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The House in Irish Culture



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Introduction

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A house is not simply a material object signifying nothing beyond the shelter and refuge which it provides. While it is a site of habitation — a place in which we live — it is also a 'spatial imaginary', or what Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling describe as 'a set of intersecting and variable ideas and feelings, which are related to context, and which construct places, extend across spaces and scales, and connect places'.1 The house may physically demarcate a boundary between the private and the public, thereby connoting an insulated, intensely personal 'repository of memories and dreams', 2 yet the ways in which we inhabit it can reflect and enact the ideologies of both the community and the State. Indeed, although open to contestation and re-reading, a house's architectural design can seek to embody and give force to a social idea or establish what Arthur Parkinson terms 'place-identity': 'identities may be concretely signalled [...] through practices of territorial personalization [...] involving usage of architectural style, layouts or forms of ornamentation'. By contrast, in its structure and use the house also has the potential to be used to oppose dominant discourses: as Susan Fraiman outlines in Extreme Domesticity, while some individuals 'pursue domesticity as a mechanism of affiliation, others do the opposite [...] Needing to sever connections, they do so not by escaping the domestic altogether but by relocating/recreating it as a space of their own, removed from other people and conventional expectations'.4 In short, as Anthony King notes, the house is, depending on the specific context and circumstance, capable of fulfilling a myriad of social, spatial and cultural functions:

[S]ocially, [buildings] support relationships, provide shelter, express social divisions, permit hierarchies, house institutions, enable the expression of status and authority, embody property relations; spatially, they establish place, define distance, enclose space, differentiate area; culturally, they store sentiment, symbolize meaning, express identity; politically, they symbolize power, represent authority, become an arena for conflict, or a political resource.⁵

In Ireland, houses have often been used to project social status and power, with the most notable example being that of the Protestant Ascendancy ancestral house: such dwellings were said to give 'architectural expression to the rise and fall of particular families'. In her study of heritage tourism in Ireland, Nuala C. Johnson argues that the Anglo-Irish Big House was firmly 'at the centre of a system of rural land organization that reached its height in the mid- eighteenth century and met its demise in the latter part of the next century'. Its

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¹ Alison Blunt and Robyn Dowling, *Home* (London: Routledge, 2006), 2.

² Yi-Fu Tuan, Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 164.

³ Arthur Parkinson, Mark Scott and Declan Redmond, 'Revalorizing Colonial Era Architecture and Townscape Legacies: Memory, Identity and Place-making in Irish Towns', *Journal of Urban Design* 22.4 (2017): 505.

⁴ Susan Fraiman, *Extreme Domesticity: A View from the Margins* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 14.

⁵ Anthony D. King, *Global Cities: Post-Imperialism and the Internationalization of London* (London: Routledge, 2015), 11.

⁶ Andrew Parkin, 'Shadows of Destruction: The "Big House" in Contemporary Irish Fiction', *Cultural Contexts and Literary Idioms in Contemporary Irish Literature*, ed. Michael Kenneally (Toronto: Barnes and Noble, 1988), 306.

⁷ Nuala C. Johnson, 'Where Geography and History Meet: Heritage Tourism and the Big House in Ireland', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86.3 (September, 1996): 553.

size and imposing form reflected the way in which its 'centrifugal presence' was 'the centre round which, and through which, its inhabitants circle and find meaning'. Bowen's Court, situated near Kildorrery in County Cork, was one such example. Built in the 1770s by Henry Cole Bowen, it became the home of the celebrated novelist Elizabeth Bowen until the 1950s. Her pen picture suggests the way in which the house's design reflects its function:

The great bold rooms, the high doors imposed an order on life. There was a sweet, freshplaned smell from the floors. Life still kept a touch of colonial vigour; at the same time, because of the glory of everything, it was bound up in the quality of a dream.⁹

Architecturally, it suggests the power of the colonial elite; however, there is a hint here that this power was, at best, illusory. From the start, the inhabitants of such houses were in a peculiar position: they lived out a 'scenario of cultural hyphenation (Anglo-Irish)'. Their social situation entailed, on the one hand, a link with, yet removal from, English origins and English society; and on the other, a closeness to, and yet a removal or isolation from, the native Irish community'. While their affiliation with England was complicated by 'their position of conscious but resented dependence', their adoption of 'Irishness' gave rise to what R. F. Foster terms 'a curiously schizoid identification', one which he explains by citing a letter from Lady Louisa Connolly (who was living in Ireland, but who was English by birth) to her sister: "one cannot esteem and love the Irish, though one may like them; but yet it is right for *an Irish person* to live among them"'. 12

Novelists have long written about, reflected on, railed against, critiqued, and satirised such powerful (yet conflicted) Anglo-Irish families and their impact on society in Ireland. Indeed, as James Cahalan writes in his survey of Irish fiction, 'the Big House novel was the most popular and enduring subgenre within the Irish novel, except for the Irish historical novel', ¹³ and the central trope was, of course, the Big House itself. Place is central to the formation of personal, parochial, provincial and national identities, and the Big House novels use the setting to reflect the state (and status) of its owners. In Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*, the decline of the eponymous location is traced in the text: 'This window is all racked and tattered,' says I, 'and it's what I'm striving to mend.' 'It is all racked and tattered, plain enough,' says he, 'and never mind mending it, honest old Thady,' says he, 'it will do well enough for you and I'. ¹⁴ As Claire Norris contends, 'Sir Condy's dismissive and negligent attitude' is used here to personify 'the laxity and fall of the Protestant Ascendancy'. ¹⁵ By using the symbol of a decaying house, the novelists were not only dramatizing 'a gentry class propelling itself into oblivion through greed, careless improvidence, and historical myopia', ¹⁶ they were also exploring the rise and increasing influence of Irish nationalism on the other

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⁸ Derek Hand, A History of the Irish Novel (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), 182.

⁹ Elizabeth Bowen, *Bowen's Court* (Dublin: Cuala Press, 1942), 172.

¹⁰ Julian Moynihan, *Anglo-Irish: The Literary Imagination in a Hyphenated Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 13.

¹¹ R. F. Foster, 'The Ascendancy', History Today 38.12 (1988): 21.

¹² Foster 24 (italics in the original).

¹³ James Cahalan, *The Irish Novel: A Critical History* (Boston: Twayne, 1988), xxii.

¹⁴ Maria Edgeworth, Castle Rackrent (New York: OUP, 1964), 68-69.

¹⁵ Claire Norris, 'The Big House: Space, Place, and Identity in Irish Fiction', *New Hibernia Review* 8.1 (Spring, 2004): 114.

¹⁶ Vera Kreilkamp, *The Anglo-Irish Novel and the Big House* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998), 10.

side of the demesne wall. The sense of an 'encroaching threat' and of the 'palpable repositioning of power' can be seen in Bowen's *The Last September*:

A sense of exposure, of being offered without resistance to some ironic un-curiosity, made Laurence look up at the mountain over the roof of the house. In some gaze — of a man's up there hiding, watching among the clefts and ridges — they seemed held, included and to have their only being. The sense of a watcher, reserve of energy and intention, abashed Laurence, who turned from the mountain. But the unavoidable and containing stare impinged to the point of a transformation upon the social figures with their orderly, knitted shadows, the well-groomed grass and the beds, worked out in this pattern.¹⁸

In that novel, the inhabitants of Danielstown, the Big House which symbolised the power and influence of the Naylor family, live as if in denial of the Irish War of Independence that is happening beyond the estate. The conflict is only registered and alluded to obliquely until it inevitably intrudes at the end with the destruction of the house. That is the fate which awaited many of the Ascendancy dwellings after the Irish Free State was formed in 1922. As Johnson maintains, '[a]s in other postcolonial states, independence encouraged the desire to eradicate the remnants and reminders of the colonizer's cultural landscape'.¹⁹

If the symbol of the rise and subsequent decline of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy was the Big House, then the more modest West of Ireland thatched cottage was the dwelling used by the cultural revivalists to symbolise the 'real' Irish. The West was the favoured location and 'came to stand for the whole of Ireland, as a place which was representative of true Irishness',²⁰ because it was the furthest you could get from England and still be in Ireland. Also, it was a predominantly Gaelic-speaking area, the culture was Catholic, and the society was agrarian. The thatched cottage was a simple dwelling, wedded to the land: it was 'racy of the soil'. It was a fitting home place for that symbol of the true Irishman: the peasant farmer. As George J. Watson argues, '[t]he revival's idealisation of the peasant grew naturally from its hatred of progress, modernity, centralisation, commercialism and industrialised materialism, all of which were embodied and given definitive shape in England'. Hence, the revivalists strategically constructed its vision of Irishness in direct opposition to the mercantile colonisers: 'To the vulgarity of all this could be opposed the values embodied in — or projected on — the Irish peasant, the values of the traditional, the archaic, the picturesque and the organic'. 21 The cottage went on to feature in plays, films, novels and poems honouring the life of the Irish peasant. We see it in the post-impressionist landscape paintings of Paul Henry (Figure 1) which celebrate life in the rugged terrain of the West of Ireland; we see it in the dramaturgy of Synge; and we see it most memorably in Robert Flaherty's fictional documentary Man of Aran (1934). Flaherty's film presented the Irish nuclear family living in a traditional cottage, working the land, participating in traditional crafts and battling against

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¹⁷ Hand 186.

¹⁸ Elizabeth Bowen, *The Last September* (1929; London: Vintage, 1998), 119.

¹⁹ Johnson 556.

²⁰ Catherine Nash, 'Embodying the Nation: The West of Ireland Landscape and Irish Identity', *Tourism in Ireland: A Critical Analysis*, eds. Barbara O'Connor and Michael Cronin (Cork: Cork University Press, 1993), 86-87.

²¹ George J. Watson, *Irish Identity and the Literary Revival: Synge, Yeats, Joyce and O'Casey* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), 23.

the elements. It was shot in such a way as to 'heroicise' the peasant,²² and it was utterly fake. The 'family' were non-related actors; some of the skills and crafts had already died out and were no longer practised on the island; and the cottage itself had been modified for filmic purposes.



Figure 1: Paul Henry, Connemara Cottages (1936-37) © Estate of Paul Henry

Indeed, the very idea of the 'cottage' as being a symbol of Irish life in the twentieth century was nonsensical as it did not match how the majority lived. In 1913, for instance, more than half the population of Dublin belonged to the so-called 'unproductive class'; 45159 people were 'unskilled labourers'; 78% lived in one-room dwellings, with a third of the population living in just 5322 tenement buildings.²³ Yet on the stage and in the poetry of W. B. Yeats what we got was the Irish peasant in his cottage. Such strategic essentialism had negative consequences: as Catherine Nash notes, the revivalist construction of the West as 'true Ireland depended on the relegation of the rest of the country to the status of the inauthentic, corrupted by anglicisation, urbanisation and industrialisation'.²⁴ The limiting revivalist discourse and the symbolic rural idyll held sway for decades and had a prominent part in the discourse of the newly independent state. The most famous instance of this type of delusional *raiméis* was Éamon de Valera's St. Patrick's Day Raidió Éireann broadcast of 1943:

The Ireland we have dreamed of would be the home of a people who valued material wealth only as a basis of right living, of a people who were satisfied with frugal comfort and devoted their leisure to the things of the spirit; a land whose countryside would be bright with cosy homesteads, whose villages would be joyous with the romping of sturdy children, the contests of athletic youths, the laughter of comely maidens; whose fireside would be the forums of the wisdom of the age.²⁵

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²² See Martin McLoone, *Irish Film: The Emergence of a Contemporary Cinema* (London: BFI, 2000), 82.

²³ See http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/exhibition/dublin/poverty_health.html and http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/exhibition/dublin/poverty_health.html.

²⁴ Nash 87.

²⁵ Eamon De Valera, cited in Peter Costello, *The Heart Grown Brutal: The Irish Revolution in Irish Literature, from Parnell to the Death of Yeats, 1891-1939* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1977), 189.

Yes, this was the 'home we dreamed of', and all those who were in 'cosy homesteads' could rejoice; though anyone who happened to be gay, pregnant outside marriage, homeless, a Traveller, Protestant, or non-conservative needed to be on their guard. Thankfully, 'all that elemental Atlantic guff'²⁶ later came to be debunked, parodied and dismissed by Irish writers. In Martin McDonagh's *The Cripple of Inishmaan*, a character dismisses Flaherty's *Man of Aran* rather wonderfully as 'some oul shite about thick fellas fecking fishing',²⁷ and in Brian Friel's *Communication Cord* (1982), his second Field Day production, the action is situated in what seems to be 'a traditional Irish cottage', but it is exposed as a fake. He has his characters spout empty pieties about 'the soul and authenticity of the place', and how it is 'our first cathedral',²⁸ and then has the whole edifice come crashing down upon them.

In the 1990s and 2000s, Ireland's preoccupation with houses took two very different forms, neither of which presented the home as 'cosy'. The first was the focus on the abuses suffered by vulnerable and marginalised individuals in Church-run houses. In 2000 the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse was established after a series of high-profile scandals surrounding the Irish Industrial Schools and the Magdalene Laundries. The report, issued in May 2009,²⁹ concluded that children had been subjected to physical, sexual and psychological abuse whilst staying at these homes. Following that report, and the 2013 report published by the Inter-Departmental Committee to Establish the Facts of State Involvement with the Magdalen Laundries, it became increasingly clear that, due to the collusion of Church and State, the Boys' Homes and the Laundries for unmarried mothers had been turned into unsafe spaces and that the crimes had been known about, and suppressed, for years. Irish novelists, dramatists and film-makers were at the forefront in making the public aware of the nature and scale of the abuse, and of providing a voice to the victims. The critically acclaimed works focusing on these 'houses' include Patrick Galvin's Song for a Raggy Boy (1991), Patrick McCabe's The Butcher Boy (1992), Peter Mullan's The Magdalene Sisters (2002), Aisling Walsh's Sinners (2002), and Gerard Mannix Flynn's James X (2003). Such artistic interventions serve as reminders that the victims have yet to find adequate justice. A further departure from de Valera's ideals came in the second, and very different, focus on houses: property development.

From 1993 to 2008, Ireland presented itself to the world as a liberalised economy offering light regulation and low corporate tax rates: the rise of the Celtic Tiger made Ireland seem like 'a poster child of free-market globalisation'. The country's avid embrace of global capitalism initiated a decided paradigm shift, with a cultural discourse that prioritised 'individualism, entrepreneurship, mobility, flexibility, innovation' displacing 'earlier discourses prioritising national development, national identity, family, self-sacrifice, self-sufficiency and nationalism'. The gombeen man was now a Gordon Gekko 'greed is good' merchant, a speculator who would think nothing of making corrupt payments over planning

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²⁶ Conor O'Callaghan, 'East', *Seatown* (Oldcastle: Gallery Press, 1999), 42.

²⁷ Martin McDonagh, *The Cripple of Inishmaan* (London: Methuen, 1997), 51.

²⁸ Brian Friel, *The Communication Cord* (Oldcastle: Gallery Press, 1982), 13, 15.

²⁹ See http://www.childabusecommission.ie/rpt/pdfs/.

³⁰ Fintan O'Toole, *Ship of Fools: How Stupidity and Corruption Sank the Celtic Tiger* (2009; London: Faber, 2010), 10.

³¹ Peadar Kirby, Luke Gibbons and Michael Cronin, 'Introduction: The Reinvention of Ireland: A Critical Perspective', *Reinventing Ireland: Culture, Society and the Global Economy*, eds. Kirby et al. (London, Pluto Press, 2002), 13.

issues — and politicians would think nothing of taking them. The emphasis was no longer on the cosy homestead; rather, the stress was placed on 'property' and on the financial dimension of the housing-market. As King states, 'economically, buildings provide for investment, store capital, create work, house activities, occupy land, provide opportunities for rent'. 32 While de Valera was a Taoiseach concerned with 'right living', Bertie Ahern as Taoiseach was concerned with suppressing (suspicious) payments of £165000 from a property developer. (And it would cost the state in excess of £200 million to learn this.)³³ It was not long before artists and writers would try to respond to the increased interest in property. In September 1998 Beat Klein and Hendrikje Kühne took part in the Artists' Work Programme at the Irish Museum of Modern Art and began assembling an installation entitled *Property*, an expanding metropolis made up of photographs of buildings offered for sale taken each week from the Property Supplement of the Irish Times. Each 'house' was glued on cardboard, 'put together in a stand-up rectangular system'. 34 When this floor-mounted complex of photographic imagery was shown at the gallery's *Unblinking Eye* exhibition (18 September 2002–16 February 2003), a spectator could be forgiven for thinking they had stumbled across some Lilliputian dystopia; even with the accorded panoptic viewpoint, s/he would discern little pattern in either scale or arrangement of the miniature urban sprawl (Figure 2).



Figure 2: Beat Klein and Hendrikje Kühne, Property (1998) © Irish Museum of Modern Art

The sheer multitude of properties being developed and made available for procurement shown by the exhibit seemingly belied the shortage of social housing in Ireland and the devastating impact upon the populace of soaring house prices, namely the displacement to the ever-widening commuter belts, unmanageable debt, and homelessness. As such, the property boom could not conceivably last. The crash, when it came, was spectacular. Indeed, as Fintan O'Toole remarks, 'In its rise and fall, Ireland made Icarus look boringly stable'.³⁵ The

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³² King 11.

³³ The Tribunal of Inquiry into Certain Planning Matters and Payments ran from the end of 1997 to March 2012. The then Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern, resigned in 2008 as a result of the controversy surrounding his payments. He was, of course, never convicted of anything and his own pension is quite safe.

³⁴ The description is by Beat Klein and Hendrikje Kühne from a letter dated 24 December 1998 which was included in a book of letters entitled *Property* which formed part of the exhibit.

³⁵ O'Toole 9.

global financial crisis of 2008 sounded the death knell for the Celtic Tiger: the Irish stock exchange had fallen by 68% in 2008; by 2009, Dublin had 'the highest vacancy rate of any European capital' (with 20% of its office spaces empty);³⁶ the government was forced to nationalise Anglo Irish Bank in January 2009 and had to invest €3.5 in preference shares in Allied Irish Bank and Bank of Ireland in February of that year. The discourse had shifted from cosy homesteads to toxic assets. One artist who captured this profound shift was Fergal McCarthy. He devised an installation entitled *Liffeytown* for Dublin's Fringe Festival (12-16 September, 2010): it was a reaction to the ways in which houses were regarded during the boom and to the 'ingrained, ruinous obsession with property' (Figure 3).³⁷



Figure 3: Fergal McCarthy, Liffeytown (2010) © McCarthy

He floated 11 green and red structures on the River Liffey between the Ha'penny Bridge and O'Connell Street, each one resembling houses and hotels from the board game Monopoly™. The house was not a 'home': it was simply a token of financial speculation. The artist states that he got the idea from the 'craziness of the development and lack of planning at the height of the boom, when apartment blocks were being built all over the city'. It was, he states, 'a time of disposable architecture, with no vision or longevity'. The country is still living with the consequences of the financial game: ghost estates and undeveloped housing estates are still in existence, and the State has not fully recovered from the losses incurred following the bailout of the banks.

Still licking our wounds in 2019, perhaps it is time to revisit Irish culture's concern with the house. In this issue of *Review of Irish Studies in Europe* the contributors look at the issue in quite a diverse manner. The articles to be found here focus on topics such as: the Irish home in articulating Catholic identity throughout the Penal era; the house as the site of decline and political instability in the novels of Somerville and Ross; domesticity and gender politics in the works of Claire Keegan and Janet McNeill; home as a traumatic centre in the

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³⁶ Cian O'Callaghan, Mark Boyle and Rob Kitchin, 'Post-Politics, Crisis, and Ireland's "Ghost Estates", *Political Geography* 42 (2014): 121.

³⁷ Peter Crawley, 'Liffeytown', https://fergalmccarthy.tumblr.com/liffeytown, accessed 4 March 2019.

³⁸ Fergal McCarthy cited in Rosita Boland, 'Small Print', *Irish Times* 1 September 2010, https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/tv-radio-web/small-print-1.645231. Accessed 4 March 2019.

fiction of John McGahern and Kate O'Riordan; the house as an idealised space in exilic narratives; and the house as an unsafe space in the work of Bram Stoker. So, are you sitting comfortably? Then let us begin

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