarney Castle designed by L. A. Mc Donnell and constructed for her village. On her visit to Cork in February 1893 she may have met or heard of Annie Crooke (1869-1962) who came from a gentry family in Coachford near Blarney. Brian Lalor writes that "Crooke travelled to Chicago for the Exposition in the company of Peggy Bowen-Colthurst from Dripsy Castle, co. Cork, also a wood-carving student at the Crawford." Lalor describes this chair as "deeply and vigourously carved, demonstrating skill, verve and excellent joinery." We also exhibit her carving tools (9a), some of which are initialled A.C. Among them is a chisel which has the name of her friend P[eggy] Bowen Colthurst. Annie Crooke may have been a pupil of John Linehan and a fellow student with Michael McNamara.

A prize-winning student in 1885, 1887, 1891 and 1894, Michael McNamara "ran the modelling room from 1891 to 1896 until he left for the Royal College of Art on a scholarship sponsored by the committee of the 1883 Exhibition." In London, McNamara may have been influenced by his visits to



the South Kensington Museum when painting the small watercolours of St George and the Dragon (12). Archival material relating to his time in the Royal College of Art includes a letter from Walter Crane (13). Brian Lalor points out that Mc Namara's "involvement with Walter Crane established a direct connection between the Cork artists and the ... arts and crafts movement in Britain." 155

In 1900 Crane wrote "I know how well you did at the Royal College of Art and that I could always rely on you." ¹⁵⁶ (13). In 1899 McNamara received an invitation from Walter Mulligan to return to teach in Cork. He was in Paris when this came. In London he had studied carving at the City and Guilds with W. T. Ross and modelling with Edward Lanteri.

The small smoker's table richly carved in oak (c.1900) has three hinged lids which lift up to store cigarettes and cigars and a space for a long-lost ashtray (14). Like many Arts and Crafts pieces, this beautifully crafted functional object is a charming testimony to outmoded habits.

The Cork International Exhibition of 1902 was cited by Sir Horace Plunkett as "perhaps, owing to the moment in which it was held, the most important exhibition that had ever rendered a service to Irish educational, artistic and industrial progress." ¹⁵⁷ Certainly it influenced McNamara, who exhibited a portrait at it. A versatile artist, he was interested in ceramics and responded to the Della Robbia demonstrations; the beautiful green vase exhibited here (17) relates to his study of ceramics at the Cork International Exhibition at a time when there was great faith in the potential use of local clay for ceramics. Notes and unglazed terracotta pots are further evidence of this interest. In *Rosenheim and Windermere* Brian Lalor recounts the story of M. J. McNamara setting up a factory for making clay pipes for smokers. ¹⁵⁸ In true Arts and Crafts ideology, functional objects for the home were made with great care and art and life were integrated. The small child's stool(c.1915) with Celtic interlace was made for the artist's daughter Joan (37).

The importance of the co-operative work done by ACSI is visible in relation to the Cork International Exhibition of 1902/3. They worked with the newly established Department of Art and Technical Instruction (DATI). Its vice-president Sir Horace Plunkett praised them: "a body like the ACSI coming forward and ready to cooperate with any other institution for the common good, … ought to have the heartiest goodwill of the public at large." ¹⁵⁹

T. W. Rolleston was then working for DATI and he organised the Historic Loan Collection for Cork in 1902. This brilliant and practical man had lectured, edited and organised for the ACSI and so brought an intimate knowledge of the Society to his work with DATI. A key member of the Literary Revival, he was a member of the Contemporary Club which William Morris had visited in Dublin and was the first secretary to the Irish Literary Society in London. When Rolleston died in London in 1920, his widow donated many of his books to Cork Public Library. ¹⁶⁰

We can see the signature of the Lord Mayor of Cork, Edward Fitzgerald – after whom Fitzgerald's Park is named – on the certificate of participation in the 1902 exhibition (18). He was aware that the great Scottish philanthropist Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919) endowed public libraries across the world. In September 1902, after the Lord Mayor's request for money for a Carnegie Library in Cork was granted, Andrew Carnegie was elected a Freeman of the City. The Freedom casket presented to him in 1903:

"was designed by M. J. McNamara with the assistance of pupils in the wood-carving class at the School of Art. The silver work was done by Egans and Sons. The lid of the casket is surmounted by the Arms of the City; on the centre of the lid is a carved representation of the new Free Library,



funded by Carnegie, surrounded by carved panels adapted from the Book of Kells. There are also views of Blackrock Castle and Blarney Castle in embossed silver, as well as of Shandon Church". ¹⁶¹

Brian Lalor recently identified the casket in a photograph taken in the School of Art of M. J. McNamara and another man with a casket, as the Andrew Carnegie Freedom casket. We exhibit this photograph (11) with uncertainty as to the identity of the second man; the McNamara family tradition identifies him as 'Mr Archer'. Since Richard Archer worked in Egan's it might be him. But could it be James Archer, who also collaborated on projects such as the UCC mace, with Egan's? Mr Mulligan ensured photographs of some successful pieces made there were taken in the Crawford School of Art. The Archer family have been most helpful in trying to clearly identify the second man.

In the ACSI section of the Irish International Exhibition in Dublin in 1907 eight pieces made by students working under M. J. McNamara were shown. Two were by Joseph Higgins. Joseph Higgins and Daniel Corkery may have got to know one another when taking night classes under M. J. McNamara's tutelage. Both men were members of the Gaelic League. Corkery's first play The Embers, a satire on Irish politics, was performed by the Cork Dramatic Society, of which he was a cofounder in 1908. He befriended Mac Swiney at a Gaelic League summer school. MacSwiney had worked at Newsom's, the Cork tea and coffee merchants for whom Higgins had also worked from about 1900 until 1913. Newsom's had a stand at the Cork International Exhibition of 1902 and it is reasonable to imagine that Higgins visited the exhibition. It may even have been influential in his decision to attend night classes a few years later. Hilary Pyle suggests that the Head of Daniel Corkery (34) was Higgins's first commission¹⁶². Patrick Maume dates it from 1908¹⁶³. It captures the considered energy of the Cork cultural nationalist, whose The Hidden Ireland (1924) challenged the hierarchies of Irish literary achievement. Heather Laird believes that "one of Corkery's principal strengths as an anti-colonial commentator was his understanding that colonialism is a pervasive force that shapes how we view ourselves and the world around us¹⁶⁴". There is an elegant fluency and assuredness to the bust, which was not cast in the artist's lifetime.

Higgins showed at the 1910 ACSI exhibition as did John Dwyer, Michael MacMahon, Michael Galligan, Miss Woods, Mrs Gale and William Donovan. Michael Galligan(1882-1957) later won the Denny Lane scholarship for carving and taught part-time at the Crawford Technical Institute. In 1919 he set up a furniture business on Oliver Plunkett Street, where his descendents still trade¹⁶⁵. After the Honan Chapel was opened, Galligan made some kneelers for it¹⁶⁶. One of these kneelers is exhibited (43). Miss Woods and Mrs Gale exhibited carved oak armchairs designed by M. J. McNamara. The carved oak armchair by M.J. McNamara (35) is dated 1910 and is likely to relate in style or execution to these chairs. The arms of this chair are full of vitality, almost surging forth like dragons' necks. As "dragons refer to the chaos of the underworld and the control of evil forces" their presence where the human arm and hand can grip them is witty¹⁶⁷. In 1917 Mrs Gale exhibited a carved oak gong stand and a carved oak settle which she executed from designs by M. J. McNamara. Kathleen Reardon carved and executed a walnut chair based on a design by M. J. McNamara also; it too was exhibited in 1917. Mr Mulligan's encouragement to the ladies of 1893 to try wood carving seems to have had lasting effect.

In the ACSI exhibition in 1910, Joseph Higgins showed a carved fire-screen. An embroidered fire-screen based on Katherine Turnbull's design was also shown. Katherine and Joseph later married, and settled in Youghal, where Higgins got a teaching post in 1913. They had four surviving children, the last of whom was born after Joseph's death in 1925. The carved wooden toy animals (47) shown in this exhibition were made for their children. Higgins's nephews sat for some sculptures made



before he and Katherine had a family. *Liam* is a portrait bust of the young nephew who clutches a toy horse to his chest and looks anxious lest it is taken away (25). The plaster bust was shown in the Royal Hibernian Academy [RHA] in 1912, as was a bust of his aunt Hannah McIntyre. In it she rests her head on her chest as if asleep. By contrast, in the painting (1914) of Hannah, her attention to the knitting is captured in a study of busy concentration (26). Critic W. A. Sinclair warmly praised the bust of little Liam shown in the RHA. A plaster cast sculpture of another nephew, Charlie, was shown in the RHA in 1913.

Katherine Turnbull had a summer scholarship to the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art c. 1911 where she met Harry Clarke. We exhibit her autograph book (39) in which Harry Clarke sketched a young couple, and some of her watercolours, including the view of St Vincent's (1914) in Sunday's Well, where the Turnbulls lived (56) at Mount View. Easter 1916 was a particularly sad time for recently married Katherine and her parents James and Margaret Turnbull. Twenty three year old Thomas, or Thossie as he was known in the family, served in the Royal Navy during the Great War and died of wounds on the 29th of April. He was buried in Malta¹⁶⁹.

We do not know if there was any contact between Harry Clarke and Katherine and Joseph when the Honan Chapel project was in progress. Some students from the Crawford helped with the carvings at the entrance to the Chapel. Did Higgins know any of them? Did either of them know any of the embroiderers who made the vestments? Sir John O'Connell's *The Honan Hostel Chapel, Cork: Some Notes on the building and the Ideas which Inspired It* was a gift to Joseph in December 1916 (49).

In *Irish Art 1900-1950* Higgins's marble carving of *Sleep* is listed as having been exhibited in the 1914 RHA exhibition catalogue was given in Greek but does not translate as 'Sleep'¹⁷¹. We exhibit this lovely white marble carving of the head of a sleeping child, whom the artist's family believe to be Ita, a younger child of Katherine and Joseph (38). As Ita was not yet born in 1914, there may be two related sculptures. The oil portrait of Maighread (1923), her older sister, captures the child's sense of wonder without any sentimentality (46).

Katherine Higgins preserved her husband's work and their daughter Maighread and her husband, the sculptor Séamus Murphy, later cast several of the plaster busts. Some photographs survive but not much is known about Higgins the person. In the present exhibition, descendants of all the artists and crafts people are foremost among lenders and have proven careful custodians of the work.

Pat Higgins, one of Joseph's brothers, was politically active and a volunteer in the First Brigade of the IRA. The roughly carved wooden surface of the portrait in local lime-wood, which Joseph made of him in 1916, conveys a sense of urgency and alertness (50). Pat, the Brigade adjutant, was imprisoned twice in 1917, once for drilling Fianna Eireann boy scouts at the Volunteer Hall on Sheares Street¹⁷². Daniel Corkery wrote a sonnet 'To Patrick Higgins on His Coming out of Prison' to commemorate his release. It was published in 1921¹⁷³. While *Sleep* suggests an affinity with Rodin, the execution of *Pat* is close to German expressionist carving.

A marble relief carving of Patrick Pearse (52) is based on the well-known profile of the executed leader of the 1916 Rising, itself based on the profile of Robert Emmet. The way Higgins uses the marble in the Pearse relief (1918) gives it a ghostly translucency.

Orla Murphy writes that Joseph Higgins was the person selected to tell Muriel MacSwiney about her husband's final arrest. Charlie, his nephew, went along on the boat trip to tell her "Charlie ... recalled sailing across with Joseph Higgins, an account later confirmed by Daniel Corkery." 174



The War of Independence and the Civil War took a terrible toll on Cork city. Tensions between the Crown forces and the IRA were exacerbated after the newly formed Dáil was outlawed by the British government in 1919. Lord Mayor Tomás Mac Curtain was shot dead in his home in March 1920. In October, Terence MacSwiney, who bravely followed Mac Curtain as Lord Mayor, died on hunger strike in Brixton prison in October. Barry M. Egan then became deputy Lord Mayor. Then on the 11th and 12th of December the centre of the city was burned by Crown forces. Anthony Higgins's, Joseph's brother, lost his premises on Washington Street. Higgins carved a head of Michael Collins just weeks before Collins was shot dead in 1922. It, like *Pat*, has the directness of German expressionist carving.

Daniel Corkery was a faithful friend to Higgins and exhibited a piece of furniture by Higgins in the 1921 ACSI exhibition, where Higgins himself exhibited a *bas relief* of a Madonna and Child. Replicas of these were available for purchase at £5 each. In 1952 John Eccleston wrote that "Madonna and Child, in wood, shows what he might have done as a religious sculptor had the patronage of his time been conscious of his work or not so enamoured by the sentimental vacuity of trade plaster casts"¹⁷⁵. The then-fatal disease of tuberculosis had taken hold of Higgins by the time Ann Condon sat for him as *Daughter of Lir* c. 1923¹⁷⁶. His half length portrait of his wife Katherine (53) suggests a reserve and elegance that seem to have been characteristic of her. He did exhibit a set of carved toy animals (47) and a child's portrait in Aonach Tailteann in 1924.¹⁷⁷

Daniel Corkery served on the Gibson Bequest Committee as did George Atkinson and Hugh Charde and later Barry Egan. Joseph Gibson from Kilmurry in county Cork died in Spain in 1919 and left £14,790 for the "furthering of Art in the City of his boyhood." It was left in thanks for the help James Brenan had given him on occasional visits home to Cork. This bequest enabled the Crawford Gallery to purchase Joseph Higgins's An Strachaire Fir(c. 1916) and A Toiler of the Sea (c.1916.) and have them cast in Italy. The inscriptions on the cabinet displaying Gibson's personal collection are in English and Irish and were engraved by James Archer. The Crawford had an important tradition of funding students to study abroad and in this they were helped by the Gibson Bequest. In the early years of the Free State, in 1924, Kathleen Murphy-O'Connor (1896-1959) was awarded a scholarship to study in Paris for six months. 179 Her superbly carved furniture for the home is represented in the exhibition by a side table (55). Brian Lalor points out that she was a very versatile artist. So many arts and crafts practitioners were versatile; for example R.H.A Willis, M.J. Mc Namara, Joseph Higgins. The ethos of the arts and crafts movement meant that every object made deserved equal respect, if well made. There were no hierarchies between art and craft, between the museum and the home. As with Annie Crooke, the corpus of work by Kathleen Murphy-O'Connor which survives seems to precede marriage. As with Annie Crooke (9a), her carving chisels do survive; they may have been handed on to her as M.J. Mc Namara came close to retirement age. His initials are on the chisels.



Section 12 The Church, its vestments, windows and altar plate

The surge in Church building in the nineteenth century meant that the Church was the biggest potential patron of applied art. It was argued that the church should support local manufacturing and desist from importing foreign glass and furnishings. Much stained glass was however imported. But stained glass did become the medium in which two great Irish Arts and Crafts artists, Harry Clarke and Wilhelmina Geddes, excelled. Lord Mayo's had hopes in 1895 "that the exhibition would be an encouragement to those who had already started the 'little-supported craft' of stained-glass manufacture in Dublin" were certainly realised. In the Harry Clarke room in the Crawford Art Gallery we can see three early stained glass panels by Harry Clarke. Clarke showed one of these, the *The Consecration of St Mel, Bishop of Longford, by St Patrick* in the fourth ACSI exhibition, in 1910¹⁸¹.

Early in 1914 Monsignor Canon Arthur Ryan told his parishioners at St Michael's church in Tipperary town that there would be a new mortuary chapel added to their church. Late in 1914 he placed an order for a three-light window of the Resurrection for the new chapel with James Watson and Company of Youghal. The cost was £110 and it is evident from the inscription in this window that Canon Ryan's successor Canon Cotter endowed the window. The function of the mortuary and the number of people dying in the Great War, which had not begun when the window was commissioned, made the Resurrection a particularly suitable theme. We exhibit the large cartoons and the design for the window 183 (42).

The cartoon of the single figure of the risen Christ was used again in 1916 for a single light window in the church of St Mary's in Kilmuckbridge, county Wexford¹⁸⁴. Watson's ecclesiastical patrons or the donors frequently wished to have stained-glass windows like those they saw in other churches. This was just one factor in the occasional use and re-use of some Watson cartoons, although it is not known if it applied in St Mary's. We exhibit the small watercolour design for this window (57), and a range of designs which may have been looked at by Monsignor Ryan when commissioning the Resurrection window for St Michael's (66 -70).

James Watson and Company was formed as a company in 1894, the same year that the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland was founded. Yorkshireman James Watson (c.1861-1931) had come to Youghal in 1886 to install the altar in St Mary's parish church¹⁸⁵. He was then employed by Cox, Sons, Buckley and Company and it was their Youghal branch which James Watson bought out to form his own company.

James Watson and Company exhibited three pieces of stained glass in the second ACSI exhibition, held in Dublin in 1899. Because of the policy of naming the designers we know that one of the designers was O. Holstorp. James Watson himself designed the other two pieces. None were praised in Harold Rathbone's Report on the 1899 exhibition who saw in each of them "an ordinary trade product". Rathbone wrote that "the first element of stained glass ... should not be a painted imitation of nature nor even a picture but a pattern of varied hues for the light to shine through 186." This echoes the views of William Hunt; in the Report on the inaugural ACSI exhibition William Hunt had felt that "taken broadly... the exhibitors erred principally in treating things pictorially instead of decoratively." 187

James Watson and Company might fairly be described as having a peripheral relationship with the ACSI. When they began the business of ecclesiastical furnishing and stained glass windows in Youghal, they were praised by Monsignor Keller of Youghal for their part in averting imports from



other countries whose glass had been so popular with Irish church patrons. They were a small, local family firm. Other decorators from James Watson's generation, like the fathers of Patrick Pearse or Harry Clarke, had come over from England to set up businesses in Dublin. Ecclesiastical decoration remained a highly competitive business. Michael J. Buckley was one of the partners in Cox, Sons, Buckley and Company and "acted as agent and designer for the Decorative Arts Guild in Bruges and in that capacity was responsible for a number of other works in Irish churches ... Buckley was an able designer and the work of his Belgian carvers was very accomplished ... Buckley's Celtic style also touched a special chord at the turn of the century, being adaptations of what he called the 'national' style." M. J. Buckley wrote about the Belgian work in the *Journal* of the ACSI and planned to set up a business in Youghal, but died in 1905 before he could do so¹⁸⁹. Larmour sees Buckley and his workers as having a "minor place in the story of the arts and crafts movement here."

In the celebration of the Mass the chalice holds the wine and the ciborium holds the consecrated hosts. The ciborium has a lid. There were two sets of ciboria and chalices made for the Honan; we exhibit the ciborium made by William Egan and Sons from one set (40). Peter Lamb writes that these sets were "decorated with panels of repousse knotwork, one set embellished with garnets and armorial shields and the other with garnets and rock crystals. Both ciboria are topped with miniature Celtic crosses, and their forms contain references to the base of and knot of the Ardagh chalice. The ciborium made by Egans has an enamelled crest of University College Cork on it. The engraved inscription reads 'Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus Pray for the souls of Matthew, Robert and Isabella Honan of the City of Cork by whose piety and zeal this chapel of St Fin Barr was built and finished.

William Egan and Sons in Cork were successful makers of church vestments. In the Arts and Crafts section in *Cork: Its Trade and Commerce* published in 1919 we can read an account of their successes. They had produced machine-made and embroidered vestments for "several years before the War" and were the first house in the UK to "install and work these machine embroideries for cheap vestments." As the Irish clergy were notoriously thrifty when commissioning vestments and furnishings for their churches, this made business sense. In the 1919 article on trade and commerce in Cork, Egan's capacity to provide beautiful handcrafted vestments such as those in the Honan Chapel is pitched as stemming from an order received from Monsignor Arthur Ryan P.P. in Tipperary.

"An important order was obtained from Rt. Rev. Monsignor Arthur Ryan of Tipperary for a set of vestments in Celtic hand embroidery on cloth of gold. This order was executed so successfully that many others quickly followed, the firm being able to increase its staff as required form the School of Art. In 1914, the most remarkable set of vestments the firm ever undertook to make was commenced, and for over two years nearly thirty expert needlewomen were busily engaged in producing a series of embroideries that are perhaps unequalled in these islands. These vestments are now in use at the Collegiate Chapel of the Honan Hostel, Cork. Two of these vestments shown at the recent exhibitions of Arts and Crafts in Dublin, in Belfast and in Cork were much admired." 193

Monsignor Ryan P.P. is named in the 1917 ACSI catalogue as a committee member and as a Foundation member in the 1921 catalogue. To date, these vestments have not been traced. 194

The presence of Egan's label on it shows that the alb exhibited here was made by the Cork firm (59). An alb is a white vestment dating to when early Christians were clothed in white after Baptism by total immersion in water. It is worn over a cassock and under a chasuble while Mass is celebrated. This particular alb is embellished with a deep hem of Limerick tambour lace. Ada Leask writes that



"lace does not make its real appearance until the 17th century". Lace embellishments on vestments date from then onwards.

Sir John R. O'Connell was the executor of Isabella Honan's will and responsible for the coherent artistic vision that is expressed in the Honan Chapel. He looked to early Irish art and architecture when commissioning the building and decoration of the chapel. The early Christians did not use lace and so it does not feature in the vestments commissioned for the chapel. The vestment designs reflect the patron's interest in works of art such as the Book of Durrow, the Book of Kells, the Cross of Cong and other early Irish treasures. The textiles in the Chapel were made by two groups, one the long established firm in Cork city and the other the more recently established Dun Emer Guild in Dublin. Began's were the chief makers of the vestments while Dun Emer made the altar furnishings and carpets. James Mc Mullen, architect of the Honan Chapel, was on the Munster Committee of the ACSI in 1917. He had done committee work for the School of Art for many years.

In the 1917 ACSI exhibition Egan's exhibited a shield embroidered with the Honan Hostel Coat of Arms, by J. de Raedt and Miss N. Harte.

In accordance with policy, the names of the designers, makers and exhibitors are given in the 1917 ACSI catalogue. The two chasubles exhibited in the 1917 ACSI exhibition are listed in the catalogue as designed by John Lees, and exhibited by William Egan and Sons by kind permission of Sir John O'Connell.²⁰⁰ The names of the executants or embroiderers are given as M. Barrett, M. Hart, N. Aherne, M. O'Mahony, K. Allman, M. Twomey, N. Spillane, N. Callanan, K. Carter, M. Desmond, K. Good, K. Quirke and M. Driscoll. Arts and Crafts policy is in evidence. Lord Mayo expressed the wish that "at every and all exhibitions held under the auspices and direction of the ACSI, the name of the artist, designer and workman and last but not least the name of the firm or tradesman employing them should be clearly set forth on all exhibits".²⁰¹ This policy has ensured we know the names of some designers, makers and exhibitors which could otherwise be lost. We exhibit a photograph of their names embroidered into the gold chasuble by its embroiderers (64).

A white chasuble and a black chasuble (41) were exhibited with their accessories. The caption in the illustration of the white chasuble in Oswald Reeves's review of the 1917 ACSI exhibition in *Studio* is a source of knowledge.²⁰² The whereabouts of the white chasuble is now unknown. *Studio A Magazine of Fine and Applied Art* was very much in sympathy with Arts and Crafts values of respect for the well-designed handmade object and its acknowledged maker and was widely read.

A chasuble is the outermost vestment, traditionally cut as a seamless garment to form a semi-circle when the priest raises his arms at the consecration of the host during the Mass. As the outer vestment, the chasuble is always more ornate than the alb. Poplin, which was introduced to Ireland by the Huguenots in the seventeenth-century, is a mix of wool and silk and was made in Dublin by several firms and in Clonakilty by Thomas Elliott and Sons when the Honan vestments were being commissioned²⁰³. The embroidery on the Y-shaped orphrey (an ornamental band or border often embroidered, especially on an ecclesiastical vestment) on the back of the black poplin chasuble (41) lent by the Honan Trustees is in silk and metal thread. Its ascending rhythms echo the rhythms of the mosaic floor in the Honan Chapel and the delicate and graceful wrought iron gates designed by William Scott.

Egan's made almost thirty items for the Honan Chapel, including some altar plate. Several sets of vestments and their accessories were required for the range of liturgical occasions. Ethel Scally, Sir



John O' Connell's sister-in -law, also designed. Red vestments would be worn on martyrs' feast-days, violet during Advent and Lent, green in Spring before Lent began. Black was worn for masses for the dead; it was also worn for the Founders' Mass in November and so it is a particular privilege to have the black chasuble (41) in the present exhibition.



Conclusion

Lace quickly became a very successful art-industry in the Cork region after the pivotal 1883 Cork Industrial Exhibition. Its success in part preceded the formation of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland in 1894 but the Society's encouragement of good design was important to sustaining that success. Elite patronage was another key factor. Its decline related to events both great and small; the First World War and the ensuing changes in fashion.

Looking to an idealised past and deploying emblems associated with it energised nineteenth-century culture in Ireland. Their use was expressive of confidence and hope. Those who supported the work of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland cautioned against the hackneyed use of such motifs. As is evidenced in the exhibition, many people made effective, discerning use of such motifs; Youghal Art Metal Workers produced some very exuberant and fresh metalwork using them.

It proved not possible for Joseph Higgins to find patronage for his work, even though he exhibited nationally. He benefitted from M.J. McNamara's teaching in the Crawford, based as it was on Arts and Crafts principles. It in turn was advanced by the 1883 and the 1902 exhibitions in Cork. After the shocks of the Dublin Lockout, the Easter Rising, the Great War, the War of Independence and the Civil War, life in the second decade of the twentieth century was deeply fractured. The collaborations which were a distinctive feature of the Arts and Crafts movement did not endure. Great Irish modernists like James Joyce and Eileen Grey worked in exile from Ireland. William Orpen, who taught a whole generation of Irish artists including Sean Keating, did not feel free to move easily between Ireland and England after 1916. He had been official war artist for Britain in the First World War. The Irish-English duality changed. Old patronage structures toppled and brave new ones were slow to emerge.

The power of the Catholic Church deepened. It had not shown itself to be particularly sympathetic to the arts and crafts movement here, nonetheless commissioning firms like James Watson and Company who were compelled to work very hard to price their windows competitively. A brilliant exception to the conservative nature of church commissions is the modernist Church of Christ the King (1931) in Turner's Cross here in Cork. In the context of early twentieth-century church building, the Honan Collegiate Chapel, a secular commission, stands out. It successfully honoured early Munster (and national) saints and early Irish art and architecture. Work by outstanding creative forces in twentieth-century Irish art and craft, such as Dun Emer Guild, Harry Clarke, An Túr Gloine and William Egan and Sons, comes together in harmony to create a magnificent whole. Of the latter firm John Bowen writes "It is not an exaggeration to assert that their workshops produced the finest work in silver and gold made in Ireland during the twentieth century." 204

Within a few years, in the art schools, the teaching of fine art became more important than that of craft. In Dublin, Sean Keating gave clear leadership in the new Irish -Ireland. In Cork, energy seems to have waned. When Barry Egan sat on the commission (1926-28) for coinage for the Irish Free State with W. B. Yeats and others, the best designs submitted were not by an Irish person but by Percy Metcalfe, an Englishman who had trained at the Royal College of Art. James Brenan, "Ireland's most distinguished art educator in the nineteenth century" would probably have seen Metcalfe's beautiful designs as within a tradition shared by him and many men and women associated with the Arts and Crafts tradition in Cork.



- ¹ Virginia Teehan and Elizabeth Wincott Heckett, eds. *The Honan Chapel: A Golden Vision*. Cork: Cork University Press, 2004.
- ² Teehan and Wincott Heckett, 2004.
- ³ Paul Larmour writes that "The Cork School of Art proved central to the arts and crafts movement in the Cork area." *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Ireland*. Belfast: Friar's Bush Press, 1992, p.104.
- ⁴ Emma Bourke 'Uncovering William Morris's designs at Charleville Forest Castle, Tullamore' in ed. Michael Byrne *Offaly Heritage 7* 2013 pp. 160-9. I thank Michael Byrne for this reference.
- ⁵ John Turpin. *A School of Art in Dublin since the Eighteenth Century*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1995, p.183.
- ⁶ See Peter Murray *George Petrie* (1790-1866)The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past Cork: Gandon and Crawford Art Gallery 2004 and Peter Harbison 'Henry O'Neill Celtic Revivalist' in the Irish Arts Review winter 2014 pp116-119 ⁷ Thomas Davis 'National Art and Hints for Irish Historical Paintings 1843' quoted in Fintan Cullen ed. Sources in Irish Art Cork: Cork University Press 2000 p.65
- ⁸ Jeanne Sheehy. *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830-1930*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980, pp. 17-27
- ⁹ Peter Lamb points out that George Coffey's *Guide to the Celtic antiquities of the Christian Period preserved in the National Museum Dublin* influenced the design of the presidential kneeler in the Honan Chapel. Ch. 3 'The Furnishings of the Honan Chapel, Cork, 1915-16' in eds. Virginia Teehan and Elizabeth Wincott Heckett *The Honan Chapel A Golden Vision* Cork: Cork University Press, 2004 p. 57
- ¹⁰ Turpin, 1995, p.182.
- ¹¹ Journal and Proceedings of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland
- ¹² Cheryl Washer. 'The Work of Edmond Johnson: Archaeology and Commerce', in *Imagining an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival 1840-1940*, ed. T. J. Edelstein. Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum at the University of Chicago, 1992, pp.107-121. I thank Dr Julian Campbell for a loan of this catalogue.
- ¹³ 'Report on the Arts and Crafts Society', *Cork Daily Herald*, 27 May 1901.
- ¹⁴ The Branchardiere Trust, administered by the Royal Dublin Society, facilitated the lending of designs and sometimes made funds available to develop them. Mme Riego de la Branchardiere (c. 1828-1887) was a prolific designer and publisher of designs. Her mother was Irish.
- ¹⁵ Lord Mayo. 'Irish Arts and Crafts'. *The New Ireland Review*, 11 (Sept. 1894-Feb.1895), p.676.
- ¹⁶ Lord Mayo, Sept. 1894-Feb. 1895, p.680.
- ¹⁷ Letter from Lord Mayo, 30 November 1895. My thanks to Dr Paul Caffrey for a copy of this letter.
- ¹⁸ Daniel Breen and Tom Spalding. *The Cork International Exhibition 1902-1903: A Snapshot of Edwardian Cork.* Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2014.p.132
- ¹⁹ See also Chris Ramsden, ed. *Diary of Robert Day, FSA: Cork antiquarian, archaeologist and collector (1836–1914) for the years 1901–1911*. Cork: privately printed, 2010, p.22; and Margaret Lantry 'Robert Day: businessman and antiquarian' *Journal of the Cork Historical & Archaeological Society*, 119 (2014), pp1-22.
- ²⁰ Colin Rynne and Billy Wigham *Forgotten Cork The Day Collection* Cork: The Collins Press 2004 pp. 22, 63 and 20.
- ²¹ See John Turpin *Oliver Sheppard (1865-1941)Symbolist sculptor of the Irish Cultural Revival Dublin*: Four Courts Press 2000 and Joseph Mc Brinn
- ²² Larmour, 1992,p.vii.
- ²³ See Orla Murphy in Orla Murphy and Peter Murray *Joseph Higgins, 1885-1925: Sculptor and Painter*. Cork: Cork Public Museum and Gandon Editions, 2005.
- ²⁴ Nicola Gordon Bowe .'The Irish Arts and Crafts movement 1886-1925.' *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1990-1991), p.172.
- ²⁵ Murray, 1992, p.250
- ²⁶ John J. Horgan. *From Parnell to Pearse: some Recollections and Reflections*. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1948 pp. 30 and 103.
- ²⁷ Nicola Gordon Bowe and Elizabeth Cumming. *The Arts and Crafts Movements in Dublin and Edinburgh 1885-1925*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998, p.181.
- ²⁸ Trevor West *Horace Plunkett, Co-operation and Politics An Irish Biography* Colin Smythe 1986 p.94
- ²⁹ Lord Mayo 'Irish Arts and Crafts.' *The New Ireland Review*, 11 (Sept. 1894-Feb. 1895), p.680; quoted in Larmour, 1992, p.58.
- ³⁰ Journal and Proceedings of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland (1906), p. 255.
- ³¹ Gordon Bowe, 1990-1991, pp172-8.
- National Archives. An Alphabetical List of Warrants under Habeas Corpus Suspension Act (Ireland) 1866. I thank Willie Smyth for drawing my attention to this and for his sustained support for this project.
- ³³ Niall Murray has drawn my attention to the interesting account of the bilingual, quasi military world of the Ballincollig Powder Mills where the Higgins family lived until c 1900, given to Florence O'Donogue by Pat



Higgins. See John Borgonovo (ed.) Florence and Josephine O Donoghue's War of Independence: A Destiny that Shapes our Ends Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2006 pp.33-34

- ³⁴ Fiona Ni Bhriain 'From Text to Image:the Literary Output of Terence Mac Swiney' a paper given on 17 June 2016 in the seminar A Heart that is Free: Terence Mac Swiney in Context' as part of the Crawford Art Gallery events for the exhibition 'Conflicting Visions in a turbulent Age 1900- 1916' curated by Eimear O 'Connor.
- ³⁵ Aodh O'Tuama. 'Cork Republican Silver.' *Irish Arts Review*, 1, No 2 (Summer 1984), pp52-3.
- ³⁶ I thank Cormac Smyth, Hilary O'Kelly, Mairead Delaney, Adelle Hughes, Ian Whyte, Donal Hurley and Monica O'Mahony for their assistance.
- ³⁷ Patrick Maume in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol. 3, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy and Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 586-8.
- ³⁸ John Turpin. *A School of Art in Dublin since the Eighteenth Century*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1995, p.171. Illustration 68 is a photograph of James Brenan.
- ³⁹ Maura Cronin 'Work and Workers in Cork city and county 1800-1900'in eds. P. O'Flanagan and C.G Buttimer *Cork History and Society* Geography Publications 1993 p. 735
- ⁴⁰ Seán Daly. *Cork: A City in* Crisis, Vol. 1, Cork: Tower Press, 1978, p.96.
- ⁴¹ Sean Daly *Cork: A City in Crisis* Vol. 1 Cork: Tower Press, 1978, p.96.
- ⁴² Maura Cronin. 'Work and Workers in Cork City and County 1800-1910'. In *Cork History and Society*, eds. P. O'Flanagan and C. G. Buttimer. Dublin: Geography Publications, 1993, p.738.
- ⁴³ Cronin, 1993, p.738.
- ⁴⁴ Peter Murray. *Illustrated Summary Catalogue of The Crawford Municipal Art Gallery*. Cork: City of Cork Vocational Education Committee, 1992, p.254.
- ⁴⁵ Daly, 1978, p.72.
- ⁴⁶ Daly, 1978, p.16.
- ⁴⁷ John O'Brien 'Population, Politics and Society in Cork, 1780-1900.' In Cork History and Society, ed. P.
- O'Flanagan and C. G. Buttimer. Dublin: Geography Publications, 1993, pp. 699-721
- ⁴⁸ Pat Earnshaw. *Youghal and other Irish Laces*. Guildford: Gorse Publications, 1988, p.11, illustrates in B&W a handkerchief and a lace border (p.26) by Emily Anderson *c*.1888, which are in the Victoria & Albert Museum. On p.13 Earnshaw illustrates designs for Youghal lace made by the nuns in the Poor Clare convent in Kenmare, which are now in the V&A. On p.15 she illustrates a fan made by Sr Mary Regis in Youghal and a fan by Miss Nagle, both of which were praised in the Report of the 2nd ACSI exhibition.
- ⁴⁹ An illustration from *The Weekly Irish Times* 18 June 1883, illustrated in Dan Breen and Tom Spalding's *The Cork International Exhibition 1902-1903* Dublin: Irish Academic Press 2014 p. 89, shows Brenan rushing towards the exhibition, past political activists, accompanied by a female figure holding a cornucopia of fruits. ⁵⁰ London: Thames and Hudson, 1980.
- ⁵¹ James Brenan. 'The Modern Irish Lace Industry.' *Journal and Proceedings of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland*, 1, No. 2 (1898), pp.76-103.
- ⁵² Ada K. Longfield. *Guide to the Collection of Lace, Ard Mhusaem na hÉireann* . Dublin: Stationery Office, 1982, p.39.
- ⁵³ Patrick V. O'Sullivan writes that "The first centre for the manufacturing of needlepoint lace in Ireland was established at Tynan, County Armagh, about the year 1849" by a rector's wife. 'Kenmare Lace.' *Irish Arts Review* (1991/92), p.106.
- ⁵⁴ O'Sullivan, 1991/92, p.106.
- ⁵⁵ Matthew Potter in *Amazing Lace: A History of the Limerick Lace Industry*. Limerick: Limerick City and County Council, 2014, gives very helpful enumerations of the numbers of women working in the art industry of lace.
- ⁵⁶ H. D. Gribbon. 'Economic and Social History 1850-1921', Ch. XII. In *A New History of Ireland*, 6, ed. W. E. Vaughan and T. W. Moody. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, p.304.
- ⁵⁷ Quoted in Pat Earnshaw. *Youghal and other Irish Laces*. Guildford: Gorse Publications, 1988, p.30.
- ⁵⁸ Potter, 2014, p.58
- ⁵⁹ In the 1883 Cork Industrial Exhibition a medal was won for lace made in Kenmare. Their designs were thought to be particularly good.
- ⁶⁰ Nellie O Cleirigh and Veronica Rowe *Limerick Lace Makers A Social History and Makers' Manual* Gerrard's Cross, Colin Smythe 1995
- ⁶¹ Murray, 1992, p.252
- ⁶² Alan S. Cole. A Renascence of the Irish Art of Lace Making. London: C. and H., 1888, p.40.
- ⁶³ Murray, 1992, p.253, and Earnshaw, 1988, p.4.
- ⁶⁴ Mansion House Exhibition 1883. *Irish lace, A History of the Industry with Illustrations and a Map showing the Districts where the Lace is Produced*. London: Cunningham and Son, 1883, p.11.
- ⁶⁵ Earnshaw, Guildford: Gorse Publications, 1990, p.38.



 66 Earnshaw, 1988. pp.4 and 5

⁶⁷ Murray, 1992, p.253.

⁶⁸ Earnshaw, 1990, p.3.

- ⁶⁹ Fintan O'Toole. 'Exquisite Lace and Dirty Linen: The Taming of Girl Power' in *The Arts and Crafts Movement: Making it Irish,* ed. Vera Kreilkamp. Chestnut Hill, MA: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2016, pp179-193.
- ⁷⁰ Fintan O'Toole 'Exquisite Lace and Dirty Linen: The Taming of girl Power' in *The Arts and Crafts Movement: Making it Irish,* ed. Vera Kreilkamp Chestnut Hill MA: Mc Mullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2016, pp.179-193
- ⁷¹ Frances Finnegan in *Do Penance or Perish* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, p.192 writes that on the royal visit to Cork in 1885, Princess Alexandra was 'visibly affected' on seeing the penitents [in the ironing room] of the Convent.
- ⁷² Vera Kreilkamp 'Introduction' in *The Arts and Crafts Movement: Making it Irish,* ed. Vera Kreilkamp Chestnut Hill MA: Mc Mullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2016, pp.17-19armour, 1992, p.5.

⁷³ Nellie Ó Cléirigh 'Limerick Lace' *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 1988 pp. 109-115

- ⁷⁴ John O'Grady *The Life and Work of Sarah Purser*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996.
- ⁷⁵ Patrick Maume *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol. 4, eds. James McGuire and James Quinn. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy and Cambridge University Press, 2009, p.142.

⁷⁶ Gordon Bowe and Cumming, 1998, p.87.

⁷⁷ Ben Lindsey had the depot from 1868. He wrote *Irish lace: Its Origins and History*. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Company, 1886.

⁷⁸ Earnshaw, 1988, p.34.

- ⁷⁹ William Murphy 'T.W. Rolleston (1857-1920)' in eds. James Mc Guire and James Quinn *Dictionary of Irish Biography* vol.8 Dublin: Royal Irish Academy and Cambridge University Press 2009 p.595
- ⁸⁰ Jeanne Sheehy. *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830-1930*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980, p.147.
- ⁸¹ Janice Helland. 'Philanthropy and Irish Craft, 1883-1900.' In *The Arts and Crafts Movement: Making it Irish*, ed. Vera Kreilkamp. Chestnut Hill, MA: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2016, pp165-77. Mrs Alice Hart's work is also the subject of this article and the author concludes that it too was genuinely and effectively philanthropic.
- 82 Murray, 1992, p.253.
- 83 Illustrated on p.10 in Larmour, 1992.
- ⁸⁴ Mary Leland *Dwyers of Cork: A Family Business and a Business Family*. Cork: Ted Dwyer, 2008, p.17.
- ⁸⁵ Designer Alice Jacob (1862-1921) taught in Dublin from 1898 but had taught briefly in Cork.
- ⁸⁶ Janice Helland 'Caprices of Fashion Handmade Lace in Ireland 1883-1907' *Textile History 39(2)* Nov. 2008

⁸⁷ Murray , 1992 P.258

- ⁸⁸ Harold Rathbone Journal and Proceedings of the Arts and Crafts society of Ireland 1901 p.213
- ⁸⁹ Kieran Mc Carthy in *The Royal Cork Institution Pioneer of Education* Cork 2011 has shown how important the church on Princes Street was in the history of the Royal Cork Institution, an illustrious institutional ancestor of the Cork School of Art.
- ⁹⁰ Mairead Dunlevy. *Dress in Ireland: A History*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1989; reprint Cork: The Collins Press, 1999, p.12.
- 91 Harold Rathbone p.213
- ⁹² Journal and Proceedings of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland (1906), p.261.
- ⁹³ R. H. A. Willis. 'Some Impressions Derived from the Arts and Crafts Exhibition of 1904.' *Journal and Proceedings of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland* (1906), 1, No. 4, pp259-262.
- ⁹⁴ Journal and Proceedings of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland (1906), p.262.
- 95 Walter Strickland *A Dictionary of Irish Artists* Vol.11 2nd ed. Irish Academic Press 1989 p.540
- ⁹⁶ New Ireland Review vol11 Sept-1894 –Feb 1895 where the advertisements at the end are not paginated.
- ⁹⁷ Murray, 1992, p.252.
- ⁹⁸ Quoted in Larmour, 1992, p.73.
- ⁹⁹ Janice Helland 'Philanthropy and Irish Craft 1883-1900'in ed. Vera Kreilkamp Chestnut Hill, MA: Mc Mullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2016 p.174
- ¹⁰⁰ Potter, 2014, p.106.
- ¹⁰¹ In 2004 Eileen France catalogued this and other designs kindly lent by Cork Public Museum.
- ¹⁰² Pat Earnshaw *Youghal and Other Irish Laces* Gorse Publications 1988 p.4
- ¹⁰³ Alicia St Leger. *Youghal: Historic Walled Port: The Story of Youghal*. Youghal: Youghal Urban District Council, 1994, p.33.



- ¹⁰⁴ Colin Rynne and Billy Wigham. Forgotten Cork: Photographs from the Day Collection. Cork: The Collins Press, 2004, p.20
- ¹⁰⁵ Through the efforts of Dubliner John P. Boland and Corkonian John J. Horgan, see Timothy G. McMahon. Grand Opportunity: The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893-1910. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008, p.149.
- ¹⁰⁶ Gordon Bowe, 1990/91, p.173.
- ¹⁰⁷ St Leger, 1994, p.33.
- ¹⁰⁸ Earnshaw, 1988, p.7
- ¹⁰⁹ Earnshaw, 1988, p.7.
- ¹¹⁰ John Hughes-Wilson and the Imperial War Museum. A History of the First World War in 100 Objects. London: Cassell Illustrated, 2014, p.12.
- ¹¹¹ Extract from the communication sent in September 2011 was kindly given by Veronica Stuart, 30 September 2016.
- Helland, 2016, 'The Caprices of Fashion Handmade Lace in Ireland 1883-1907' Textile History 39(2) Nov. 2008 p.193
- ¹¹³ Duty on lace was at 60%. Neil Harris 'Selling National Culture: Ireland at the World's Columbian Exposition' in Imagining an Irish Past: The Celtic Revival 1840-1940, ed. T. J. Edelstein. Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum at the University of Chicago, 1992, p.105
- ¹¹⁴ Eimear O'Connor 'Agricultural co-operation in Ireland' in *Conflicting Visions in a Turbulent Age 1900-1916* Crawford Art Gallery 2016 pp. 12-17
- ¹¹⁵ Gordon Bowe and Cumming, 1998, p.79.
- ¹¹⁶ In 'Under the Hammer' *Irish Arts Review* Spring 2016 a copper overmantle sold in London by Bonham's on 17 November 2015 was illustrated. The author of the text noted that there was a Y and 'eughal' visible and a monogram of A.M.W. I thank Peter Lamb for drawing my attention to the possibility that this is a Youghal Art Metalworkers' overmantle.
- ¹¹⁷ Paul Larmour, 1992, p.115.
- ¹¹⁸ Quoted p.11 in Mícheál Ó hAodha. *Pictures at the Abbey: The Collection of the Irish National Theatre* . Portlaoise: Dolmen Press and Irish National Theatre Society, 1983.
- ¹¹⁹ Paul Larmour, 1992, p.115 and p.227.
- ¹²⁰ R. F. Foster. W. B. Yeats: A Life. Vol. 1, The Apprentice Mage. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, p.59.
- ¹²¹ R. F. Foster, 1997, p.64.
- ¹²² R. F.Foster, 1997, p.64.
- ¹²³ Nicola Gordon Bowe. 'Women and the Arts and Crafts Revival in Ireland c. 1886-1930'. In *Irish women* Artists from the Eighteenth Century to the present Day, eds. Wanda Ryan-Smolin, Elizabeth Mayes and Jenni Rogers. Dublin: The National Gallery and Douglas Hyde Gallery, 1987, p.25.
- ¹²⁴ Nicola Gordon Bowe. *Harry Clarke: The Life and Work.* 2nd ed. Dublin: The History Press, 2012, pp57-109.
- ¹²⁵ Journal and Proceedings of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland (1906), p.253, quoted in Sheehy (1980), p.161.
- ¹²⁶ Walter Strickland *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, Vol. 2. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989, p.541.
- ¹²⁷ Paul Larmour. 'The Dun Emer Guild.' Irish Arts Review, 1, no. 4 (Winter, 1984), p.24, quotes "Richard Willis, for instance, the Headmaster at the School of Art in Dublin, provided designs for a tapestry of St Brendan," Strickland, Vol. 2, p.540.
- ¹²⁹ Cork Industrial Exhibition 1883. Report of the Executive Committee, Awards of Jurors, and Statement of Accounts. Cork: Purcell and Company, 1886, p.390.

 130 Mr Clare, foreman jeweller at Egan's, made it. See Cork: Its Trade and Commerce (1919), p.177.
- ¹³¹ Washer, 1992, p.119.
- ¹³² Michael Camille in ed. T.J. Edelstein 'The Rediscovery, Reproduction, and Re-Invention of Early Irish Metalwork' in Imagining an Irish Past The Celtic Revival 1840-1940 Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum at the University of Chicago 1992 p.12
- ¹³³ Photograph in *Cork: Its Trade and Commerce* (1919), p.178.
- ¹³⁴ Monica Taylor. *Sir Bertram Windle: A Memoir*. London and New York: Longmans, 1932, p.209.
- ¹³⁵ Taylor, 1932, p.132.
- ¹³⁶ Taylor, 1932, p. 210.
- ¹³⁷ Ann Keogh and Dermot Keogh. Bertram Windle, The Honan Bequest and the Modernisation of University College Cork, 1904-1919. Cork: Cork University Press, 2010, p.83.
- 138 Paul Larmour The Arts and Crafts Movement in Ireland Belfast: Friar's Bush Press 1992 p. 104



- ¹³⁹ Michael Camille 'Encircling the Dragon The Rediscovery, Representation and Re-Invention of Irish Metalwork' in *Imagining an Irish Past The Celtic Revival 1840-`1940* Ed. T. J Edelstein Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum at the University of Chicago 1992 p.6
- ¹⁴⁰ The Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland Sixth Exhibition 1921 Dublin: Maunsell and Roberts p.19
- ¹⁴¹ Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland Sixth Exhibition, p.16.
- ¹⁴² Aodh O'Tuama. 'Cork Republican Silver.' *Irish Arts Review*, 1, No. 2 (Summer, 1984), pp52-3.
- ¹⁴³ Pauric J. Dempsey. In *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, eds. James McGuire and James Quinn. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy and Cambridge University Press, 2009, p.424.
- Lucy Mac Diarmada. *At Home in the Revolution: What Women Said and Did in 1916*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2015, p.197.
- Patrick Maume. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol. 7, eds. James McGuire and James Quinn. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy and Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp.615-19.
- ¹⁴⁶ In 2005 an exhibition of Higgins's work was held in the Cork Public Museum. Orla Murphy and Peter Murray *Joseph Higgins Sculptor and Painter 1885-1925* Cork: Gandon 2005 was published on this occasion and has a catalogue of the work.
- ¹⁴⁷ Larmour 1992, pp.29-32
- ¹⁴⁸ Murray, 1992, p.252.
- Larmour, 1992, p.104. Dr William K. Sullivan. 'Report on the Cork Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition 1883'. In Cork Industrial Exhibition 1883, Report of the Executive Committee, Awards of Jurors, and Statement of Accounts. Cork: Purcell and Company, 1886, pp11-271.
- ¹⁵⁰ Murray, 1992, p.256.
- ¹⁵¹ Murray, 1992, p.259
- ¹⁵² Murray, 1992, p.256.
- ¹⁵³ My thanks to Margaret Lantry for this information.
- ¹⁵⁴ Brian Lalor. 'Art and Industry.' *Irish Arts Review*, 22 (Autumn 2005), p.121.
- ¹⁵⁵ Lalor, 2005, p.119.
- ¹⁵⁶ Peter Cormack. Arts and Crafts Stained Glass. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015, p.104.
- ¹⁵⁷ Journal and Proceedings of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland 1906 p. 255
- ¹⁵⁸ Brian Lalor. *Rosenheim and Windermere*. Bantry: Somerville Press, 2011. This memoir evokes a domestic world in which we occasionally glimpse images of M. J. McNamara's life: the William Morris wallpaper and the Wertheim piano purchased at the Cork International Exhibition of 1902 in Rosenheim, the trip into the city to watch Cork burning in 1920 and sadly, the destruction of his archive after his widow's death.
- 159 Journal and proceedings of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland 1906, p.255
- ¹⁶⁰ William Murphy. 'T. W. Rolleston (1857-1920)'. In *Dictionary of Irish Biography,* vol. 8, eds. James Mc Guire and James Quinn. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy and Cambridge University Press, 2009, p.596.
- ¹⁶¹ Aodh Quinlivan. *The Freedom of Cork: A Chronicle of Honour*. Cork: The Collins Press, 2013, p.48.
- ¹⁶² Hilary Pyle *Irish Art 1900-1950* Cork 1975 p.77
- ¹⁶³ Patrick Maume Life that is Exile: Daniel Corkery and the Search for Irish Ireland p.69
- ¹⁶⁴ Heather Laird Daniel Corkery's Cultural Criticism Selected Writings Cork: Cork University Press 2012 p. 14
- ¹⁶⁵ My thanks to Ann Galligan
- ¹⁶⁶ My thanks to Virginia Teehan for photographing these kneelers and for generous help with this project.
- ¹⁶⁷ Michael Camille 1992, p.6
- ¹⁶⁸ W. A. Sinclair 'The Hibernian Academy 1912 'The Irish Review, 2 (April, 1912), p.99.
- ¹⁶⁹ Gerry White and Brendan O' Shea *A Great Sacrifice: Cork Servicemen who died in the Great War* Cork: Echo Publications Ltd 2010 p.467. I thank Niall Murray for this information.
- ¹⁷⁰ Hilary Pyle *Irish Art 1950 -1975* Cork Rosc 1975
- ¹⁷¹ My thanks to Emeritus Professor Brendan O' Mahony (UCC) for help with the Greek words.
- ¹⁷² John Borgonovo *The Dynamics of War and Revolution Cork city 1916-1918* Cork: Cork University Press 2013 p.90
- p.90 ¹⁷³ Daniel Corkery *I Bhreasail, A Book of Lyrics* Dublin: Talbot Press 1921 pp.61,66. I am indebted to Niall Murray for this information.
- ¹⁷⁴ Murphy, 2005, p.10.
- ¹⁷⁵ John Eccleston 'Joseph Higgins 1885-1925' in *The Capuchin Annual 1952* ed. Fr Senan p.157
- ¹⁷⁶ Ann Condon, later Ann Peters, wrote a long poem 'The Daughter of Lir /for Joseph Higgins', in which she recalls sitting for him. "Section 11/ A handkerchief pressed to his mouth, red on the linen/ showed bright as the blood/of a wounded bird fallen on snow." Ann Peters *Rings of Green* Colin Smythe 1982 pp.35-40. My thanks to Julie Kelleher for showing me this poem and to Nell Ryan for helping to try and locate the sculpture.



- ¹⁷⁷ Nicola Gordon Bowe. 'Arts and Crafts Sculpture.' In *Art and Architecture of Ireland. Vol. 3 Sculpture 1600-2000*, ed. Paula Murphy. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy and Yale University Press, 2014, p.385.
- Peter Murray. 'The Gibson Bequest.' In *Illustrated Summary Catalogue of the Crawford Municipal Art Gallery*. Cork: City of Cork Vocational Education Committee, 1992, p.9.
- ¹⁷⁹ My thanks to Margaret Lantry for help with tracing the family.
- ¹⁸⁰ Quoted in Larmour, 1992, p.58.
- ¹⁸¹¹⁸¹ Nicola Gordon Bowe *Harry Clarke The Life and Work* The History Press Ireland 2012 p. 48
- ¹⁸² Denis G. Marnane. A History of St Michael's Church, Tipperary. Tipperary: St Michael's Press, 1999.
- ¹⁸³ The Watson Archive was acquired by the Crawford Art Gallery in 2014 and contains hundreds of cartoons and watercolour designs.
- ¹⁸⁴ My thanks to the registrar of the Crawford Art Gallery, Jean O'Donovan, for photographing this window.
- ¹⁸⁵ Vera Ryan 'Divine Light: a century of stained -glass' in *The Irish Arts Review* Summer 2015 pp. 272-276
- ¹⁸⁶ Harold Rathbone *Journal and proceedings of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland* 1901 .pp.193,4.
- 187 William Hunt Journal and Proceedings of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland , 1896 vol.1 no.1p.21 188 Larmour, 1992, p.129.
- Michael J. Buckley *Journal and Proceedings of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland* 1901 pp. 233-237
- Larmour, 1992, p.129.
 Peter Lamb 'The Furnishings of the Honan Chapel, Cork, 1915-16' in *The Honan Chapel A Golden Vision* eds.
 Virginia Teehan and Elizabeth Wincott Heckett Cork: Cork University Press 2004 p. 71 My thanks to Peter Lamb for his help and encouragement with this project.
- ¹⁹² Virginia Teehan, Elizabeth Wincott Heckett, Peter Lamb 'The Inventory' in *The Honan Chapel A Golden Vision* eds. Virginia Teehan and Elizabeth Wincott Heckett Cork: Cork University Press 2004 p. 203 ¹⁹³ D. J. Coakley *Cork: Its Trade and Commerce*, Cork, Guy and Company, 1919, p.179.
- ¹⁹⁴ I thank Willie Smyth, Willie Nolan, John Bowen, Chris Ryan, J. Ronan, Fr Everard, Fr Christy O'Dwyer and Tom Furlong for their help.
- Ada K. Longfield Leask *A Guide to the Collection of Lace Ard Museam na hEireann* Dublin: Stationery office 1982
- ¹⁹⁶ Sir John R. O'Connell's *The Honan Hostel Chapel, Cork: Some Notes on the Building and the Ideals which Inspired it* was published in Cork by Guy's in 1916.
- ¹⁹⁷ Tomás Ó Carragáin "Truly and sincerely Irish?" The Medieval Sources for the Architecture of the Honan Chapel'in *The Arts and Crafts Movement : Making it Irish* ed. Vera Kreilkamp. Chestnut Hill, MA Mc Mullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2016 pp.87-101
- ¹⁹⁸ Elizabeth Wincott Heckett. 'The Embroidered Cloths of Heaven: The Textiles' in *The Honan Chapel A Golden Vision*, eds. Virginia Teehan and Elizabeth Wincott Heckett. Cork: Cork University Press, 2004, pp133 -63.
- ¹⁹⁹ See Nancy Netzer. 'Cloths of Ireland's new "Golden Age": Creating Textiles for the Honan Chapel' in *The Arts and Crafts Movement: Making it Irish*, ed. Vera Kreilkamp. Chestnut Hill, MA: Mc Mullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2016, p.102.
- Nancy Netzer points out that in Sir John O'Connell's book: "he does not mention Lees in his discussion of the textiles", p.112 n10; she favours Ethel Josephine Scally as the designer.
- 201 Journal and Proceedings of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland 1896, vol.1 no. 1 p.3
- ²⁰² P .Oswald Reeves. 'Irish Arts and Crafts' *Studio*, 72 (1917).
- ²⁰³ Elizabeth Heckett 'The Embroidered Cloths of Heaven The Textiles' in *The Honan Chapel A Golden Vision* eds. Virginia Teehan and Elizabeth Wincott Heckett. Cork: Cork University Press, 2004, pp.136
- ²⁰⁴ John Bowen. 'Airgeadóir.' *Irish Arts Review*, 22, No. 1 (Spring, 2005), p.123.
- John Turpin. *A School of Art in Dublin since the Eighteenth Century*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1995, p.171.

