

**Representing the Shannon Scheme:  
electrical technology, modernisation  
and national identity in the  
Irish Free State, 1924-32**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis considers the representation of the Shannon Scheme hydro-electric power station from 1924 to 1932, during the first Cumann na nGaedheal Government of the Irish Free State. The station was constructed by the German company Siemens and was the first large-scale building project carried out in the new state, starting in 1925. The semi-state Electricity Supply Board was formed by the Government to run the power station in 1927 and it began generating power in 1929, forming the basis for rural electrification after the Second World War.

The thesis considers the formation of Irish nationhood during the early years of the Irish Free State, examining the tensions between the essentialist tone of Irish nation-building heritage and the wider epochal concerns of state-building in modern Europe. Early chapters argue that the idea of a technological Ireland was one possible alternative to the prevailing rural and antiquarian emphasis of the dominant national identity. It examines methodological approaches for the analysis of technological artefacts from the history of design and the history of technology, applying them to the power station buildings and visual representations as disparate as advertisements and paintings. It also analyses ideas about technology and the technical in the 1920s, both in Germany and America, and how these influenced attitudes towards electrical technology in Ireland, as well as differentiating between the condition of modernity in Ireland in a period where Modernist modes of representation had not yet been accepted. It argues that the form and style of the Shannon Scheme buildings are directly related to German industrial building and considers the role which technical drawings played in the negotiation of shape and form.

Later chapters consider the visual representation of the Shannon Scheme across a range of media from 1924 to 1932, which include industrial photography, amateur photography, corporate advertisements, independent and commissioned paintings and prints, a commemorative stamp and ephemera such as picture postcards and cigarette cards. The thesis analyses how, rather than equating technology with industrial Britain, these examples present electrical technology as a symbol of Irish national identity,

contrary to established codes of representation of the nation. The German origin of the station is only emphasised in images of German origin, as the Irish examples elide the German involvement in the construction of the station in favour of representing it as a purely Irish undertaking. Through the readings of representations of electrical technology, it addresses issues of labour and machinery, the role of the tourist, and the self-conscious creation of histories and national mythologies during the first government of the Irish Free State.

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## Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Sections of this thesis have been published in earlier formats in the following publications:

- ‘Technology & Modernity: The Shannon Scheme and Visions of Progress’ in Linda King & Elaine Sisson (eds.) (2011) *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity, 1922-1992*. Cork: Cork University Press, pp. 58-71.
- ‘Images of Ardnacrusha: technology, modernity and photography in the Irish Free State’ in Eoin Flannery & Michael Griffin (eds.) (2009) *Ireland in Focus: Ireland and Visual Representation*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, pp. 71-85.
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Signed

Dated

## Introduction

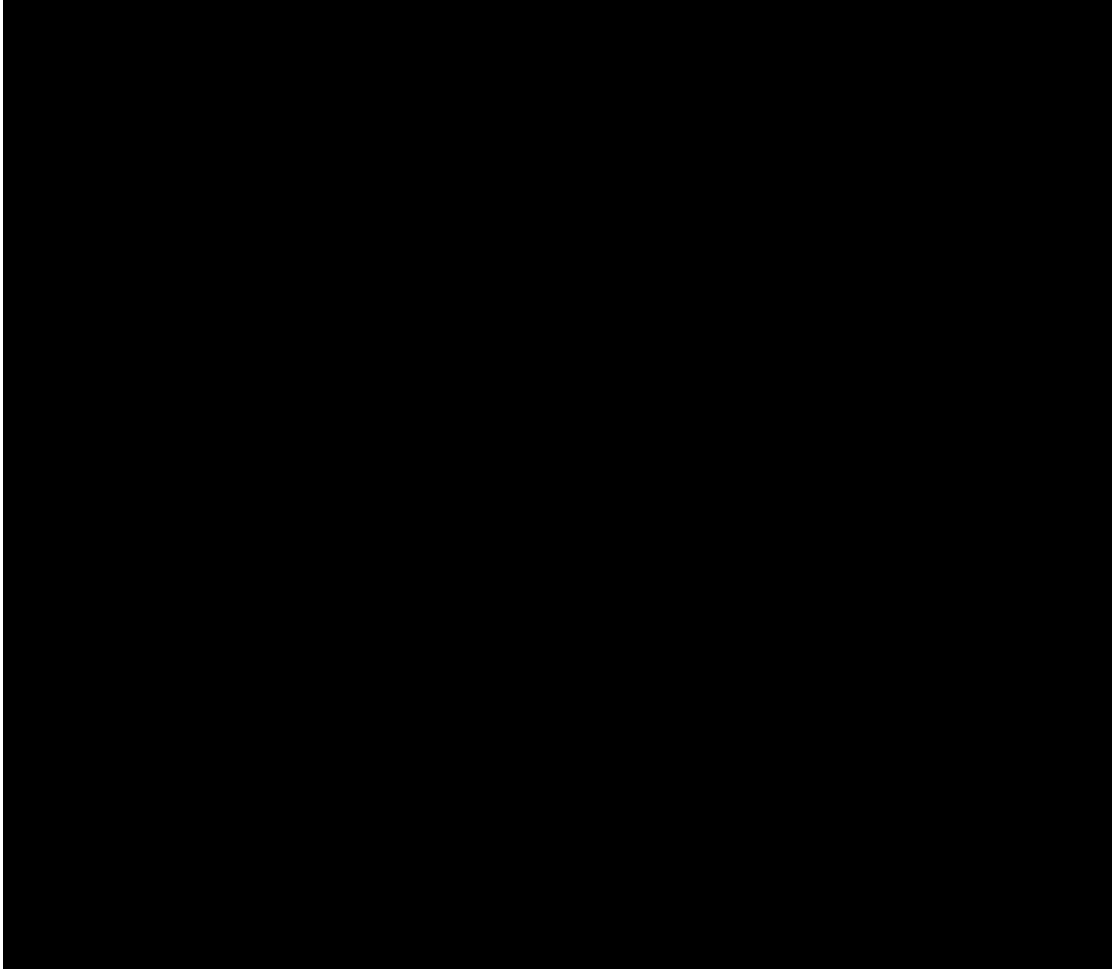


FIGURE 0-1 - AERIAL VIEW OF ARDNACRUSHA POWER STATION (ESB ARCHIVE)

The lush green countryside around the Shannon Scheme fits very well into the tourist stereotype of Ireland. I don't think that I have ever been in the area when it has not been raining at one point or another, even in the middle of the summer, and it shows in the vivid bright green of the grass, as well as in the darker greens of bushes and trees. The road from Limerick city out to the small village of Ardnacrusha is a narrow country road, ducking and diving through the undulations of the countryside, lined with oak and beech trees and ditches overgrown with ferns and small flowers, colourful in the summer and dripping wet in the winter. The last part of the drive can be heart-stopping for the city-bred, when an oncoming car (usually driven at terrifying speed) means that both parties must slow down, put one wheel in the ditch and carefully negotiate past each other, to an acknowledging nod from the other driver once the manoeuvre has been successfully carried out. The countryside is all gentle hills and tree-lined roads, so you only get glimpses of the more distant scenery and once you leave Limerick city, the Shannon river vanishes off to one side, meandering its way out to the estuary beyond the city.

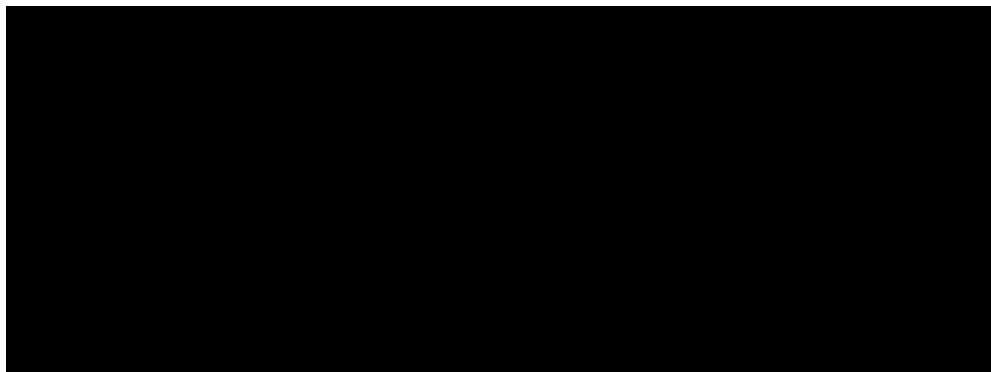


FIGURE 0-2 - PLAN OF THE SHANNON SCHEME WORKS, 1925-29 (ESB ARCHIVE)

Until the 1920s, the area where Ardnacrusha power station now exists was one of hundreds of farming communities scattered across this lush countryside: a scatter of houses, with the police barracks, St. Patrick's Chapel and national school in nearby Parteen, half a mile down a road that would later be bisected by the tail race canal (see Figure 0-2).<sup>1</sup> The power station takes its name from the village of Ardnacrusha, which

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<sup>1</sup> Navigation around the area can also be confused by existence of Parteen village near the end of the tail race canal and the subsequent naming of the top weir as Parteen Weir or Parteen Villa. Also, to confuse matters further, on the 1842 Ordnance Survey map of the area, part of the village now called Parteen is labelled as Ardnacrusha. The names seems to have travelled

boasts neat bungalows, a post office, a Garda station and a small housing estate built in the years of the Celtic Tiger. The most unusual feature of the village appears to the right of the main road just before the post office, where a granite sign proudly proclaims 'ESB Ardnacrusha' and an automatic barrier and security hut stop the casual visitor from entering the first hydro-electric power station built in Ireland (see Figure 0-3) in order to harness the power of the Shannon river during the 1920s. Behind the security barrier lies a world of voltages, generators and load factors, the turbines whirring busily away, extracting hydro-electric power from the river.

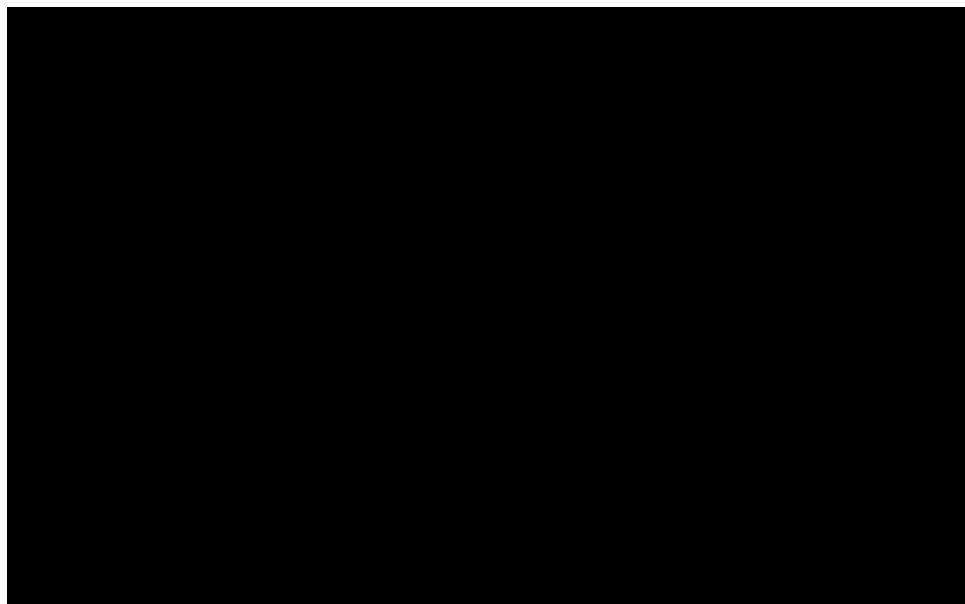


FIGURE 0-3 - THE ENTRANCE TO ARDNACRUSHA POWER STATION, CO. CLARE  
(GOOGLE STREETVIEW)

Today, Ardnacrusha station is a very small part of the Irish power generation network, providing extra power during periods of peak demand, as well as acting as an environmentally friendly backup to the larger coal- and gas-powered stations in Moneypoint, Aghada and Poolbeg.<sup>2</sup> Despite the fact that it only provides a bare fraction of the electrical power generated in the Republic of Ireland now (86 out of roughly 2000MW), it still holds an important place both in the history of power generation in

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north with the Scheme, as the southern part of the village was submerged under the tail race, the northern part was renamed Parteen, and the name Ardnacrusha applied to the power station and the new village which grew up from the work camp on the northern bank of the canal.

<sup>2</sup> (2006) 'Powering the Country - ESB Power Generation', *Electricity Supply Board*.  
[http://www.esb.ie/main/about\\_esb/power\\_stations\\_intro.jsp](http://www.esb.ie/main/about_esb/power_stations_intro.jsp) [Accessed: December 12 2006]

Ireland and in the national consciousness, still providing a comparison for any new engineering project 80 years on.<sup>3</sup>

The study of the Shannon Scheme is particularly relevant to the consideration of national identity in an Irish context because it is probably the most un-‘Irish’ national project to be constructed in the history of independent Ireland. A run-of-the-river hydro-electric power scheme, it was considered state-of-the-art technology in the 1920s and was continually described in terms of superlatives, whether in relation to the amount of power it produced (a hugely over-specified 86MW), the number of labourers engaged on its construction (an estimated 4000 Irishmen) or the amount of money being spent by the Irish Government on it (£5.5 million or 20% of the national budget in 1925).<sup>4</sup> Now known as Ardnacrusha, it is Ireland’s largest hydro-electric station and was built by the German engineering company Siemens in the years directly after Irish independence under the aegis of the Cumann na nGaedheal government, who were in the process of stabilising the country after the War of Independence and the Civil War of the early 1920s. Commissioned within four years of the Anglo-Irish Treaty which negotiated the formation of the new 26-county State, it was developed in an unsettled political atmosphere, with the last of the Anti-Treaty forces still taking violent action as late as 1927.<sup>5</sup> The Shannon Scheme was the reason for the setting up of the Electricity

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<sup>3</sup> (2006) 'Dublin Port Tunnel', *Dublin North Central Matters*. Summer 2006. p. 5. 1; BUSHE, A. (2002) 'Ardnacrusha: Dam Hard Job: 8.8 Million Cubic Metres of Earth and Rock', *Sunday Mirror*. August 4. [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_qn4161/is\\_20020804/ai\\_n12846719](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qn4161/is_20020804/ai_n12846719) [Accessed: November 26 2010]; MULVIHILL, M. (2004) 'Turning the Infant State Electric', *The Irish Times*. April 3. p. A9; RUSHE, D. (1975) 'Remembering a Remarkable Project', *Irish Independent*. September 25. p. 6; SHERRY, A. (2006) 'A Fascinating First Look Inside Dublin's Awesome Port Tunnel', *Financial Times*. November 16.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Run-of-the-river’ hydroelectricity is based on the drop in the level of water in a river over a long distance, rather than conventional dams, which store a large ‘pond’ of water behind a barrier, creating a controlled artificial waterfall. In this case, the fall of the River Shannon from Lough Derg to the level of the Shannon Estuary provides the power for the station. For more detailed historical discussion of the station, see MANNING, M. & M. MCDOWELL. (1984) *Electricity Supply in Ireland: The History of the E.S.B.* Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, pp. 39-53; O’BEIRNE, G. (2000) *Siemens in Ireland 1925-2000: Seventy Five Years of Innovation*. Dublin: A&A Farmar, pp. 41-67; BIELENBERG, A. (ed.) (2002) *The Shannon Scheme and the Electrification of the Irish Free State: An Inspirational Milestone*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press; SCHOEN, L. (1979) *Studies in the Development of Hydro-Electric Energy Utilisation: the Electrification of Ireland*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, History of Pure Sciences and Technology, Technische Universität Berlin, pp. 61-226.

<sup>5</sup> The Minister for Justice Kevin O’Higgins was assassinated by anti-Treaty forces in July 1927. (1927) 'Mr. O’Higgins Murdered', *The Irish Times*. July 11. p. 7; MEEHAN, C. (2010) *The Cosgrave Party: A History of Cumann an nGaedheal, 1923-33*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, pp. 91-112.

Supply Board (or ESB), the first of the Irish semi-state companies, solely responsible for power generation and distribution, as well as for the construction and operation of several later hydro, coal, gas and peat-powered electricity generating stations around the country.<sup>6</sup> Construction of Ardnacrusha power station began in 1925, with the official opening of the station taking place in 1929, although the time span of this thesis covers 1924 to 1932 in order to include the initial planning work, as well as the period of most popular interest in the Scheme. This time period is also bracketed by the term of the first Government of the Irish Free State, which was in power from the signing of the Treaty in late 1921 until the victory of the anti-Treaty Fianna Fáil party in the 1932 general election.

The visual significance of the Shannon Scheme raises issues about modernisation, technology and national identity, particularly when it is considered in the context of design history. Many of the numerous books published on Irish history and politics have focused on the contested nature of Irish identity during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whether from a particular political point of view, from a position of historical revisionism or within the area of post-colonial studies.<sup>7</sup> Apart from the facts and analysis of economic histories, there is a distinct lack of recognition of the forces of modernisation or the

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<sup>6</sup> The 'semi-states' are wholly state-owned corporations or bodies, equivalent to British nationalised industries. They were generally set up to either develop natural resources (for example, Bord na Móna/Peat Board or Bord Gáis/Gas Board) or to provide services to the Irish people (for example, the state broadcaster RTÉ (Raidió Teilifís Éireann) or Aer Lingus, the national airline). Many of these semi-states have been nationalised in recent years, including Aer Lingus and Eircom the telephone operator and ISP, which started out as the semi-state telephone company Telecom Éireann. Since the liberalisation of the power market in the Republic of Ireland in 2007, the ESB is currently competing with Bord Gáis and Airtricity (a private renewable energy company) in domestic power supply, with the national grid operated by EirGrid, a separate semi-state body.

<sup>7</sup> GARVIN, T. (2004) *Preventing the Future: Why Was Ireland So Poor For So Long?* Dublin: Gill & Macmillan; LEE, J. (1973) *The Modernisation of Irish Society*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan; LEE, J. (1989) *Ireland 1912-1985 Politics and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; MACDONAGH, O. (2003) *Ireland: The Union and its Aftermath*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press; MITCHELL, A. (1974) *Labour in Irish Politics, 1890 – 1930: The Irish Labour Movement in the Age of Revolution*. Dublin: Irish University Press; BARTLETT, T., C. CURTAIN, R. O'DWYER & G. Ó'TUATHAIGH (eds.) (1988) *Irish Studies: An Introduction*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan; BOYCE, D. G. & A. O'DAY (eds.) (1996) *The Making of Modern Irish History: Revisionism and the Revisionist Controversy*. London: Routledge; CARROLL, C. & P. KING (eds.) (2003) *Ireland and Post-colonial Theory*. Cork: Cork University Press; CONNOLLY, C. (ed.) (2002) *Theorizing Ireland*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan; CURTAIN, C., M. KELLY & L. O'DOWD (eds.) (1984) *Culture and Ideology in Ireland*. Galway: Galway University Press; HUTTON, S. & P. STEWART (eds.) (1991) *Ireland's Histories: Aspects of State, Society and Identity*. London: Routledge.

introduction of ‘modern’ technology which was evident throughout the rest of Europe, particularly in the early part of the century.<sup>8</sup> The impact and influence of such concepts were not unknown in the country and contribute an important and under-recognised element in the development of the nation, particularly in the first years after independence.

However, recognition of the importance of technology and modernisation to the early Free State may only be possible in the light of the developments of the last twenty years in Irish society and culture. Two important factors in 21<sup>st</sup> century Ireland situate this research and influence its logic, in addition to the continued negotiation of identity within the province of Northern Ireland. The first is the development of a thriving Information Technology industry, particularly near Dublin in the 1990s, mostly as a result of tax breaks for large multi-nationals such as Microsoft, Hewlett Packard, Intel and Google, which also created an impetus for small indigenous start up software companies providing niche services such as e-learning and online mapping.<sup>9</sup> The second is the increased heterogeneity of Irish society, with the reversal of the historical trend of net emigration and increased levels of immigration from Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia, for both social and economic reasons.<sup>10</sup> Neither of these factors has been simple or straightforward, but they have produced a new subjectivity which has outlasted the Celtic Tiger: that it is possible to be Irish without being of Gaelic descent, and that it is possible to be Irish as well as technologically literate.<sup>11</sup> Neither of these new conceptions of Irishness is universally accepted, even within the current Republic, but they allow space for an alternative non-teleological reading of the history of ‘Irishness’,

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<sup>8</sup> R.F. Foster begins his survey of modern Ireland in 1600, working from the broader definition of ‘modern’. See FOSTER, R. F. (1988) *Modern Ireland 1600 - 1972*. London: Allen Lane. DALY, M. E. (1992) *Industrial Development and Irish National Identity 1922-1939*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan; Ó'GRÁDA, C. (1994) *Ireland: A New Economic History 1780-1939*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>9</sup> (2011) *Interactive Services*. <http://www.interactiveservices.com/> [Accessed: April 21 2011]; (2011) 'About eSpatial', *eSpatial*. <http://www.espatial.com/company/> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>10</sup> (2011) 'Census 2006', *Office of the Minister of State for Integration*. <http://www.integration.ie/website/omi/omiwebv6.nsf/page/statistics-census-en> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>11</sup> This point was stressed by the conclusion of the recent high profile RTE documentary ‘The Story of Ireland’, which includes a classroom of multi-national children learning Irish and playing hurling. KEANE, F. (2011) 'The Age of Nations', in: *The Story of Ireland*. Dublin: Radio Teilifís Éireann.



which permits alternatives to the dominant hegemony interpreting the formative years of nation-building in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>12</sup>

The thesis will consider the visual and material representation of the Shannon Scheme from a design history perspective by analysing the visual construction of the power station as an icon of the new Irish state of the late 1920s. However, the representation of the Scheme as a modern, technological artefact throws up issues about the construction of nationality and nationhood, as the dominant construction of Irish identity at that time was predominantly rural, traditional and Romantic, looking to the ancient past for inspiration. This thesis will consider the forms which were widely used to imagine Irish identities in the new Free State and consider how representations of the highly technological Shannon Scheme were seen in this context. It will combine empirical analysis of visual and architectural material with a theoretical approach influenced by ideas from the history of technology, combining the two to form an analysis of the power station itself and its depictions in industrial and amateur photography, advertisements, painting and printmaking, stamps and ephemera such as postcards and cigarette cards. It will consider the perception of electrical technology in the 1920s in Germany and in Ireland, as well as the influence of contemporary engineering and architectural practice on the design of the Scheme buildings themselves. It will look at how issues of national identity and national style can impact on the design of an artefact. It also considers the Shannon Scheme images as representations of industrial work and labour, particularly in the relationship between the male worker and industrial machinery in an Irish context. It is not an engineering history, and as such will not be considering the technicalities of electricity generation in anything other than the broadest of terms.

The majority of writing about the Scheme to date has been from a non-visual historical point of view, with only Seán Keating's paintings (particularly *Night's Candles are Burnt*

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<sup>12</sup> For an example of this high-tech, international Ireland at work, see Mark Curran's photographic study of the Hewlett Packard plant in Leixlip, outside Dublin. CURRAN, M. (2006) *The Breathing Factory*. Heidelberg: Edition Braus.

Out) receiving any sustained consideration.<sup>13</sup> It has been analysed from the point of view of a company history in Maurice Manning's and Moore McDowell's history of the ESB, which devotes two chapters to the development of the Scheme and one to the early days of the ESB.<sup>14</sup> More recently, it has been the subject of historical sociology in Michael McCarthy's *High Tension: Life on the Shannon Scheme* and an anthology of mostly company and engineering histories edited by Andy Bielenberg, which includes a chapter on Keating's paintings.<sup>15</sup> However, there are no sustained architectural studies of the Shannon Scheme buildings, despite its seminal place in the history of Irish architecture.<sup>16</sup> It has retained its importance within engineering history, with the IEEE awarding it the title of Historical Milestone in Electrical Engineering in 2002, an honour which it shares with the Eiffel Tower and the space shuttle.<sup>17</sup> It was initially a very controversial project, dividing opinion among the people of Ireland, whether for technical, political or financial reasons. However, the sustained interest in the Scheme throughout its construction and early years tailed off notably during the 1930s, as electricity became normalised and events in wider Europe grabbed the attention of the Irish public, which plugged in its electric kettles and electric irons without considering

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<sup>13</sup> BIELENBERG, A. (2002) 'Seán Keating, the Shannon Scheme and the Art of State-Building', in BIELENBERG, A. (ed.) *The Shannon Scheme and the Electrification of the Irish Free State: An Inspirational Milestone*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press; CUSACK, T. (2002) 'Crossing the Shannon: Ireland's 'Mighty Stream' and the Making of the Nation', *Visual Culture in Britain*. Vol. 3, No. 1; MCNIGHT, A. (2001) *Sean Keating and the Shannon Scheme*. Unpublished BA Thesis, HADCom, National College of Art and Design. It is also briefly considered in Kennedy's early essay on the visual culture of the Free State. See KENNEDY, B. P. (1994) 'The Irish Free State 1922-49: A Visual Perspective', in KENNEDY, B. P. & R. GILLESPIE (eds.) *Ireland: Art into History*. Dublin: Town House & Country House, pp. 147-50.

<sup>14</sup> MANNING & MCDOWELL. (1984).

<sup>15</sup> MCCARTHY, M. (2004) *High Tension: Life on the Shannon Scheme*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press; BIELENBERG. (2002). It is also briefly addressed in Meehan's political history of Cumann na nGaedheal. See MEEHAN. (2010) pp. 91-112.

<sup>16</sup> It is briefly considered in LARMOUR, P. (2009) *Free State Architecture: Modern Movement Architecture in Ireland, 1922-1949*. Kinsale: Gandon Editions, pp. 13-16; ROTHERY, S. (1991) *Ireland and the New Architecture 1900 – 1940*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press, pp. 142-45; CAMPBELL, H. (2005) 'Modern Architecture and National Identity in Ireland', in CLEARY, J. & C. CONNOLLY (eds.) *The Cambridge Companion to Irish Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 293-94; ROWLEY, E. (2011) 'The Conditions of Architectural Modernism in Ireland, 1900-1970: Between Aspiration and Production', in JUNCOSA, E. & C. KENNEDY (eds.) *The Moderns: The Arts in Ireland from the 1900s to the 1970s*. Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art, p. 422.

<sup>17</sup> HAMMONS, T. (2002) 'Shannon Scheme for the Electrification of the Irish Free State', *IEEE Power Engineering Review*. Vol. 22, No. 11, November, pp. 36-38; (2009) 'Building of the Month June 2009: Ardnacrusa Generating Station, Ballykeelaun Td., County Clare', *Buildings of Ireland: National Inventory of Architectural Heritage*. <http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/Surveys/Buildings/BuildingoftheMonth/Archive/Name,79,en.html> [Accessed: 21 April 2011]

where the power was coming from. The resurgence of interest in the Scheme in the last decade has meant that its representations in various media have been circulated again, although generally as illustrations to the economic, company or social histories of the Scheme mentioned above. These images, particularly Siemens' industrial photographs, have been used in a purely illustrative capacity, with little concern for how the visual representation of the Scheme relates to the textual, as can be seen from Figure 0-4, which uses a Siemens photograph of the dam construction to illustrate a discussion on the financial background to the Scheme.<sup>18</sup>

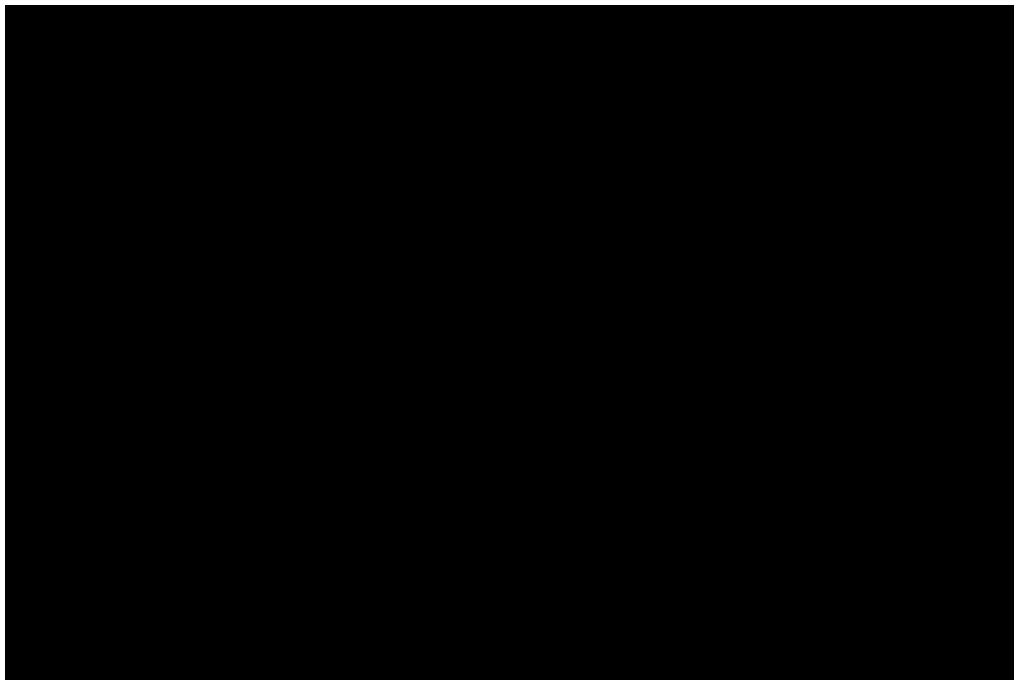


FIGURE 0-4 - SIEMENS PHOTOGRAPH OF THE DAM USED IN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SHANNON SCHEME.

(BIELENBERG, A. (ED.) (2002) *THE SHANNON SCHEME AND THE ELECTRIFICATION OF THE IRISH FREE STATE: AN INSPIRATIONAL MILESTONE*. DUBLIN: THE LILLIPUT PRESS, PP. 94-95)

The thesis is based on a mixture of sources, both theoretical and archival. Due to the collaborative institutional nature of the project, archival material on the building of the Shannon Scheme has ended up in a number of locations, particularly the company archives of the ESB and Siemens. The thesis could not have been written without the ESB Archive, which holds a large collection of primary material relating to the Scheme,

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<sup>18</sup> O'BEIRNE, G. & M. O'CONNOR. (2002) 'Siemens-Schuckert and the Electrification of the Irish Free State', in BIELENBERG, A. (ed.) *The Shannon Scheme and the Electrification of the Irish Free State: An Inspirational Milestone*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press, pp. 73-99.

including photographs, advertisements, ephemera and a huge collection of newspaper clippings, dating back to the formation of the semi-state body in 1927. It also made extensive use of material from the Siemens Archive in Munich, including copies of internal memos and an even larger collection of photographs of the construction. Irish governmental sources are more varied, and records can be found in the Shannon Power Development files and the Department of the Taoiseach's files in the National Archive of Ireland, as well as McGilligan's Department of Industry and Commerce papers, donated to University College Dublin after his death. The power station itself has been an invaluable primary resource, particularly as it is still a working station with a continuity of operation from 1929. This was particularly notable for the 1920s technical drawings stored in the station itself, which are still used as working documents by the station engineers. I have also cast a wide net in my search for sources, necessitated by a desire to also bring to light the 'unofficial' visual representation of the station. This has included material from a number of locations, including the Limerick City Museum, the Irish Architectural Archive and the National Library of Ireland. I have also had access to a number of private collections, and am indebted to the children and grand-children of designers, artists and photographers, such as Patricia Haselbeck, William Beresford Atkinson and Thomas Scheuritzel, who generously allowed me to use their family history and memories of the Scheme.

The volume of appendixes contains a number of catalogues of the research material used for the research, particularly where multiple copies exist in different archives, libraries and collections. This is pertinent to the postcards and cigarette cards, selections of which are held in different Irish archives and particularly the Siemens industrial photographs, where overlapping collections survive in the ESB Archive and Siemens Archive. It is hoped that these catalogues would also form a resource for further research on the Shannon Scheme at both of these institutions. The availability of material from such a number of sources was centrally important to the development of the thesis, as it was possible to consider the visual representation of the Scheme from a number of perspectives, in several media, which contributes to the comprehensiveness of the analysis.

While this thesis is written in English, it makes use of sources in German and occasionally in Irish. I have included English translations of titles of German and Irish texts, prints and photographs in square brackets, and Appendix C contains translations of the German titles of the Siemens photographs. During the 1920s and 1930s, German was usually printed using Fraktur blackletter typefaces and Irish using uncial typefaces and Gaelic orthography, which were not standardised until the 1950s (see Figure 0-5). This has added a layer of complication to translation and transliteration into English, so I take full responsibility for any inaccuracies in my translations.

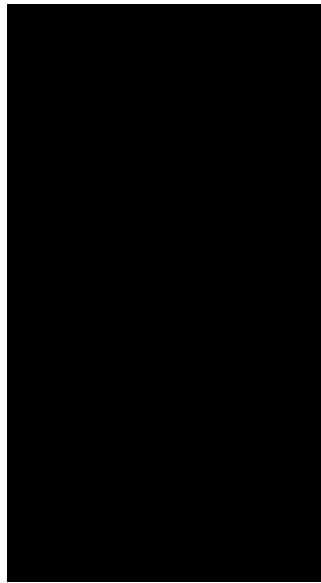


FIGURE 0-5 - TRI-LINGUAL ADVERTISEMENT FOR TYLER'S SHOE SHOP, LIMERICK  
(*LIMERICK LEADER*, DECEMBER 4 1926, P. 6)

The textual sources can be divided into two categories – those related to the Scheme itself and Irish history, and those concerned with the wider issues thrown up in the discussion. The secondary sources mentioned above were central in providing collated detail about the history of the Scheme and the organisations and people involved, as well as company histories by Shiel and O'Beirne.<sup>19</sup> Economic and political background on Ireland in the 1920s and early 1930s was provided by historians such as Brown, Daly, Lee, Ferriter, Foster and Garvin, as well as design history texts on the period such as Sheehy, Larmour and Gordon Bowe.<sup>20</sup> The overall approach is particularly influenced

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<sup>19</sup> O'BEIRNE. (2000); SHIEL, M. (1984) *The Quiet Revolution: The Electrification of Rural Ireland*. Dublin: The O'Brien Press.

<sup>20</sup> BROWN, T. (1985) *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History 1922 – 2002*. 2nd ed. London: Harper Perennial; DALY. (1992); FERRITER, D. (2004) *The Transformation of Modern Ireland 1900-2000*.

by Geertz' concept of essentialism/epochalism, as well as ideas from the history of technology.<sup>21</sup> The discussion about work in specific media is indebted to scholars in several areas, particularly Sekula on photography, O'Connor on Keating's paintings, Pearce on ephemera and collecting, as well as cross-media discussions on tourism, skill and technique, and the representation of labour and machinery.<sup>22</sup> It is also influenced by Hobsbawm's ideas about the self-conscious construction of history, although I have considered how his ideas could be expanded into a discussion of visual material, consistent with current scholarship in Irish design history at this time.<sup>23</sup>

This thesis will look at the visual representation of the Scheme in a critical manner, considering the interaction of the visual discourse with the economic, political and social discourses surrounding the Scheme, as well as the manner in which the images

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London: Profile Books; FOSTER. (1988); GARVIN, T. (1996) *1922: The Birth of Irish Democracy*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan; GARVIN. (2004); GORDON BOWE, N. & E. CUMMING. (1998) *The Arts & Crafts Movements in Dublin & Edinburgh, 1880-1930*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press; LARMOUR, P. (1992) *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Ireland*. Belfast: Friar's Bush Press; LEE. (1973); SHEEHY, J. (1980) *The Celtic Revival: The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past 1830-1930*. London: Thames & Hudson.

<sup>21</sup> GEERTZ, C. (2000) *The Interpretation of Cultures*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: Basic Books; LATOUR, B. (1992) 'Where are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts', in BIJKER, W. E. & J. LAW (eds.) *Shaping Technology / Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 225-58; LAW, J. & M. CALLON. (1992) 'The Life and Death of an Aircraft: A Network Analysis of Technical Change', in BIJKER, W. E. & J. LAW (eds.) *Shaping Technology / Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 21-52.

<sup>22</sup> BARRINGER, T. (2005) *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; MACCANNELL, D. (1999) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. 3rd ed. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press; O'CONNOR, É. (2009) *Seán Keating in Context: Responses to Culture and Politics in Post-Civil War Ireland*. Dublin: Carysfort Press; PEARCE, S. M. (1995) *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*. London: Routledge; SCHWARTZ, J. M. & J. R. RYAN. (2003) *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*. London: I.B. Tauris; SEKULA, A. (1999) 'Reading an Archive: Photography Between Labour and Capital', in EVANS, J. & S. HALL (eds.) *Visual Culture: The Reader*. Milton Keynes: Open University, pp. 181-92; CROUCH, D. & N. LÜBBREN (eds.) (2003) *Visual Culture and Tourism*. Oxford: Berg.

<sup>23</sup> HOBSBAWM, E. (1983) 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', in HOBSBAWM, E. & T. RANGER (eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 263-307; KING, L. (2007) *Traditions and Modernities: Aer Lingus and the Visualisation of Irish Identities 1951-1961*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Communications, Dublin City University; SWAN, D. C. (2005) *The Development of the Visual Imagery of the State in Ireland, North and South 1920-1960*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, HADCom, National College of Art and Design. The best single source showcasing current scholarship in the area of Irish design history is the recently published book, which includes articles based on King and Swan's theses, among others: KING, L. & E. SISSON (eds.) (2011) *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity 1922-1992*. Cork: Cork University Press.

have been circulated in support of certain aspects of this discourse. The initial discussion looks at the historiography of the ideas of national identity, technology and modernisation, paying particular attention to how these ideas applied to Ireland in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The second chapter considers the methodological context of the thesis, looking at the discipline of design history in relation to Irish studies-based visual culture and the history of technology, and sets out the qualitative approach for the subsequent chapters. Before considering the visual representation of the Scheme, it is necessary to analyse the power station itself, and Chapter 3 looks at its construction and design from an architectural point of view. The station buildings are considered in the context of German industrial architecture of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, foregrounding the role of technical drawings and illustrations in negotiating the final form of the power house. The remaining four chapters consider the visual representation of the Scheme in four different media, in a broadly chronological fashion, although the chronology is not rigidly applied as there are many overlaps in time period between the different designers, artists and photographers working to record the Scheme (see the chronology in Appendix A).

The rationale for dividing the visual representations by media is twofold: firstly, there is little evidence of communication or contact between the different individuals, professional or amateur, who came to record the Scheme for a variety of different reasons, whether on commission, out of curiosity, out of a desire to record a historical moment or for personal amusement. Secondly, the areas of photography, advertising, architecture and ephemera are all surrounded by existing discourses of production and consumption, often emphasising issues specific to that medium, including production techniques, methods of circulation and debates over suitable subject matter. Although a number of short films of the Scheme exist from the period, particularly Pathé news reels, and a 1931 Abbey play set at a thinly disguised Shannon Scheme, I have chosen to concentrate on two-dimensional images, in order to provide a manageable topic for analysis.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> JOHNSTON, D. (1931) *Moon in the Yellow River - Photographs from Abbey production 1931*. **TCD Manuscripts: 10066/299/553-8**; JOHNSTON, D. (1947) *Dramatic Works - The Moon in the Yellow River, corrected copy, 1947 version*. **TCD Manuscripts: 10066/4/1**; JOHNSTON, D. (1954) *Misc. Papers*. **TCD Manuscripts: 10066/4/6-11a**; (2011) "The King's Illness (including The

Chapter 4 moves into the representation of the Scheme in photography, considering both the official industrial photography taken by Siemens engineers over a four year period, and the unofficial, amateur photographs taken by both workers and visitors to the site from 1928 onwards. These photographs are related to the newspaper advertisements produced by the Publicity Department of the ESB in 1928 and early 1929, and their role in constructing the Scheme as a tourist destination of national importance. Chapter 6 considers the representation of the Scheme by professional artists, including the allegorical and landscape paintings of Sean Keating, etchings by George Atkinson and offset lithographs produced for Siemens by German artist Anton Scheuritzel. The discussion ends with a consideration of the 1930 commemorative stamp designed by E. L. Lawrenson and the reproduction of the Siemens photographs on picture postcards and cigarette cards, before returning to a consideration of the representation of broader themes of national identity, technology and modernisation in the conclusion.

The consideration of technology and modernisation in the context of Irish national identity runs throughout all of these chapters and constitutes a central theme for the thesis. The thesis considers a large, technologically sophisticated artefact in a context where advanced technology was not widely understood, as well as considering it in a methodological context where the general focus has been on opposition to technological advances. As a result, it is concerned with developing the consideration of technology as an important part of Irish national identity in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, rather than something to be rejected or ignored.

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Shannon Scheme)', *British Pathé*. <http://www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=16779> [Accessed: April 21 2011]; (2011) 'Preparing for Electricity Era', *British Pathé*. <http://www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=17030> [Accessed: April 21 2011]; (2011) 'President Cosgrave', *British Pathé*. <http://www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=15158> [Accessed: April 21 2011]; (2011) 'The Shannon Scheme (aka the Shallow Scheme)', *British Pathé*. <http://www.britishpathe.com/record.php?id=16774> [Accessed: April 21 2011]



# **Chapter 1 - The Historiography of National Identity, Modernisation and Technology in the Irish Free State**

## **Introduction**

The debates on national identity, modernisation and technology are central to understanding the political and social context of Ireland in the 1920s, particularly in relation to the Shannon Scheme. As well as considering the historical development of the ideas themselves, it is vital to consider scholarly approaches to these ideas, as well as their specific application to Ireland. This chapter will consider these three central concepts, and aims to provide a historiographical understanding of the usage of these terms, both in Ireland and in a broader Western context. Discussion will commence with a consideration of national identity through a range of ideas proposed by key theorists such as Benedict Anderson, Clifford Geertz, Tim Edensor and Eric Hobsbawm. As well as considering the ideas themselves, the usefulness of these ideas to the analysis of the cultural and political formation of Ireland will be weighed, both in relation to the Shannon Scheme itself and to the visual representation of nationality.

The discussion of modernisation begins with a discussion of the term 'modern' and the different meanings it has been used to convey. It is particularly concerned with a clarification of the difference between the wider condition of modernity in Western culture and artistic Modernism as a specific aesthetic response to this condition. It also considers the concept of multiple modernities, which opposes the idea that modernity is standardised and contiguous, allowing a space for discussion of the different interpretations of modernity, particularly in different nation-states. My investigation will then move to an evaluation of the issues surrounding the ideas of technology and progress in the 1920s, and how they were affected in the national context of America and Germany. It considers how these concepts came to be considered in Ireland, particularly by the ruling government for most of the 1920s, that of Cumann na nGaedheal. This focus on technology as an expression of a specific imagining of a nation and a specific context of modernity is used to challenge orthodox ideas about the

expression of national identity by the Cumann na nGaedheal government, particularly in their support for the large-scale technological project of the Shannon Scheme.

### **National identities: Cultural theories of nationalism**

Theorists of nationalism have often been perplexed, not to say irritated, by these three paradoxes: (1) the objective modernity of nations to the historian's eye vs. their subjective antiquity in the eyes of the nationalists. (2) The formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concept – in the modern world everyone can, should, will, have a nationality, as he or she has a gender – vs. the irremediable particularity of its concrete manifestations, such that, by definition 'Greek' nationality is *sui generis*. (3) The political power of nationalisms vs. their philosophical poverty and even incoherence.<sup>1</sup>

In a world where nations and national identity are seen to be formed and fixed, but yet can be the subject of intense and traumatic struggle, Anderson's three paradoxes carry a continued resonance. It is entirely possible to talk about the generic nature of Greek nationalism, despite and because of contested conceptions of what it means to be 'Greek', 'Cypriot', or 'Macedonian'. The constant redefinition of nation and national identity as being *something*, as well as *not* something else, is one reason that this concept can be seen as a constant discourse and process of negotiation, at the same time as being a fixed, universal idea.

Despite the weight of importance that has been placed on the idea of nation and nationality during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Anderson insists that nationalism is *not* an ideology, to be discussed in similar terms as neo-conservatism or socialism, but rather is much more important and culturally foundational, carrying structural similarities to wider anthropological concepts such as kinship or religion.<sup>2</sup> This definition of nationalism goes some way to explain the third of his paradoxes outlined above – that nationalism retains a political power despite a lack of philosophical depth. This also provides an explanation for the fragmented nature of nationalist thought, which, by definition, is splintered into a multitude of discrete conceptions, although each refers back to a concept of a sovereign nation, which may or may not be coterminous with an actual

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<sup>1</sup> ANDERSON, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities*. 2nd ed. London: Verso, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> ANDERSON. (1991) p. 5.

state. It is important to note here that 'imagined' in this sense is used in the sense of a creative endeavour, rather than in the sense of falsifying and fabricating, as those involved in imagining Greece or Ireland or America are generally doing in all good faith.<sup>3</sup> By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the paraphernalia of the nation had evolved in Europe and her colonies to the extent of requiring nation-states, republican institutions, common citizenship, popular sovereignty, national flags and anthems, etc., and the liquidation of their conceptual opposites: dynastic empires, monarchical institutions, absolutisms, subjecthoods, inherited nobilities, serfdoms, ghettos, and so forth.<sup>4</sup>

Anderson's explanation of the roots of national identities is based heavily on the development of print technologies and their interplay with the spread of capitalism. This focus downplays other influences such as the importance of measured time and the regulated temporal dimension.<sup>5</sup> More importantly for the purposes of this thesis, he also neglects the visual dimension, where two- or three-dimensional symbols are used to communicate and express political ideals, whether through flags, stamps and coins, postcards sent from tourist sites or the paintings exhibited in a National Gallery.<sup>6</sup> However, the concept of the imagined community remains a useful one, particularly as it can be expanded into areas which Anderson did not consider himself.

The importance of the conceptual model of the imagined community has a corollary that Anderson himself does not point out - that it allows for more than one interpretation of that community to exist at once and for the process of imagining being a negotiated and heavily mediated one. This is particularly important in the context of the post-colonial state, where a withdrawal or defeat of the erstwhile power leaves a

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<sup>3</sup> For example, Patrick Pearse's poetry about turning his back on life in service of the Irish dream of independence is nothing if not heartfelt, as well as a prediction of his actual death in the Easter Rising of 1916. See PEARSE, P. H. (1914) 'Renunciation', *CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts*. <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E950004-016/text001.html> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>4</sup> BHABHA, H. (1994) *The Location of Culture*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> ANDERSON. (1991) p. 24. The history of clocks, longitude, summer time, transport timetables, time zones and personal chronometers also played an important role in sedimenting the structures of power and organisation within national, imperial and colonial boundaries during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>6</sup> BHABHA. (1994) p. 35.

lacuna of identity to be filled with a new interpretation of the nation.<sup>7</sup> Or, in the case of a fragmented post-colonial moment such as that of Ireland, there is a contested and contentious flurry of interpretations, the validity of any of which depends entirely on the political stance of the viewer.<sup>8</sup> When Anderson discusses post-revolutionary governments taking over the reins of power, he is working on the assumption of a straightforward one-to-one hand-over of power. Given the partition of the island and the contested nature of the northern six counties, even nearly 90 years later, each of the imagined communities of the Saorstát Éireann (Irish Free State), the Republic of Ireland, Ulster, the island of Ireland and Northern Ireland has had a different and sometimes mutually incompatible imagining, complete with varying flags, colours, regalia and invented traditions (see Figure 1-1 to Figure 1-5).

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<sup>7</sup> This may be a simple replacement of the previous colony or jurisdiction with a nation of the same name (Peru), or with a radical redefinition of the values and make-up of the same territory (Southern Rhodesia becomes Zimbabwe).

<sup>8</sup> There is an ongoing debate about whether or not Ireland can be considered a post-colonial nation. As this thesis is specifically concerned with the Irish Free State, the nation-state formed by the withdrawal of British administration from 26 of the 32 counties on the island of Ireland, it considers the Irish Free State to be a post-colonial state. See HALLORAN, T. (2009) "'An Éirinneach nó Sassanach tú?" — Are You Irish or English?', *The Victorian Web*. <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/halloran1.html> [Accessed: April 21 2011] for a good overview of the topic.

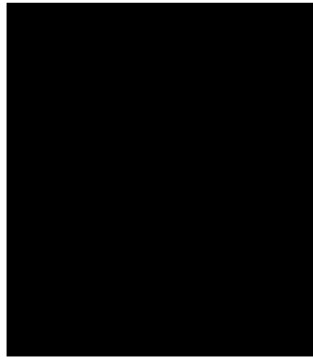


FIGURE 1-1 - ARMS OF THE FOUR PROVINCES OF IRELAND  
([HTTP://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:4\\_PROVINCES.PNG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:4_Provinces.png))



FIGURE 1-2 - GREAT SEAL OF THE IRISH  
FREE STATE, 1922  
([HTTP://WWW.NATIONALARCHIVES.IE/T  
OPICS/IMAGES/GREATSEALIFS.GIF](http://www.nationalarchives.ie/topics/images/greatsealifs.gif))

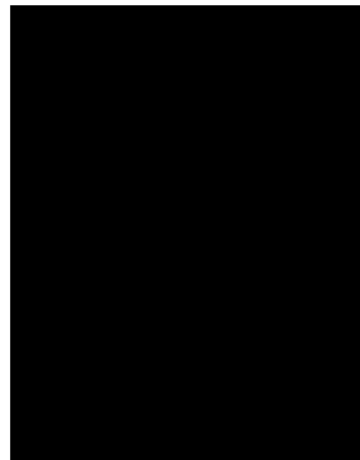


FIGURE 1-3 - COAT OF ARMS OF THE 26  
COUNTIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF  
IRELAND  
([HTTP://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:C  
OAT\\_OF\\_ARMS\\_OF\\_IRELAND.SVG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Coat_of_Arms_of_Ireland.svg))

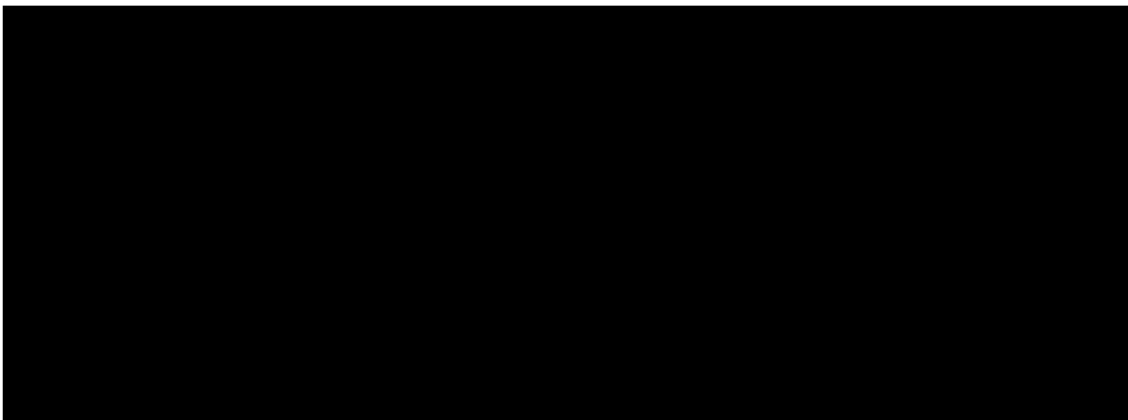


FIGURE 1-4 - SYMBOL OF THE SIX  
COUNTIES OF NORTHERN IRELAND  
([HTTP://WWW.TOPNEWS.IN/FILES/NORT  
HERN\\_IRELAND.JPG](http://www.topnews.in/files/northern_ireland.jpg))

FIGURE 1-5 - COAT OF ARMS OF NINE  
COUNTIES OF ULSTER  
([HTTP://WWW.GEOGHEGAN.ORG/CLAN/  
ULSTER.GIF](http://www.geoghegan.org/clan/ulster.gif))

How do strategies of representation or empowerment come to be formulated in the competing claims of communities where, despite shared histories of deprivation and discrimination, the exchange of values, meanings, and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogical, but may be profoundly antagonistic and conflictual?<sup>9</sup> This question concerns the mechanism by which the idea of the nation is continually reformulated and perpetuated. This is particularly important in the Irish context, as the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw a number of competing claims (and disclaims) to Irishness. In the 1920s, it saw Sinn Féin, the main political party of Irish independence, split over the Treaty question in classic post-colonial civil war fashion, resulting in the pro-Treaty establishment of the Saorstát Éireann (or 'Irish Free State') by the faction that would become the Cumann na nGaedheal party, shadowed by the phantom Republic of the anti-Treaty rump (later the Fianna Fáil party).<sup>10</sup> The performance and interaction of these profoundly antagonistic interpretations of the nation underpinned the period under study in this thesis and continue to overshadow Irish politics at the time of writing.<sup>11</sup> According to Bhabha, this performative aspect is particularly important, as the political is only possible in a discursive space where ideas can be discussed and debated, whether in written or visual form.<sup>12</sup> In addition, national identity cannot be considered in isolation from the rest of society, whether this may be positions of class, sexuality, gender or ethnicity and race, which also play a large role in the formation of identity. This is particularly entangled within post-revolutionary Ireland, as antagonisms between and within the Anglo-Irish upper-middle class, the urban working class and nascent political feminism complicated the simplistic picture of a split over the Treaty.<sup>13</sup> Each of

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<sup>9</sup> BHABHA. (1994) p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> MEEHAN, C. (2010) *The Cosgrave Party: A History of Cumann na nGaedheal, 1923-33*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, pp. 3-16; NÍ BHEACHÁIN, C. (2007) 'Seeing Ghosts: Political Ephemerata and the Phantom Republic, 1921-32', at *Seeing Things: Irish Visual Culture*, University of Limerick. The Anti-Treaty forces refused to recognise the legitimacy of the Dáil until 1927, largely due to the requirement to take an Oath of Allegiance to the British Crown, maintaining that the Republic was not subject to Crown authority.

<sup>11</sup> MCNALLY, F. (2011) 'Kenny Gets Ball Rolling in County Where Even the GAA Team are Blueshirts', *The Irish Times*. February 3. <http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/ireland/2011/0203/1224288894283.html> [Accessed: February 14 2011]. Cumann na nGaedheal's successor party Fine Gael are still called Blueshirts, based on their association with the short-lived Army Comrades Association of 1932 and 1933, who wore blue paramilitary-style uniforms and were accused of Fascist tendencies. See REGAN, J. M. (1999) *The Irish Counter Revolution 1921 – 1936*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, pp. 324-40.

<sup>12</sup> BHABHA. (1994) p. 34.

<sup>13</sup> For example, figures such as socialist James Connolly and feminist Constance Markievicz have been appropriated by 'official' nationalist histories and their radical non-nationalist views

these social positions was produced and performed through a process of symbolic identification, a series of “enunciative moments” running in parallel and in competition with each other, striving to become the dominant hegemonic representation of Irishness.<sup>14</sup>

The importance of the nation as “apparatus of symbolic power” is what gives this struggle for political power its urgency.<sup>15</sup> Not only does political power bestow control of the economic and structural guidance of a nation-state, but also control of the signs and symbols that are used to represent the nation-state and the political ideology which they support. The cultural status quo can be bolstered and reinforced into a state of cultural hegemony and naturalisation through the medium of culture.<sup>16</sup> For example, the Russian Revolution of 1917 enabled the dominant symbolic language of a large part of the Eurasian landmass to move from a dynastic empire clad in national clothes to that of a workers’ republic (see Figure 1-6 and Figure 1-7).<sup>17</sup> The change in symbolic power included the expected trappings of nationhood – flags, stamps, national anthem – but also precipitated profound changes in the administration and regulation of transport, agriculture, education and industry.

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played down. See HORAN, J. (2005) 'James Connolly', *Republican Sinn Féin*.  
<http://www.rsfi.ie/connolly.htm> [Accessed: August 16]

<sup>14</sup> BHABHA. (1994) p. 42; GIBBONS, L. (2000) 'A Race Against Time: Racial Discourse and Irish History', in HALL, C. (ed.) *Cultures of Empire: A Reader*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 214-15.

<sup>15</sup> BHABHA. (1994) p. 201.

<sup>16</sup> ADORNO, T. & M. HORKHEIMER. (2002) *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*. 2nd ed. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 120-67.

<sup>17</sup> TAYLOR, B. (1992) *Art and Literature Under the Bolsheviks: Authority and Revolution 1924-1932*. London: Pluto Press. It is important to note that both the dynastic continuity of the Romanov heirs and the rapid economic development of the Soviet five-year plans posited themselves as ‘timeless’, while retaining a teleological view of their own progress.

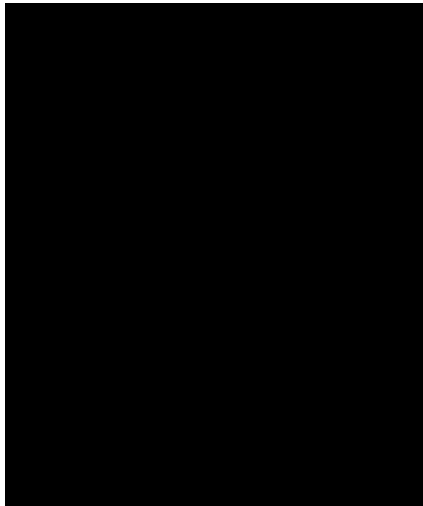


FIGURE 1-6 - COAT OF ARMS OF THE  
RUSSIAN EMPIRE, 1721-1917

([HTTP://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:  
COAT\\_OF\\_ARMS\\_OF\\_RUSSIAN\\_EMPIRE.S  
VG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Coat_of_Arms_of_Russian_Empire.svg))

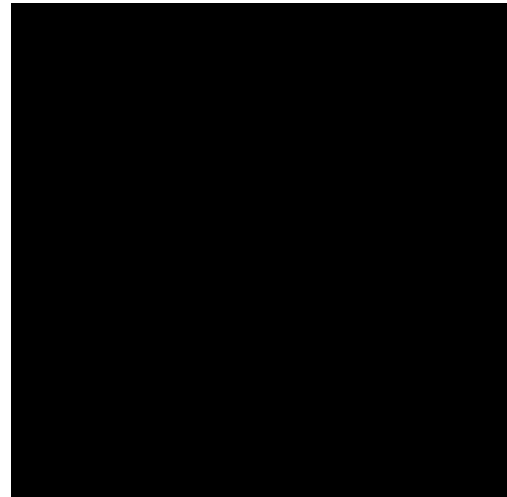


FIGURE 1-7 - COAT OF ARMS OF THE  
SOVIET UNION, 1917-1991

([HTTP://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:C  
OAT\\_OF\\_ARMS\\_OF\\_THE\\_SOVIET\\_UNION.S  
VG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Coat_of_Arms_of_the_Soviet_Union.svg))

Clifford Geertz discusses the process through which the population of a nation form (or imagine) themselves into nationhood in four stages. This process begins with the formation of nationalist movements, moves into the achievement of (partial or total) national independence, the organisation of a new state and, finally, the definition and stabilisation of the new state, with respect to other states and the society from which it arose.<sup>18</sup> The first stage corresponds to the formation of nationalist movements in Ireland in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the second stage arriving with partition and partial independence in 1922.<sup>19</sup> The third stage, that of the organisation of the new state, relates to the restructuring of the administrative, legal and organisational structures of the new Free State during the 1920s, including issues such as the formation of An Garda Síochána, the national schools, the court system, An Post and the civil service.<sup>20</sup> Geertz' phases of nationalism tie in easily with Irish history up until this point, but the fourth phase is rather more problematic, as it should include the civil war of 1922-23, which happened simultaneously with the formation of these institutions. It could also arguably extend until the time of writing, as the relationship of

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<sup>18</sup> GEERTZ, C. (2000) *The Interpretation of Cultures*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: Basic Books, p. 283.

<sup>19</sup> GORDON BOWE, N. (2011) 'Symbols of Ireland', *Government of Ireland*.  
<http://www.gov.ie/en/essays/symbols.html> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>20</sup> An Garda Síochána is the Irish police force, literally 'the guardians of the peace', and An Post is the Irish post office, literally 'the post'.



the current Republic of Ireland with the northern six counties cannot be said to be definitively stabilised, despite the recent achievements of the Good Friday Agreement and the Northern Irish peace process.<sup>21</sup>

Geertz discusses the formation of identities in the first stage of nationalism as crucial, as this is where the “dense assemblage of cultural, racial, local, and linguistic categories of self-identification and social loyalty that centuries of uninstructed history had produced” is constructed into a simplified, abstracted idea of nationality, which can function as a rallying point for revolutionaries and their supporters.<sup>22</sup> It is this encoded idea of Irish identity which influenced not just the cultural production of Irish-Irelanders in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but also the formative stages of cultural movements such as the Irish Arts and Crafts movement, basing their cultural production on the linguistic revival of the Irish language, music and surviving oral sagas, as well as medieval Christian manuscripts and metalwork. It is also the origin of the valorisation of peasant and traditional folk identities, particularly those of the West of Ireland, which formed an important basis for later imaginings of Free State identity.<sup>23</sup>

The final stage of Geertz’ discussion looks at the attempts to define who ‘we’ are, once a nation-state has been formed and is beginning to function. He foregrounds two different approaches to this, both of which are present to varying degrees in the cultural formation of different national identities. The first of these he calls ‘The Indigenous Way of Life’, which looks to “local mores, established institutions, and the unities of common experience – to ‘tradition’, ‘culture’, ‘national character,’ or even ‘race’”, whereas the other is described as ‘The Spirit of the Age’, which concerns “the general outlines of the history of our time, and in particular to what one takes to be the overall

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<sup>21</sup> KEENAN, D. (2010) 'DUP Cautions on PSNI Parade Plan', *The Irish Times*. August 18. p. 6. <http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/ireland/2010/0818/1224277071377.html> [Accessed: August 18 2010].

<sup>22</sup> GEERTZ. (2000) p. 239.

<sup>23</sup> GORDON BOWE, N. & E. CUMMING. (1998) *The Arts & Crafts Movements in Dublin & Edinburgh, 1880-1930*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press; SHEEHY, J. (1980) *The Celtic Revival: The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past 1830-1930*. London: Thames & Hudson. For examples from other European countries including Finland and Greece, see ASHBY, C. (2010) 'Nation Building and Design: Finnish Textiles and the Work of the Friends of Finnish Handicrafts', *Journal of Design History*. Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 351-65; YAGOU, A. (2007) 'Metamorphoses of Formalism: National Identity as a Recurrent Theme of Design in Greece', *Journal of Design History*. Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 145-59.

direction and significance of that history”.<sup>24</sup> Both of these approaches have direct relevance to the conception of Irish national identity, particularly during the formative years of the Free State, although ‘The Indigenous Way of Life’, or essentialism, has a far stronger influence compared to ‘The Spirit of the Age’, or epochalism. That is not to say that epochalism did not have an influence on Irish national identity; although the Irish language was used as a symbol and fortress of heritage and history, at the same time, the use of English was acting as a passport to the outside world.<sup>25</sup> The tension between these two approaches also explains Anderson’s first paradox of how a national identity can be at once ancient and modern, which “gives new state nationalism its peculiar air of being at once hell-bent towards modernity and morally outraged by its manifestations.”<sup>26</sup> Geertz also makes the point that these two approaches are not eternally opposed forces, but are specific to the historical situation of a newly-formed nation-state in the modern world, a point echoed by Sparke in her discussion of the overlap of the two design strategies used by newly formed nations: either the re-appropriation of craft traditions, or an emphasis on developing modern industries of production.<sup>27</sup> The negotiation of a relationship between Geertz’ two forces is particularly important, as they play an influential role during a period where national identity is still being codified, compared to a long-established state where they will have settled into an intertwined configuration, not susceptible to change in the same manner.<sup>28</sup>

### **National identities: The creation of Irish histories**

Eric Hobsbawm, in his introduction to *The Invention of Tradition*, discusses essentialist attempts in various historical periods to present certain parts of social life as unchanging and eternal, within the context of a changing society. He describes this as:

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<sup>24</sup> GEERTZ. (2000) p. 240.

<sup>25</sup> GEERTZ. (2000) p. 241.

<sup>26</sup> GEERTZ. (2000) p. 242.

<sup>27</sup> SPARKE, P. (2004) *An Introduction to Design and Culture: 1900 to the Present*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, p. 95.

<sup>28</sup> GEERTZ. (2000) p. 308. The influence of Geertz’ thinking on Irish design history can be seen in the introduction to King and Sisson’s book, particularly KING, L. & E. SISSON. (2011) ‘Materiality, Modernity and the Shaping of Identity: An Overview’, in KING, L. & E. SISSON (eds.) *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity 1922-1992*. Cork: Cork University Press, pp. 30-31.

...a set of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.<sup>29</sup>

This is differentiated from customs or traditional behaviour and is the main mechanism by which the subjective antiquity of nations is formed, with the construction of “an elaborate language of symbolic practice and communication”, borrowing “from the well-supplied warehouses of official ritual, symbolism and moral exhortation – religion and princely pomp, folklore and freemasonry.”<sup>30</sup> It also plays a vital role in the construction of the essentialist concept of a national history or a national narrative that is told and retold in both historical and fictive forms.<sup>31</sup>

The invention of tradition has a direct application in the increasing Irish obsession with the Celtic and Gaelic past in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly as demonstrated by the Neo-Celtic movement. During this period, an up-swelling of interest in disappearing Irish traditions of earlier centuries resulted in attempts to record oral tales and legends at the last possible opportunity.<sup>32</sup> The characters and settings from these oral tales were used both as proof of a timeless oral tradition, stretching back to the mists of the ‘Celtic Twilight’, and as examples of indigenous ‘Irish’ nationhood.<sup>33</sup> This “highly selective construction of nationality” worked alongside (and was often conflated with) the decorative detailing from antiquarian discoveries of early medieval Insular Christian art such as the Tara Brooch and the Book of Kells, and was seen as an alternative imagining to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century British conception of Irishness as servile, undeveloped and monkey-like.<sup>34</sup> This essentialist imagining of Ireland provided an inspiring pantheon of “heroic Celtic warriors and skilled and beautiful queens” who

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<sup>29</sup> HOBBSBAWM, E. & T. RANGER (eds.) (1983) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> HOBBSBAWM & RANGER (eds.) (1983) p. 6.

<sup>31</sup> GIBBONS, L. (1996) *Transformations in Irish Culture*. Cork: Cork University Press, p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> GREGORY, L. I. A. (2004) *Gods and Fighting Men: The Story of the Tuatha de Danaan and of the Fianna of Ireland*. eBook ed. Salt Lake City, UT: Project Gutenberg.

<sup>33</sup> HAYES O'GRADY, S. (1999) *The Colloquy with the Ancients*. Cambridge, Ontario: In parentheses Publications.

<sup>34</sup> CURTIS, L. P. (1997) *Apes and Angels: the Irishman in Victorian Caricature*. Rev. ed. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute, pp. 29-57.

increasingly appeared in both written and visual form from the 1880s to the 1920s.<sup>35</sup> The visual interpretation of these legends involved large amounts of extrapolation from the surviving oral tales, liberally interspersed with anachronistic Christian detailing and large doses of sheer invention, particularly noticeable in the use of Celtic interlace patterns from various Insular manuscripts (see Figure 1-8) in graphic design and the ‘revived’ handcraft industries.<sup>36</sup>

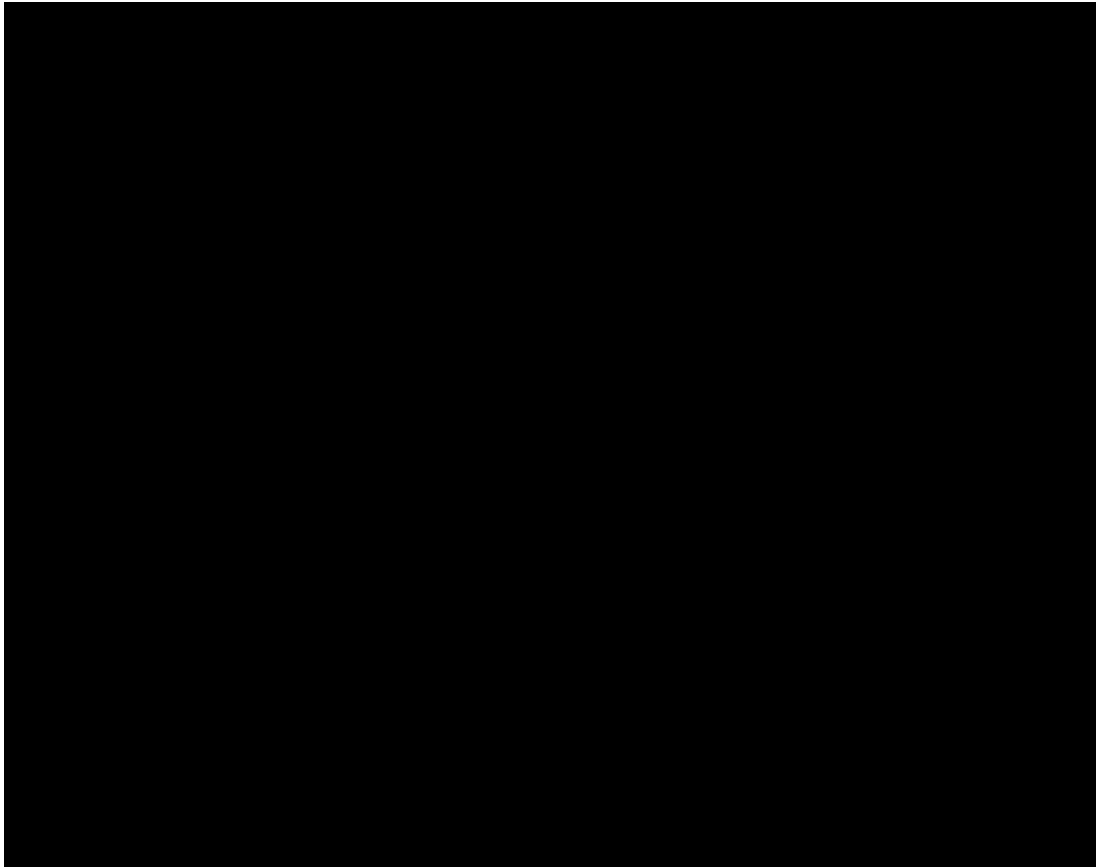


FIGURE 1-8 - SEAGHAN MACCATHMHAOIL, ‘FERGUS GOES TO MEET CUCULLIN’,  
FRONTISPIECE ILLUSTRATION, 1909

(HUTTON, M. A. (1924) *THE TÁIN*. 2ND ED. DUBLIN: THE TALBOT PRESS)

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<sup>35</sup> GORDON BOWE & CUMMING. (1998) p. 78; LEE, J. (1989) *Ireland 1912-1985 Politics and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 651.

<sup>36</sup> GORDON BOWE, N. (1993) *Art and the National Dream: The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn of the Century Design*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, p. 185; SHEEHY. (1980) pp. 147-75; CAMPION, D. (1989) *Manifestations of a Nation, Ireland: Exhibitions and Symbols 1850-1950*. Unpublished MA Thesis, History of Design, V&A/RCA, pp. 55-68. The historical authenticity of the oral sagas is itself not uncontested, given the controversy surrounding sources such as James Macpherson’s Ossianic cycle of poems. See GIBBONS. (2000) p. 215.

The Romantic roots of these interpretations are clear, with conceptions of the Irish nation retaining a historical dependence on 19<sup>th</sup> century German Romanticism, going back to Thomas Davis' visit to Germany in the late 1830s. This had the effect of influencing a rather straightforward 'pre-political' radicalism that "national culture, national history and national language were not merely ornamental, but integral, to national identity."<sup>37</sup> This emphasis on cultural difference, emotion, group rights and a subjective and creative definition of nationality, as well as on the cornerstones of race and language, served to influence Irish nationalist thinking well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, privileging the essential over the epochal. Irish nationalism was tightly tied to an oppositional stance to Britain and this political antagonism was transferred to her developing industries, as the British administration had not seriously tried to industrialise the island, instead relying on it as a regional source of food products.<sup>38</sup> The idea of the rural and the primitive in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland was cultivated by national romantics as a strategy of opposition to the colonial power.<sup>39</sup> The "experiments in social engineering" of the Gaelic League, the Gaelic Athletic Association, the *Feiseanna Ceoil*, the *Aonach Tailteann* and the 'rescue' of the Irish wolfhound all played a role in reinventing the ancient Irish past in an essentialist form which could foster a psychologically immediate sense of Irish national culture.<sup>40</sup> This is clearly stated by the nationalist D. P. Moran, in *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland* published in 1905, when he encourages this essentialist dimension to the independence movement.

When the people go back to their national traditions, get permeated by their own literature, create a drama, resurrect their customs, develop their industries; when they have a language to bind them together and a national personality to guard, the free and full

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<sup>37</sup> GARVIN, T. (1996) *1922: The Birth of Irish Democracy*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, p. 12; MACDONAGH, O. (2003) *Ireland: The Union and its Aftermath*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, pp. 178-79.

<sup>38</sup> The Congested Districts Board of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century focussed mostly on public works, but as a way of alleviating rural poverty, rather than developing an industrial base in the west of Ireland.

<sup>39</sup> This formation of antagonism to industry is very different from the situation in Germany, where industrialisation and modernisation developed alongside a drive towards the political unification of a number of fragmented territories.

<sup>40</sup> The *Feis Ceoil* is an annual Irish music and dance competition, which was started in 1897 with the intention of promoting Irish culture. The *Aonach Tailteann* was an attempt to create a Celtic version of the Greek Olympiad, recreating an ancient Irish sporting event in honour of Queen Tailtiu. The revived event ran in 1924, 1928 and 1932 and the name is currently being used for the Athletics Association of Ireland yearly competition. FOSTER, R. F. (1988) *Modern Ireland 1600 - 1972*. London: Allen Lane, pp. 446-56; GEERTZ. (2000) p. 243.

development of every individual will in no wise endanger or weaken any political movement.<sup>41</sup>

These ideas were given particular impetus in the creative arts, where the ideas of the “romantic and visionary writers, revolutionaries, poets, archaeologists and Utopian socialists” of the Arts and Crafts Movement were imported through the channels of Anglo-Irish artists such as the Yeats sisters.<sup>42</sup> These found a new urgency in this atmosphere of cultural nationalism, replacing the Arthurian and medievalist forms of the English movement with those of Early Christian saints and legendary heroes such as Queen Tairniu (see Figure 1-9). This period of invention of ‘Irish’ tradition overlaps with that described by Hobsbawm as the heyday of ‘mass-producing traditions’ in Europe, and it had a large influence on the more overt political movements of the period, whether campaigning for Home Rule or for a separate Republic.



FIGURE 1-9 – OLIVER SHEPPARD, *AONACH TAILTEANN* SILVER MEDAL DEPICTING QUEEN TAILTIU, 1928

([HTTP://WWW.MEALYS.COM/CATIMAGES/0207/A1081.JPG](http://www.mealys.com/catimages/0207/A1081.JPG))

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<sup>41</sup> Moran, D.P. in BROWN, T. (1985) *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History 1922 – 2002*. 2nd ed. London: Harper Perennial, p. 47.

<sup>42</sup> GORDON BOWE, N. (ed.) (1993) *Art and the National Dream: The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn of the Century Design*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, p. 181.

The invention of tradition is particularly important to consider within the area of Irish history, as it is one that has been seen as “a crucial legitimizer” of populist nationalist interpretations of the Irish past.<sup>43</sup> The absence of a strong socialist or feminist movement throughout most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has resulted in a lack of challenges to the orthodox essentialist interpretation of historical events, leaving an emphasis on the teleological passing of the torch from martyr to martyr.<sup>44</sup> This situation has been challenged from within the discipline of history itself, with historians such as Roy Foster and J. J. Lee disputing nationalist interpretations of the past, as well as from socialist and feminist directions in recent years.<sup>45</sup> In addition, the practice of art history and latterly design history has been involved in attempts to analyse the symbols of Irish imagery, to discuss, understand and unpack the visual symbols of the nation (or competing imaginings thereof).<sup>46</sup> The role of design in this discussion cannot be underestimated, largely through the unconscious way in which political or social groups often encode their beliefs into visual symbols without really examining either the symbols or the process. The analysis of different visualisations of nationhood can provide an illuminating insight into the competing sets of meanings, metaphors and rhetorical strategies by which the Irish nation has been imagined. This is particularly pertinent in the consideration of designed artefacts, as they try to create persuasive arguments embodied in material form, using the demonstrative rhetoric of the artefact

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<sup>43</sup> HUTTON, S. & P. STEWART (eds.) (1991) *Ireland's Histories: Aspects of State, Society and Identity*. London: Routledge, p. 2.

<sup>44</sup> O'MALLEY, P. (1990) *Biting at the Grave: The Irish Hunger Strikes and the Politics of Despair*. Belfast: Blackstaff. Even Ireland's best known socialist, James Connolly, felt that he had to portray radical socialism as the inheritor of an authentic Celtic past of communal tribal ownership of land. CONNOLLY, J. (1973) *Labour in Irish History*. 12th ed. Dublin: New Books, pp. xvii-vxiii.

<sup>45</sup> CULLEN OWENS, R. (2005) *A Social History of Women in Ireland, 1870-1970*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan; FOSTER. (1988); LEE. (1989); SMYTH, J. (1991) 'Industrial Development and the Unmaking of the Irish Working Class', in HUTTON, S. & P. STEWART (eds.) *Ireland's Histories: Aspects of State, Society and Ideology*. London: Routledge.

<sup>46</sup> The initial survey of Irish visual culture by Kennedy has since been expanded in several recent PhD theses on aspects of Irish national identity. See KENNEDY, B. P. (1994) 'The Irish Free State 1922-49: A Visual Perspective', in KENNEDY, B. P. & R. GILLESPIE (eds.) *Ireland: Art into History*. Dublin: Town House & Country House, pp. 132-52; GODSON, L. (2008) *Ceremonial Culture in the Irish Free State, 1922-1939*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, History of Design, RCA; KING, L. (2007) *Traditions and Modernities: Aer Lingus and the Visualisation of Irish Identities 1951-1961*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Communications, Dublin City University; SWAN, D. C. (2005) *The Development of the Visual Imagery of the State in Ireland, North and South 1920-1960*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, HADCom, National College of Art and Design.

to support and promote their ideological message.<sup>47</sup> This thesis is intended to contribute to this broadening of our understanding of Irish imagery, by bringing attention to bear on the representation of technology in Ireland, as well as by considering the possibility of a 'technological Ireland' with an emphasis on epochal concerns, rather than the overwhelming essentialist emphasis which dominated the Free State.

In addition, the dependence of both Anderson and Hobsbawm on the analysis of print culture and formal ritual has been criticised by Edensor for failing to consider the role of everyday cultural production which continually reinforces the idea of the nation in the imagination of the people. Anderson's focus on the institutions of colonial power in 'Census, Map, Museum', for example, retains a concern for the role of governmental structures in promulgating and promoting an official view of a nation, but does not move outside the realm of official cultural production.<sup>48</sup> As Edensor points out, both Anderson and Hobsbawm fail to consider the development of middle-class or working-class cultural forms of production, such as cinema, radio or popular music, let alone the vernacular, the mundane and the everyday.<sup>49</sup>

### **National identities: Alternative Irelands in the 1920s**

The political history of Ireland in the 1920s was the outcome of more than a decade of overt political turmoil, arising from a longer history of cultural division and fragmentation on the island. Despite the myth-making surrounding the formation of the Irish Free State and the Civil War, these were events which had the effect of division and separation, rather than the united and idyllic Ireland aspired to during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Appendix A for a timeline of Irish historical events in the 1920s and 1930s). It should not be surprising then that the formulation of an 'official history' of the period did not appear in school books in the Republic of Ireland until much later.<sup>50</sup> From a historiographical point of view, the contested meanings and negotiations of the

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<sup>47</sup> BUCHANAN, R. (1989) 'Declaration by Design: Rhetoric, Argument, and Demonstration in Design Practice', in MARGOLIN, V. (ed.) *Design Discourse: History, Theory, Criticism*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, pp. 105-08.

<sup>48</sup> ANDERSON. (1991) pp. 163-85.

<sup>49</sup> EDENSOR, T. (2002) *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 5-7.

<sup>50</sup> O'CALLAGHAN, J. (2009) *Teaching Irish Independence: History in Irish Schools 1922-72*.

Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 55-69; (2000) *Intermediate Certificate History Syllabus*. Dublin: The Stationary Office, p. 11.



1920s and onwards seem to have been too contentious for inclusion within compulsory state-controlled education.<sup>51</sup>

In this context, a brief survey of alternative imaginings of Irish national identity in the nascent Irish Free State provides a useful background to the study of the Shannon Scheme, demonstrating the range of alternative Irelands which were being imagined in the early years of the century. It also serves as a reminder that the great political schism of Fianna Fáil and Cumann na nGaedheal is not the only defining factor of the Free State in the 1920s, as a reliance on this definition would over-simplify the roles played by organised labour, the Anglo-Irish and business interests, as well as a developing feminist awareness within the State. These cultural positions played just as large a role (if not larger in some cases) as political affiliation in identity formation in this period, despite the loose affiliation of Irish-Ireland to the nationalist movement in its entirety. The construction of national identities was more than able to include trade unionists, businessmen, the Ascendancy and suffragettes within either side of the Treaty split. For a short time in the late 1920s, the existence of a potential technological Ireland was only made possible by the fact that several other alternative imaginings also competed with the 'official' Ireland in the eyes of the people.

The existence of a 'phantom Republic' as an alternative 'imagined community' of Irishness is of central importance.<sup>52</sup> The possibility of multiple interpretations of 'Ireland' allowed the continuation of the more romantically-inspired end of Irish nationalism past independence, particularly recalcitrant and unrepentant Republicanism. It also legitimised the continued use of armed force by the IRA throughout the 1920s, as well as the repudiation of the Oath and the boycotting of the Dáil by Fianna Fáil until 1927.<sup>53</sup> The rhetoric of the Republican newspaper *An Phoblacht* during the late

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<sup>51</sup> To be precise, the Irish education system remains to date a largely religious education controlled by a state bureaucracy, with over 90% of primary schools and about 50% of secondary schools still run by the Catholic Church, rather than by the state itself. The remaining schools are either run along non-Catholic religious lines (e.g. Church of Ireland, Jewish or Muslim) or the more recent multi-denominational Educate Together organisation, with vocational or comprehensive (community) schools making up about 40% of secondary schools.

<sup>52</sup> MACDONAGH. (2003); NÍ BHEACHÁIN. (2007), p. 118.

<sup>53</sup> The Treaty included a provision of an Oath of Allegiance to the British Crown as a condition of taking up a seat in the Oireachtas, which resulted in the Anti-Treaty forces (later Fianna Fáil) boycotting the Dáil until Cumann na nGaedheal brought in specific legislation making the

1920s retained a consistent emphasis on the continuity of the republican ideal with those of pre-independence patriots, as well as continual reference to “the fraudulent Government”.<sup>54</sup> From a visual point of view, it is distinctive for its inclusion of an Irish language column throughout the period, set in an Uncial font, as well as overt visual and textual references to the ancient sagas, intended to establish continuity with both the late nineteenth century imagining of Ireland and the source of that invented tradition (see Figure 1-10).

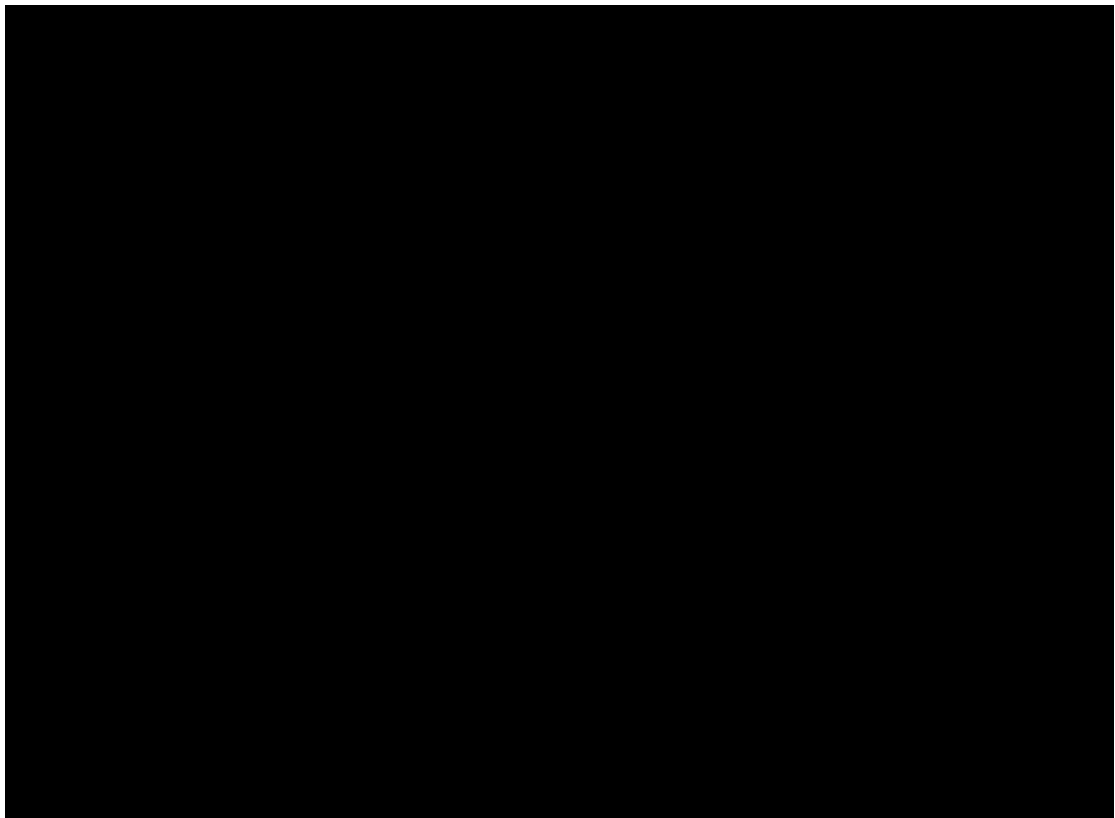


FIGURE 1-10 - ‘THE CHILDREN’S CAMP FIRE: MEETING AT TÍR NA N-ÓG’  
(*AN PHOBLACHT*, 22 OCTOBER 1926, P. 4)

In contrast to this interpretation of an alternative Ireland ran the invidious position of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy. The social group most associated with the British administration and culturally closest to London, they remained an uneasy minority in the Irish Free State. A large part of the historical influence of Republican France and

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Oath a precondition for standing for election. See FERRITER, D. (2004) *The Transformation of Modern Ireland 1900-2000*. London: Profile Books, p. 310; MACDONAGH. (2003) pp. 121-22.

<sup>54</sup> (1925) 'Events of the Week - The Shannon Schemers', *An Phoblacht*. October 9. p. 3.

subsequent Republican thought had been filtered into Ireland through the well-travelled and well-read members of the Ascendancy, with high levels of university education and jobs in the professions. Despite being generally regarded as a by-word for ‘upper-class’, the Protestant minority in the new state was split between the remnants of the landed gentry in their Big Houses, the professional middle classes in their leafy south Dublin suburbs and a distinct northwards-facing minority of medium farmers along the Border.<sup>55</sup> A minority of Dublin-focussed figures such as Douglas Hyde, W. B. Yeats, Lady Gregory and George Russell (‘Æ’) retained an involvement with the cultural nationalist movement, particularly through the areas of language reform and the theatre. For example, Lennox Robinson’s 1926 play *The Big House* looks at the role of and attitudes towards the Anglo-Irish ‘big house’ in rural Ireland during the 1910s and early 1920s, depicting an uncomfortable position of being seen as neither ‘truly’ English nor ‘truly’ Irish.<sup>56</sup>

The other influence from the broader world that touched Ireland during this period was that of feminism and the suffrage movement. Irish women such as Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington had been involved with British suffragettes in the 1910s, as groups such as the Irish Women’s Franchise League and Inghinidhe na hÉireann in 1900 produced members who later played a central role in Cumann na mBan, the republican women’s paramilitary organisation (see Figure 1-11). Maud Gonne and Constance Markiewicz, in particular, played important roles in the 1916 Rising and the War of Independence, with Markiewicz subsequently the first woman elected to the House of Commons in 1918, as well as to the First Dáil of 1919, and functioned as the first Irish Minister for Labour up to 1922.<sup>57</sup> However, this high profile role for female politicians had little effect on Irish society as a whole, with traditional Catholic and conservative values holding sway for the majority of Free State society, and radical feminists were subsumed into the wider political and cultural movement of de Valera and the anti-Treaty side.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> BROWN. (1985) pp. 95-98.

<sup>56</sup> ROBINSON, L. (1928) 'The Big House', *Plays*. London: Macmillan & Co. BROWN. (1985) pp. 98-107.

<sup>57</sup> MARRECO, A. (2002) *The Rebel Countess: The Life and Times of Constance Markiewicz*. London: Phoenix.

<sup>58</sup> MCCOOLE, S. (2004) *No Ordinary Women: Irish Female Activists in the Revolutionary Years*. Dublin: O'Brien Press.

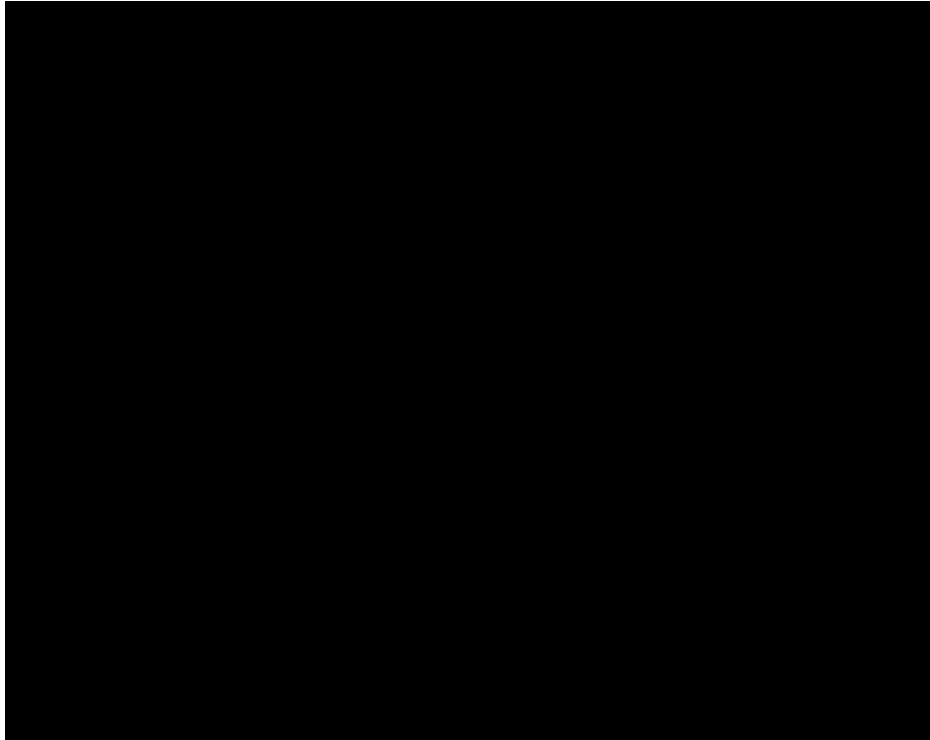


FIGURE 1-11 – GROUP OF INGHINIDHE NA HÉIREANN [DAUGHTERS OF IRELAND], INCLUDING MAUD GONNE HOLDING THE BANNER, 1905-06  
(KILMAINHAM GAOL COLLECTION)

The socialist tradition in Ireland is one that is commonly neglected within discussions of the nation in the 1920s, or at least relegated to a minor role. While it did not play a central role in parliamentary politics during the period, the influence of ideas about labour constituted an important alternative imagining of Ireland. The Labour Party had bowed to nationalism in the elections of 1918 and 1921 in making the decision to ‘step back’ and allow the election to essentially be fought along Treaty lines.<sup>59</sup> From an influential position in the 1910s, the issue of organised labour had been to the forefront among the urban working class.<sup>60</sup> It also saw a wider appeal after the execution of the 1916 Rising ringleaders, particularly James Connolly, the Marxist writer and theorist, along with more explicitly nationalistic co-revolutionaries. However, the self-effacing manoeuvres of the Labour Party ensured that Connolly was assimilated into the

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<sup>59</sup> PUIRSÉIL, N. (2007) *The Irish Labour Party 1922-73*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, pp. 9-13.

<sup>60</sup> This was largely in conjunction with the agitation of Jim Larkin and the Trade Union Congress during the strikes and lockouts of 1913.

nationalist pantheon of dead heroes, his Marxism played down or forgotten.<sup>61</sup> In combination with infighting within the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, organised labour slipped from the public eye, a position that it subsequently found extremely difficult to change.<sup>62</sup>

While continuing the earlier obsession with nationalist forms as the dominant political ideology, the new Free State provided a sympathetic climate for socialist ideas and projects, especially at a grass-roots level. Distinct socialist tendencies can be identified in some areas of the Irish countryside, especially where they benefited the national or local good. Coupled with a 'self-help' ethos, this produced the co-operative movement in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century - not actually a political party, but a group with definite socialist tendencies (see Figure 1-12 for a typical group of co-op workers). This movement, under the auspices of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, aimed to render the Irish farmer self-reliant and technically competent by providing agricultural education, economies of scale by forming food processing co-ops, and capital finance through credit unions. It became immensely popular and formed part of an awareness that political independence implied economic independence, with the goal of a separate viable economy for the country. To quote MacDonagh, the co-ops were “envisioning a transformation of the means of production, distribution and exchange in Ireland.”<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> HOWELL, D. (1986) *A Lost Left: Three Studies in Socialism and Nationalism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 17-154.

<sup>62</sup> BROWN. (1985) pp. 91-95. HUTTON, S. (1991) 'Labour in the Post-Independence Irish State', in HUTTON, S. & P. STEWART (eds.) *Ireland's Histories: Aspects of State, Society and Identity*. London: Routledge, pp. 52-56.

<sup>63</sup> MACDONAGH. (2003) p. 81.

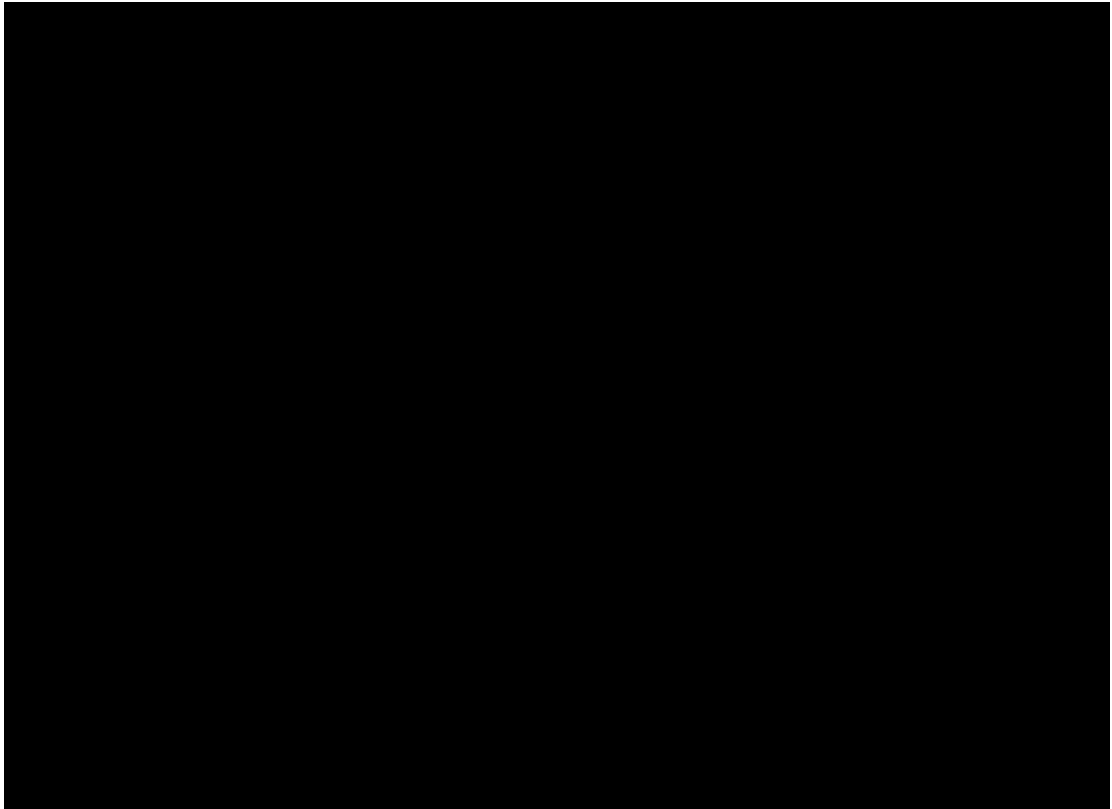


FIGURE 1-12 - DROMAHAIR CO-OP CREAMERY, COUNTRY LEITRIM, 1909 (UCD AD: P168)

The concept of a modern, scientific Ireland was not widespread during the 1920s. Despite the overarching focus on the antique and the rural, an emphasis on the importance of science had been present in some areas of nationalist discourse and the Irish scientific institutions balanced an uneasy relationship with both nationalists and their nominal overlords in South Kensington.<sup>64</sup> George Russell's involvement with Horace Plunkett in the co-operative movement demonstrates their minority view of "the scientific application of technology to Irish culture as a means to evolve Irish identity."<sup>65</sup> Although the co-operative movement was largely successful, it remained resolutely agriculturally based and Irish scientists lacked the necessary structural connections with the labour movement or even industrialists to move their ideas into a larger, industrial base, remaining largely involved with nineteenth century Dublin

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<sup>64</sup> ALLEN, N. (2003) 'States of Mind: Science, Culture and the Irish Intellectual Revival, 1900-30', *Irish University Review*, March, p. 153. WILLIAMS, W. J. (1926) 'The Shannon Scheme and the Teaching of Science: A Plea for Realism in Education', *Studies*. Vol. LII, June, pp. 177-92; WHYTE, N. (1997) 'Science and Nationality in Edwardian Ireland', in WHYTE, N. & P. J. BOWLER (eds.) *Science and Society in Ireland: The Social Context of Science and Technology in Ireland 1800-1950*. Belfast: Queen's University Belfast, pp. 49-65.

<sup>65</sup> ALLEN. (2003) p. 157. George Russell was probably better known as poet, painter and writer 'Æ', contemporary of W.B. Yeats.

institutions.<sup>66</sup> This was one of the main factors in ensuring that the essentialist approach to national identity remained far more influential than the epochal during the formative years of the state.

### **Cumann na nGaedheal: state building and nation building**

The motivation behind the acceptance of the Anglo-Irish Treaty by Sinn Féin negotiators in London in 1921 is generally seen as the recognition of dominion status as the maximum concession that they could wring from the British Government, in their attempts to create an independent Irish state. However, Michael Collins' stance that it allowed "the freedom to achieve freedom" was not accepted by numbers of his Sinn Féin colleagues, and this is generally seen as the root cause of the Irish Civil War of 1922-23.<sup>67</sup> After the deaths of Collins and fellow-negotiator Arthur Griffith in August 1922, the reins of the pro-Treaty wing were taken up by W. T. Cosgrave, who had been a minor revolutionary with a background in administration in Dublin Corporation.<sup>68</sup> The pro-Treaty faction then reorganised into a distinct new party, Cumann na nGaedheal, at the end of 1922, which contested and won the elections of April 1923, with the anti-Treaty forces under Eamonn de Valera refusing to sit in the fourth Dáil.<sup>69</sup>

The composition of Cumann na nGaedheal at the start of their nine years in power was that of the more pragmatic members of old Sinn Féin and 'pragmatism' is a term which comes up again and again in the discussion about the early years of the party.<sup>70</sup> Finally, a measure of independence had been achieved from Britain and the business of actually running the fledgling Irish Free State took priority. The damage of seven years of unrest had taken its toll on the country, from both a psychological and physical point of view, with burnt-out houses and blown-up bridges, as well as continuing action by IRA

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<sup>66</sup> WHYTE. (1997) pp. 49-65.

<sup>67</sup> DÁIL ÉIREANN. (1921) 'Debate on Treaty' Vol. 3. Dublin: The Stationery Office, p. 33.

<sup>68</sup> COLLINS, S. (1996) *The Cosgrave Legacy*. Dublin: Blackwater Press, pp. 4-77; JORDAN, A. (2006) *W. T. Cosgrave 1880 - 1965: Founder of Modern Ireland*. Dublin: Westport Books; MEEHAN. (2010) pp. 16-22.

<sup>69</sup> REYNOLDS, B. A. (1998) *William T. Cosgrave and the Foundation of the Irish Free State, 1922-25*. Kilkenny: Kilkenny People Printing.

<sup>70</sup> DALY, M. E. (1992) *Industrial Development and Irish National Identity 1922-1939*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, p. 57; GARVIN. (1996) p. 153; Ó'GRÁDA, C. (1994) *Ireland: A New Economic History 1780-1939*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 385-86.

irregulars remaining as a physical reminder of the shaky condition of the new state. Despite the inheritance of a fairly sophisticated public infrastructure, the Free State also bore the classic features of an underdeveloped colonial economy, heavily agricultural and dependent on its industrialised neighbour for processed and industrial goods and as a destination for its exports.<sup>71</sup> The approach of “probably the most conservative-minded revolutionaries that ever put through a successful revolution” was not the 19<sup>th</sup> century goal of self-sufficiency, but to focus on stamping out any remaining IRA activity and rebuilding both the physical structure and infrastructure of the state.<sup>72</sup> Budgets were tightly controlled by Ernest Blythe’s Department of Finance, which soon garnered a reputation for balancing the annual returns with an iron fist. The professional civil service inherited from Britain had transferred almost en masse to the new State and enjoyed almost autonomous control over financial matters, setting the tone for Government policy.<sup>73</sup> The lack of industry also made a direct move to self-sufficiency unfeasible, so a policy of free trade was adopted throughout the lifetime of the Cumann na nGaedheal administration.<sup>74</sup> This basis in orthodox economic theory also reflected the centre-right position of the party, with a strong support base shared between the urban middle class and the larger farmers.<sup>75</sup> Previous imaginings of Ireland proved inadequate to the task of the day-to-day running of a nation-state, with the emphasis continually on pragmatic decisions, as it focused on what Meehan describes as “the ordinary, mundane but vital work of building the Free State.”<sup>76</sup> This state building work does not seem to have extended to a focused industrial policy, with any intervention being carried out in “a haphazard and apologetic fashion”.<sup>77</sup> This overall

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<sup>71</sup> DALY. (1992) pp. 15-16; MACDONAGH. (2003) pp. 144-45; O’HALPIN, E. (2003) 'Politics and the State 1922-32', in MOODY, T., F. MARTIN, F. BYRNE & A. COSGROVE (eds.) *A New History of Ireland Volumes 7-8*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 113.

<sup>72</sup> DÁIL ÉIREANN. (1923) 'Seizure of Cattle by Military' Vol. 2. Dublin: The Stationery Office, p. 1909. MEEHAN. (2010) pp. 29-38; BOYLAN, T., C. CURTAIN & L. O'DOWD. (1988) 'Politics and Society and Post-Independent Ireland', in BARTLETT, T., C. CURTAIN, R. O'DWYER & G. ÓTUATHAIGH (eds.) *Irish Studies: A General Introduction*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, pp. 152-73; O’HALPIN. (2003) p. 109.

<sup>73</sup> FOSTER. (1988) pp. 251-52; JOHNSON, D. (1989) *The Interwar Economy in Ireland*. Dublin: The Economic and Social History Society of Ireland, p. 22.

<sup>74</sup> DALY. (1992) p. 14. The largest areas for employment in the Free State in 1926 were 53% in agriculture, 9.7% in manufacturing and 3.0% in construction. From GILLMOR, D. (2003) 'Land and People, c.1926', in MOODY, T., F. MARTIN, F. BYRNE & A. COSGROVE (eds.) *A New History of Ireland Volumes 7-8*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 68.

<sup>75</sup> Ó’GRÁDA. (1994) p. 386.

<sup>76</sup> MEEHAN, C. (2008) 'Fine Gael’s Uncomfortable History: The Legacy of Cumann na nGaedheal', *Éire-Ireland: a Journal of Irish Studies*. Vol. 43, No. 3 & 4, Fall/Winter, p. 60.

<sup>77</sup> O’HALPIN. (2003) p. 115.



approach to the generation of industry may seem at odds to the development of the Shannon Scheme and the project of electrification. However, the fact that the Shannon Scheme project was developed from earlier ideas by Irish engineer Thomas McLaughlin, who had worked for Siemens in Germany during the early 1920s, and presented to the Government on behalf of Siemens, fits in with this approach.<sup>78</sup> Cumann na nGaedheal would take on an electrification project when it was presented to them as a fully-worked out plan, but were exceedingly unlikely to have taken the initiative on such a departure.

Tom Garvin argues that “the central problem facing the creators of a new state is that of creating a new sense of community” and it is this need for a sense of national solidarity that underpinned the visual activities of the new Free State.<sup>79</sup> The state may be separate from civil society and culture, but it can only be understood and imagined by its own citizens using the symbols current and understandable in that culture, including both Hobsmawnian rituals and Edensor’s everyday nationality. In the case of the new Cumann na nGaedheal government, they also had the difficulty of competition from the phantom Republic appropriated by Fianna Fáil. The identification of the Irish nation as purely Gaelic, Catholic and Republican proved contentious, as the Free State was not entirely any of these. As Garvin points out, any perceived ‘natural affinity’ between Gaelic culture and a 32-county Republic tended to insinuate that the 26-county Free State was also insufficiently Irish.<sup>80</sup> This can be seen as an underlying principle in any of the Free State’s visual manifestations, as they continually reasserted the essentialist ‘Irishness’ of the State and protected it from misappropriation.

It was imperative that the community of the 26 counties begin to imagine themselves as a functional political community, without ruling out the possibility of being joined by their northern neighbours. Assembling the trappings of a modern state began with the notorious step of painting the British red post-boxes green, a step which cemented the

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<sup>78</sup> MANNING, M. & M. MCDOWELL. (1984) *Electricity Supply in Ireland: The History of the E.S.B.* Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, pp. 18-38; O’BEIRNE, G. (2000) *Siemens in Ireland 1925-2000: Seventy Five Years of Innovation.* Dublin: A&A Farmar, pp. 45-55; DELANY, B. (2002) ‘McLaughlin, the Genesis of the Shannon Scheme and the ESB’, in BIELENBERG, A. (ed.) *The Shannon Scheme and the Electrification of the Irish Free State: An Inspirational Milestone.* Dublin: The Lilliput Press, pp. 11-27.

<sup>79</sup> GARVIN. (1996) p. 147.

<sup>80</sup> GARVIN. (1996) p. 149.

symbolic importance of the colour green to the conception of Ireland (see Figure 1-13). The design of definitive stamps, coinage and the State Seal emphasised the connection with 19<sup>th</sup> century imaginings of Ireland, with a focus on the agricultural and antiquarian (see Figure 1-14 and Figure 1-15).<sup>81</sup>



FIGURE 1-13 - VICTORIAN POST BOX PAINTED GREEN, BALGRIFFIN, CO. DUBLIN

(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, APRIL 2011)

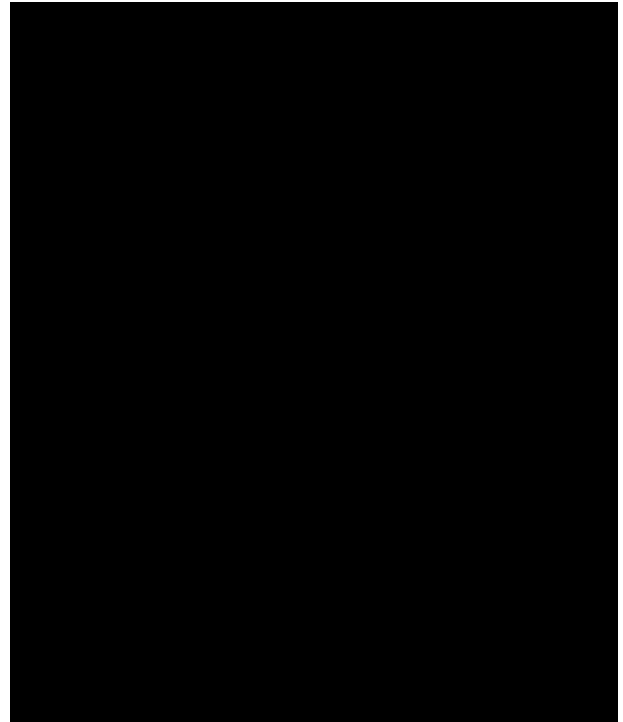


FIGURE 1-14 - FIRST DEFINITIVE STAMP ISSUED BY THE IRISH FREE STATE, 1922

([HTTP://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:IRL\\_2D\\_1922.JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:IRL_2D_1922.JPG))

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<sup>81</sup> DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE. (1928) 'The Coinage of Saorstát Eireann'. Dublin: Stationery Office, p. 5; SHEEHY. (1980) p. 175; CAFFREY, P. (2011) 'The Coinage Design Committee (1926-1928) and the Formation of a Design Identity in the Irish Free State', in KING, L. & E. SISSON (eds.) *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity 1922-1992*. Cork: Cork University Press, pp. 75-89; KENNEDY. (1994) pp. 134-38; CAMPION. (1989) p. 64.

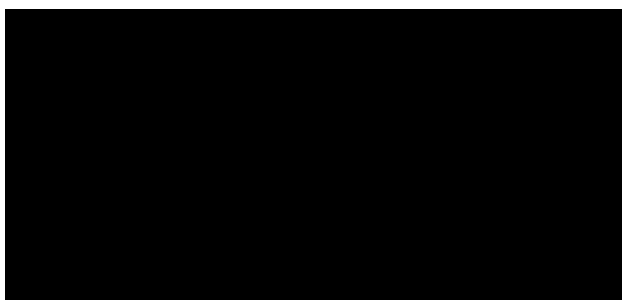


FIGURE 1-15 - PERCY METCALFE, FREE STATE SHILLING COIN, 1928  
([HTTP://MEMBERS.COX.NET/EIRECOINS2/IMAGES/SCILLINGA.JPG](http://members.cox.net/eirecoins2/images/scillinga.jpg))

Although these early Free State symbols offered a far from unified front, they form a distinct demonstration of the complex web of associations suggested by national symbols, combining symbolic defacement, symbolic use of colour, antiquarian references, geographical challenge, linguistic and typographical assertions, as well as allusions to both ancient legends and agricultural practice.<sup>82</sup> They work to reinforce the idea of the nation, allowing the population to continually imagine their nation by everyday contact with its physical manifestations, taking Anderson's thesis out of the realm of the purely textual. The majority of these symbols, however, are taken from the patrimony of essentialist symbols of the nation's past, with any epochal resonances restricted to the up-to-date production processes used to create the paraphernalia of a modern state. The Cumann na nGaedheal Government may not have been as deeply essentialist as later Fianna Fáil governments, but managed to balance the essentialist leanings of the country at large with an eye for the current, epochal necessities for the creation of a new state.

This balance between the epochal and the essentialist can be seen in the publication of the *Saorstát Éireann Irish Free State Handbook*, which was published by Cumann na nGaedheal as they were leaving government in 1932, self-consciously commemorating a new epoch in Irish history and self-determination.<sup>83</sup> This elaborate publication had a cover designed by the illuminator Art O'Murnaghan (see Figure 1-16), combining uncial textual elements with strongly coloured interlace and natural motifs highly reminiscent

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<sup>82</sup> MORRIS, E. (2000) *Our Own Devices: National Symbols and Political Conflict in Twentieth-Century Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, p. 2.

<sup>83</sup> HOBSON, B. (1932) *Saorstát Éireann Irish Free State Official Handbook*. Dublin: The Talbot Press, p. 15.

of Celtic manuscripts such as the Book of Kells, all of which were intended to reinforce the position of the Free State as the legitimate inheritor of Ancient Ireland.<sup>84</sup> The interior contained chapters on the flora, fauna, art, industry and architecture of Ireland, as well as the constitution, judiciary, transport and trade.<sup>85</sup> The visual language of chapters was heavily based on antiquarian ideas of Irishness, as they were decorated with terminal letters based on Celtic manuscripts and illustrated with lithographs of pages from those manuscripts and medieval metalwork, as well as reproductions of paintings of Irish landscapes by artists such as Paul Henry and Sean O'Sullivan (see Figure 1-17 and Figure 1-18). However, the essentialist celebration of romantic and ancient Ireland closed with a substantial section of advertisements (many photographic) extolling the virtues of the most up-to-date hotels and transport connections, as well as businesses from shoemakers to department stores, convincing the reader that the visitor to Ireland has access to all modern conveniences of the epoch (see Figure 1-19). This inclusion of modernised, commercial Ireland demonstrating a distinct awareness of the epochal context of the book, which was purposefully created with a view to the historical record and the creation of Irish history.

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<sup>84</sup> SHEEHY. (1980) pp. 170-73.

<sup>85</sup> HOBSON. (1932) pp. 9-12.



FIGURE 1-16 - ART O'MURNAGHAN, COVER OF THE *FREE STATE HANDBOOK*, 1932 (PRIVATE COLLECTION)

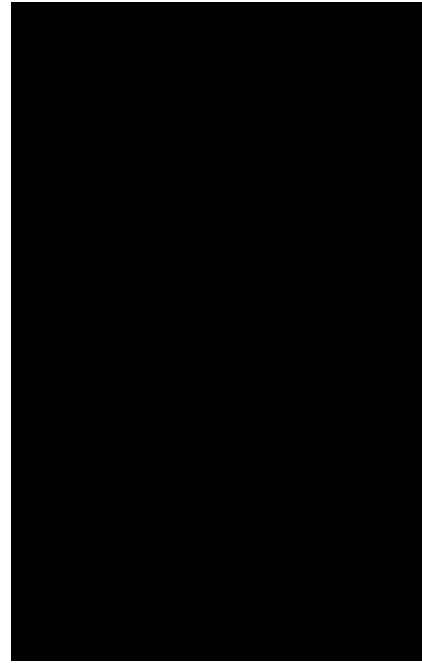


FIGURE 1-17 - PAGE FROM THE *FREE STATE HANDBOOK* SHOWING TERMINAL LETTER BASED ON DRAWINGS BY SEAN O'SULLIVAN

(HOBSON, B. (1932) *SAORSTÁT ÉIREANN IRISH FREE STATE OFFICIAL HANDBOOK*. DUBLIN: THE TALBOT PRESS, P. 15)



FIGURE 1-18 - REPRODUCTION OF PAUL HENRY LANDSCAPE PAINTING, FROM THE CHAPTER ON PUBLIC FINANCE IN THE *FREE STATE HANDBOOK*

(HOBSON, B. (1932) *SAORSTÁT ÉIREANN IRISH FREE STATE OFFICIAL HANDBOOK*. DUBLIN: THE TALBOT PRESS, P. 94)

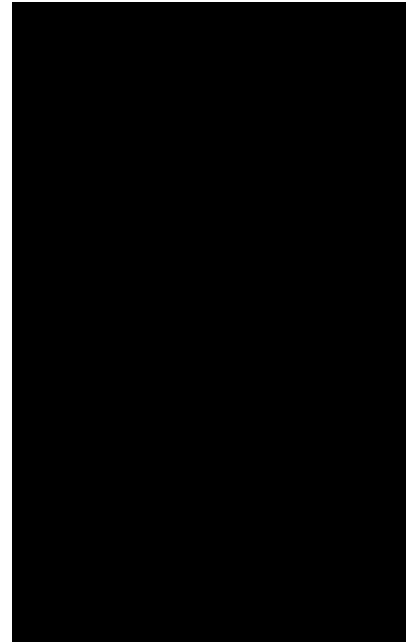


FIGURE 1-19 - ADVERTISEMENTS FOR IRISH HOTELS IN THE *FREE STATE HANDBOOK*

(HOBSON, B. (1932) *SAORSTÁT ÉIREANN IRISH FREE STATE OFFICIAL HANDBOOK*. DUBLIN: THE TALBOT PRESS, P. 78)

## Modernities: modernisation and the Modern Movement

The specific development of Irish national identity in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century owes a largely unacknowledged debt to conditions in the wider world. Particularly in the inter-war period, events, ideas and ideologies outside the country set the context for what Graham includes in “the numerous examples of failed nation-state building that litter Europe.”<sup>86</sup> One of the greatest influences on nation-states, was that of the development of what is seen as ‘the modern age’. Described in *New Keywords* as “one of the most politically charged keywords circulating”, ‘modern’ is generally used to mean a recent period of time, although its historical association with the idea of progress means that it can be used to describe a range of phenomena, including science and technology, urban living, and a number of historical cultural avant-gardes.<sup>87</sup> Greenhalgh identifies five interconnected factors which must all be in place before modernisation can occur: the existence of a nation-state and the presence of advanced technology and financial capital, alongside a rise in consumption and in urbanisation.<sup>88</sup> MacCannell describes the features of the modernised world as “advanced urbanization, expanded literacy, generalized health care, rationalized work arrangements, geographical and economic mobility and the emergence of the nation-state as the most important socio-political unit”, most of which increasingly applied to Ireland in the 1920s.<sup>89</sup> He argues that the condition of modernity becomes initially apparent in urban centres, before spreading in an uneven manner to more rural locations.<sup>90</sup> The spread of a modernised way of life to the Limerick city area in the late 1920s was evident by its location on the extensive railway network, the increasing number of motor cars, industrial work and exposure to occasional imports from industrialised Germany, as in this advertisement for the futuristic science fiction film *Metropolis*, screened in a Limerick city cinema (see Figure 1-20). The film is labelled as ‘an ultra-modern film spectacle!’, which presented the

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<sup>86</sup> GRAHAM, C. (ed.) (1997) *In Search of Ireland: A Cultural Geography*. London: Routledge, p. 2.

<sup>87</sup> BENNETT, T., L. GROSSBERG, M. MORRIS & R. WILLIAMS. (2005) *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Oxford: Blackwell, p. 219; WILLIAMS, R. (1988) *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. London: Fontana, pp. 208-09.

<sup>88</sup> GREENHALGH, P. (2005) *The Modern Ideal: The Rise and Collapse of Idealism in the Visual Arts from the Enlightenment to Postmodernism*. London: V&A Publications, pp. 62-63.

<sup>89</sup> MACCANNELL, D. (1999) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. 3rd ed. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, p. 7.

<sup>90</sup> MACCANNELL. (1999) p. 15.

figure of the robot Maria and the urban landscape as symbols of a modernised future based on science and industrial labour.

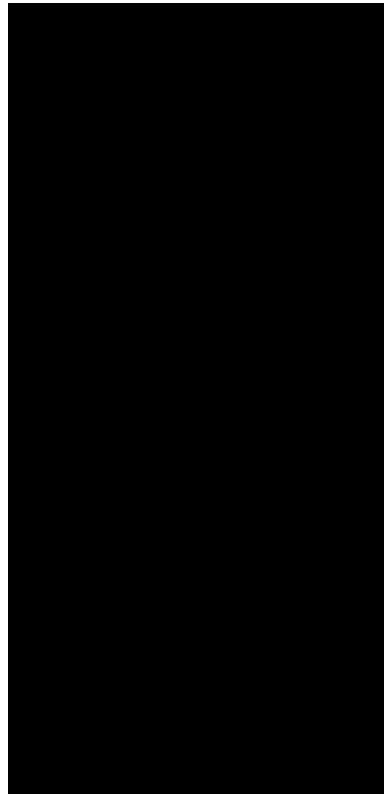


FIGURE 1-20 - ADVERTISEMENT FOR 'METROPOLIS' IN THE ATHENÆUM CINEMA, LIMERICK, 1927

(*LIMERICK LEADER*, OCTOBER 1 1927, P. 1)

The development of Ireland as a modernised state created a society furnished with railways, motor cars, telephones, cinemas and daily newspapers. This spread of an ahistorical, epochal consciousness happened at a crucial moment in the development of the industrial world, moving from the earlier nineteenth century model of mechanical industry, towards a model that incorporated distributed systems of power and consumption (e.g. electricity systems, car factories and management structures).<sup>91</sup> This is the modernised world described by Berman in his discussion of Baudelaire and Benjamin, where electric light took its place as a central symbol of the modern world, along with the fashionable parade, the *flâneur* and the constant movement of the big

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<sup>91</sup> HUGHES, T. P. (2005) *Human-built World: How to Think About Technology and Culture*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

city.<sup>92</sup> It is these “deep fundamental sociological structures and more lasting views and modes of thought and comprehension” which shape the culture of any particular time and place.<sup>93</sup> Modernisation carries important associations with the universal, the rational, the systemic and the technological, all of which represented an influential epochal complex of ideas in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in the development of mechanical and then electrical technologies and their complex systems of control and administration.<sup>94</sup>

It is important at this stage in the discussion to separate out the epochal desire for modernisation from the specific manner in which artists and designers responded to this cultural context. The concept of a new age, structured by the values of “order, regularity, system, and control” associated with Taylor and Ford inspired a whole generation of European artists, designers and architects.<sup>95</sup> Figures and groups such as the Futurists, Le Corbusier, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius proved influential in promulgating aesthetic responses to the structural changes that were going on around them, despite representing a tiny fraction of creative practice.<sup>96</sup> They were involved in a collection of avant-garde aesthetic and ideological movements, which sought to reject history, tradition and applied ornament, and to express the power of machine and industrial production. As Wilk points out, although artistic Modernism was not a singular movement, modernists generally came from a common position that art, design and architecture had a moral imperative to transform society, to dispose of the vestiges of the past and to create a new, utopian world.<sup>97</sup> As well as this main group of idealists, Greenhalgh identifies two other tendencies within the Modern Movement: smaller groups involved in neutral reportage of life in the modern world, or radical critique of the changes brought by modernisation, such as the German Expressionist

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<sup>92</sup> BERMAN, M. (1983) *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. London: Verso, p. 152.

<sup>93</sup> FALLAN, K. (2010) *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method*. New York, NY: Berg, p. 114.

<sup>94</sup> WILK, C. (2006) *Modernism: Designing a New World 1914-1939*. London: V&A Publications, pp. 72-89.

<sup>95</sup> GREENHALGH. (2005) pp. 15-23; MISA, T. J., P. BREY & A. FEENBERG (eds.) (2004) *Modernity and Technology*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 5.

<sup>96</sup> GREENHALGH. (2005) p. 14.

<sup>97</sup> WILK. (2006) p. 14.



plays staged by the avant-garde Dublin Drama League in the late 1920s.<sup>98</sup> The slippery nature of the term ‘modern’ has meant that the enthusiastic responses to systemic technologies often allowed for confusion of the Modern Movement with the condition of modernity, as described above.<sup>99</sup> To reduce this confusion throughout this thesis, I will refer to the condition of modernity or modernisation as the wider cultural condition, while specifying the aesthetic response as Modernism or Modernist.

### **Modernisation: multiple modernities**

The concept that the condition of ‘modernity’ is singular, universal and indivisible is a logical follow-through from the common usage of the term, but it is one that has since been shown to be impossible to apply to the variety of different modernities which developed in different nation-states and political structures during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>100</sup> The differences in rate and direction of development of various ‘modern’ nations during this period (e.g. Germany, India, Russia) mean that it is very easy to see different expressions of modernity as levels of backwardness, compared to the United States.<sup>101</sup> This homogenising tendency also has the effect of masking the specific and particular ways in which each nation interprets the concept. For example, Sabatino writes about the relationship of Italian designers to the vernacular furniture and architecture of Capri and the Amalfi Coast, which they appropriated to form a modernist synthesis of collective expression and individual identity from the 1920s to the 1950s.<sup>102</sup> On the other hand, Gürel discusses the symbolism of modern furniture in post-war Turkey, where it represented a level of class distinction, as well as an adoption of a pro-American stance in the Cold War and a rejection of local artisan traditions.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> SISSON, E. (2011) 'Experimentalism and the Irish Stage: Theatre and German Expressionism in the 1920s', in KING, L. & E. SISSON (eds.) *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity 1922-1992*. Cork: Cork University Press, pp. 39-55.

<sup>99</sup> WILK. (2006) p. 17.

<sup>100</sup> WITTROCK, B. (2000) 'Modernity: One, None or Many? European Origins and Modernity as a Global Condition', *Daedalus*. Vol. 129, No. 1, Winter, p. 33.

<sup>101</sup> GERSCHENKRON, A. (1962) *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: A Book of Essays*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

<sup>102</sup> SABATINO, M. (2008) 'Ghosts and Barbarians: The Vernacular in Italian Modern Architecture and Design', *Journal of Design History*. Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 335-58.

<sup>103</sup> GÜREL, M. Ö. (2009) 'Consumption of Modern Furniture as a Strategy of Distinction in Turkey', *Journal of Design History*. Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 47-67.

## **Technologies: technology and the technical**

The regional variation in interpretation of the modern is hugely influential in how specific nation-states conceived of, used and manipulated the introduction and development of ‘modern’ technologies, depending on their interpretation of epochal issues. As the values of system and order were understood to be instilled through technological means, this makes national attitudes to technology of primary importance. The concept of ‘technology’ is open to interpretation and re-interpretation, to suit local social, political and economic conditions. For example, Schatzberg discusses the introduction and mis-translation of German concepts of technology into American debates in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. German terminology retained a difference between *Technologie*, meaning the ideas or concepts behind the industrial arts, and *Technik*, the practical methods and practices used to create industrial artefacts. *Technik* is closer in meaning to the English ‘technique’, specifying the purely practical and mechanical, rather than the social or organisational aspects of technological practice. The main route of transfer of this idea into English was from German to American economists, most notably through the work of Thorstein Veblen. Veblen conflated both terms into the English ‘technology’, losing the sense of a difference between the purely practical aspects of technology and its wider social context.<sup>104</sup>

This interpretation of the idea of ‘technology’ as a loaded concept proved very influential in the period under discussion. While the precise meanings differed from person to person, in overall terms it marked a difference from “the relatively limited capacity of the merely *useful* (or *mechanic* or *practical* or *industrial*) *arts* to generate social change.”<sup>105</sup> It brought the area of engineering out of the mere *Technik* (or technical) , allowed it access to the realms of the higher arts and associated it with science, business and the creation of wealth. Importantly, it became inextricably entwined with the idea of progress, to become

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<sup>104</sup> SCHATZBERG, E. (2006) '*Technik* Comes to America: Changing Meanings of *Technology*', *Technology and Culture*. Vol. 47, No. 3, July, pp. 488-502.

<sup>105</sup> MARX, L. (1997) '*Technology*: The Emergence of a Hazardous Concept', *Social Research*. Vol. 64, No. 3, Fall, p. 977.

a concept that did not merely signify, like the useful arts, a means of achieving progress, but rather one that signified a discrete entity that, in itself, virtually constituted progress.<sup>106</sup>

The close association of technology with progress was to prove influential in both the United States and Europe, as it propelled the agent of technology from mechanic to technician and improved the status of the engineer. It also had the effect of associating technology with specially trained experts and university research programmes, transforming it into an elite, exclusive activity, and segregating it from the more common body of knowledge. This segregation then had the effect of mystifying the processes, artefacts and components of technology, so that both the specialised knowledge required to deal with technology and the objects themselves became ‘black boxes’.<sup>107</sup> This reification of both the intangible and tangible aspects of technology had the effect of encouraging the view that technology has an objective power of its own, as if it exists independent of its human creators and mediators. Another effect is the encouraging of determinist ways of thinking, as if technology alone is driving human history, outside of human control.<sup>108</sup>

The potential for the development of a technological Ireland in the 1920s depended on how these concepts were transferred into the state from outside. The English-speaking nature of industry and construction in the country tended to encourage the importation of British and American ideas, particularly in the sphere of engineering. Irish engineering education was heavily based on that of the British system, with numbers of Irish-trained engineers emigrating to work on projects throughout the Empire before Independence.<sup>109</sup> I would argue that the importation of German ideas about *Technik* and *Technologie* would have suffered in translation here also, as any importation of the concepts in the 1920s would have already found Veblen’s conflated term ‘technology’ in existence.

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<sup>106</sup> MARX. (1997) pp. 977-78.

<sup>107</sup> LATOUR, B. (1999) *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 23.

<sup>108</sup> MISA, T. J. (2004) 'The Compelling Tangle of Modernity and Technology', in MISA, T. J. (ed.) *Modernity and Technology*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 9; ROE SMITH, M. & L. MARX (eds.) (1994) *Does Technology Drive History? The Dilemma of Technological History*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. xi.

<sup>109</sup> (1928) 'Topical Touches', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. October 13. p. 857.

## Technologies: progress, *Technik* und *Kultur* in the United States and Germany

The underlying concepts of progress and modernisation are crucial in understanding the attitude to electrical technology in the 1920s, in Ireland as well as in the wider world. While German ideas of modernisation and technology were introduced into Ireland during this period by Siemens, American notions of technology were also very influential, given historical ties between the nations.<sup>110</sup> The American attitude to electrical technology was heavily influenced by determinist narratives, with a new ‘age of electricity’ being posited as part of a epochal narrative of progression into a technologically improved future. The approach to technology can be seen in the response to the efforts of first, Frederick Taylor in the rationalisation of work, and later, Henry Ford in his systematisation of the factory workforce. Both of these methods of organisation had a profound effect on the use of advanced technology, as they were integrated with the more sophisticated ‘second industrial revolution’ of electrically-driven machinery and products. Coupled with an emergent mass culture, the unprecedented prosperity of the United States by the early 1920s was seen by many as a vindication of technological methods, as well as the result of the ‘march of progress’.<sup>111</sup> This became an underlying rhetoric in much of American culture, with technology replacing economics as the prime motor of progress, and the engineer taking on the role of solver of social as well as technical problems.<sup>112</sup> The link with the modern, or specifically modernisation, is important in this context, as it plays an important role in the development of ideas about a single deterministic path from a traditional society to a modern one, which the first Irish government could view as an important state-building tool.<sup>113</sup> Nye identifies this as an important element in the formation of national identity in the United States of the period, with the embracing of technology and progress playing a central role in the frontier myth, an essential element of the imagined

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<sup>110</sup> Henry Ford had set up a factory in Cork in 1917, which manufactured Ford cars and Fordson tractors from 1919 until 1984. See (2011) "The History of Ford in Ireland", *Ford Ireland*. <http://www.ford.ie/AboutFord/CompanyInformation/HistoryOfFord> [Accessed: May 2 2011]

<sup>111</sup> BEARD, C. A. & M. R. BEARD. (1921) *History of the United States*. New York: Macmillan, pp. 570-81.

<sup>112</sup> HENDERSON, K. (1999) *On Line and On Paper: Visual Representations, Visual Culture, and Computer Graphics in Design Engineering*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 19; SCHATZBERG. (2006) pp. 509-10.

<sup>113</sup> MISA. (2004) p. 11.

American community.<sup>114</sup> In addition, a common reaction to new technology seems to be uncritical acceptance of it and the projection of desires for the future onto it, allowing the human imagination to express faith in itself, with one technological artefact standing symbolically for the entirety of the system.<sup>115</sup> The symbolic presentation of technology can be seen in the 19<sup>th</sup> century American concept of the United States as a sort of Second Creation, or the earthly equivalent of Paradise, giving particular impetus to an enthusiastic acceptance of technology in the country.<sup>116</sup>

Similar debates were taking place in Germany during the 1920s, on the role and interplay of technology, modernisation and the nation. The early part of the period under discussion coincides with the Stresemann period of the Weimar Republic, consisting of six years of stability between the introduction of the Rentenmark in 1923 and the Wall Street Crash of 1929. A keen interest in American developments in the area of rationalisation of industry and work has been noted throughout the 1920s in Germany, as part of a search for possible models of economic success. The techniques pioneered by Frederick Taylor and Henry Ford formed a case study in economic modernity founded on industrial restructuring and provided a terminology with which to discuss Germany's future.<sup>117</sup> The interest in Fordist techniques, in particular, formed the logic underpinning the efforts of German industrialists, engineers, sociologists and psychologists during the 1920s who read Ford's autobiography, visited American factories with notebooks in hand, and returned eager to try out ideas of *Rationalisierung* at home. Books such as *Economic America*, published in 1925 by Carl Köttgen (the general director of Siemens), pointed out which aspects of the American experience could be applied to Germany, particularly in the light of German emphasis on quality handwork and intensive labour processes.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> NYE, D. E. (2003) *America as Second Creation: Technology and Narratives of New Beginnings*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 53-54.

<sup>115</sup> BASALLA, G. (1988) *The Evolution of Technology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 21-22.

<sup>116</sup> HUGHES. (2005) pp. 17-43.

<sup>117</sup> NOLAN, M. (1994) *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3-9.

<sup>118</sup> NOLAN. (1994) pp. 18-28, 59-63.

The desire for a reimagined German national identity that could incorporate second revolution technology can be seen as a result of the historical circumstance in which the German nation was first imagined. The swift incorporation of industrial manufacturing into German society in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was not accompanied by an embracing of Enlightenment thought among the intelligentsia, nor by a parallel development of political liberalism.<sup>119</sup> This development within the German Empire of the *fin de siècle* therefore allowed the essentialist romantic legacy of the state to influence attitudes and approaches to technology in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

These approaches to national identity and the imagined community had a central influence on the debate within the engineering profession about the place of technology with the ‘cultured society’ of Germany. Within this cultural context, the German engineer was presented with a paradoxical problem. Was he (and exclusively he) to work as an agent of rationalisation and civilisation, embracing liberal economic doctrines, which meant turning his back on the opposed ideological formation of *Kultur*, with its cultural context of essentialist nation, blood and soil, the soul and the people? The emerging technological style evident in American industry of the 1910s was seen as being soulless and materialistic, unsuited to German local conditions and the German local ‘*Geist*’.<sup>120</sup> While ethnic, essentialist conceptions of national identity are definitely at play here, there is some basis to the idea that American technological models could not be directly transferred wholesale to Germany. The American model was based on much larger physical areas, both in terms of factory space and distribution for products, whereas German industry had historically operated a smaller scale, using labour-intensive methods and models, partly based on developments of existing craft industries.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> HERF, J. (1984) *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. ix.

<sup>120</sup> HERF. (1984) pp. 35-36; RIEGER, B. (2005) *Technology and the Culture of Modernity in Britain and Germany, 1890-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 108-15.

<sup>121</sup> NOLAN. (1994) p. 53.

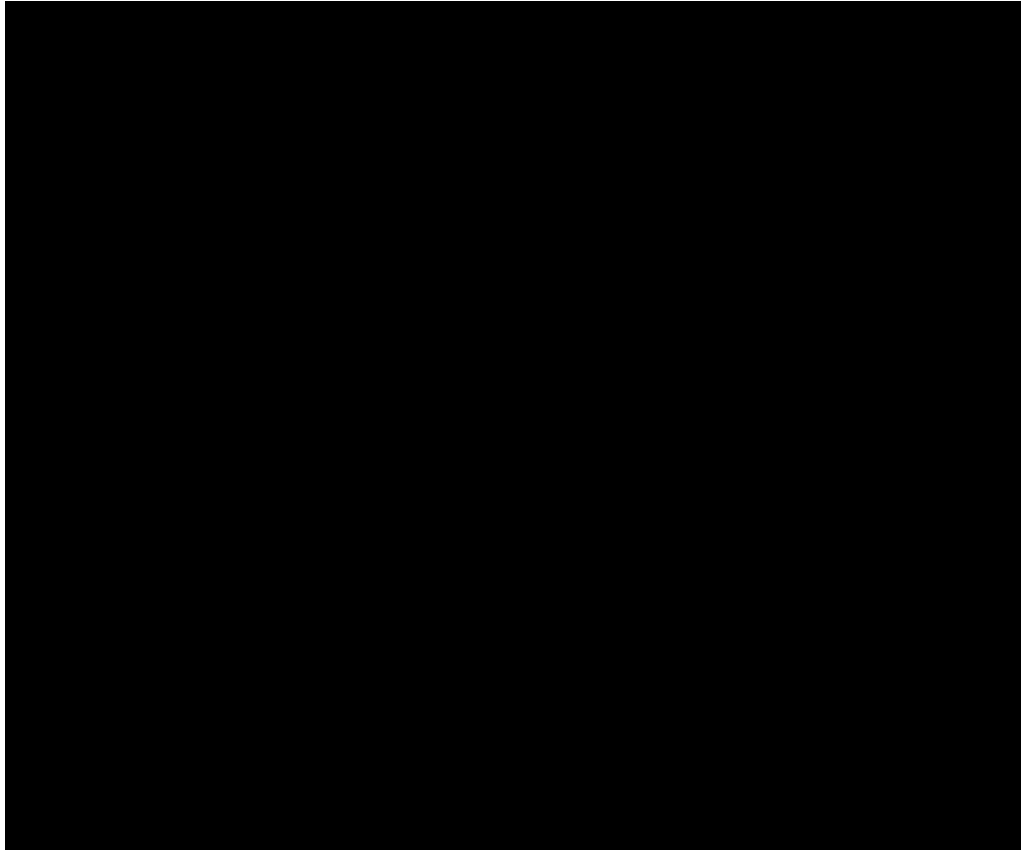


FIGURE 1-21 - ILLUSTRATION OF THE LOCATION OF THE ENGINEER IN RELATION TO THE CRAFT WORKER IN 1920S GERMANY.

(HERF, J. (1984) REACTIONARY MODERNISM: TECHNOLOGY, CULTURE, AND POLITICS IN WEIMAR AND THE THIRD REICH. CAMBRIDGE: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, P. 167)

Within the world of the professional engineer, an interesting realignment of the idea of technology took place, played out in the pages of German engineering journals and books considering ‘*der Streit um die Technik*’, starting in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The main points of this discourse involved a repositioning of the engineer within the dominant essentialist ideals of selfhood and authenticity, placing the creative labour of technology on a continuum with the craft worker and the artisan (see Figure 1-21).<sup>122</sup> This technological romanticism posited the engineer as the modern hero, working within and for German society, balanced between the essential and the epochal.<sup>123</sup> A central role was played in this debate by figures such as Carl Köttgen, who was an activist in both the RKW (*Reichskuratorium für Wirtschaftlichkeit* [National Productivity

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<sup>122</sup> HERF. (1984) pp. 152-88.

<sup>123</sup> GISPEN, K. (2002) *New Profession, Old Order: Engineers and German Society, 1815 - 1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 317.

Board]) and the VDI (*Verein Deutscher Ingenieure* [Association of German Engineers]) in the late 1920s, as well as a general director of Siemens from 1921.<sup>124</sup> Instead of simply accepting or rejecting American technological methods, Germany had managed to transfer and absorb certain elements of the American experience, while discarding others as being incompatible with local conditions. They had managed to create a balance between an efficient implementation of technological solutions and a distinct national culture, in a manner enviable to the Irish nationalist.<sup>125</sup> Although the choice of Siemens as contractor for the Shannon Scheme was initially prompted by a set of personal circumstances and friendships, I would argue that this successful reinterpretation of engineering technology as an essentially German characteristic provided an attractive vision of technology to the Irish Government, which was involved in its own difficult negotiations between the forces of the epochal and the essential in the 1920s.<sup>126</sup>

### **Electrical technology and the technological sublime**

The cultural associations surrounding technology were particularly marked in the area of electrical technology. The strength of these associations can be explained by the comparative newness of electrical technology, when compared with mechanical or steam technology, which had been in use in Europe for an extended period of time by the 1920s. Indeed, the epochal associations of electrical technology were strong enough for it to be considered the defining technology of the age, as well as the foundational technology of a second Industrial Revolution.<sup>127</sup> This was particularly attractive in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as industrialised parts of Europe were plagued by the effects of decades of coal smoke on the local environment, as well as the health of the local population. Both AEG in Germany and the Electrical Development Association in the United Kingdom were involved in electrification programmes, in conjunction with

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<sup>124</sup> GISPEN. (2002) p. 60.

<sup>125</sup> FISCHER, J. (1996) *Das Deutschlandbild der Iren 1890-1939: Geschichte, Form, Funktion*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, History, Trinity College, Dublin, pp. 156-59.

<sup>126</sup> The plan for the Scheme was initially worked out by Thomas McLaughlin, an Irish engineer, while working on the electrification of Pomerania for Siemens. He was friends with Patrick McGilligan, the Minister for Industry and Commerce and managed to persuade him to act as an advocate for his project in 1924. McLaughlin played a central role in overseeing the construction of the Shannon Scheme and became the first Managing Director of the ESB, on its creation in 1927. See DELANY. (2002) pp. 11-27.

<sup>127</sup> HUGHES. (2005) p. 46.



education programmes designed to educate the people about how clean and safe the new form of power was.<sup>128</sup> For example, this poster from the EDA shows a leaping figure over a city skyline and the slogan “For Health’s Sake Use Electricity”, emphasising the positive effects on health of living in a household free from gaslight or candles (see Figure 1-22). The image is completely laid out in black-and-white: the slim silhouette and the sans-serif font combine to create a clean, sleek effect, with the aim of associating these values with electricity. The leaping movement of the figure, who is bearing a globe on a cable, presumably an electrical light, emphasises the simplicity of the new technology, as well as the textual link with healthy movement. An intensely epochal image, it also reinforces the Irish association of technology with the urban and the English, as the silhouetted city background locates electrical technology in a resolutely urban setting, specifically that of London, showing Battersea Power Station and St. Paul’s Cathedral.

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<sup>128</sup> FORTY, A. (1986) *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750*. London: Thames & Hudson, pp. 182-206.

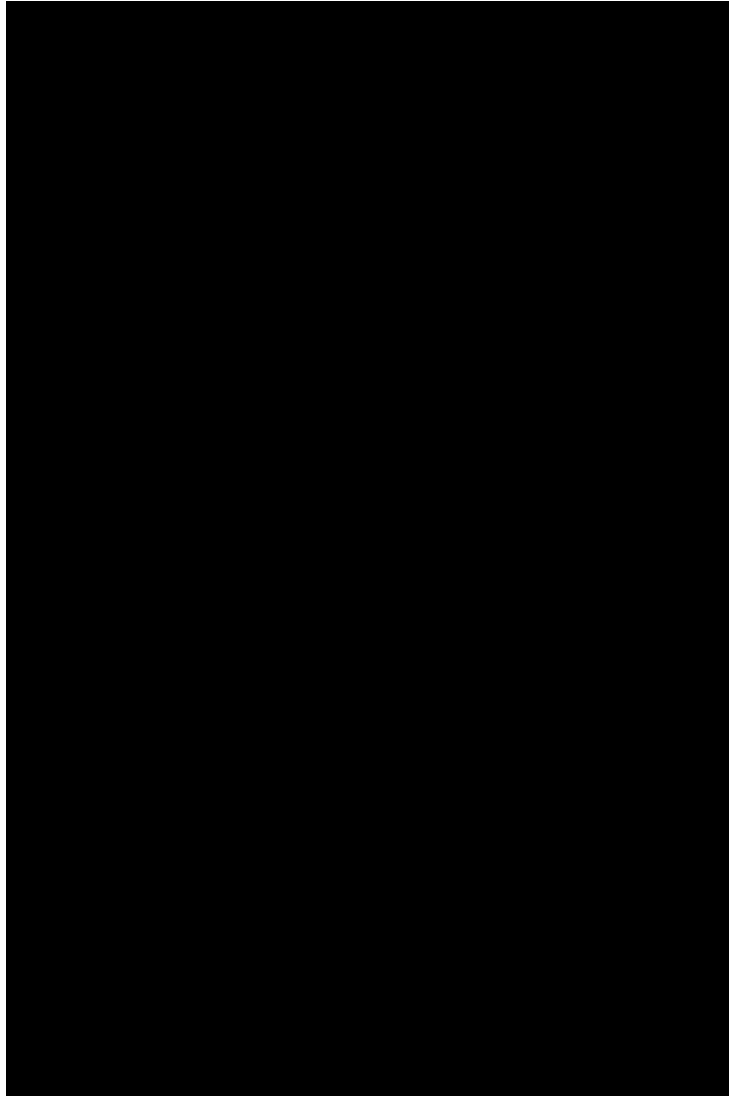


FIGURE 1-22 - BRITISH ELECTRICAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION POSTER PROMOTING THE USE OF ELECTRICITY, 1927

(FORTY, A. (1986) *OBJECTS OF DESIRE: DESIGN AND SOCIETY SINCE 1750*. LONDON: THAMES & HUDSON, P. 191)

Some of the British writing in the 1920s is almost evangelical on the subject, seeing electricity as the key to a clean and modern society. An example from 1922 in *The All – Electric Age* by A.G. Whyte demonstrates this enthusiasm for technological solutions and their associated modernity:

Of all the gifts that electricity brings, almost the greatest is the relief from the burden of mechanical, monotonous, everlasting toil. Just as our factories have become organised to turn out their product rapidly and efficiently by electrical machinery controlled by man, our homes will be transformed to operate smoothly with the aid of electricity, so that the labour involved in cleaning, in heating, in cooking and in

washing and other domestic tasks will be performed by an electric deputy.<sup>129</sup>

Electricity has been particularly associated with the idea of the technological sublime. The Burkean idea of the sublime describes a human reaction to the natural world, such as the vast magnificence of the Matterhorn or other grand landscapes, which dwarf and terrorise the viewer into a kind of ecstasy of admiration.<sup>130</sup> But, whereas sublime reactions may be evoked by natural phenomena such as Niagara Falls, or by the ancient magnificence of a medieval cathedral, the technological sublime develops the idea for an industrial world into the awe-inspiring technical undertaking acting as witness to the achievements of Man (or the American people).<sup>131</sup> In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was often associated with spectacular lighting displays, either as part of civic pageants or international exhibitions, as well as technological ‘enhancements’ of natural wonders such as Niagara Falls, illuminated by powerful electrically powered searchlights from the 1920s.<sup>132</sup> Indeed, the experience of the technological sublime seems have been particularly associated with physically large technological projects or dynamic installations like dams and turbines, both of which are combined in the hydro-electric power station.<sup>133</sup> The American historian Henry Adams describes his reaction of awe and wonder on encountering a 40-foot high dynamo on exhibition in the French International exposition of 1900, comparing it to the response of a medieval peasant to a statue of the Virgin Mary.<sup>134</sup> Contemporary descriptions of the Shannon Scheme works heavily emphasise the size and scale of the work.<sup>135</sup> Even the Irish engineering press were not immune from this reaction, with several articles focusing on lengthy

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<sup>129</sup> Whyte in FORTY. (1986) p. 190.

<sup>130</sup> NYE, D. E. (1994) *American Technological Sublime*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 116.

<sup>131</sup> HUGHES. (2005) pp. 29-36.

<sup>132</sup> HUGHES. (2005) pp. 144-72.

<sup>133</sup> NYE. (1994) pp. 133-42.

<sup>134</sup> ADAMS, H. (1999) *The Education of Henry Adams*. Raleigh, NC: Hayes Barton Press, pp. 291-99.

<sup>135</sup> These articles include the following examples: (1927) 'Shannon Scheme: Electricity Suppliers Visit: Efficiency and Vastness', *Irish Independent*. October 7. p. 9; (1928) 'How the Shannon Scheme is Progressing: Vast Works Taking Shape: 5,000 Men Engaged', *Clare Champion*. September 8. **ESB Clippings Book 02**; (1928) 'How The Shannon Scheme Is Progressing: Vast Works Taking Shape: 5,000 Men Working In Shifts To Finish The Work By The Spring', *The Irish Times*. August 28. p. 5. **ESB Clippings Book 02**; (1929) 'Harnessing the Shannon: Progress of the Super-Power Scheme: Supplies Available in Early Winter', *Birmingham Daily Mail*. July 23. **ESB Clippings Book 06**; (1930) 'Industries Needed: A Matter for Amazement: On the Shannon: A Fine People', *Limerick Leader*. February 15. **ESB Clippings Book 12**.

descriptions of the construction machinery.<sup>136</sup> They also focused on the speed of the work allowed by electric power:

The first thing that strikes one is the vastness of the works, and the most outstanding feature is the wonderful machinery... The excavations, not yet near their full depth, are immense. The mechanical excavators, part steam driven, part electric power supplied from one temporary power house, are wonderful. Forming the sides of the banks, excavating at the same time, they deposit the spoil in heaps to form embankments, or load it into waiting wagons of a train alongside, filling about ten wagons in about twelve minutes.<sup>137</sup>

The continual reference to the size and scale of the Shannon Scheme means that it could be considered as a manifestation of the technological sublime, particularly in the context of the unindustrialised Irish countryside. This type of epochal associations surrounded the electrical technology which McLaughlin wished to import into Ireland, providing a direct contrast to the dominant essentialist tone of the country in the 1920s.

### **Technology in Ireland: Cumann na nGaedheal and the idea of progress**

In contrast with its near neighbour Britain, the lack of 19<sup>th</sup> century industrialisation within the island of Ireland resulted in a heavily agricultural society in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Girvin argues that it would be more accurate to describe the new State as an agrarian region within the United Kingdom for quite some time after independence.<sup>138</sup> It remained a relatively poor region within a more prosperous area, depending on the industrialised North of England and Wales for manufactured goods and industrial products, and Cumann na nGaedheal kept a policy of free trade for this very reason. This location, geographically close to a large industrialised area, contributed to the continuing low level of industry in the Free State, along with the loss through partition of Belfast, the only industrial city on the island. Any remaining industries were small and low-technology, mostly comprising processing operations for foodstuffs such as

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<sup>136</sup> (1926) 'Engineering Section: The Shannon Scheme', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. May 15. p. 399; (1926) p. 623; (1926) 'Topical Touches', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. April 17. p. 281; (1927) 'Engineering Section: Shannon Scheme Crushing Plant', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. July 23. p. 548; (1927) 'Excavation work on the Shannon Canal', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. May 14. p. 357.

<sup>137</sup> (1926) p. 601.

<sup>138</sup> GIRVIN, B. (1997) 'Political Culture, Political Independence and Economic Success in Ireland', *Irish Political Studies*. Vol. 12, p. 55.

beer and biscuits.<sup>139</sup> In addition to this lack of a strong industrial base which could influence Irish attitudes towards epochal ideas, a historic attitude towards heavy industry as something ‘British’ and associated with the conqueror can be discerned. The Irish experience of industrialisation and urban life was heavily mediated through London, Liverpool and Manchester, cities which provided a striking contrast to the undeveloped rural nature of the home island, so that an easy dichotomy of ‘British=urban’ and ‘Irish=rural’ could be set up and propagated.<sup>140</sup>

Nonetheless, a certain appreciation for the American idea of ‘progress’ can be discerned among Cumann na nGaedheal members and supporters during the period. The conservative nature of the new Government outlined above meant that no policy was carried through without careful consideration, as party political culture emphasised stability and caution.<sup>141</sup> However, the pressure was on the new Government to provide an improved standard of living for its people, meaning that the status quo could not just simply be maintained. The development of a programme for electrification in the mid-1920s can be seen in this light – as a way of providing improved services to the population, in line with or better than the rest of the world.<sup>142</sup> Again, the pragmatic nature of the Cumann na nGaedheal Government has to be taken into account, recognising the practical and economic effect that the Scheme would have on the country.

Sir Thomas Esmonde: This scheme is going to do an immensity of good for the moral upliftment of the nation. You are going to bring light into the homes of the people. You are going to improve the sanitation of the country. You are going to improve the housing of the country. Most important of all, you are going to make it worth while for the rising generation of Ireland to live in their own homes.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> DALY. (1992) p. 32.

<sup>140</sup> The population of Dublin in 1926 was 400,000, compared to approx. 10 million people in London.

<sup>141</sup> GIRVIN. (1997) p. 59.

<sup>142</sup> (1925) 'Engineering Section: The Shannon Scheme', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. August 22. p. 698; (1925) p. 66.

<sup>143</sup> Sir Osmonde Thomas Grattan Esmonde, Cumann na nGaedheal TD for Wexford, 1923-36, speaking in SEANAD ÉIREANN. (1925) 'Shannon Electricity Bill 1925 - Fifth Stage' Vol. 5. p. 730.

Cumann na nGaedheal demonstrated a distinct consciousness that it would not be possible for the new state to retreat totally into insularity and encouraged a policy of free trade throughout the period. This view was coupled with recognition of the dominant economic approaches of the day, positing a continual development of countries along a linear scale of 'progress'. This teleological approach underpinned much of the American discussion of industry and electricity and can be seen in the debates on the Shannon Scheme in the Dáil.

Mr. McCullough: But we cannot afford to allow any interests to stand in the way of national progress and consequently, though there may be a certain amount of hardship involved for the interests which are behind the other schemes, I think that we will have to disregard it and give the Minister a backing to go ahead with the greater scheme that will, in my opinion, revolutionise the whole face of the country.<sup>144</sup>

During the discussion on the explanatory statements made to the Dáil by Patrick McGilligan in 1924, it is notable that not only members of Cumann na nGaedheal were positive about the benefits of the Shannon Scheme, couching their argument in similar teleological and epochal terms.

Professor Thrift: I only add one remark: that is, that I venture to hope this marks a very big day in Irish history, that we may from this turn our attention—taking our position here as a fixed position—to the most important thing in this country, and that is the practical question of how the country is to be advanced and brought into a real state of prosperity. It needs very little imagination to see in the scheme which the Minister has laid before us possibilities of progress and of a future for the country which may be indeed quite beyond the highest hopes of many of those who have very high hopes for it.<sup>145</sup>

However, the future Ireland envisaged in the 1920s was not to go down the route of the industrial north of England, with dark, smoky mills and factories in dirty industrial cities, but a development of existing small industry on a widespread, national scale.

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<sup>144</sup> Denis McCullough, Cumann na nGaedheal TD for Donegal, 1924-27, speaking in DÁIL ÉIREANN. (1925) 'The Shannon Scheme - Motion by the Minister for Industry and Commerce - Resumed Debate' Vol. 10. pp. 1966-67.

<sup>145</sup> William Thrift, Independent TD for Dublin University, 1921-37, speaking in DÁIL ÉIREANN. (1924) 'The Shannon Power Scheme - Statement by the Minister for Industry and Commerce' Vol. 9. Dublin: The Stationery Office, p. 2844.

Electricity was an important part of this vision, providing clean energy and power to a modernised, but culturally authentic, Gaelic countryside.<sup>146</sup>

This imagining of a nation which was modernised and somewhat progressive was always leavened by the awareness of national identity, however. For example, just one month before the 1932 general election, in which Cumann na nGaedheal were to lose power, they issued a 50-page supplement to *The Irish Times* entitled 'Saorstát Éireann Irish Free State 1921-1931: A Decade of Progress', which included a full page article on the Shannon Scheme and its benefits to industry.<sup>147</sup> The front cover of this supplement (see Figure 1-23) shows a facsimile of the signatures on the Treaty document with a stylised seal, surrounded by Celtic knot-work and the title in green uncial lettering, appropriating the signifiers of Ireland's past and marrying them to recent political developments and hopes for the future.

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<sup>146</sup> DALY. (1992) pp. 10-11.

<sup>147</sup> (1932) 'Saorstát Éireann Irish Free State 1921 - 1931: A Decade of Progress', *The Irish Times*. January 21. p. 29.

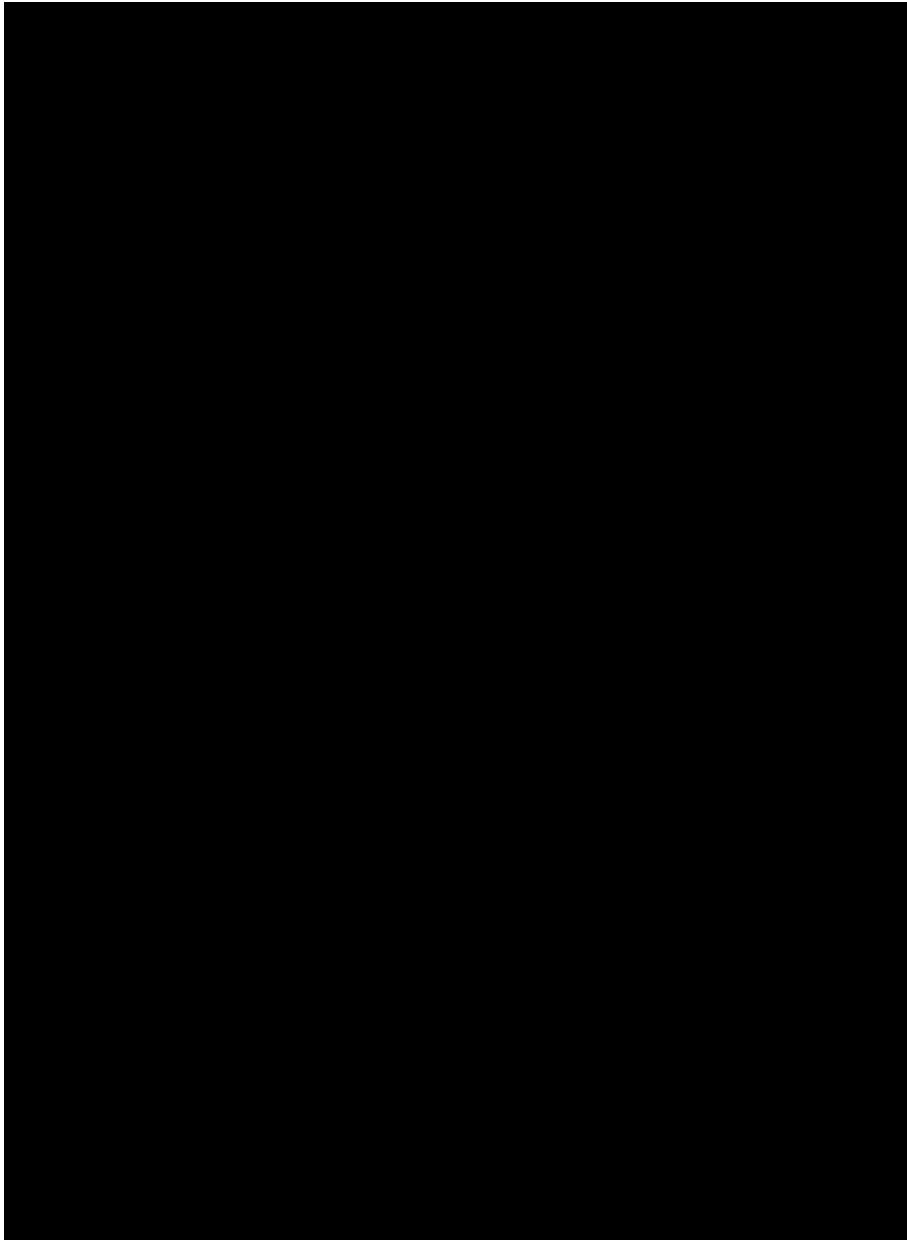


FIGURE 1-23 - COVER OF *THE IRISH TIMES* SUPPLEMENT, 21 JANUARY 1932, P. A1. (*THE IRISH TIMES*)

## **Conclusion**

The idea of the imagined community is an important one in the study of national identity. It provides an explanation for the subjective antiquity and validity of a nation, as well as its enormous political power, despite the shakiness of any theoretical underpinnings. The imagined community allows the nation to be a performative creation, as it is only the sustained belief of its people which keeps the nation alive. It has been established within the study of design history that the visual manifestations of a state also play an important role in sustaining national identity. The corollary, that



different, competing interpretations of the one nation can exist simultaneously, is played out in the imagining of the Cumann na nGaedheal Free State and the phantom Republic, as well as a number of alternative Irelands (Anglo-Irish, socialist, feminist, scientific) which existed in the formative years of the Free State. The first years of the first Free State government were largely involved in establishing their imagining of Ireland as the official one, at the expense of any others. While the heavy dependence of this imagining of Ireland on previous essentialist imaginings ensured that the official symbols of the Free State were based on antiquarian and rural symbols, it was less essentialist than that of the competing phantom Republic. I would argue that the 'pragmatic' attitude of Cumann na nGaedheal to economic and fiscal matters actually demonstrates an epochal awareness, which was not as developed in the main opposition party. This epochal awareness allowed a consideration of Ireland's state of progress in comparison to the rest of the world and fostered a desire to improve the country as much as possible, while still holding onto its essentialist heritage. The transfer of the teleological concept of progress from an American origin to Germany provided an attractive combination of epochal and essentialist forces, with the role of German engineering balanced between the two forces of *Zivilisation* and *Kultur*. It is this successful balancing act between the two forces which made German engineering so attractive to an Irish audience, providing a template for a technological romanticism, which was focussed on the technological sublime and with the engineer as hero. In relation to the Shannon Scheme, I would argue that the creation of the Scheme was an expression of the epochal tendencies of the Cumann na nGaedheal government, which allowed this German model to inspire the production of a technological artefact which would be able to stand for the whole system of Irish national identity at that point, both epochal and essential.

## **Chapter 2 - The politics of representation: design history, visual culture and the history of technology**

### **Introduction**

This chapter will consider the methodological and disciplinary issues concerned with the analysis of technology in a design historical investigation. It is particularly important to consider this in an Irish context, as this is the first study of Irish design history to consider technology in relation to ideas of national identity. The chapter looks at the discipline of design history and its relationship to specific sub fields such as photographic history. It also sets out the rationale for organising the thesis by considering the power station buildings themselves and then the visual representations according to the medium in which they were produced. It weighs the advantages and disadvantages of this approach, particularly when related to the specifics of creative practice in different media and the discourses surrounding their historical study. The discussion also refers to the development of Irish design history in recent decades, particularly the most typical approaches to the subject used in recent years, and situates the thesis in relation to these debates about Irish design.

The chapter also considers the influence on Irish design history from other areas of investigation into Irish history and culture, and the relationship between the methodology of Irish studies and that of design history. It also discusses the relationship of the history of technology to the history of design, particularly in relation to technological artefacts. It foregrounds some structures and terminology that may be considered useful in clarifying the analysis of technological artefacts in a cultural context, such as ‘interpretative flexibility’, the principle of ‘generalised symmetry’, and the distinction between technology in general and the specifically technical. The approach of actor-network systems is also considered, particularly as a method of analysing a range of influences on a particular designed object, as well as the relationships between people, ideas and objects. The chapter outlines selected existing attempts to create a useful method for diagramming such a set of relationships, particularly in historical contexts. The chapter then proposes a method for diagramming the relationships between artefacts, people or organisations, and ideas, for application in

subsequent chapters. It concludes with a discussion of the organisational structure of the rest of the thesis and the rationale for its ordering.

### **Approaches to the subject**

This thesis presents a synchronic analysis of representation of a technological artefact in a range of different media, and it is particularly concerned with how the meaning of that artefact can be presented, negotiated and represented in a specific cultural context.<sup>1</sup> The initial question was how a Modernist building such as Ardnacrusha power station came to be built in a cultural context which was profoundly ambivalent towards modernisation, as well as how its representations managed to change the meaning of the artefact to one more easily acceptable in that context, even as far as framing it as a cultural icon. This broad initial question led to investigation of the cultural context of 1920s and 1930s Ireland, particularly the attitude to technology and the modern world. As such, this thesis is shaped by the questions and disjunctions thrown up by the existence of a German industrial building in rural Ireland, particularly how ‘new’ technology could possibly be reconciled with Irish national identity of the period. The representation of this building in published texts by photographs, ESB advertisements and Seán Keating’s paintings only highlighted the question of how the public view of the Scheme was influenced by the images they saw of it and prompted a deeper investigation into the ways that the Shannon Scheme had been represented, particularly while it was still under construction. Although the Scheme (or Ardnacrusha power station as it is now known) continues to be represented in various media today, the vast majority of two-dimensional representations are reprints of material originating in the 1920s and early 1930s.<sup>2</sup> This density of images surrounding the period of construction provided the rationale for a synchronic analysis of that time period, rather than a diachronic analysis of the representation of the Scheme over a longer time period.

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<sup>1</sup> A synchronic approach is one which considers a range of subjects within a short time period, as opposed to a diachronic or chronological approach. See WALKER, J. A. (1989) *Design History and the History of Design*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 79-81.

<sup>2</sup> An exception to this are Elena Mikailova’s 2004 paintings of the Shannon Scheme, although several of these are heavily based on Siemens photographs. See the cover of MCCARTHY, M. (2004) *High Tension: Life on the Shannon Scheme*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press.

## Irish design history

This thesis is intended to take Walker's early flagging of "problems, absences, silences" in existing narratives about design and to consider the problems of creating and displaying an intensely technological artefact in a culture conditioned to reject technology, but also to consider the absence of debate about technology within Irish design history.<sup>3</sup> If the history of design is a discipline which is still young enough to discuss the question of whether it is indeed a discipline or not, then Irish design history is even younger.<sup>4</sup> Historically based on a study of nineteenth century craft and its relationship to Irish identity, many of the foundational texts were written by architectural or art historians such as Jeanne Sheehy and Paul Larmour, with the work of Nicola Gordon Bowe on the Irish Arts and Crafts Movement standing out as a foundational landmark in the field.<sup>5</sup> However, work in Irish design history published in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century was mostly restricted to either studies of designers, of organisations or of styles, even in the field of architectural history.<sup>6</sup> Social and cultural histories have only become apparent at postgraduate thesis level in the new century.<sup>7</sup> This developing emphasis on consumption and material culture at postgraduate level has not yet translated into consistent publication, partly due to the small scale of the publishing

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<sup>3</sup> WALKER. (1989) p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> LEES-MAFFEI, G. & R. HOUZE (eds.) (2010) *The Design History Reader*. Oxford: Berg, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> GORDON BOWE, N. (1993) *Art and the National Dream: The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn of the Century Design*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press; GORDON BOWE, N. & E. CUMMING. (1998) *The Arts & Crafts Movements in Dublin & Edinburgh, 1880-1930*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press; LARMOUR, P. (1992) *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Ireland*. Belfast: Friar's Bush Press; SHEEHY, J. (1980) *The Celtic Revival: The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past 1830-1930*. London: Thames & Hudson.

<sup>6</sup> GORDON BOWE, N. (1989) *The Life and Work of Harry Clarke*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press; LARMOUR, P. (2009) *Free State Architecture: Modern Movement Architecture in Ireland, 1922-1949*. Kinsale: Gandon Editions; MOWL, T. & B. EARNSHAW. (2000) *An Insular Rococo: Architecture, Politics and Society in Ireland and England 1710-1770*. London: Reaktion Books; QUINN, J. (2005) *Designing Ireland: A Retrospective Exhibition of Kilkenny Design Workshops 1963-1988*. Cork: Crafts Council of Ireland; BROWN, T. (ed.) (1999) *Building for Government: The Architecture of State Buildings: O.P.W. Ireland 1900 – 2000*. Dublin: Town House & Country House.

<sup>7</sup> GODSON, L. (2008) *Ceremonial Culture in the Irish Free State, 1922–1939*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, History of Design, RCA; KING, L. (2007) *Traditions and Modernities: Aer Lingus and the Visualisation of Irish Identities 1951-1961*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Communications, Dublin City University; MEHEGAN, A. (2003) *'..Pictures from the Wilds' : Trains, Travels and Tourists in County Donegal, 1890-1914*. Unpublished MA Thesis, HADCom, National College of Art & Design. The majority of MA level work in design history is focussed on the MA Design History and Material Culture in NCAD (initially the MA in the History of Design and Applied Arts), although PhD level work is and has been carried out at a variety of institutions in Britain and Ireland, not always in Design History departments. See (2011) 'Lists - Postgraduate Theses Index 1989-2009', *The National College of Art and Design - Library*. [http://www.ncad.ie/library/theses\\_postgraduate.shtml](http://www.ncad.ie/library/theses_postgraduate.shtml) [Accessed: April 21 2011]

industry in Ireland, and partly due to the dominance of Irish Studies as the institutional paradigm for publishing on Irish culture, outside of art history.<sup>8</sup> This dearth of publication of current research means that Irish design history has retained a distinct focus on traditional crafts, despite the increasing modernisation of the country during the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the introduction of new technologies of production and consumption over the same period.<sup>9</sup>

However, this thesis looks to the wider discussions of design history established in a British context, including the increasingly global context of the Design History Society journal and conferences.<sup>10</sup> It is founded on the methodological underpinnings of a more theoretical approach to design history, based on the consideration of any sort of man-made artefact as suitable for discussion, regardless of its status in society.<sup>11</sup> This is normally made as an argument for the inclusion of popular culture and ephemera into academic discourse, but I would argue that the opposite is also true – there is no reason

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<sup>8</sup> The first published anthology indicating the breadth of current research in Irish design history has recently been published, including an essay based on this thesis. See O'BRIEN, S. (2011) 'Technology and Modernity: The Shannon Scheme and Visions of National Progress', in KING, L. & E. SISSON (eds.) *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity 1922-1992*. Cork: Cork University Press, pp. 58-71. King has also recently published a short general overview of the Irish design industry for the Dublin Design Capital bid and two similar essays are currently in preparation for the Royal Irish Academy 'Art and Architecture of Ireland' project. See (2011) 'Projects: Art and Architecture of Ireland (AAI)', *Royal Irish Academy*. <http://www.ria.ie/Research/AAI.aspx> [Accessed: April 21 2011]; KING, L. (2011) 'Irish Design: History, Context and Possibilities 1900-2011', *Pivot Dublin - Dublin's bid for World Design Capital 2014*. [http://www.pivotdublin.com/downloads/history\\_of\\_irish\\_design.pdf](http://www.pivotdublin.com/downloads/history_of_irish_design.pdf) [Accessed: April 21 2011] A number of essays on Irish design history have been published in general Irish Studies anthologies, including O'BRIEN, S. (2009) 'Images of Ardnacrusha: Technology, Modernity and Photography in the Irish Free State', in FLANNERY, E. & M. GRIFFIN (eds.) *Ireland in Focus: Ireland and Visual Representation*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, pp. 71-85.

<sup>9</sup> A number of the essays in the recent King and Sisson book on Irish design history represent current scholarship problematising this focus, including MORAN, A. (2011) 'Tradition in the Service of Modernity: Kilkenny Design Workshops and Selling Irish Design at American Department Store Promotions, 1967-1976', in KING, L. & E. SISSON (eds.) *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity 1922-1992*. Cork: Cork University Press, pp. 191-207.

<sup>10</sup> The history of design history in Britain, particularly the genesis of the Design History Society in the polytechnic courses and the Open University, is discussed in WOODHAM, J. M. (2001) 'Designing Design History: From Pevsner to Postmodernism', at *Digitisation and Knowledge: Perspectives from Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand. Also see the publication of my conference paper presented at the 2008 Design History Society Conference in O'BRIEN, S. (2009) 'Photographic Connections: Electrical Technology in the Making in Ireland in the 1920s', in GLYNNE, J., F. HACKNEY & V. MINTON (eds.) *Networks of Design: Proceedings of the 2008 Annual International Conference of the Design History Society (UK) University College Falmouth 3-6 September*. Boca Raton, FL: Universal Publishers.

<sup>11</sup> WOODHAM, J. M. (2001) 'Culture, Politics & Humanities: Designing Design History for the 21st Century', at *ICSID Exploring Emerging Design Paradigms*, Seoul, Korea, p. 24.

why a design historian cannot discuss paintings alongside ephemera, as they are all man-made artefacts fabricated with the intention to communicate a message to the audience.<sup>12</sup> I would argue that the particular 'aura' of an art work may be a result of the privileged position of one medium of representation (painting) in European history.<sup>13</sup> Benjamin's discussion of artwork 'aura' breaks down when applied to fine art prints, which have been traditionally considered as less privileged than painting, due to their nature as multiples. However, prints and paintings both come under Attfield's definition of professionally designed objects as 'things with attitude', which certainly includes Keating's paintings, which were self-consciously created "to objectify moral values, or to express individual or group identity".<sup>14</sup>

### **The medium-oriented approach**

This thesis is intended to work beyond the divisions between fields of analysis within design history, as it covers a broad range of examples, from the initial building itself, to photographs, technical drawings, paintings, drawings, prints, advertisements and ephemera. This involves a purposeful 'symmetry' in the consideration of different visual representations, breaking down the traditional divisions between representations produced in different media. Existing disciplinary paradigms mean that such representations are normally only considered in conjunction with representations in the same or similar media, for example paintings with prints, or photographs with other photographs.<sup>15</sup> However, this thesis incorporates discussion of fine art products such as prints and paintings usually considered as high status subjects of art history into a discussion of visual representation, and analyses them alongside the products of middle-

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<sup>12</sup> BUCHANAN, R. (1989) 'Declaration by Design: Rhetoric, Argument, and Demonstration in Design Practice', in MARGOLIN, V. (ed.) *Design Discourse: History, Theory, Criticism*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, pp. 95-97.

<sup>13</sup> BENJAMIN, W. (1935) 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Marxists Internet Archive*.  
<http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm> [Accessed: January 8 2006]

<sup>14</sup> ATTFIELD, J. (2002) *Wild things: the material culture of everyday life*. Oxford: Berg, p. 12.

<sup>15</sup> For example, Bhreathnach-Lynch compares Keating's work with those of other artists and the articles in Prochaska and Mendelson's book only consider postcards. See BHREATHNACH-LYNCH, S. (1998) 'Framing Ireland's History: Art, Politics, and Representation', in STEWARD, J. C. (ed.) *When Time Began To Rant and Rage: Figurative Painting from Twentieth Century Ireland*. London: Merrell Holberton Publishers, pp. 40-51; PROCHASKA, D. & J. MENDELSON (eds.) (2010) *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

brow pursuits such as photography and low-status ephemera such as cigarette cards. Although each medium brings its own specifics, particularly in relation to techniques, habits of thought and intended audiences, a clear picture of how electrical technology was represented in Ireland in the 1920s cannot be formed by looking selectively at one medium. To be able to consider how the Shannon Scheme building became an unlikely icon of Irish society, the thesis must consider all of these areas with an even hand, not privileging one over the other. I am not making the assumption that a single typical Irish person would have seen all of these representations and considered them all equally, particularly as the class divisions between high art and everything else were still embedded in Western society during the period under discussion. However, to consider how the Scheme became emblematic of electrical technology across the wider culture of the new nation-state, this wide sample of representations is necessary in order to represent the same subject to the same broad group of people.

In some ways, this approach to the division of material is going back to one of the oldest approaches in the area of design history, that of an approach based on materials or techniques of production. In his foundational discussion of varieties of design history, Walker describes this approach as being developed as a corrective to overly auteur or heroic approaches to the history of design as a history of designers (including design organisations or institutions), allowing a space for the discussion of the relationship of these processes to the qualities of the finished product. He points out that this approach can be useful to highlight where particular materials or techniques predispose the finished artefact towards particular forms and styles, although with the cautionary note that it is not a purely deterministic relationship.<sup>16</sup> The materiality of designed objects has been of central importance in the study of design history over the last thirty years, and is arguably still one of the central ideas in the discipline. Teymur points out that design activity is intimately involved in making decisions about materials, forms and functions, decisions which will ultimately have an impact on the life of their users.<sup>17</sup> Heskett distinguishes between utility and significance as a way of clarifying his thinking about design activity and how both designers and users make decisions based

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<sup>16</sup> WALKER. (1989) pp. 100-02.

<sup>17</sup> TEYMUR, N. (1996) 'The Materiality of Design', in ROBERTSON, G. (ed.) *The Block Reader in Visual Culture*. London: Routledge, pp. 149-50.

on their material experience.<sup>18</sup> This is an important point when considering historical material in relation to media or materials, as a balance must be observed between noting the shaping characteristics of a particular medium (for example, the short time taken to create a photographic image, as opposed to a painting) and the influence of that characteristic on the final artefact. This is particularly important when considered in relation to other influences such as its cultural, economic or political background, the intended audience, as well as the original intentions of the designer.

Another reason for the usefulness of this media-based approach in approaching such a broad-ranging topic as the representation of technology is that the resulting analysis can benefit from the existing discourses in each disciplinary field, many of which have a long history of thinking about the ways that their particular medium has been produced and consumed over a long period of time. These debates can be highly sophisticated, having been discussed at length by scholars based on in-depth research into the specific production processes, representational strategies and methods of circulating representations favoured in their field of study. A good example is Tagg's writing on the circulation of photographic images, a detailed discussion of the specific ways which photographic images are consumed.<sup>19</sup> However, it also carries the risk of perpetuating field-specific blind spots: for example, the existing literature on Keating's paintings focuses on their production and symbolic meanings rather than their circulation.<sup>20</sup> It is therefore important to balance this field-specific knowledge with a balanced treatment of the different fields, asking the same questions about the example representations. This is not always a straightforward task, given the imbalance of scholarship and theoretical discussion between fields such as fine art and photography, where scholarship is very well developed, and others, like ephemera, which are relatively un-theorised. In addition, these fields are unevenly documented from an Irish perspective, with far more analysis of existing Irish examples of paintings and photographs,

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<sup>18</sup> HESKETT, J. (2002) *Toothpicks & Logos: Design in Everyday Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 36-54.

<sup>19</sup> TAGG, J. (2001) 'The Currency of the Photograph', in ALVARADO, M., E. BUSCOMBE & R. COLLINS (eds.) *Representation and Photography: A Screen Education Reader*. Hampshire: Palgrave, pp. 87-118.

<sup>20</sup> For example O'CONNOR, É. (2009) *Seán Keating in Focus*. Limerick: The Hunt Museum. For a more detailed discussion of the historiography of Keating's Shannon Scheme paintings, see Chapter 6.



compared to that of advertising, prints or ephemera.<sup>21</sup> However, a contingent and flexible approach allows the use of ideas and concepts from one field to be assessed for relevance in others, in order to analyse the different examples without reproducing hierarchies of taste by privileging one medium over another.

## **Design history and disciplinary approaches**

This approach to different existing disciplinary fields is of central importance to the body of knowledge within design history, an approach which has been central to the development of the discipline.<sup>22</sup> It is important to note that the idea of an interdisciplinary approach is not just about a return to undifferentiated knowledge, but about questioning the nature of knowledge, disciplinary paradigms and our attempts to arrange and communicate that knowledge to appropriate audiences.<sup>23</sup> It is also important to point out the difference between interdisciplinarity and multidisciplinary, as the latter is concerned with the breaking down of boundaries between disciplines, rather than retaining a grounding and focus within a specific discipline.<sup>24</sup>

Interdisciplinarity is a particularly useful approach when dealing with problems or issues that cannot be solved solely from within an existing disciplinary paradigm, but can be illuminated from outside the traditional paradigm, possibly producing new forms of knowledge. This is particularly important for a thesis such as this one, which considers several types of artefacts that are associated with distinct disciplinary traditions, and which discusses larger overall themes and issues from the artefact-orientated perspective of a design historian.

It is also important to note that the use of economic and political histories has a long historiography in the writing of design history, providing background material and analyses examining the effects of political structures and economic policies on the

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<sup>21</sup> There is no comprehensive published analysis of Irish advertising design or ephemera at the time of writing, and Irish printmaking has only recently been considered in Angela Griffiths' PhD thesis. See GRIFFITH, A. (2010) *A History of Fine Art Printmaking in Ireland during the Twentieth Century*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, History of Art, Trinity College, Dublin. The only general consideration of ephemera in an Irish context remains KING, L. (2003) 'Lasting But a Day': Printed Ephemera as Material Culture', *Circa*, No. 103, pp. 33-37.

<sup>22</sup> FALLAN, K. (2010) *Design History: Understanding Theory and Method*. New York, NY: Berg, p. 22; WALKER. (1989) pp. 33-36; LEES-MAFFEI & HOUZE (eds.) (2010) p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> MORAN, J. (2002) *Interdisciplinarity: The New Critical Idiom*. London: Routledge, p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> FOSTER, H. (1996) *The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the End of the Century*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 162.

production of design. This continues to be the case in Irish design history, particularly with the increasing interest of Irish historians in social and cultural history.<sup>25</sup> This also has an impact from a methodological point of view, as the majority of published sources on Irish culture come from the university-based discipline of ‘Irish Studies’, often an extension of English or Media Studies departments into the analysis of the visual. There has been increasing overlap between this discipline and that of art college-based art and design history in recent years, both claiming the term ‘visual culture’, despite broad differences in theoretical background, emphasis and analytical methodologies.<sup>26</sup> For example, Luke Gibbons’ problematic statement about “the absence of a visual tradition in Ireland, equal in stature to its powerful literary component” is widely quoted as justification for an emphasis of images of Ireland produced outside the country and the promotion of post-colonial theories about the colonial gaze in the field of visual representation.<sup>27</sup> Carville identifies this emphasis as selection bias on the part of scholars who are more comfortable working within a literary model, who then choose to study visual examples which support their existing theories about the post-colonial.<sup>28</sup> This emphasis is contrary to that of design history where the emphasis tends to be on direct analysis of the artefact, and the use of theoretical models to understand artefacts, usages or practices, rather than the other way around.<sup>29</sup>

This difference in approach can be seen from two articles published in a themed issue of *Popular Visual Culture* devoted to Irish issues, where Rains’ article on the ‘Araby’ charity bazaar in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Dublin discusses photographs of the bazaar as a rebuttal of Irish studies arguments about the existence of a modern consciousness in the Ireland of this period, focusing on the theoretical discussion rather than an analysis

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<sup>25</sup> An example of this shift in focus would be the movement of historians such as Diarmuid Ferriter from political history towards social history. See FERRITER, D. (2009) *Occasions of Sin: Sex and Society in Modern Ireland*. London: Profile Books.

<sup>26</sup> For example, taught classes about film history currently form part of two degrees in IADT, one in Film & TV Production in the School of Creative Arts, the other as part of English, Media & Cultural Studies in the School of Business & Humanities.

<sup>27</sup> BRETT, D. (1996) *The Construction of Heritage*. Cork: Cork University Press, p. 48; GIBBONS, L. (1986) 'Alien Eye: Ireland and Photography', *Creative Camera*, No. 12, pp. 10-11.

<sup>28</sup> CARVILLE, J. (2007) 'Introduction', *Early Popular Visual Culture*. Vol. 5, No. 3, November, p. 229.

<sup>29</sup> Little has changed in this respect since Walker’s discussion of the work of design historians being based on empirical research in 1989. See WALKER. (1989) pp. 3-5.

based on the images themselves.<sup>30</sup> In contrast, Carville's article in the same issue focussed on a reading of the photographic images themselves, with the theoretical reading and contextual historical research being used to support the main argument about the political significance of the urban streetscape.<sup>31</sup> Irish studies would benefit from a stronger emphasis on detailed consideration of the artefact itself and the specificities of its production.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, design history could emphasise an awareness of an alternative meta-narrative or narratives (this does not have to emphasise the canon, or post-colonial positions, but could include other meta-narratives such as feminism, class position, techno-cultural systems or globalisation) to which each piece of work contributes, as well as an increased awareness of the politics of knowledge and representation, as applied to the material world.<sup>33</sup> This thesis works from a viewpoint that the study of design history is not limited to "modern design classics and the output of professional designers", and should encompass a broader definition of the designed object.<sup>34</sup> It takes an approach which starts with the artefacts and attempts to understand them in their cultural context, using theoretical models from within design history and other disciplines in order to make sense of the shifting meanings of the Shannon Scheme.

## **Design history and technology history**

Moving out from the study of Irish design history to the wider arena, useful approaches to the study of man-made artefacts can be identified in the discipline of technology history. There is a distinct overlap between the concerns and problematics of the two disciplines, often considering the same artefacts and examples.<sup>35</sup> Predominantly based in

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<sup>30</sup> RAINS, S. (2007) 'Modernity and Consumption in Nineteenth-Century Ireland', *Early Popular Visual Culture*. Vol. 5, No. 3, November, pp. 285-300. The absence of Elizabethan half-timbered building construction in Ireland is noted by architectural critics as far back as the 1920s. See ROBERTSON, M. (1925) *Laymen and the New Architecture*. London: John Murray, p. 164.

<sup>31</sup> CARVILLE, J. (2007) 'Mr Lawrence's Great Photographic Bazaar', *Early Popular Visual Culture*. Vol. 5, No. 3, November, pp. 263-83.

<sup>32</sup> This point is also made by Julier in his discussion of visual culture in JULIER, G. (2008) *The Culture of Design*. 2nd ed. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 8-9.

<sup>33</sup> Lisa Banu's article on design in Bangladesh is an example of research which situates specific examples of textile production within a discussion of globalised design. See BANU, L. S. (2009) 'Defining the Design Deficit in Bangladesh', *Journal of Design History*. Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 309-25.

<sup>34</sup> ATTFIELD, J. (1999) 'Beyond the Pale: Reviewing the Relationship between Material Culture and Design History', *Journal of Design History*. Vol. 12, No. 4, p. 374.

<sup>35</sup> A case in point is the programme of the 2007 annual conference of the International Committee for the History of Technology, which included papers on radios, toy design, armour,

the United States, rather than Britain, the Society for the History of Technology (SHOT) was founded in 1958 as a network for studying what could really be termed engineering history. Historical overlaps between publications in the two disciplines have existed, most notably Siegfried Giedion's 1948 *Mechanization Takes Command*, which has been cited as a foundational text in both disciplines, as well as Ruth Schwartz-Cowan's 1983 *More Work for Mother*.<sup>36</sup>

In a parallel development to the influence of cultural studies and various humanities on design history, the 1980s saw the impact of the sociology of science on the field.<sup>37</sup> This led to the evolution of the idea of the social construction of technology, which concentrated on the role of society and culture in moulding technology in an attempt to balance (or negate) the dominance of technological determinism (the idea that technology alone drives history).<sup>38</sup> The theoretical input from sociology and the further developments of ideas such as actor-network theory demonstrate a concerted emphasis on formulating a more unified theoretical framework in the discipline.<sup>39</sup> The fact that the object of study within the discipline of technology history often overlaps with that of design history means that this emphasis has provided some concepts that may prove useful in analysis of the man-made object.

## **Technology history: terminology and concepts**

The usefulness of ideas from technology history can be seen from a methodological point of view in a discussion of approaches to the analysis of man-made artefacts.

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insulin pumps, bicycles, using ANT, ethnographic, historical and sociological approaches. (2007) 'ICOHTEC: Annual Meeting 2007', *International Committee for the History of Technology*. <http://www.icohtec.org/annual-meeting-2007.html> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>36</sup> FALLAN. (2010) pp. 2, 30; GIEDION, S. (1948) *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; SCHWARTZ-COWEN, R. (1983) *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave*. New York, NY: Basic Books; WALKER. (1989) pp. 115-16; MOLELLA, A. P. (2002) 'Science Moderne: Siegfried Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture* and *Mechanization Takes Command*', *Technology and Culture*. Vol. 43, No. 2, April, pp. 374-75; PARR, J. (2005) 'Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *More Work for Mother*', *Technology and Culture*. Vol. 46, No. 3, July, p. 604.

<sup>37</sup> BIJKER, W. E., T. P. HUGHES & T. J. PINCH (eds.) (1987) *The Social Construction of Technological Systems*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

<sup>38</sup> ROE SMITH, M. & L. MARX (eds.) (1994) *Does Technology Drive History? The Dilemma of Technological History*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

<sup>39</sup> LAW, J. & M. CALLON. (1992) 'The Life and Death of an Aircraft: A Network Analysis of Technical Change', in BIJKER, W. E. & J. LAW (eds.) *Shaping Technology / Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 21-52.

Within the history of technology, there have been three main approaches to the interrelation of technology and society, all of which have relevance to the history of design.<sup>40</sup> The first of these, the social construction of technology, stems from the sociology of science and puts an emphasis on the role of the social in negotiating the form and content of technological objects.<sup>41</sup> The main argument is that the social plays a critical role in the design and development of an artefact, because the social group involved with the design will choose forms and solutions depending on its social characteristics and attributes.<sup>42</sup> Technological objects are seen as having ‘interpretative flexibility’, that is, because objects are culturally constructed and different social groups can interpret them in different manners.<sup>43</sup> This is very similar to the widespread idea in the history of design that designers cannot dictate how users will see the products that they design: as also to the idea that designed objects have a capability to accrete meanings, which may or not have been ‘designed in’ by their creators, “through the processes of design, mediation and consumption practices”.<sup>44</sup> In addition, the concept of symmetry in the consideration of sources ties in extremely well with the approach to the discourses in the different fields above. This concept refers to the idea that no particular explanations for the construction of a network should be given special priority, particularly any assumption that either the social or technical is the driving force.<sup>45</sup> Allowing equal consideration to political, economic, social, cultural, technical or natural explanations for the configuration of a network surrounding an artefact means the researcher is allowing for the possibility that one of these plays a role that is not obvious at first glance and which may be ignored if only the obvious roles are considered. This concept can also be expanded to the consideration of disciplinary

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<sup>40</sup> FALLAN. (2010) pp. 56-78.

<sup>41</sup> BIJKER, W. E. & J. LAW (eds.) (1992) *Shaping Technology / Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 10.

<sup>42</sup> BIJKER, et al. (eds.) (1987) p. 4.

<sup>43</sup> PINCH, T. & W. E. BIJKER. (1987) 'The Social Construction of Facts and Artifacts: Or How the Sociology of Science and the Sociology of Technology Might Benefit From Each Other', in BIJKER, W. E., T. P. HUGHES & T. J. PINCH (eds.) *The Social Construction of Technological Systems*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 44.

<sup>44</sup> JULIER. (2008) p. 29; WOODHAM, J. M. (1995) 'Resisting Colonization: Design History has its own Identity', in LEES-MAFFEI, G. & R. HOUZE (eds.) (2010) *The Design History Reader*. Oxford: Berg, p. 293. Woodham is referring specifically to Hebdige's influential study of the Italian motor scooter, see HEBDIGE, D. (1981) 'Object as Image: The Italian Scooter Cycle', *Block*. Vol. 5, pp. 44-64.

<sup>45</sup> LAW, J. (1987) 'Technology and Heterogeneous Engineering: The Case of Portuguese Expansion', in BIJKER, W. E., T. P. HUGHES & T. J. PINCH (eds.) *The Social Construction of Technological Systems*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 130-31.

discourses based on different media, as the existing disciplinary paradigms should be treated with caution and in an even-handed manner.

The designers involved with the production of a product and the consumers who buy it can be seen as examples of Pinch and Bijker's 'social groups', although these are rather straightforward designations. One of the problems with this concept is the difficulty of defining who is a member of these social groups, but the methodology borrowed from sociology is to let the voices of the people involved dictate the groups, either through interviews or through research in the historical record.<sup>46</sup> A related concept is that of the 'technological frame', which assumes a certain shared set of goals within a social group, which inform the actions of that group.<sup>47</sup> Although denying technological determinism, the social construction of technology remains a type of social determinism, as it denies any room for physical or technical influences in the design of artefacts. This can be seen in the emphasis on the social as the only factor of note, as well as a blindness to the reciprocal relationship between artefacts and social groups that is evident in the design history ideas outlined above. This emphasis has been modified somewhat in recent years by the writing of MacKenzie and Wajcman, who prefer the metaphor of 'social shaping' rather than 'social construction', as they feel this term gives more recognition that this is not a discussion of an abstract endeavour, but of real, solid artefacts.<sup>48</sup>

In contrast to this is the idea of technological systems promulgated and espoused by the historian of technology, Thomas Hughes. Coming from a historical background, he has escaped the accusations of linearity that have been levelled at the field and has developed his ideas on technology over a number of years.<sup>49</sup> Hughes uses a systems metaphor, with a system being made up of different, but interlocking, elements of physical artefacts, institutions and natural resources. They are organised by what Hughes calls 'system builders' – the people who orchestrate the creation and maintenance of a system, a description that would fit professional designers, as well as

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<sup>46</sup> BIJKER, W. E. (1992) 'The Social Construction of Fluorescent Lighting, or How an Artifact was invented in its Diffusion Stage', in BIJKER, W. E. & J. LAW (eds.) *Shaping Technology / Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 75-102.

<sup>47</sup> BIJKER, W. E. (1987) 'The Social Construction of Bakelite: Towards a Theory of Invention', in BIJKER, W. E., T. P. HUGHES & T. PINCH (eds.) *The Social Construction of Technological Systems*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 168-69.

<sup>48</sup> MACKENZIE, D. & J. WAJCMAN (eds.) (1999) *Social Shaping of Technology*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, p. 18.

<sup>49</sup> BIJKER, et al. (eds.) (1987) p. 4.

numerous other professionals identified by Hughes.<sup>50</sup> He considers neither the system builders nor the environment to be actually part of the system, with both acting into the system from outside it. This one-way influence presupposes that the system builders in particular are not themselves changed or influenced in any way by their interaction with the system, which is an unusual methodological position for an otherwise observant analysis. Hughes is unusual in that he doesn't just look at a system at a defined moment in time, but has theorised about how a system may change and develop over time. He posits a set of phases, not all of which a system may go through, these being invention, development, innovation, transfer, growth, competition, consolidation.<sup>51</sup> While this analysis may still be open to question, it is an interesting conception and one that seems to be otherwise inadequately dealt with in technology history. In this light, Schwartz-Cowan's criticisms seem to be particularly trenchant, as they point out the heavy emphasis on the production of technology, at the expense of understanding how technological artefacts are consumed, a criticism which has also been historically levelled at design history.<sup>52</sup>

### **Terminology: technology and the technical**

One of the issues related to the use of technology history concepts is that there is a difference in how some terminology, particularly 'technology', is used. Kingery suggests that to archaeologists and art historians (and by inference design historians) 'technology' refers solely to the manufacturing process, while to historians of technology it means the entire design process, as well as the end product.<sup>53</sup> In their introduction to *The Social Construction of Technological Systems*, Bijker, Hughes and Pinch provide a discussion and attempt at defining 'technology' in a careful fashion. They discuss the heavy 'interpretative load' of the term, covering physical artefacts or objects, the processes

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<sup>50</sup> HUGHES, T. P. (2005) *Human-built World: How to Think About Technology and Culture*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, p. 4; HUGHES, T. P. (1987) 'The Evolution of Large Technological Systems', in BIJKER, W. E., T. P. HUGHES & T. J. PINCH (eds.) *The Social Construction of Technological Systems*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 52; HUGHES, T. P. (1979) 'The Electrification of America: The System Builders', *Technology and Culture*. Vol. 20, No. 1, January, p. 124.

<sup>51</sup> HUGHES. (1987) pp. 52-54.

<sup>52</sup> SCHWARTZ-COWEN, R. (1987) 'The Consumption Junction: A Proposal for Research Strategies in the Sociology of Technology', in BIJKER, W. E., T. P. HUGHES & T. J. PINCH (eds.) *The Social Construction of Technological Systems*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 262-64.

<sup>53</sup> KINGERY, W. D. (1993) 'Technological Systems and Some Implications with Regard to Continuity and Change', in LUBAR, S. & W. D. KINGERY (eds.) *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, p. 215.

that go into making them, as well as the abstract knowledge that they are conceptually based.<sup>54</sup> This relates to the point made by Kingery outlined above, that to historians of technology, the term refers to both objects and processes, which is very similar to Heskett's discussion of the use of the term 'design' as object, as process and as sketch or plan.<sup>55</sup> Hughes describes the historical basis of the term in relation to 'engineering' and the earlier 'practical arts', including the process of making as well as the finished artefacts and as "a creative process involving human ingenuity."<sup>56</sup>

A possible solution to this labelling tangle could be found in the work of Arnold Pacey. While seen as a peripheral figure in the history of technology, Pacey has worked in the grey area where design and engineering overlap and is concerned with the responsible practice of technology, much in the tradition of Papanek and Whiteley.<sup>57</sup> In *The Culture of Technology*, he provides a distinction between the ideas and science of a subject and the practice of it that is lacking in the technological arena (as well as that of design).<sup>58</sup> He looks to the established division of medical science and medical practice as a possible methodological role model that would enable practitioners to think clearly about the purely technical, the cultural and the organizational aspects of technological problems. The important difference is the separation of the terms 'technical' to mean the specific, mechanical aspects of a problem and the 'technological' to mean an overall view, inclusive of both cultural and organisational aspects (see Figure 2-1).

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<sup>54</sup> BIJKER, et al. (eds.) (1987) pp. 3-4.

<sup>55</sup> HESKETT. (2002) pp. 5-6.

<sup>56</sup> HUGHES. (2005) p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> PAPANEK, V. (1971) *Design for the Real World: Human Ecology and Social Change*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books; WHITELEY, N. (1994) *Design for Society*. London: Reaktion Books; SCHWARTZ-COWEN, R. (1986) 'Review of "The Culture of Technology"', *Technology and Culture*. Vol. 27, No. 2, April, p. 293.

<sup>58</sup> PACEY, A. (1983) *The Culture of Technology*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.



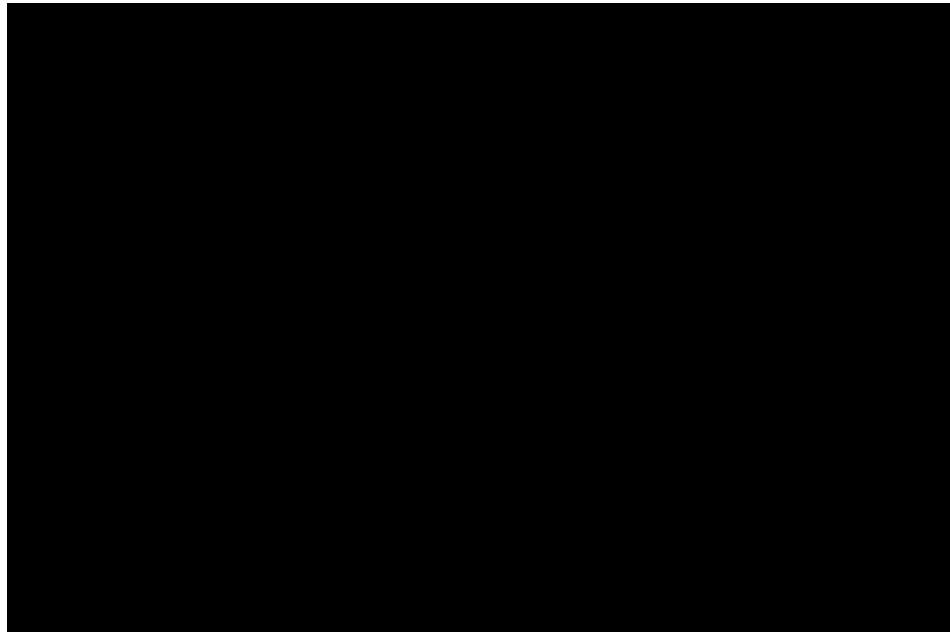


FIGURE 2-1 - DIAGRAMMATIC DEFINITION OF 'TECHNOLOGY' AND 'TECHNICAL'  
(PACEY, A. (1983) *THE CULTURE OF TECHNOLOGY*. CAMBRIDGE, MA: THE MIT PRESS, P.  
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He criticises narrow concerns with the technical as a tunnel-vision approach that does not take into consideration the cultural and social dimensions of technology. While described in more precise terms, this idea certainly related to the emphasis of the importance of social factors in current approaches to both design history and technology history. It is also particularly useful in understanding the subject material of this thesis, as it relates directly to the German-language differentiation between *Technik* and *Technologie* discussed in Chapter 1, where *Technik* represents the technical, and *Technologie* the wider definition inclusive of cultural and organisational aspects of technology. As a result, this thesis will endeavour to separate the use of 'technique' and 'technology', using them in a similar manner to the German source of the ideas.

### **Networks and relationships: Actor-Network Theory**

A wider approach to the subject can be found in the area of actor-network theory (or ANT). A more abstract area than the two outlined above, it focuses on breaking down the distinction between human and non-human influences on the development of an artefact, all of which are known as 'actors'.<sup>59</sup> The theory bears some relation to Hughes' technological system, but it is one where even the physical properties of a material are

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<sup>59</sup> BIJKER, et al. (eds.) (1987) pp. 4-5.

recognised to influence the finished artefact. An important difference is that there is no influence from outside ‘acting-in’ to the system – both the system builders and the environment are considered to be part of the network.<sup>60</sup> There is also a dynamic consideration, as the network is seen to be a ‘pattern of forces’, continually balancing and pulling against each other and the actors both shape each other and are shaped themselves.<sup>61</sup> The discussion of ‘technological theories and technological objects’ can be used as a paradigm for the discussion of ‘design theories’ and ‘design objects’, which has the advantage of a clear discussion about what design historians normally consider to be ideas and theories about design, and designed objects.<sup>62</sup>

One criticism of this approach (and one that is shared with the two approaches outlined above) is that Bijker and Law do not provide a method of mapping the possible actors in a system. The diagrammatic method outlined in Law & Callon’s article seems far from comprehensive in this aspect (see Figure 2-2). It also refers not to the actors themselves, but to the classification of the entire project at any given time. This seems to be a crucial omission for theories that have aspirations towards the comprehensive analysis of large-scale and complex systems.

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<sup>60</sup> LAW. (1987) p. 131; BIJKER & LAW (eds.) (1992) p. 10.

<sup>61</sup> LAW. (1987) p. 121; BIJKER & LAW (eds.) (1992) p. 10.

<sup>62</sup> FALLAN. (2010) p. 67. This was also discussed as part of Fallan’s paper on ANT at the 2008 Design History Society conference. FALLAN, K. (2009) ‘An ANT in our Pants? A Design Historian’s Reflections on Actor Network Theory’, in GLYNNE, J., F. HACKNEY & V. MINTON (eds.) *Networks of Design: Proceedings of the 2008 Annual International Conference of the Design History Society (UK) University College Falmouth 3-6 September*. Boca Raton, FL: Universal Publishers, pp. 46-52.

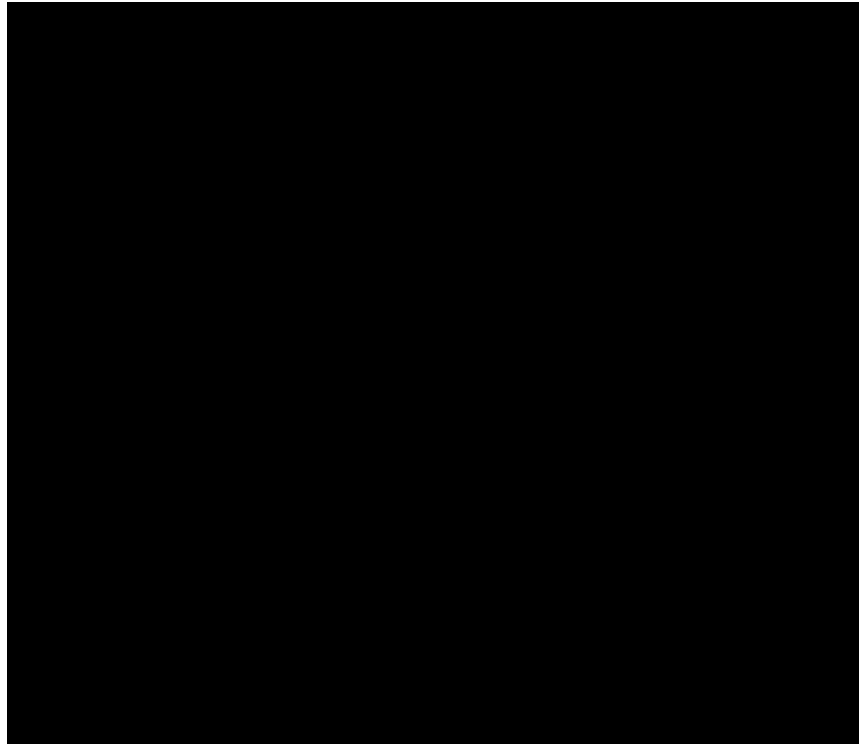


FIGURE 2-2 - MOBILIZATION OF LOCAL AND GLOBAL NETWORKS

(LAW, J. & M. CALLON. (1992) 'THE LIFE AND DEATH OF AN AIRCRAFT: A NETWORK ANALYSIS OF TECHNICAL CHANGE', IN BIJKER, W. E. & J. LAW (EDS.) *SHAPING TECHNOLOGY / BUILDING SOCIETY: STUDIES IN SOCIOTECHNICAL CHANGE*. CAMBRIDGE, MA: THE MIT PRESS, P. 49)

This reluctance to use diagrammatic techniques as an analytical tool may be a result of the widespread view of the 'seamless web of sociotechnology', a term developed from Hughes' initial proposal of a 'seamless web'.<sup>63</sup> This suggests that there is no stable or matter-of-fact distinction between the social and the technical and that all actors exist in a kind of fuzzily envisaged set of interconnections and interlinks.<sup>64</sup> This use of the principle of generalised symmetry is aimed to treat human and non-human in the same terms, in order to avoid the apparent traps of anthropomorphism and technomorphism and the making of assumptions about individual actors, often levied at ANT.<sup>65</sup>

However, one of the distinct advantages of the ANT approach is that the focus on non-human actors (or actants, as they were later described) foregrounds the intransigent materiality of objects and materials, acting as a careful corrective to a focus on heroic

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<sup>63</sup> HUGHES, T. P. (1986) 'The Seamless Web: Technology, Science, Etcetera, Etcetera', *Social Studies of Science*. Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 282.

<sup>64</sup> BIJKER & LAW (eds.) (1992) pp. 201-02.

<sup>65</sup> FALLAN. (2010) pp. 73-76; LATOUR, B. (1992) 'Where are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts', in BIJKER, W. E. & J. LAW (eds.) *Shaping Technology / Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 234-36.

humans, in a parallel manner to recent developments in design history. Fallan has called it “a fresh and rewarding perspective to keep in mind when analysing design processes, products and their meanings in the writing of a cultural history of design.”<sup>66</sup> However, I would not agree with Fallan’s subsequent endorsement of Akrich’s ‘describing’ method as the most useful tool for the design historian, given its complex and literary nature, not necessarily the best approach for an approach centred on designed artefacts and the relationships which they embody and negotiate.<sup>67</sup> Glynne, in the proceedings of the 2009 Design History Society conference ‘Networks of Design’ which formed a nexus of discussion around the idea of the network in design history, compares the ANT approach to recent shifts in design history towards the analysis of consumption, communication and material culture.

The invaluable thing about ANT, however, is that it pushes us to think about the very particular nature, effects and power relations embedded in and materialised through the interconnections between people and things, a central issue for those who wish to avoid hiding the cause of social inequalities.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> FALLAN. (2010) p. 76.

<sup>67</sup> FALLAN. (2010) pp. 78-89; AKRICH, M. (1992) 'The Description of Technical Objects', in BIJKER, W. E. & J. LAW (eds.) *Shaping Technology / Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 205-24.

<sup>68</sup> GLYNNE, J., F. HACKNEY & V. MINTON (eds.) (2009) *Networks of Design: Proceedings of the 2008 Annual International Conference of the Design History Society (UK) University College Falmouth 3-6 September*. Boca Raton, FL: Universal Publishers, p. xiii.

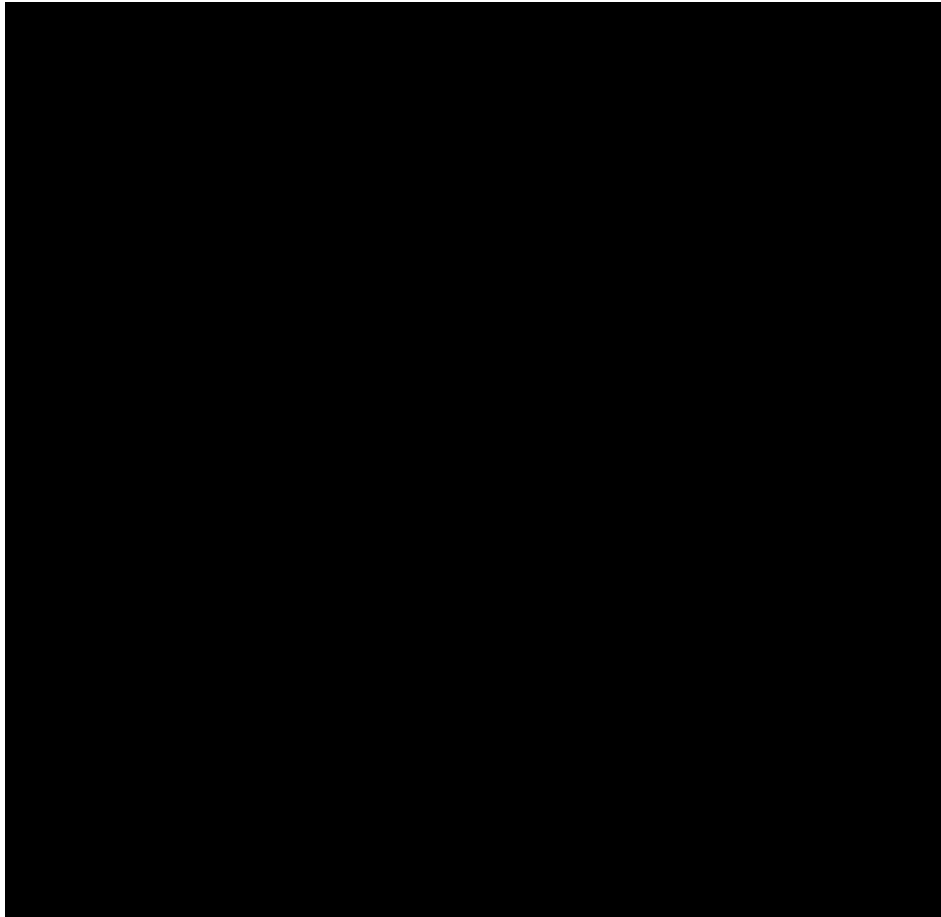


FIGURE 2-3 - DIAGRAM OF POSITIONING OF RELEVANT ACTORS IN AN ACTOR-NETWORK

(DE LA BRUHÈZE, A. (1992) 'CLOSING THE RANKS: DEFINITION AND STABILIZATION OF RADIOACTIVE WASTES', IN BIJKER, W. E. & J. LAW (EDS.) *SHAPING TECHNOLOGY/ BUILDING SOCIETY*. CAMBRIDGE, MA: THE MIT PRESS, P. 145)

However, a number of ANT studies have ended up with a noted emphasis on the human actors within a network, despite attempts to retain a balanced, objective frame of reference.<sup>69</sup> Figure 2-3 provides a good example of the failure of mapping strategies, which Fallan does not address in his discussion of ANT and the history of design. De la Bruheze has focused entirely on the human and organisational actors in his diagram and I would argue that this is because of the difficulty of coming up with a workable visualisation of the inter-relation of human and non-human actors, which has resulted in a distinct reluctance to commit the network to paper in any other fashion than a

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<sup>69</sup> DE LA BRUHÈZE, A. (1992) 'Closing the Ranks: Definition and Stabilization of Radioactive Wastes', in BIJKER, W. E. & J. LAW (eds.) *Shaping Technology/ Building Society*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 140-74.

linear written narrative.<sup>70</sup> I would emphasise that this reluctance would benefit from a more sophisticated visual presentation of information. Rather than an in-depth discussion of the pros and cons of actor-network theory, I would like to focus on the strategy of mapping networks of relationships and propose a method for doing so which would aid the design historian in visualising the relationships between artefacts, people and ideas.

### **Mapping the network of the Shannon Scheme**

In order to provide some clarity in the tangled web of people, objects and ideas involved in the creation and then the consumption of the Shannon Scheme, a diagrammatic approach has been used as an initial method. The value of this approach is to allow the two-dimensional mapping of the relationships between the actors, which may be one-way or reciprocal and have varying degrees of strength. These relationships are very complex, considering the fact that they are all focused on the creation and representation of a single building, but this may largely be due to the complex political background of the project, with the three main organisations of the Cumann na nGaedheal Government, Siemens and the ESB each interacting directly and through intermediaries such as the Experts Group and Shannon Power Development. Due to this complexity and the size restrictions of A4 paper, I have broken down the system into three different categories of actors: those of interest groups, artefacts and ideologies. Each of these three categories has been mapped using the same general layout to allow the reader to reference the main ideologies and artefacts associated with each set of interest groups. The interest groups break down into three major sets - the Cumann na nGaedheal Government, Siemens and the ESB (from 1927 onwards) - with a number of unaffiliated people and interest groups forming a fourth loose grouping. Figure 2-4 describes the complex relationships involved with the interest groups and a small number of individuals, such as Thomas McLaughlin, who had a direct and singular influence on the development of the project. This includes the social groups of German engineers, both German and Irish workers on the Scheme, the visiting tourists

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<sup>70</sup> The only example that I have found of an attempt to map these relationships in technology history is in DE BLOCK, G. (2009) 'Infrastructure as Mode of Urban Design: Tracing 'Networks of Design' in the Belgian Railway Project', in GLYNNE, J., F. HACKNEY & V. MINTON (eds.) *Networks of Design: Proceedings of the 2008 Annual International Conference of the Design History Society (UK) University College Falmouth 3-6 September*. Boca Raton, FL: Universal Publishers, pp. 225-32.

and the trade unions, as well as the more organised members of groups such as the staff of the ESB publicity department, Siemens engineers, the Cumann na nGaedheal government and companies such as T. C. Carroll, Mason and Eason & Sons, all of whom produced postcards of the Scheme. It also includes the named artists and designers such as Seán Keating, George Atkinson, Anton Scheuritzel, E. L. Lawrenson and Gordon Brewster, mapping their relationships to the various institutional and corporate interest groups.

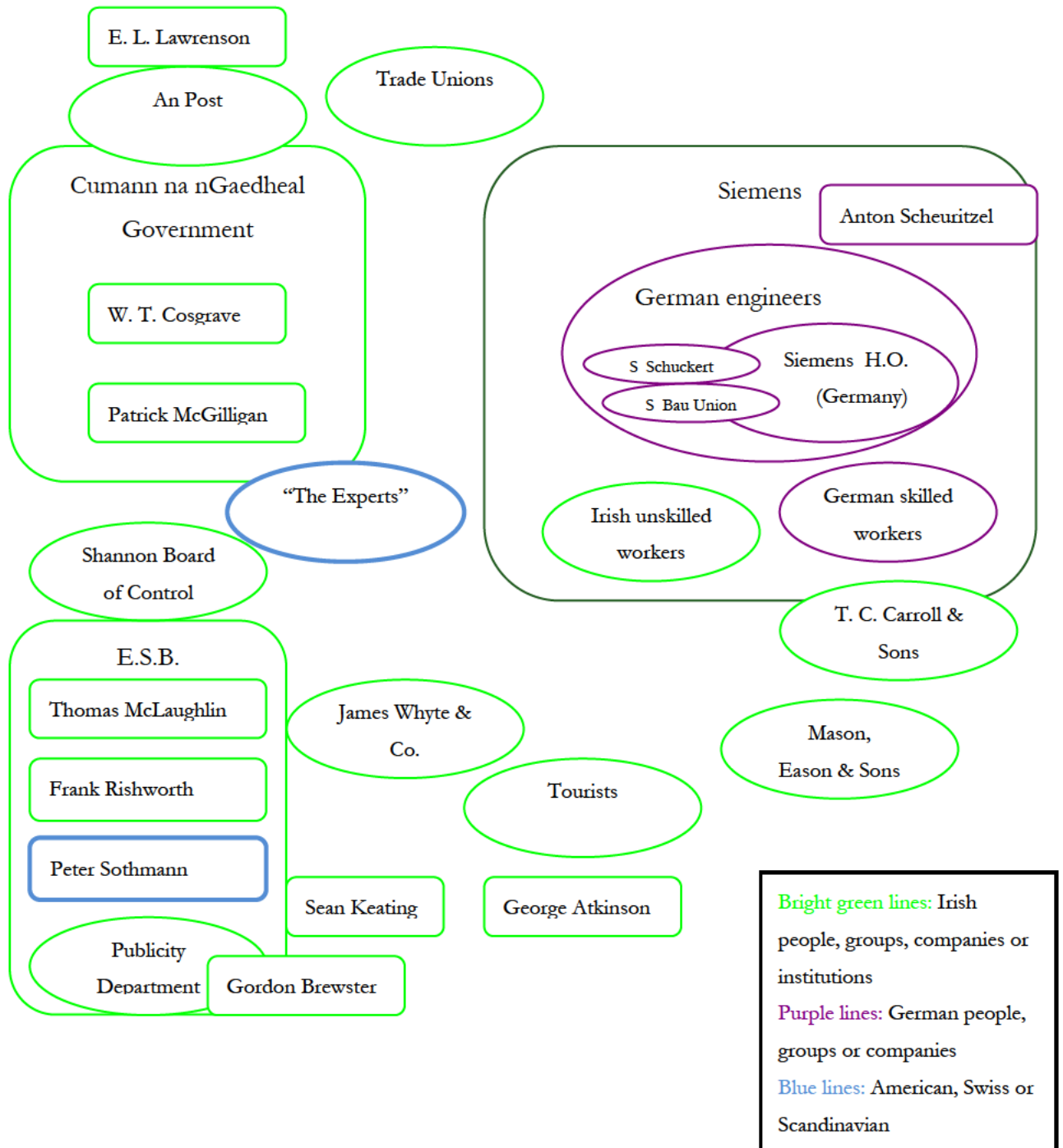


FIGURE 2.4 – DIAGRAM OF PEOPLE AND ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED IN THE CREATION AND REPRESENTATION OF THE SHANNON SCHEME (GREEN LINES REPRESENTING PEOPLE OR GROUPS)

Figure 2-5 shares the same general layout, but considers the relationship between the different example artefacts which are discussed in this thesis. I have retained the overall mapping into main areas of Siemens, the ESB, Cumann na nGaedheal government and a fourth open area as an aid to orientation in relation to the previous diagram, with the artefacts appearing in roughly the same location as their creators did in the previous diagram. Some notable points of this diagram are the wide spread of different media among these four main areas, without any distinct groupings. It also represents the reproduction of the Siemens photographs in the period up to 1932, as they were published in the Siemens publication *Siemens: Progress on the Shannon*, as well as on T. C.



FIGURE 2-5 - DIAGRAM OF ARTEFACTS RELATING TO THE CREATION AND REPRESENTATION OF THE SHANNON SCHEME (PURPLE LINES REPRESENTING ARTEFACTS)



Carroll's postcards and W.D & H.O. Wills' cigarette cards.

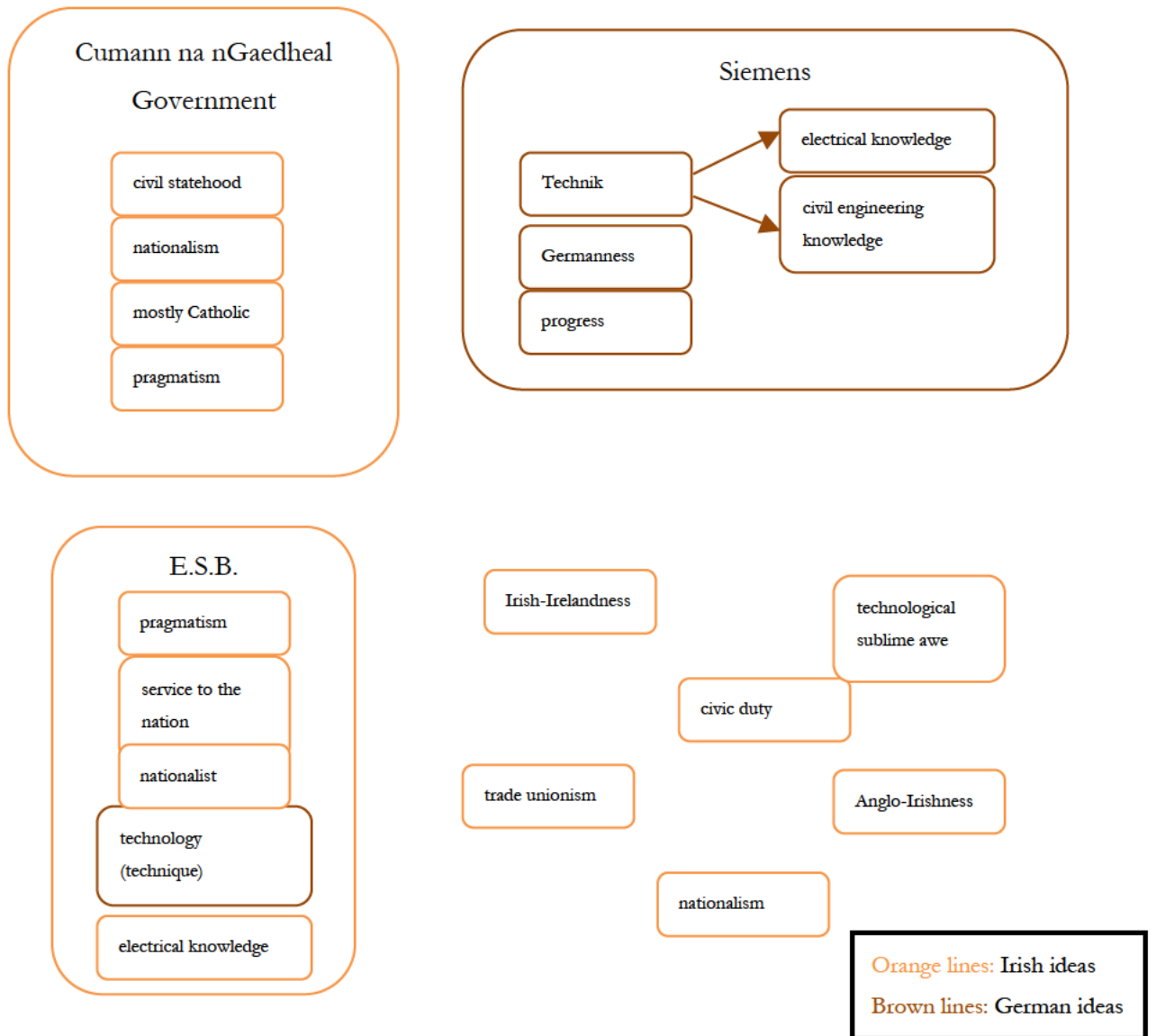


FIGURE 2-6 – DIAGRAM OF THE IDEAS INVOLVED IN THE CREATION AND REPRESENTATION OF THE SHANNON SCHEME

Figure 2-6 demonstrates the ideological structure of the network, and particularly demonstrates the dual influences on the formation of the ESB, where the Cumann na nGaedheal government had a large influence on its ideological approach towards the nation and its identity, while the Siemens corporate approach influenced its approach towards electrical technology.<sup>71</sup> This provides a hybrid attitude which is evident in the visual and material products of the ESB, which will be discussed in more detail later in the thesis.

The diagrams are intended to foreground these three aspects of design, where the interplay between people, ideas and materials allows them to jostle with and influence each other in the creation of a designed artefact. They are intended as a device for the historian to keep in mind the relative importance of all three of these areas, in order not to privilege the designer, the material or the ideas, but to consider equally how each affects the final product, both how it was produced and how it was consumed. They also provide an alternative formulation of the relationships involved in the production and consumption of design, but without treating them as separate domains, as for example, Julier does in his production-designer-consumption model (see Figure 2-7). The advantage of this approach is that the designers, clients and human consumers are all considered in a contiguous manner, as are the ideas which they may share (or be trying to convince each other of), as well as the immutable facts of material science, physical laws and geographical constraints. It goes some way towards codifying the methodological structures used in technology history, but in a way that is appropriate for the concerns of design history. It also foregrounds the point made by Julier that the domains of design culture constantly interact with each other, a continuous process of influence and exchange, but using a diagrammatic method which allows this to be demonstrated in a more explicit manner.<sup>72</sup> It is also much more useful in consideration of a synchronic analysis of a network of relationships, either at one point or over a short period of time, as it allows for those relationships to be examined in a clearer fashion.

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<sup>71</sup> Of the 15 Cumann na nGaedheal members of the Executive Council in the 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dáils, 14 were Catholic, with only Ernest Blythe (Minister for Finance from 1923 to 1927 and Vice-President after the assassination of Kevin O'Higgins in 1927) a northern Presbyterian.

<sup>72</sup> JULIER. (2008) p. 13.

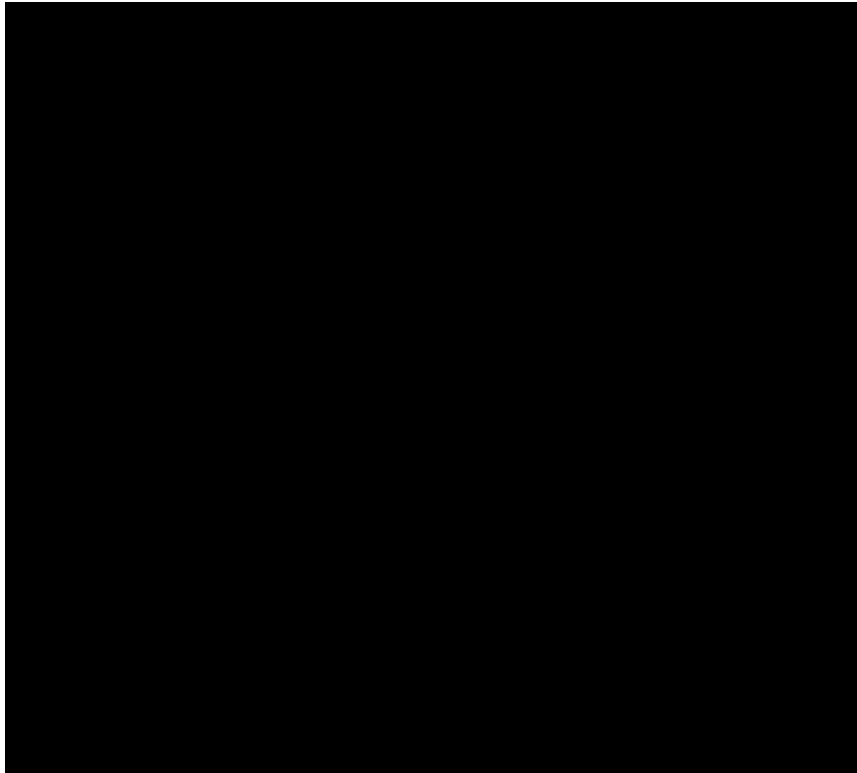


FIGURE 2-7 - DOMAINS OF DESIGN CULTURE

(JULIER, G. (2008) *THE CULTURE OF DESIGN*. 2ND ED. LONDON: SAGE PUBLICATIONS, P. 13)

The development of this approach to mapping a network is intended to provide an overview of the relationships between the different embodied artefacts, people or organisations, and ideas which influence the actions of those people and organisations in their creation and consumption of those artefacts. While the thesis is, in one way, concerned with the production of the Shannon Scheme itself, it is also largely concerned with how it was consumed and represented to the Irish people. It will consider several examples in five different media which frame the Scheme for consumption, but also spends some time considering the production, content and consumption of those examples, in order to understand the relationship between the original technological artefact and its representations.

## **Conclusion**

The approach of this thesis has been developed to deal with the specific topic of a synchronic study on how technology is represented in a wide range of media in a specific national context. As a topic, this has two main issues: firstly the relationship

between national identity and modernisation, both of which are areas where the majority of existing theoretical writing comes from outside the discipline of design history. The second issue is that of the wide spread of representations across a variety of different media, some of which have their own distinct discourses associated with their study. The approach of analysing the building itself, in relation to other similar architecture, as well as considering it as an embodiment of German ideas about technology and the modern world, has the advantage of focussing the reader on the actual and the material, embodied in the form of a building. The third chapter of the thesis considers the building of the power station itself as an example of German industrial architecture, as well as the role of technical drawings and models in the process of negotiations between Siemens staff and the Irish-employed engineers on the Board of Control, particularly Frank Rishworth. This is discussed first in order to allow the reader to understand the context and influences on the construction of the building itself, before moving on to consider how it was represented in two dimensions by the various different interest groups up to 1932.

The following four chapters discuss the representation of the Shannon Scheme in photography, advertising, fine art and printed ephemera, respectively. As well as following a broadly chronological structure for the creation of these representations, this division allows a discussion of the specific technical and technological associations of each medium in relation to the issues of Irish national identity and modernisation. It works from the assumption that each of these media had a particular set of associations related to its perceived epochal or essentialist position, which was shared by different examples of the medium, even if they were produced by widely diverging interest groups. The thesis works through each of these sets of examples using a design historical approach based on a mapping of the people, ideas and artefacts associated with the representations. It will combine detailed observation and contextual analysis with relevant theoretical discussion, referring back to the main themes of national identity, modernisation and the representation of technology as applied to an iconic project in the vanguard of Modernist building in Ireland.

## **Chapter 3 - Architecture of the Shannon Scheme power station: the influence of German industrial building, Siemenstyle and technical drawings**

### **Introduction**

This chapter will consider the architecture of the Shannon Scheme power station and its construction by two of the Siemens engineering companies during the period 1924 to 1929, using an initial mapping of the actors and interest groups to focus on the specifics of this physical project. The location of the Shannon Scheme architecture within the discourse of German industrial architecture is centrally important to the overall argument of the thesis, as the buildings embody a Modernist concern for the expression of technology in an appropriate physical form, which is inherently tied up with the discourses on technology and modernity outlined in Chapter 1. It will consider how the location of the building in rural county Clare had an influence on its design, particularly in the light of German ideas about *Technik* and *Kultur*. This discussion is expanded through the analysis of surviving technical drawings of the Scheme, particularly how they were used as a negotiation tool between the different interest groups involved in the construction. It also considers the reproduction of the main power station building in a silver model of 1930, tying its physical form closely into discourses of the Arts and Crafts Movement.

### **Mapping of the Shannon Scheme building**

The diagram of the relationships between artefacts, ideas and groups involved in the Scheme can be extracted from the overall diagram discussed in the methodology chapter to focus on the construction of the Scheme. The main interest groups involved in the construction of the station consist of the Free State Government in Dublin; Shannon Power Development in Dublin and Limerick; Siemens Schuckertwerke in Limerick and on site at Ardnacrusha, with a tangential role played by the staff of Siemens BauUnion; and Siemens Head Office in Berlin. In addition to these groups, Siemens Head Office was also negotiating with the German engineering firms of

Escher Wyss and Voith for the production of turbines, and Louis Eilers for the production of the steel frame for the power house. The relationship between these groups will be explored in more depth in this chapter, but on initial examination, it is notable that while the negotiations surrounding the construction of the Power House were nominally between the Shannon Power Development and Siemens-Schuckertwerke, they were however heavily influenced by both the Free State Government (specifically the Department of Trade and Industry) and Siemens head office in Berlin, who were coordinating the architectural aspect of the project, as well as the construction of the turbines by Escher Wyss and Voith (see Figure 3-1). While the German structure existed due to the complicated network of Siemens subsidiaries and the hybrid nature of the project (including both electrical and civil engineering), the extra complexity on the Irish side was due to the political need by the Government to exercise control over the project, as well as its requirement for technical oversight of the process of construction. To provide this oversight, Shannon Power Development employed what few Irish engineers with experience of large hydro-electric or water dam systems could be found, including Professor Frank Rishworth of University College Galway.<sup>1</sup>

The similarity of the Shannon Scheme power station building to contemporary German industrial architecture has been noted by a number of architectural critics, but not in more depth than a sentence or two in articles more concerned with larger issues.<sup>2</sup> This chapter will consider the nature of German industrial building during the period leading up to the construction of the Shannon Scheme, in order to provide a more detailed context for the analysis of the main power station building. It will also consider the role that technical drawings played in the negotiated process of construction, involving members of the various interest groups outlined above.

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<sup>1</sup> The Chief Civil Engineer on the Scheme was Peter Sothmann, a Danish engineer working in Canada, who had been recruited by McGilligan and Campbell. There were also a small number of Swiss and Norwegian electrical engineers recommended by the Experts, but the majority of the Shannon Power Development staff were Irish, as were those of the later ESB.

<sup>2</sup> CAMPBELL, J. (1978) *The German Werkbund: The Politics of Reform in the Applied Arts*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 85; ROTHERY, S. (1991) *Ireland and the New Architecture 1900 – 1940*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press, p. 143.

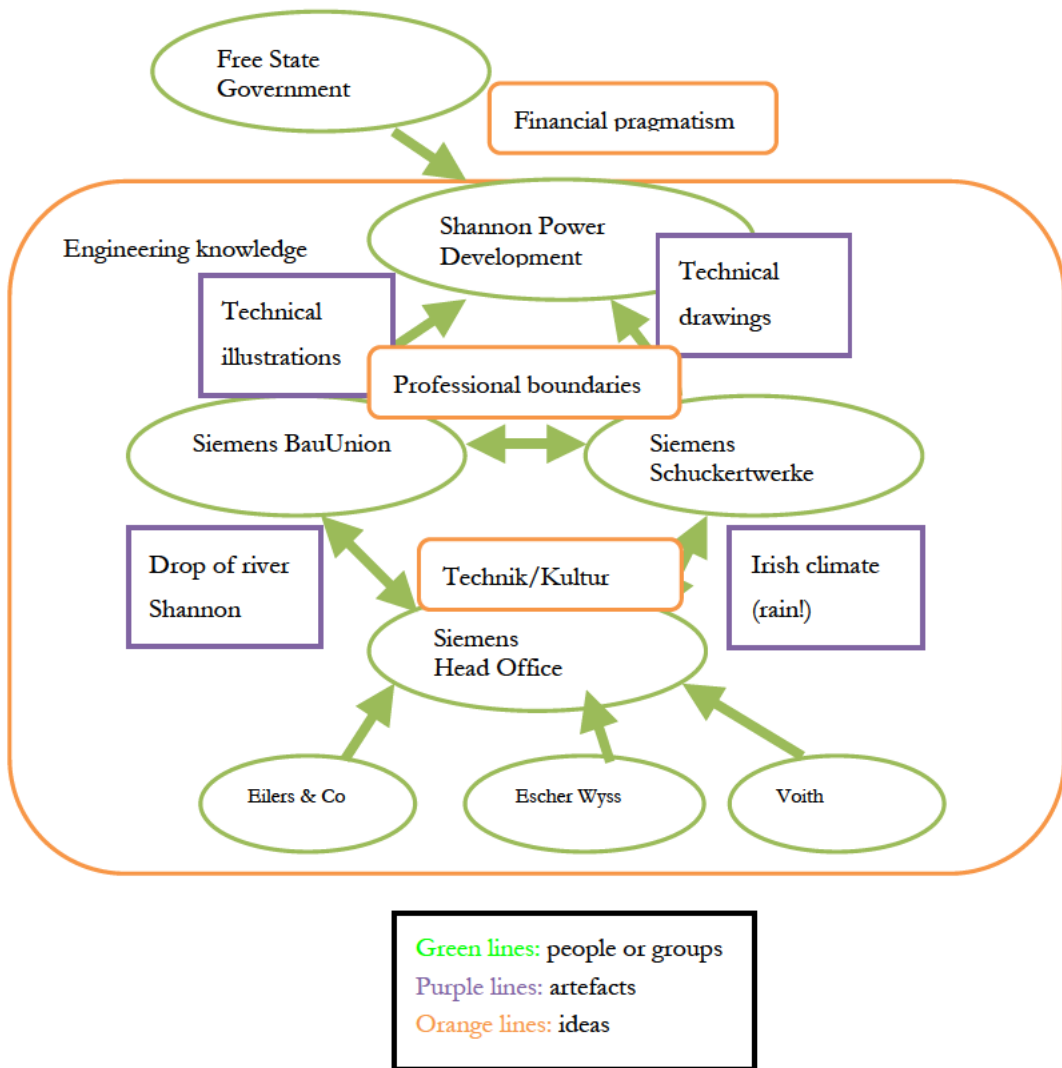


FIGURE 3-1 – DIAGRAM OF THE ARTEFACTS, IDEAS AND GROUPS INVOLVED WITH THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SHANNON SCHEME

## German industrial building

In order to understand the design and construction of the Shannon Scheme buildings, it is necessary to consider the development of industrial buildings in Germany in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Like many other developments in the country during the 1920s, this was heavily influenced by practice in the United States. The introduction of Taylorist and Fordist ideas into German manufacturing implied the introduction of American style factories, where the production line could be adequately housed. As with engineering practice and ideas, however, German architecture during this period took some basic American ideas and adjusted them within a distinctive national context. This section will consider the background of German industrial buildings (or *Bedürfnisbau*) in the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and their influence on the construction and design of German power stations during the same period.

The Deutsche Werkbund (or German Work Federation) was an organisation founded in Germany in the 1907, with the aim of raising the standards of German manufacturing, focusing on forming connections between the worlds of art and industry. It sprang from its members' perception that industrial production would only produce goods of poor quality, if implemented in an unconsidered manner, as well as their desire to deal with the coming of industrial society to Germany, in a way that would allow German *Kultur* to be reconciled with *zivilisiert* progress.<sup>3</sup> Werkbund members disagreed loudly and often with each other on the means by which this was to be achieved, but were united in their desire for the improvement of German manufacturing.<sup>4</sup> Figures such as Hermann Muthesius, Adolf Behne and Walter Gropius were instrumental in creating a self-aware dialogue within the German manufacturing sector, which included the discussion of the new building types in which industrial manufacture was to be housed. Much of the work of Werkbund architects was concerned with the development of these factory buildings, with much-discussed examples including Peter Behrens' turbine factory, built for AEG in Berlin-Moabit in

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<sup>3</sup> CAMPBELL, (1978) pp. 9-16; SCHWARTZ, F. J. (1996) *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, pp. 13-17.

<sup>4</sup> AYNLEY, J. (2009) *Designing Modern Germany*. London: Reaktion Books, pp. 49-52; HESKETT, J. (1986) *Design in Germany 1870-1918*. London: Trefoil Books, pp. 119-36; POSENER, J. (1980) 'Between Art and Industry: the Deutsche Werkbund', in BURCHHARDT, L. (ed.) *The Werkbund: Studies in the History and Ideology of the Deutscher Werkbund 1907-1933*. London: The Design Council, pp. 7-8.



1910, and Gropius' shoe last factory building, built for Fagus in Anfeld-an-der-Leine in 1913.<sup>5</sup> The industrial buildings of the Werkbund architects shared an interest in regular, harmonic compositions and a rather stripped-down approach, compared to the majority of their contemporaries, who generally worked in overtly Neo-Classical or Baroque styles.<sup>6</sup> On the one hand, the architects desired to provide an expression of the industrial processes being carried out within the buildings, as well as the efficiency and stability of German industry. In addition, and more pertinently, they were struggling to deal with the specific functional demands of industrial buildings, in terms of lighting, materials and the layout of machinery and equipment, which constrained the physical form of their buildings. The buildings created during these first experiments with the twin goals of functional form and expressions of efficiency were to prove influential in the later development of the Modern Movement in Germany, as well as in the wider development of industrial building form.<sup>7</sup>

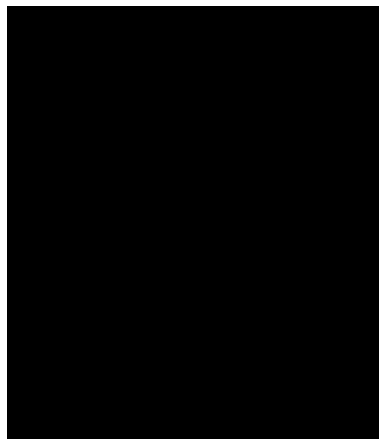


FIGURE 3-2 - PETER BEHRENS, AEG LOGO, 1907  
([HTTP://WWW.SPAZIOLDO.COM/PETER\\_BEHRENS\\_LOGO\\_AEG.JPG](http://www.spazioldo.com/peter_behrens_logo_aeg.jpg))

A central figure in this architectural discourse was the architect Peter Behrens. He is best known for his creation of AEG corporate identity and unified style of industrial design for electrical products, but with a background in the Werkbund and as a reforming design educator, he was centrally placed to put Werkbund ideas about

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<sup>5</sup> FRAMPTON, K. (2007) *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*. 4th ed. London: Thames & Hudson, pp. 109-15.

<sup>6</sup> BUDDENSIEG, T. (1984) *Industriekultur: Peter Behrens and the AEG, 1907-1914*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Walter Gropius had started his career in the Behrens architectural office and went on to build the landmark Fagus Turbine Factory in Anfeld-an-der-Leine with Adolf Meyer in 1911-13, which took Behrens' ideas a stage further towards regular structures and glass facades.

industrial buildings into action.<sup>8</sup> His relationship with the AEG lasted from 1907 until his death in 1940 and included the construction of multiple administration, factory and power station buildings, working to integrate them into his developing syntax of modernised design. Rather than expressing AEG's electrical prowess by the conventional use of Classical motifs (for example, goddesses of light or Zeus' eagles), he used abstract framed surfaces and repeated geometrical elements such as the hexagonal logo to convey his message about technology and manufacture (see Figure 3-2).<sup>9</sup> The language used in his 1925 lecture on industrial architecture emphasises the qualities of German culture that he wished to express in his architecture.

The romanticism of our age lies precisely in the technology we come up against everywhere; it lies in the attempt to break out of the earth's gravity, in the daring flight into unexplored areas, in the adventurous urge to achieve the impossible.<sup>10</sup>

This tension between the development of advanced technologies and the imaginative leaps which they allowed was central to German culture of this period and is noted by Frampton in his discussion of Behrens' Turbine Hall in Berlin-Moabit (see Figure 3-3). He discusses the building as a negotiation between *Zeitgeist* and *Volksgeist*, the broad spirit of the age and the romantic spirit of the people, in a recasting of the debate between *Technik* and *Kultur* ongoing within the German engineering community of the time, as well as the forces of essentialism and epochalism within German culture (see Chapter 1). He calls the Turbine Hall "a deliberate reification of industry as the one vital rhythm of modern life", an expressive solution to the dilemma.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> CAMPBELL. (1978) p. 28.

<sup>9</sup> BUDDENSIEG. (1984) pp. 27-36.

<sup>10</sup> BEHRENS, P. (1984) 'Industrial Architecture and Urban Design', in BUDDENSIEG, T. (ed.) *Industriekultur: Peter Behrens and the AEG, 1907-1914*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 224.

<sup>11</sup> FRAMPTON. (2007) p. 111.



FIGURE 3-3 - PETER BEHRENS, A. E. G. TURBINE HALL, BERLIN-MOABIT, 1910  
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, JULY 2009)

The exterior of the Turbine Hall has been described as being almost neo-Classical in its balanced handling of form.<sup>12</sup> Built on a corner site in a suburb of Berlin, one of the short sides forms the main façade onto Huttenstraße, with two large corner pilasters on either side of a large glass window seemingly supporting an entablature formed by the end of the mansard roof. The long street side of the building is articulated by a set of stanchions flanking vertical windows, which has been compared to a Classical colonnade in its rhythmic use of space, if not its detailing.<sup>13</sup> Despite the neo-Classical proportions, this is a resolutely modern building in its materials and detailing, with the ‘pilasters’ constructed of concrete and laminated iron and the ‘bays’ of plate glass.<sup>14</sup> The interior of the building continues this focus on the rhythmic, as Behrens takes the support structure for the travelling crane and embeds it into the iron structure of the

<sup>12</sup> AYNSLEY. (2009) p. 53; PESCHEN, G. & T. HEINISCH. (1980) 'Berlin at the Turn of the Century: A Historical and Architectural Analysis', in BURCHHARDT, L. (ed.) *The Werkbund: Studies in the History and Ideology of the Deutscher Werkbund 1907-1933*. London: The Design Council, p. 39.

<sup>13</sup> MENDE, M. (2007) 'The Berlin AEG Turbine Fitting Shop by Peter Behrens and Karl Bernhard', in LOURENÇO, P. B., P. ROCA, C. MODENA & S. AGRAWAL (eds.) *Structural Analysis of Historical Constructions: Possibilities of Numerical and Experimental Techniques*. New Delhi: MacMillan, pp. 253-55.

<sup>14</sup> PESCHEN & HEINISCH. (1980) p. 40.

building itself, both literally and figuratively creating and controlling the dimensions of the physical space (see Figure 3-4).<sup>15</sup> The technical requirements of these support structures were worked out in collaboration with the AEG engineer Karl Bernhard and the functional constraints, such as the need for extensive natural lighting, were proscribed by O. Lasche, AEG's chief production engineer, so the resulting building retains a strong sensitivity to the functional requirements of turbine construction, as well as the semantic message of a AEG landmark factory.<sup>16</sup> The large vertical windows are particularly notable, as they represent the easiest way of providing natural light to a tall space before the later adoption of glass curtain walls by Modernist architects such as Walter Gropius. The building was received by the Werkbund as a shining example of embodied *Kultur*, particularly as a means of avoiding the alienation of workers who spent their working lives in the building.<sup>17</sup>

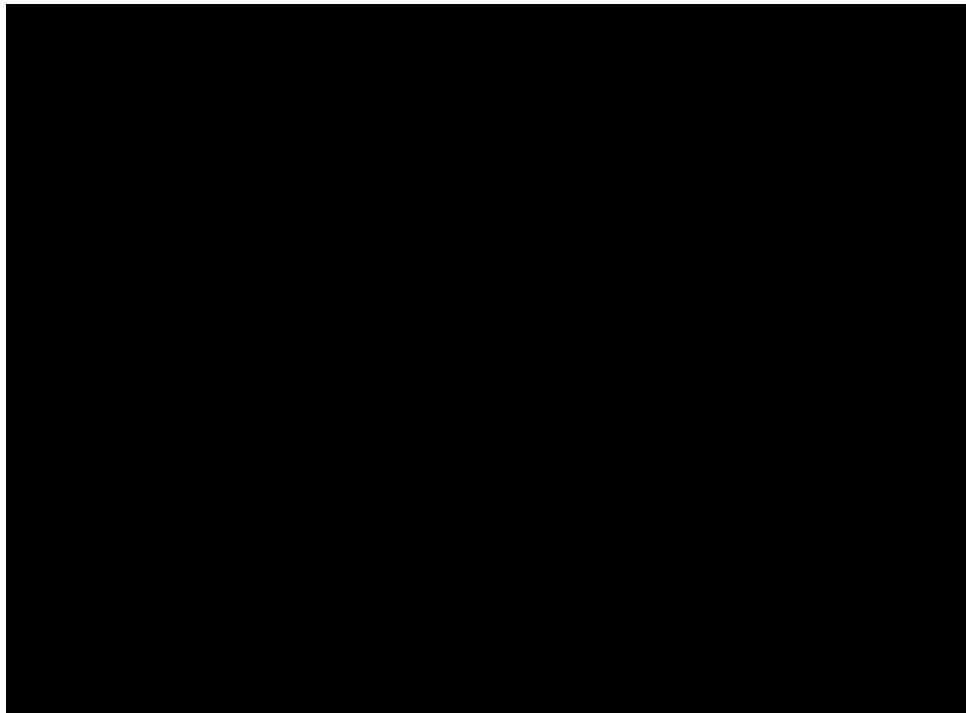


FIGURE 3-4 - INTERIOR OF AEG TURBINE HALL, 1910

(BUDDENSIEG, T. (1984) *INDUSTRIEKULTUR: PETER BEHRENS AND THE AEG, 1907-1914*. CAMBRIDGE, MA: THE MIT PRESS, P. 277)

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<sup>15</sup> ANDERSON, S. (2000) *Peter Behrens and a New Architecture for the Twentieth Century*. Boston, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 138-45.

<sup>16</sup> MENDE. (2007) pp. 251-55.

<sup>17</sup> SCHWARTZ. (1996) pp. 57-58.

The principles of design used in the construction of general factory buildings were also applied to the design of power stations, both fuel-burning and hydro-electric, during this period. Although Deutsche Edison Gesellschaft (later AEG) had been building power stations on contract from 1884, the majority of the early stations covered the steel frame with “a layer of historical ornament”.<sup>18</sup> It was only as the influence from buildings such as Behrens’ turbine hall began to be seen that a more distinct type of power station building began to be developed. George Klingenberg, the head of the Department of Power Stations in the AEG had voiced the opinion that “One should never forget... that a power station is nothing but an electricity factory and that, just as with other factory buildings, its industrial character should not be concealed.”<sup>19</sup>

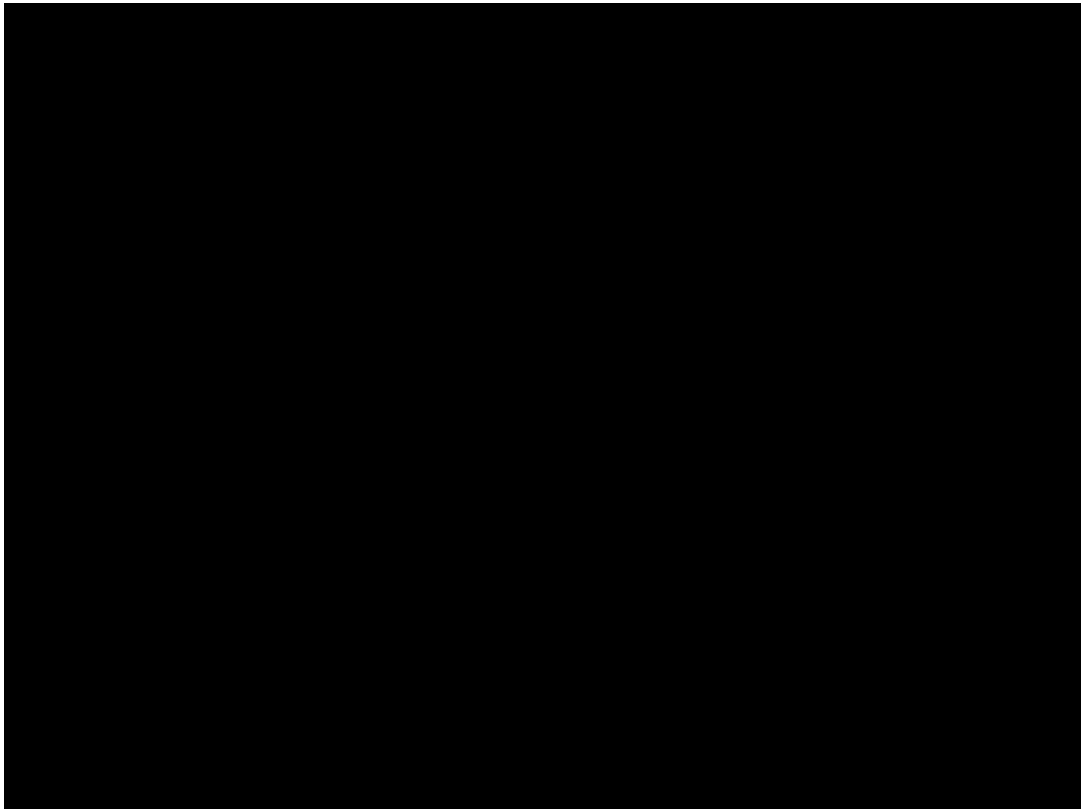


FIGURE 3-5 - LAUFENBURG HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER STATION ON THE UPPER RHINE,  
1908-14  
([HTTP://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:KRAFTWERK-LAUFENBURG-054233.JPG](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kraftwerk-Laufenburg-054233.JPG))

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<sup>18</sup> WILHELM, K. (1984) 'Fabrikenkunst: The Turbine Hall and What Came Of It', in BUDDENSIEG, T. (ed.) *Industriekultur: Peter Behrens and the AEG, 1907-1914*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 138-39.

<sup>19</sup> KLINGENBERG in WILHELM. (1984) p. 139.

For example, the Laufenburg run-of-the-river power station on the Upper Rhine was finished in 1914, to provide power to the twin city of Laufenburg, on either side of the Swiss-German border (see Figure 3-5).<sup>20</sup> This station was constructed with 10 Kaplan turbines and a four-sectioned weir to control the level of the Rhine river and was the largest power station of its type when it was built.<sup>21</sup> The design of the power station buildings owed a great debt to factories such as Behrens' Turbine Hall, with a solid, rhythmic turbine hall, with ten bays, one for each turbine, stretched halfway across the river. This repeated visual motif was strengthened by the repetition of the window elements, as each bay contains three tall windows, topped by four smaller ones above the level of the cable crane. The station was built from local stone and red slate, with a pitched roof typical of the area, tapping into the *Volksgeist* of southern Germany. The administration building (the right hand section of the building in Figure 3-5) followed on with this regular geometric pattern, with a grid of windows inset into each of the rectangular facades. The roof of this building, as well as the control towers on the weir, continued the simplified geometric aesthetic of the station, forming pyramidal caps at either end of the horizontal complex. This type of formal composition was endorsed by Adolf Ludin, one of Germany's foremost hydro-electric engineers of the period, who recommended that the architectural style of the power house be continued on to the weir and all other buildings within the complex. He also recommended that the turbine hall should be roomy, high and light, with floor-to-ceiling windows, if possible, to allow for a maximum of natural light.<sup>22</sup> Again, the functional requirements were a central concern, although in this case, tempered with an apparent desire to use local materials and styles of detailing to relate to the architecture of the surrounding area. Power stations such as Laufenburg were not without their critics, particularly classicists such as Paul Schultze-Naumburg, who saw in the lack of historical detail a total lack of concern for *Kultur*, but they did differ from the large projects taking place in the USA and the USSR at the time, in their negotiation of the formal requirements of technology with

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<sup>20</sup> 'Run-of-the-river' hydroelectricity is based on the drop in the level of water in a river over a long distance, rather than conventional dams, which store a large 'pond' of water behind a barrier, creating an artificial waterfall.

<sup>21</sup> (2009) 'Technische Details: Rheinkraftwerk Laufenburg', *NaturEnergie AG*. <http://www.naturenergie.de/cms/NaturEnergie-AG/Wasserkraft/Rheinkraftwerk-Laufenburg.php> [Accessed: August 17 2009]

<sup>22</sup> LUDIN in MENDE, M. (1989) "Denkmäler von Adel und Kraft': Wassermühlen und Wasserkraftwerke zwischen Nutzung und Erhalt', *Kultur und Technik*. Vol. 4, pp. 222-23.

the cultural context of their surroundings.<sup>23</sup> In comparison, American power stations of this period were generally still using classical arches, pilasters and string courses to cover the steel-framed structures, as in the example of the Keokuk station on the Mississippi, which could have been mistaken for any number of rectangular neo-Classical buildings with colonnades of windows (see Figure 3-6).<sup>24</sup>

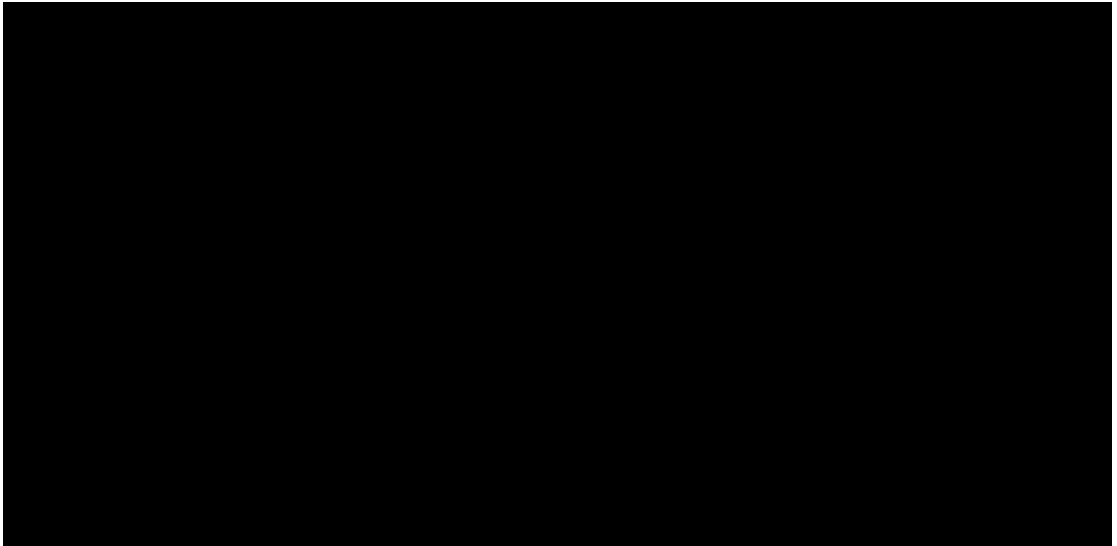


FIGURE 3-6 - KEOKUK HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER STATION ON THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER,  
IOWA, BUILT 1910-1913  
([HTTP://WWW.NPS.GOV/HISTORY/HISTORY/ONLINE\\_BOOKS/RMR/2/IMAGES/FIG9.JPG](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/rmr/2/images/fig9.jpg)  
G)

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<sup>23</sup> MENDE. (1989) pp. 219-20.

<sup>24</sup> RUSHMORE, D. B. & E. A. LOF. (1923) *Hydro-Electric Power Stations*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 157-58.

## Siemensstadt and 'Siemens style'

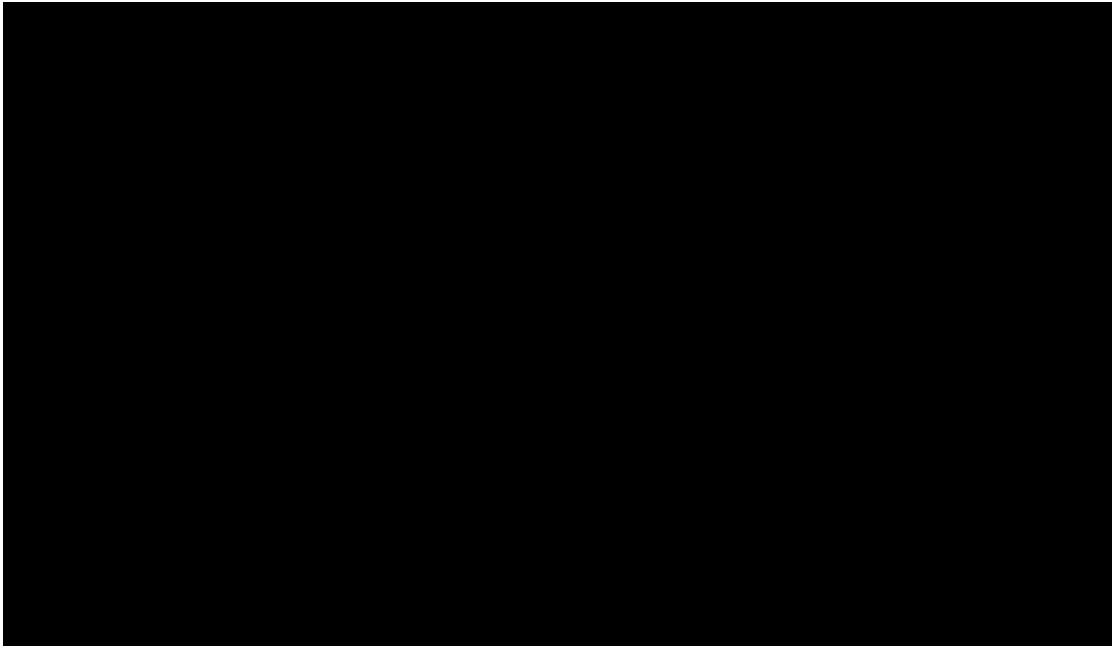


FIGURE 3-7 - ANTON SCHEURITZEL, SIEMENSSTADT, OIL ON CANVAS, 1930S  
(SIEMENS HEAD OFFICE, BERLIN)

This background of German industrial building had a large influence on the specific design style developed for Siemens industrial buildings in the 1920s, as the company expanded its production and its identification as a leading light of German industry. The role of Siemens chief architect had been held from 1902 to 1915 by Karl Janisch, who had played a central role in developing the firm's expanding presence in the industrial suburb of Siemensstadt, then on the edge of Berlin (see Figure 3-7). Janisch was responsible for the urban planning of the new suburb around the Siemens offices, rather than the traditional focus of a church or town hall, and was instrumental in providing workers' housing in close proximity to the works, as well as recreational amenities accessible to all the staff of the Siemens conglomerate of companies.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> (2007) 'Monuments in Berlin: Siemenswerke', *Berlin.de: Senate Department for Urban Development*. [http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/denkmal/denkmale\\_in\\_berlin/en/industrie\\_und\\_technik/siemenswerke.shtml](http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/denkmal/denkmale_in_berlin/en/industrie_und_technik/siemenswerke.shtml) [Accessed: April 21 2011]



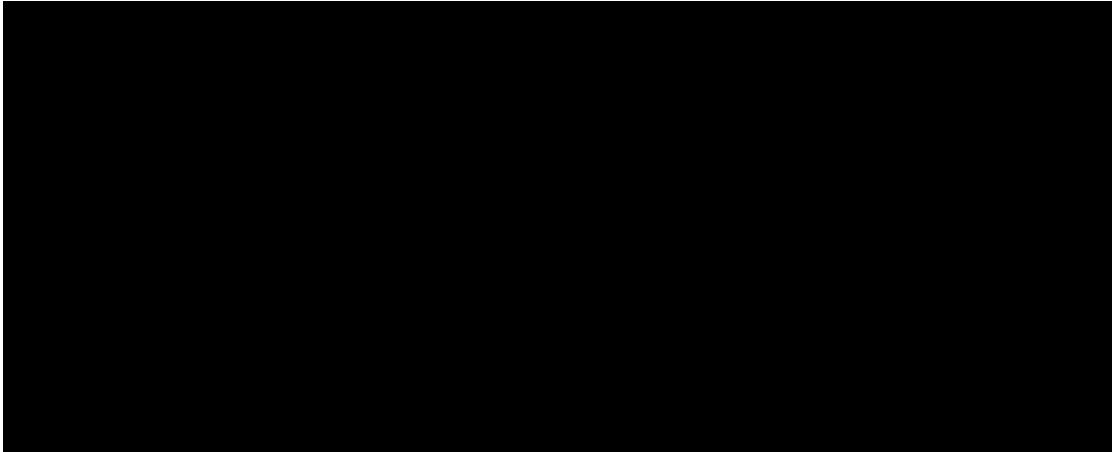


FIGURE 3-8 - SIEMENSSTADT, VIEW OF ADMINISTRATION BUILDING AND CONTROL UNIT BUILDING ON THE NONNENDAMMALLEE  
([HTTP://W3.SIEMENS.DE/SIEMENS-STADT/HERTLEI0.HTM](http://w3.siemens.de/siemens-stadt/hertlei0.htm))

His style of building was intended to inspire confidence in the company, generally relying on a monumental interpretation of late Classical forms interpreted in red Berlin brick. For example, the first two phases of the main administration building on the Nonnendammallee, constructed between 1910 and 1913, were built using steel framed interior supports, but with mansard roofs and a Neo-Classical portal on the Rohrdamm main entrance (see Figure 3-8). The façade of the building follows a three-element structure, with the lowest storey faced in pale ochre blocks, the next three in ochre brick and the raked top storey in brighter red tiles. Both this horizontal treatment of volume and the regular rectangular windows betray Janisch's debt to the Classical orders, as do the sculptural decoration and mosaic floors in the interior (see Figure 3-9). He used the rhythmic and repetitive nature of these forms to create a complex of interchangeable spaces, allowing for flexibility and variation in the use of space, which was arranged around regular courtyards and contained within a uniform façade (see Figure 3-10).

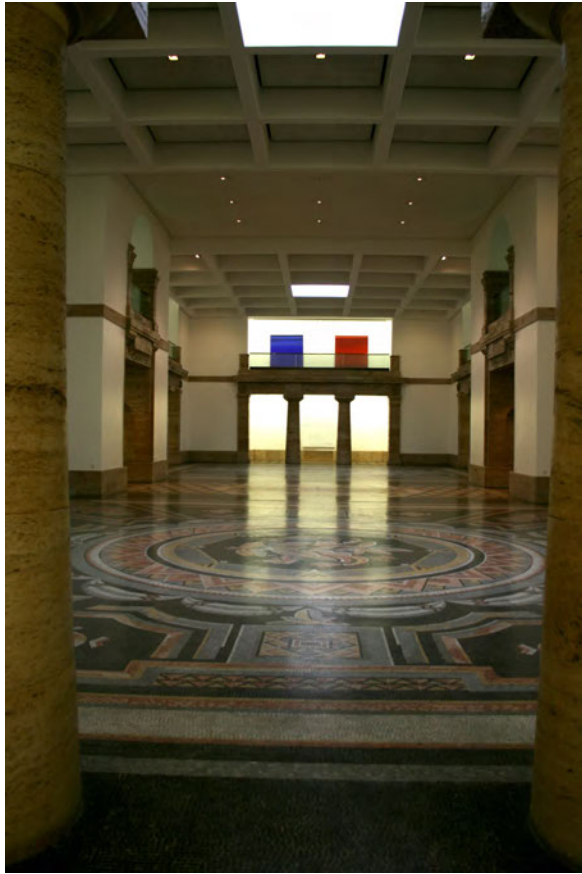


FIGURE 3-9 - KARL JANISCH, MOSAIC HALL IN THE SIEMENS ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, NONNENDAMMALLEE, SIEMENSSTADT, 1910-13  
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, JULY 2010)



FIGURE 3-10 - KARL JANISCH, FACADE OF THE SIEMENS ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, NONNENDAMMALLEE, SIEMENSSTADT, 1910-13  
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, JULY 2009)

The role of chief architect was taken over in 1915 by Hans Hertlein, who has been credited with developing Janisch's legacy into one of the most sophisticated integrations of industrial and social building of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>26</sup> Hertlein built on the approach to space pioneered by Janisch and developed what became known as the 'Siemens style', under the close influence of the Deutsche Werkbund, of which he was a member. Hertlein was an example of the increasing tendency towards functionalism in Werkbund architecture, which became heavily identified with the *Neue Sachlichkeit* or 'New Objectivity' during the late 1920s. The term denoted an emphasis on "the functional determinants of style", as well as an emphasis on "formal simplicity, rationality of design, and machine technology", all of which could be seen in Hertlein's buildings for Siemens.<sup>27</sup> He constructed numerous buildings in the Siemensstadt area, including the second Wernerwerk with its distinctive clock tower, the Schaltwerk or control unit works, the second Blockwerk, as well as workers housing developments, two local churches and a number of industrial buildings outside Berlin.<sup>28</sup> These buildings continued the idea of the flexibility and interchangeability of manufacturing spaces, while developing the courtyard model of planning to include smooth cubic buildings with multiple wings at different heights.<sup>29</sup>

An example of this Siemens style can be seen in the Schaltwerk high rise building (see Figure 3-11), which was constructed between 1926 and 1928 in conjunction with engineer Carl Köttgen, who was at that time the chairman of the VDE and on the Board of Management of the company. The new building was intended for the development and manufacture of high tension plant and switch devices and was centrally important to Siemens inter-war expansion.<sup>30</sup> It continued the functional approach to industrial buildings, with the steel skeleton covered in the distinctive red brick cladding. The building has no concessions to historical style, but retained the

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<sup>26</sup> BIENEK, K. H. P. (2008) 'Hans Christoph Hertlein', *Die Siemensstadt - Ein Lexikon der Siemensstadt in Berlin*. <http://w3.siemens.de/siemens-stadt/hertlei0.htm> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>27</sup> CAMPBELL. (1978) pp. 174-77.

<sup>28</sup> ZÖBL, D. (2008) *Siemens in Berlin: Spaziergänge durch die Geschichte der Elektrifizierung*. Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg.

<sup>29</sup> BIENEK. (2008) 'Hans Christoph Hertlein'.

<sup>30</sup> BIENEK, K. H. P. (2008) 'Schaltwerk', *Die Siemensstadt - Ein Lexikon der Siemensstadt in Berlin*. <http://w3.siemens.de/siemens-stadt/siemsch0.htm> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

rhythmic layout and concern for balance which characterised earlier buildings in the area. The cubic forms of the building sit solidly beside the flat manufacturing sheds, with an imposing air of dependability. The repetitive forms of the steel-framed windows and the articulated forms of the higher storeys save it from becoming a bland exercise in pure geometry, as they break up what could have otherwise been a forbidding rectangular form, given the height and size of the building (ranging from 8 to 11 storeys). It was an impressive demonstration of Werkbund ideas about balancing industrial production with cultural sensitivity and has been described as “the most architecturally imposing industrial building of the 1920s.”<sup>31</sup>

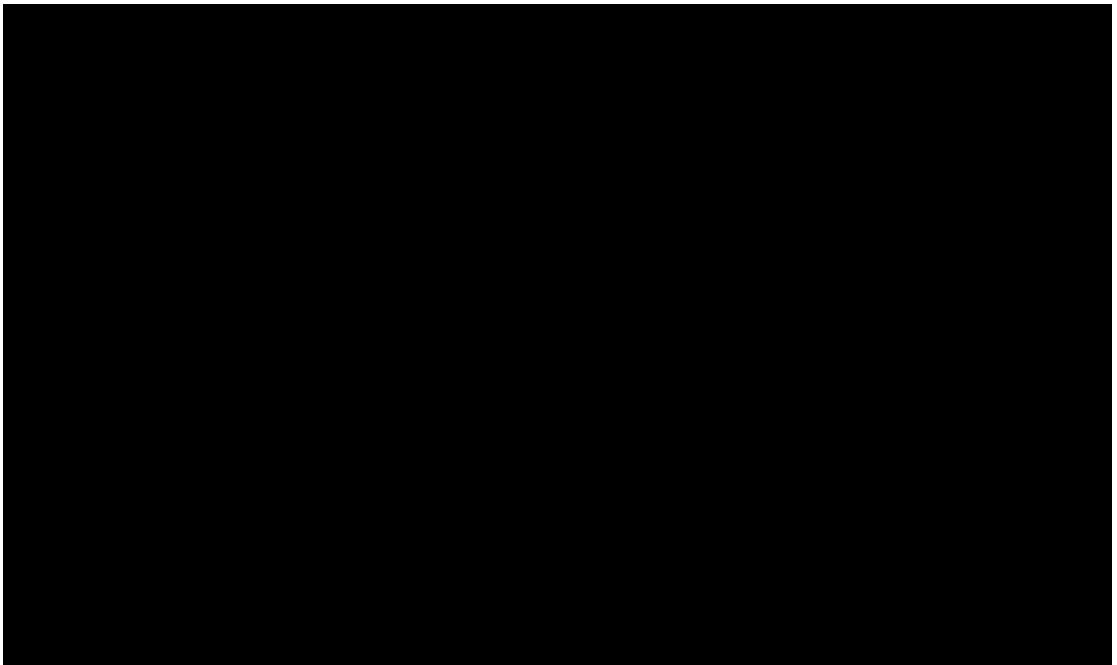


FIGURE 3-11 - HANS HERTLEIN, SCHALTWERK BUILDING, SIEMENSSTADT, 1928  
([HTTP://W3.SIEMENS.DE/SIEMENS-STADT/SIEMSCH0.HTM](http://w3.siemens.de/siemens-stadt/siemsch0.htm))

### **Irish architecture in the 1920s**

In contrast to the developments in industrial architecture considered above, architecture in Ireland during the 1920s retained a much more conservative character. The majority of building in the country in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was vernacular in character, with an emphasis on historical styles for more important buildings. Churches were still being built in a Hiberno-Romanesque or Gothic style as late as 1935, heavily influenced by the

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<sup>31</sup> ZÖBL. (2008) p. 162.

national romantic ideas of the Celtic Revival, and secular buildings relied heavily on Neo-Classical styles.<sup>32</sup> The general lack of interest in cutting edge developments abroad may be explained by the fact that these developments were centred around industrial buildings, of which the Free State had few, due to the overwhelmingly agricultural nature of its few industries.<sup>33</sup> The majority of interest in international developments seems to have been focused on national romantic architecture in Scandinavia, with its emphasis on craft and the use of fine materials (see Figure 3-12).

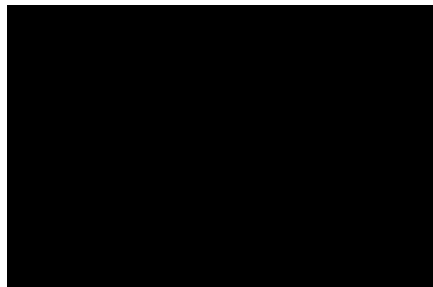


FIGURE 3-12 - JAMES FINBARRE MCMULLEN, DETAIL OF THE WEST FRONT OF THE HONAN CHAPEL, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK, 1916  
([HTTP://HONAN.UCC.IE/VIEWIMAGE.PHP?RECID=12](http://honan.ucc.ie/viewimage.php?recid=12))

Sean Rothery quotes W. B. Yeats as saying in 1924 that the country should not become stuck in a national rut, but to “study the best that is done in the world today”, as well as pointing out a “growing but cautious enthusiasm for a new and rational architecture which might still maintain a link with tradition” amongst the architects of the Office of Public Works.<sup>34</sup> However, Senator Yeats, while influential in general cultural terms, seems to have overstated the case somewhat, as the nature of the architectural portfolio

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<sup>32</sup> (1924) 'Nationality in Architecture, Mr. LF Giron's Presidential address to the Architectural Association of Ireland, delivered 19th November', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. November 29. p. 1021; (1928) 'The War Memorial Building, Trinity College Dublin', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. December 8. p. 1022; OCULUS. (1927) 'Wynn's Hotel', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. February 5. p. 73; LARMOUR, P. (2009) *Free State Architecture: Modern Movement Architecture in Ireland, 1922-1949*. Kinsale: Gandon Editions, pp. 7, 13; MCCULLOUGH, N. & V. MULVIN. (1987) *A Lost Tradition: The Nature of Architecture in Ireland*. Dublin: Gandon Editions; SHEEHY, J. (1980) *The Celtic Revival: The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past 1830-1930*. London: Thames & Hudson, pp. 144-45.

<sup>33</sup> CENTRAL STATISTICS OFFICE. (1928) 'Numbers of persons in each occupational group in Saorstát Éireann, 18th April 1926'. Dublin: Central Statistics Office Ireland. Larmour identifies a bare handful of 'proto-modern' grain silos, granaries and grandstands built in the 1900s and 1910s. See LARMOUR. (2009) pp. 8-12; ROWLEY, E. (2011) 'The Conditions of Architectural Modernism in Ireland, 1900-1970: Between Aspiration and Production', in JUNCOSA, E. & C. KENNEDY (eds.) *The Moderns: The Arts in Ireland from the 1900s to the 1970s*. Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art, p. 422.

<sup>34</sup> ROTHERY. (1991) pp. 140-41.

of the OPW would work against radical experimentation, as would the lack of an Irish School of Architecture before the mid-1920s.<sup>35</sup> While the developments in northern European Modernist architecture were known to the community of architects who read publications such as *The Irish Builder and Engineer*, the overall reaction seems to have been of cautious appraisal, rather than any wholesale adoption, which may be more to do with the conservatism of clients rather than the architects themselves.<sup>36</sup> Commentary on German architecture includes reference to the use of flat roofs, cuboid shapes and the arrangement of windows to maximise sunlight, as well as the use of concrete as a building material, not just in industrial applications.<sup>37</sup>

Significantly, the Irish hospital building programme which was undertaken in the 1930s was inspired by Alvar Aalto's Paimio Sanatorium in Finland, rather than directly by any Central European work, and the tiny number of houses built in the International Style in the 1930s were mostly built by Dublin architects for their own use, such as Michael Scott's house 'Geragh' in Sandycove or Alan and Mairín Hope's house 'Meander' in Foxrock.<sup>38</sup> Before the large public projects of Dublin Airport and Busáras in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the only other 'modern' buildings in Ireland were isolated examples built by foreign architects, such as the Art Deco Church of Christ the King in Cork (see Figure 3-13), designed by American Barry Byrne, or the power station buildings of the Shannon Scheme itself.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> The School of Architecture in University College Dublin opened in 1925. See (1925) 'Topical Touches', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. October 17. p. 837. The 'Topical Touches' column was also written by R.M. Butler.

<sup>36</sup> (1925) 'Modern Architecture of the North', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. March 21. p. 221; (1926) 'Architectural Engineering', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. March 6. p. 187; DICKINSON, P. L. (1929) 'Some Aspects of the New Architecture', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. March 16. p. 223; LEVERTON, W. J. H. (1926) 'The Architectural Treatment of Reinforced Concrete', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. September 18. pp. 715-16; ROBERTSON, H. (1927) 'Modern French Architecture', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. April 16. pp. 263-69; ROTHERY. (1991) pp. 96-100.

<sup>37</sup> DICKINSON, P. L. (1930) 'Internationalism in Architecture', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. October 11. p. 894.

<sup>38</sup> LARMOUR. (2009) pp. 44-57; ROTHERY. (1991) p. 144; ROTHERY, S. (1997) 'Ireland and the New Architecture 1900-1940', in BECKER, A., J. OLLEY & W. WANG (eds.) *20th Century Architecture: Ireland*. Munich: Prestel, p. 20.

<sup>39</sup> Barry Byrne had been trained by Frank Lloyd Wright in the US and sent drawings over for the church, and the construction was overseen by Irish architect J.R. Boyd Barrett. See LARMOUR. (2009) pp. 17-19; ROTHERY. (1991) pp. 157-68; ROTHERY. (1997) pp. 20, 106-07; ROWLEY. (2011) pp. 436-37; (2009) 'Exterior of Church of Christ the King, Turners Cross', *Turners Cross*. <http://www.turnerscross.com/church/exterior.php> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

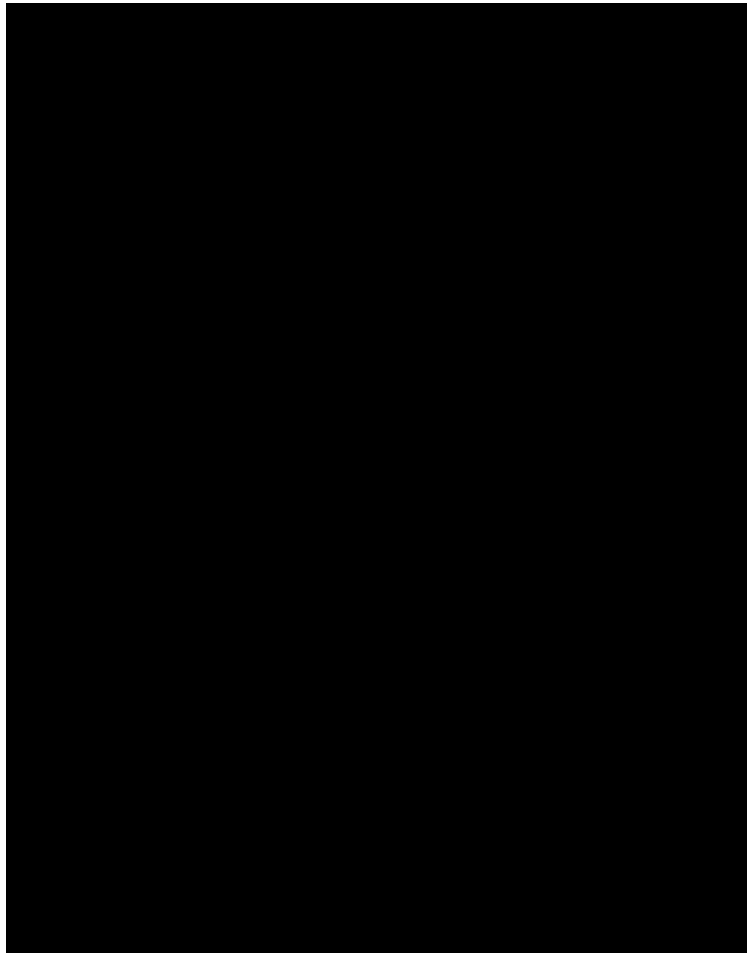


FIGURE 3-13 - BARRY BYRNE, CHURCH OF CHRIST THE KING, TURNERS CROSS, CORK,  
1927  
([HTTP://WWW.TURNERSCROSS.COM/CHURCH/IMAGES/FULLVIEW\\_RIGHT.JPG](http://www.turnerscross.com/church/images/fullview_right.jpg))

The characteristics of vernacular Irish building were outlined by architectural critic Manning Robertson in 1925 as a plain, compact, rectangular style, with low pitched slate roofs and no dormers, rendered with concrete and often enlivened by coloured paintwork (see Figure 3-14).<sup>40</sup> Apart from prestige buildings in a Neo-Classical style, Robertson identified the continuous use of concrete in the majority of building outside of Dublin, regardless of building type, commenting on the extensive use of cemented or “dashed” stone walls on the Irish rural buildings of all types.<sup>41</sup>

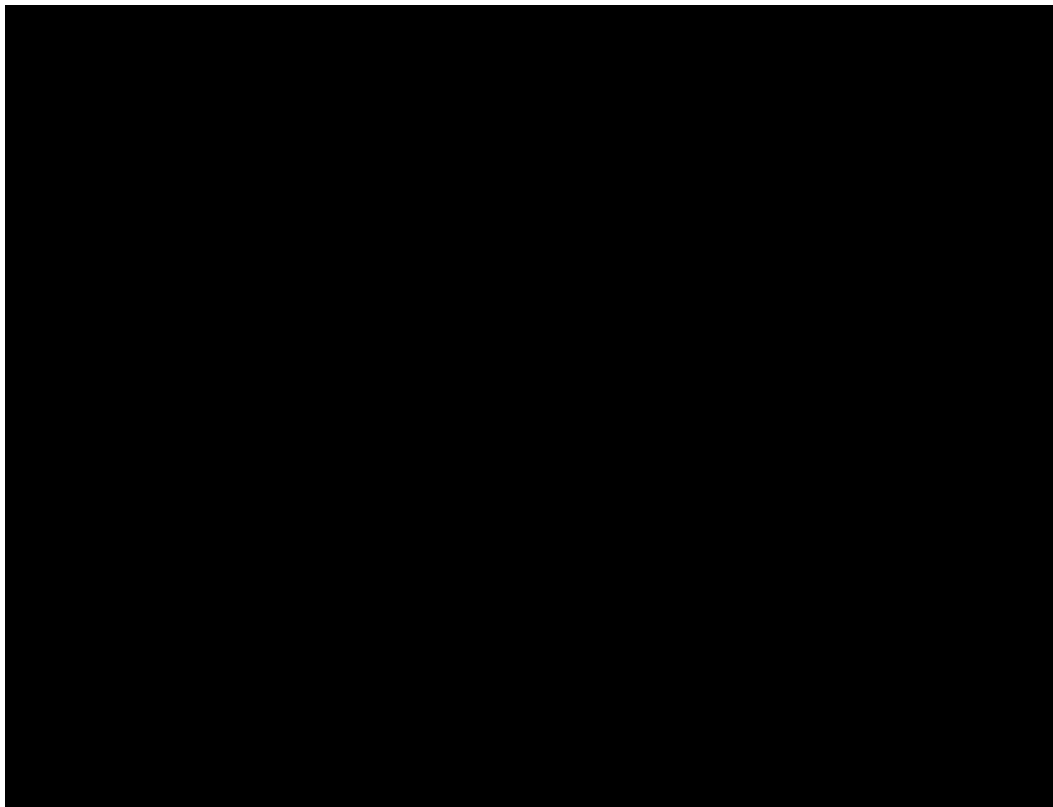


FIGURE 3-14 - STREET VIEW, CASTLECONNELL, CO. LIMERICK, GLASS NEGATIVE, C1880-1914

(NLI: LAWRENCE COLLECTION: L\_ROY\_03210)

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<sup>40</sup> ROBERTSON, M. (1925) *Laymen and the New Architecture*. London: John Murray, pp. 163-64.

<sup>41</sup> ROBERTSON. (1925) pp. 164-65.





FIGURE 3-15 - DECORATIVE DOOR BOSS ON MAIN DOOR OF ARDNACRUSHA POWER STATION  
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, AUGUST 2008)

### **The architecture of the Shannon Scheme power station**

In the light of the context of Irish architecture in the 1920s, it is not surprising that the design of the Shannon Scheme power station owes a much larger debt to German industrial architecture than it does to anything that was being built in the surrounding countryside. The power station straddles the man-made canal built out from the River Shannon, with the main entrance into the control and administration building on the west bank and the ship lift on the east bank. It follows a fairly standardised layout for hydro-electric power stations, with intake building lying across the river behind the power house, connected by the diagonal tubes of the penstocks. The building is almost entirely unadorned, with the only concession to decoration found in the tiny flower-shaped bosses on the main oak door (see Figure 3-15). Viewed from the tail race, the power station retains the solidity characteristic of other Siemens industrial buildings, with an emphasis on blocky geometric shapes (see Figure 3-16). The upright cube of the administration building is topped with a pyramidal roof and has a small wing extending south, which houses the 38 kV switch house. The multi-paned windows in both of these buildings are laid out in a regular fashion at front and back, and are replaced by a similar rhythmic layout of transmission connectors on the west side (see Figure 3-17).



FIGURE 3-16 – ARDNACRUSHA POWER STATION FROM THE TAIL RACE, LOOKING NORTH (LAST TWO BAYS OF POWER HOUSE ADDED 1933)  
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, AUGUST 2008)



FIGURE 3-17 – ARDNACRUSHA POWER STATION FROM THE WEST SIDE, SHOWING 38KV SWITCH HOUSE AND LANTERN  
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, AUGUST 2008)

The pyramidal roof on the administration building is formed as a logical result of putting a steep pitched roof on a tall cuboid shape, but the glass lantern in the top section also provides the control room on the upper floor with a maximum of natural light, as recommended by Ludin, who was involved with some of the development work of the station in Berlin.<sup>42</sup> The rear façade of the main complex is also well supplied with windows, which form a composition of rectangular and triangular forms when viewed from the intake building behind (see Figure 3-18). The wing of the 38kV switch house extends out from the rectangular shape of the main administration building, which also has the large wing of the turbine hall extending out at a 90 degree angle, in a similar manner to the wings of the Schaltwerk building in Berlin. While the Schaltwerk has flat roofs, however, the pitched roofs of the Shannon Scheme add another layer of complexity and articulation to the architectural composition, along with the flat roof of the 10kV switch house which extends behind the turbine hall.



FIGURE 3-18 - REAR OF ARDNACRUSHA ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, WITH TURBINE HALL AND 10KV SWITCH HOUSE EXTENDING TO THE LEFT  
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, AUGUST 2008)

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<sup>42</sup> 'Invoice Nr. AZ for costs incurred on account of the experiments carried out with models of the weir for the Shannon, Ireland, December 1926' in SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1927) *Correspondence January-March 1927*. **Siemens Archive: 2281**.

The requirement for natural light is also the functional reason for the tall grids of windows along the front of the power station, as they light the turbine hall. This layout is remarkably similar to that of the Laufenberg power station previously discussed (see Figure 3-5 above), as well as the Bielkowo power station on the Radunia in Pomerania (now part of Poland), built by Siemens in the early 1920s (see Figure 3-19). Both of these power stations have pyramidal-type roofs on the administration and control buildings, eyebrow dormer windows and the main wing of the turbine halls projected out to one side, although the Bielkowo station is on a much smaller scale than the Shannon Scheme and lacks the glass lantern at the pinnacle of the roof.

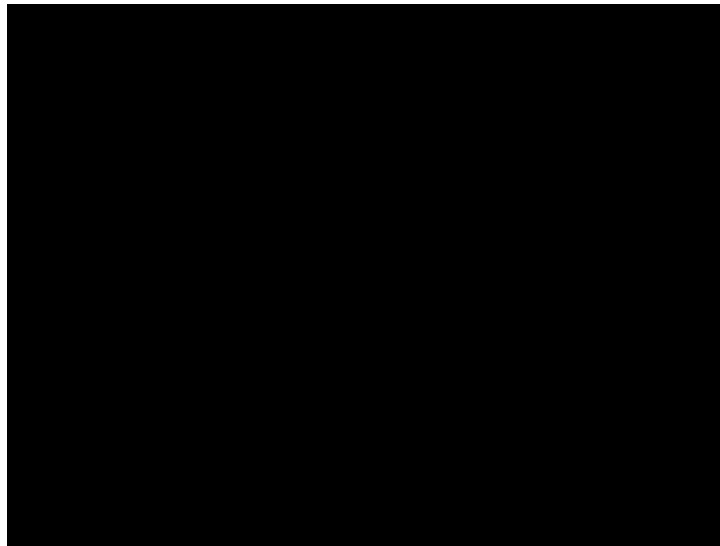


FIGURE 3-19 - BIELKOWO POWER STATION ON THE RADUNIA, POLAND, BUILT BY SIEMENS, 1925  
([HTTP://WWW.INDUSTCARDS.COM/HYDRO-POLAND-POMORSKIE.HTM](http://www.industcards.com/hydro-poland-pomorskie.htm))

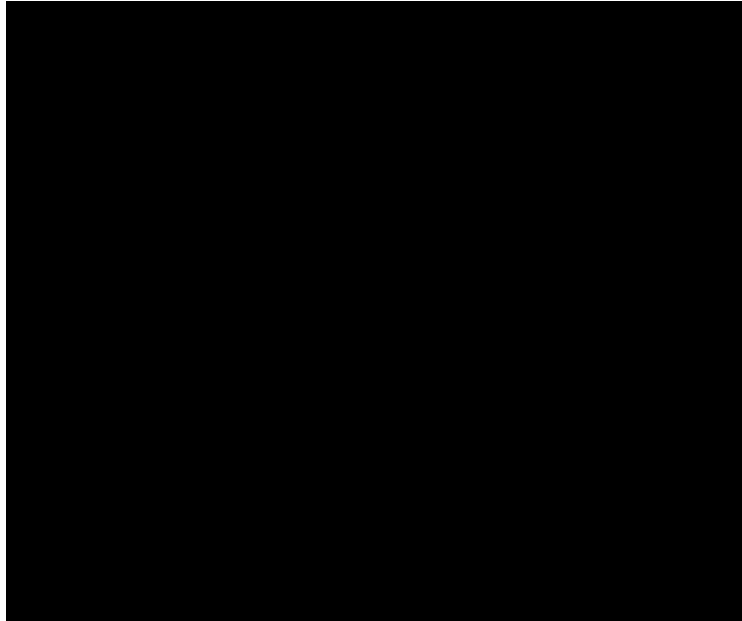


FIGURE 3-20 - AMBI BUILDING MACHINERY ADVERTISEMENT  
(*THE IRISH BUILDER AND ENGINEER*, APRIL 19 1924, P. 335)

Unlike the German power stations, however, the Shannon Scheme is not faced in red brick. It shares the steel framed construction of the buildings discussed above (manufactured by Messrs. Louis Eilers of Hannover), but it was then covered with pre-cast concrete blocks known as Ambistones (see Figure 3-20), as well as concrete poured on-site, which was then rough plastered with a sand dash to give an overall finish, in a similar manner to much Irish vernacular building of the time.<sup>43</sup> The pitched roof of the Shannon Scheme is similar in form to the Bielkowo one, particularly in its use of eyebrow dormer windows, although here they are triangular, rather than curved. The windows are all steel framed and were originally painted in a dark olive green, in order to pick them out from the neutral-coloured plaster finish. Although the majority have been subsequently replaced with unpainted steel frames, some of these windows with their original paint can still be seen at the rear of the power house buildings (see Figure 3-21). This green colour and the treatment of the concrete architraves were recommended by the Siemens architect Herr Dohme, who advised that they be plastered smoothly and in a paler colour than the wall plaster, which would have

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<sup>43</sup> Ambistones, or AMBI blocks, were the product of a block-making system developed by German manufacturing company AMBI Maschinenbau. The illustrated advertisement mentions that they have twelve branches in Germany and nineteen agencies abroad. By a later 1926 advertisement, they also had an Irish agent, P.G. O'Rourke in Dublin. See (1926) *The Irish Builder and Engineer*, 13 November. p. 865. The cement used was imported from Britain, according to (1926) 'Topical Touches', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. September 4. p. 665.

produced an effect similar to the control room depicted in Figure 3-22.<sup>44</sup> The overall effect of the exterior of the power station is rather more sombre than contemporary German stations, due to the grey concrete, but it is less obtrusive in an rural Irish context than a red brick station would be, due to the tendency of rural Irish houses in this period to be constructed of stone or concrete, rather than brick.<sup>45</sup> The use of local dark gray Killaloe slate for the roof tiles also creates a connection with the local styles of building.<sup>46</sup> This is also in keeping with the German approach of consideration for the *Volksgeist* of the land and appreciation for the local *Kultur*, making the Shannon Scheme buildings a clear example of a German building, built outside Germany, but with concessions made to the local environment.

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<sup>44</sup> Memo from Resident Engineer's Office Re Painting of External Woodwork in the Power Station' in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) *Power House Design: Architectural and Buildings*. **National Archives: SS 495**. 'Minutes of the Meeting about the architectural construction of the Power House held on the Building Site on the 7.11.28.' in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495**. Larmour assumes that the architect of the building was Hans Hertlein, but the correspondence refers only to Herr Dohme as being in charge of the negotiations on form, visiting the site during July 1928. See LARMOUR. (2009) p. 13.

<sup>45</sup> ROBERTSON. (1925) pp. 163-65.

<sup>46</sup> (1930) 'Killaloe Slates' advertisement', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. January 18. p. 43.



FIGURE 3-21 - DETAIL OF WINDOW FRAMES WITH ORIGINAL PAINTWORK, REAR OF ARDNACRUSHA POWER HOUSE  
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, AUGUST 2008)

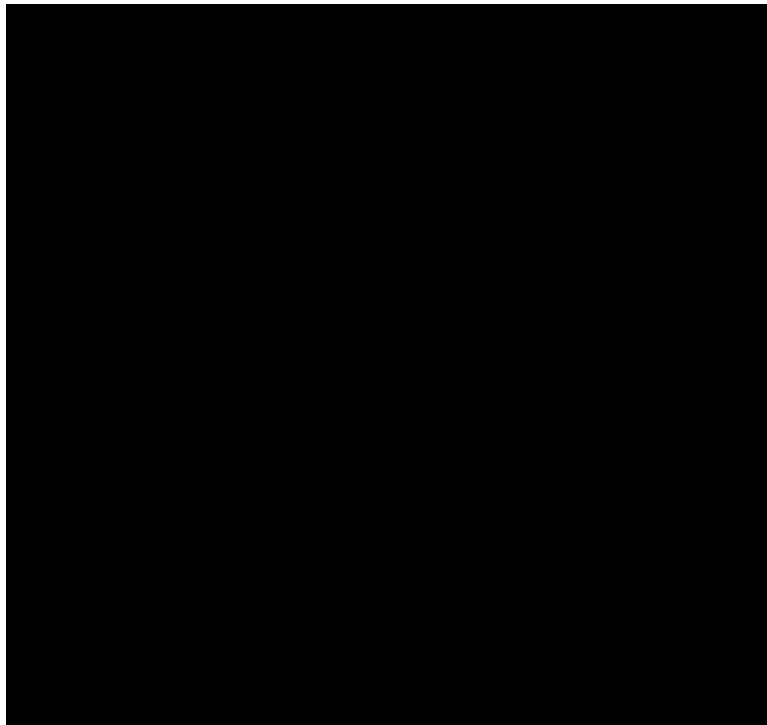


FIGURE 3-22 - F. SCHICKERT, ILLUSTRATION OF 'WAERMEWARTE IN EINEM NEUZEITLICHEN GROSSKRAFTWERKE [HEAT EXCHANGE IN A LARGE MODERN POWER PLANT]'  
((1925) *DER SIEMENS-KONZERN IM BILDE: SIEMENS & HALSKE AKTIEN-GESELLSCHAFT*. BERLIN: SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE AKTIEN-GESELLSCHAFT. N.P.)

The intake building lies behind and above the power station and is almost invisible from the tail race, due to its flat roof. It is finished in a similar manner to the main station buildings, with a row of triple windows on either side allowing light into the interior, from where the penstocks and water intake could be adjusted (see Figure 3-23). The flat roof on this building is completely different from the main building, however, and was the source of much debate during the construction, which will be discussed later in the chapter. The structure of the main complex and the exterior treatment of the buildings are so similar to German industrial buildings of the period, as well as to Siemens corporate architecture, that it leaves no doubt that this is a German-designed power station of the 1920s. The scale of the construction was one of the clearest manifestations of the industrial sublime in Ireland, so much so that a film crew from the Fox Film Company who arrived in 1929 to film the works left in despair saying that it was impossible to capture the Scheme on film.<sup>47</sup>



FIGURE 3-23 - SOUTH SIDE OF ARDNACRUSHA INTAKE BUILDING  
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, AUGUST 2008)

The interior of the turbine hall continued this emphasis on function, regularity and rhythm, with strong similarities to the interior of other German industrial buildings (see

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<sup>47</sup> (1929) 'Filming the Shannon Scheme', *Cork Examiner*. May 24. **ESB Clippings Book 05**.



Figure 3-4). The hall is was originally eight bays long, housing three turbines, with an additional turbine installed in the mid-1930s into a two-bay extension. It is a typically German steel-framed industrial hall of the period, with the Eilers iron framework left proud of the concrete walls. The vertical steel frames were linked by a horizontal element, which held a gantry and the running gear for the travelling crane, an arrangement which went back to the layout of Behrens' AEG Turbine Hall nearly 15 years earlier. This framework is currently painted pale teal blue, although there is no mention of the original colour in the Shannon Power Development file covering the design of the power house.<sup>48</sup> Each of the bays contained one of the tall exterior windows on the tail race side and a set of interior windows opposite, allowing a maximum of natural light into the building, as well as emphasising the rhythmic nature of the interior. Of the windows on the east side of the turbine hall, the bottom two rows faced into the 10kV switch house, while the top row opened out into daylight. This functional arrangement allowed the extraction of power from the turbines, while still adhering to Ludin's maxim about natural light.



FIGURE 3-24 - INTERIOR OF ARDNACRUSHA TURBINE HALL  
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, AUGUST 2008)

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<sup>48</sup> SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495.**

The materials of the turbine halls were also in accordance to Ludin's ideas, with tiled floors, light coloured interior walls and an almost Classical attention to proportions and balance within the room.<sup>49</sup> The hall itself, however, was just a stage set for the central installation of the hydro-electric turbines, which were recognised as the centre pieces of the entire complex and the reason and rationale for its existence. The huge scale and proportions of the turbine hall are consistent with the technological sublime experienced by Henry Adams on encountering electrical dynamos for the first time.<sup>50</sup> As early as 1900, non-engineers such as Adams were recognising the power, both figurative and literal, encased in electrical generators and recognising them as sublime artefacts.<sup>51</sup> The monolithic forms of the Shannon turbines are over twenty feet high and march in a row down the centre of the hall, providing a central focus for the space. However, they manage not to dominate it entirely, mostly because their outer casings have also been painted in a similar pale colour to the whitewashed walls. The far end of the hall from the entrance was altered in the 1990s, with the installation of a new digital control room.<sup>52</sup> However, the original analogue clock still hangs over the new construction, providing a symbol of efficiency and precision engineering, as well as the accurate timekeeping necessary for the manual load balancing carried out in the 1920s.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Ludin in MENDE. (1989) pp. 222-23.

<sup>50</sup> ADAMS, H. (1999) *The Education of Henry Adams*. Raleigh, NC: Hayes Barton Press, pp. 291-99.

<sup>51</sup> NYE, D. E. (1991) *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 142.

<sup>52</sup> (1996) 'Ardnacrusha Control Building', *European Building*, October, pp. 37, 39; (1996) 'Ardnacrusha Control Building', *Irish Architect*. Vol. 118, June, pp. 11-14.

<sup>53</sup> SCHIVELBUSCH, W. (1987) *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization and Perception of Time and Space*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 43-44.



FIGURE 3-25 - ORIGINAL ARDNACRUSHA CONTROL ROOM  
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, AUGUST 2008)

This concern with efficiency and precision continued in the original control room of the station, which was placed at the top level of the administration building, directly underneath the pyramidal glass roof. The room is horseshoe-shaped, with the curved wall bearing sets of circular dials, readouts and a long curved bank of switches and controls, later described by a visitor as having “an exquisite sense of order and simplicity about it”.<sup>54</sup> This was the nerve centre of the station, manned 24 hours a day, where the duty engineer would monitor the flow of water through the turbines and the subsequent flow of electricity out through the 36kV and 10kV switch houses to the nation. The interior was again designed with efficiency in mind, as the engineer’s large wooden desk in the centre of the floor allowed him to have an unimpeded 180-degree view of the readouts mounted on the semi-circular wall (see Figure 3-25). The banks of circular dials were arranged in a logical pattern, with 14 panels ranging from a full complement of 12 dials, to three dials arranged at the same height. Each of the dials was surrounded by a dark lip to make it stand out from the pale cream panel, but has a slightly different colour background, in order to allow the operator to differentiate one

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<sup>54</sup> HAYWARD, R. (1949) *Where the River Shannon Flows*. London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., p. 271.

dial from another. The impression of efficiency and precision was notable to visitors in the 1920s, with one newspaper report comparing the arrangement to a counter in a jeweller's shop.<sup>55</sup>

The ceiling of this room is taken up with an unusual glass skylight, which, again, was intended to allow the maximum of natural light into the interior (see Figure 3-26). Constructed of custom obscure glass panels in a steel frame, it echoes the horseshoe shape of the room.<sup>56</sup> This glass ceiling was placed directly under the pyramidal glass tip on the administration building, to allow the light into the control room, despite its position in the centre of the building and lack of windows. In this case, Siemens produced a room which is balanced in proportions and geometric in form, although highly unusual in its horseshoe composition.

The Shannon power house was a unique building for the Ireland of the time and its development was watched with interest by Irish architects and engineers, as demonstrated by the continuous stream of articles in *The Irish Builder and Engineer*, which published an almost yearly progress report, based on site visits by its writers.<sup>57</sup> Early objections to the Scheme from engineering and architectural circles focussed on the lack of open competition in the organisation of the contract, which precluded the involvement of qualified Irish engineers and architects.<sup>58</sup> However, the general approach to the project seems to be very positive from an engineering point of view, if rather cautious from an architectural, with descriptions of it as “an epoch-making event in the

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<sup>55</sup> (1929) 'Approaching Completion: Rapid Progress of the Shannon Scheme: Final Stages of Work: The Navigation Lock', *Irish Independent*. May 9. p. 2. **ESB Clippings Book 05**.

<sup>56</sup> 'Specifications for the 38 KV Switch House and the Building between the Power House and the 38 KV Switch House' in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495**.

<sup>57</sup> (1926) 'The Shannon Scheme: An Incursion of Engineers', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. October 2. pp. 745-46; (1926) p. 601; (1927) 'The Progress of the Shannon Hydro-Electric Scheme', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. October 15. pp. 753-54; (1928) 'Progress of the Shannon Hydro-Electric Works: Special to the "Irish Builder and Engineer"', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. August 18. pp. 697-98. **ESB Clippings Book 02**; (1929) 'The Shannon Scheme: Another Stage Reached', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. August 3. pp. 689-90; GAULD, R. D. (1926) 'The Progress of the Shannon Hydro-Electric Works', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. May 29. pp. 414-18.

<sup>58</sup> (1924) 'Engineering News: The Institution of Civil Engineers in Ireland and the Shannon Scheme', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. May 3. p. 406; (1924) 'Topical Touches', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. October 4. p. 845; (1927) 'Untitled', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. January 8. pp. 17-18; (1928) 'The State and Architecture', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. August 18. pp. 709-10.

commercial history of Ireland” balanced against statements that the works “have not been built with a view to artistic effect”.<sup>59</sup>



FIGURE 3-26 - ORIGINAL ARDNACRUSHA CONTROL ROOM SHOWING GLASS CEILING  
(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, AUGUST 2008)

Overall, the buildings of the Shannon Scheme complex show undoubted evidence of their German origin. The concern for the technical issues of power generation are evident, ensuring that the plant is well-specified, well-lit and easy to clean. In addition,

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<sup>59</sup> (1925) 'Engineering Section: Economics of the Shannon Scheme', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. June 13. p. 490; (1929) 'Topical Touches', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. August 3.

the design of the power station also demonstrates the specific concern with the expression of power and cleanliness unique to electricity, heavily influenced by the expressive quality of industrial buildings common in Germany in this period. It is a combination of these techniques and ideas about technology, specific to the German background of Siemens, which provide the major influence for the design and layout of the Shannon Scheme.

### **The role of technical drawings in building the power station**

The interaction of German engineering influences and ideas about *Technik* and *Kultur* as Siemens worked within Irish power structures can be most clearly seen from an analysis of the construction process of the station. The greater or lesser influence of various actors and interest groups can be demonstrated by tracking a number of the technical drawings used to express ideas and communicate plans for the station throughout the process of design and construction.

Technical drawing is one area of visual representation which is often overlooked in analysis of designed artefacts, generally reproduced without interrogation or discussion, either for their significance as drawings or for the role that they play in the negotiation of production.<sup>60</sup> Even more than artists' drawings or those used in advertising, technical drawings are heavily ideological in character, as they are devised using a very specific method, to communicate kinaesthetic knowledge between specialists in a precise, detailed, but non-verbal manner.<sup>61</sup> Because of this role, they form a standardised vocabulary of representation, which is dependent on a common visual language and method of interpretation.<sup>62</sup> This is also one of the reasons that technical drawings are often reproduced without comment as illustrations, as the general public tends to lack

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<sup>60</sup> BAYNES, K. & F. PUGH. (1978) *The Art of the Engineer: Two Hundred Years in the Development of Drawings for the Design of Transport on Land, Sea and Air*. Cardiff: Welsh Arts Council, p. 2.

<sup>61</sup> HENDERSON, K. (1999) *On Line and On Paper: Visual Representations, Visual Culture, and Computer Graphics in Design Engineering*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 30; FRASCARI, M., J. HALE & B. STARKEY (eds.) (2007) *From Models to Drawings: Imagination and Representation in Architecture*. London: Routledge, p. 5.

<sup>62</sup> BOOKER, P. J. (1963) *A History of Engineering Drawing*. London: Chatto & Windus, p. xv; PURBRICK, L. (1998) 'Ideologically Technical: Illustration, Automation and Spinning Cotton around the Middle of the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Design History*. Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 281.

the specialised skills to interpret or 'read' these communications, so they are assumed to only function pictorially, or as a general sign or symbol of a technological undertaking.

This apparent ideological neutrality may be most noticeable when technical drawings are taken out of their original working context, but within the process of designing, making and constructing artefacts from the smallest product to the largest industrial building, they are used as tools, markers of status and a way of delimiting authority within the design and production process. Drawings are among the four methods of producing architecture identified by Starkey in his discussion of architectural production, along with writing about buildings, making models of buildings and actually building them. They are also the method which has had the highest status, as they remain separate from the dirty physicality of the latter two methods, but remain difficult to read without specialist training for the average layman.<sup>63</sup>

The systematic use of technical drawings which was developed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in Victorian drawing offices was centrally important for both architecture and engineering in providing ways to conceptualise and organise the man-made world: "The new science and the new engineering both depended on an ability to construct such graphic models of reality: science of what is; engineering of what could be."<sup>64</sup> The division of construction labour into architects and engineers, who mostly design by drawing, and the builders, manufacturers and production staff who actually fabricate the artefacts was reinforced by the implementation of the technical drawing as guide, gospel and reference point for the manufacturing of products and buildings alike. This division was particularly apparent in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the battle between the object-orientated working methodology of the skilled craftsman and the drawing-orientated one of the professional, whether architect or engineer, both of which developed their professional boundaries during this period.<sup>65</sup> The development of standardised ways of

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<sup>63</sup> STARKEY, B. (2007) 'Post-secular architecture: material, intellectual, spiritual models', in FRASCARI, M., J. HALE & B. STARKEY (eds.) *From Models to Drawings: Imagination and Representation in Architecture*. London: Routledge, pp. 231-33.

<sup>64</sup> BAYNES & PUGH. (1978) p. 2.

<sup>65</sup> BAYNES & PUGH. (1978) pp. 2-3, 9-10; PURBRICK. (1998) p. 281.

depicting the artefact before its physical creation is central to the formation of the profession of engineering, as well as to that of architecture.<sup>66</sup>

Within the structure of the drawing office and the lifecycle of a particular project, a number of different types of drawings will be produced, which span both architectural and engineering production. Indeed, the drawings of both areas are based on the same geometric principles and requirements for presenting an artefact to the viewer before it exists, and as a way of making it come into being.<sup>67</sup> The codification of the technical drawing in the 19<sup>th</sup> century involved developments from both areas, with influences moving back and forth throughout the century, particularly French military engineer Gaspard Monge's technique of descriptive geometry, worked out at the very end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>68</sup> Drawing office practice was based on the same set of tools and techniques, such as the T-square, drawing board with adjustable square, compass, dividers and protractor, as well as quill pens, graphite pencils and washes for adding colour and depth.<sup>69</sup> This was also particularly evident in the work of the Mechanical Institutes in Great Britain, which taught courses in architectural, mechanical and perspective drawing from the 1820s onwards, similar to the German *Technische Mittelschulen* (or technical schools), which had been training for the drafting office since the 1890s.<sup>70</sup> The types of drawing range from original conceptual sketches, through development and production/construction drawings, to contract drawings, presentation drawings and technical illustrations.<sup>71</sup> Of these types of drawings, the first three are generally standardised views conforming to the Mongean layout of plan, elevation (or front view) and side view, embodying a European world-view based on scientific methodology (see Figure 3-27).<sup>72</sup> They are radically different from presentation drawings and technical illustrations, which are not as geometrically constrained, approaching

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<sup>66</sup> HENDERSON. (1999) pp. 15-24.

<sup>67</sup> STARKEY. (2007) p. 234.

<sup>68</sup> BAYNES & PUGH. (1978) p. 6; BOOKER. (1963) p. 86.

<sup>69</sup> POWELL, H. & D. LEATHERBARROW (eds.) (1982) *Masterpieces of Architectural Drawing*. London: Orbis Publishing.

<sup>70</sup> BAYNES & PUGH. (1978) p. 9; KÖNIG, W. (1996) 'Science-Based Industry or Industry-Based Science? Electrical Engineering in Germany before World War I', *Technology and Culture*. Vol. 37, No. 1, January, p. 78.

<sup>71</sup> BAYNES & PUGH. (1978) pp. 4-5.

<sup>72</sup> PÉREZ-GÓMEZ, A. (2007) 'Questions of representation: the poetic origin of architecture', in FRASCARI, M., J. HALE & B. STARKEY (eds.) *From Models to Drawings: Imagination and Representation in Architecture*. London: Routledge, p. 12.



more closely the view from the human eye of a project.<sup>73</sup> They have the advantage for professionals of being highly codified, in an effort to communicate form with the minimum of ambiguity, but do not represent the world as it would look to a human eye, but rather an ideal geometric form. Additionally, they function within the world of the architect and engineer as “a central component of a social organization based on collective ways of knowing.”<sup>74</sup>

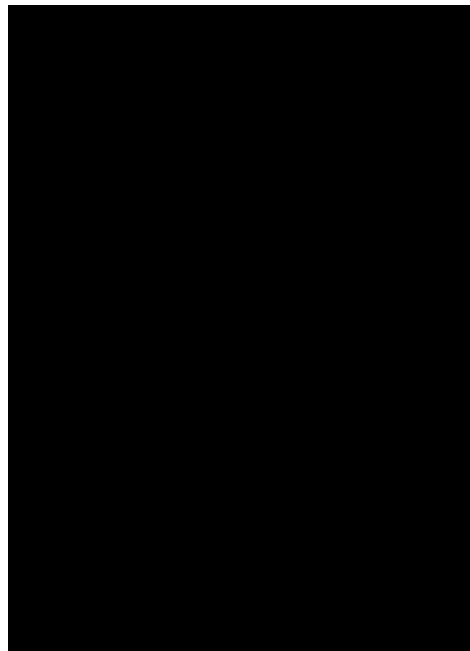


FIGURE 3-27 - STANDARD ORTHOGRAPHIC PROJECTIONS USED IN ARCHITECTURAL DRAWING  
([HTTP://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:ARCHITECTURAL\\_DRAWING\\_001.PNG](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Architectural_Drawing_001.png))

As part of the development of the Shannon Scheme, quite a complex set of negotiations was carried out between the numerous interest groups discussed above. This negotiation, particularly about the final form of the power station complex, can be traced through the production, circulation and approval of various technical drawings during the period. A number of technical drawings have survived in various archives, although significantly not in any central location and forming only a small number of the total number of drawings referred to in the correspondence. The drawings discussed here are from sources including the ESB archive in Dublin, Siemens Archive in Munich and the Shannon Power Development papers in the National Archives of Ireland, as

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<sup>73</sup> PURBRICK. (1998) p. 289.

<sup>74</sup> HENDERSON. (1999) p. 1.

well as Ardnacrusha power station, where finished drawings are still used as reference, particularly for civil engineering staff.

The earliest drawings are in the Siemens Archive and consist of a set of development drawings which were produced by Siemens-Schuckertwerke in August of 1924, as part of the detailed scheme worked out by that company for the Irish Government during the summer of 1924.<sup>75</sup> After the initial three-way negotiations between Thomas McLaughlin, Siemens and the Government, and the publication of a White Paper in March 1924, Siemens were given 12 months to produce a design for the Scheme.<sup>76</sup> These drawings include numerous drawings working out the inclination and layout of the canals needed, presumably working from the data on the fall of the Shannon collected by Irish engineer John Chaloner Smith in 1919, on which McLaughlin had based his initial calculations.<sup>77</sup> Of the 55 drawings present in the folder, the majority are cross-sections of the River Shannon and the proposed canals, but two in particular are relevant to the design of the power station building itself.

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<sup>75</sup> SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1924) *The Shannon Scheme 1924 Drawings SSW*. **Siemens Archive: 11139**; PURSER GRIFFITH, S. S. J. (1925) *Notes on the Siemens-Schuckert Shannon Power Scheme as expounded to the Dáil by the Minister for Industry and Commerce on the 19th December 1924*. Dublin: Saorstát Éireann.

<sup>76</sup> DÁIL ÉIREANN. (1924) 'The Shannon Power Scheme - Statement by the Minister for Industry and Commerce' Vol. 9. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

<sup>77</sup> PURSER GRIFFITH. (1925) pp. 7-8.

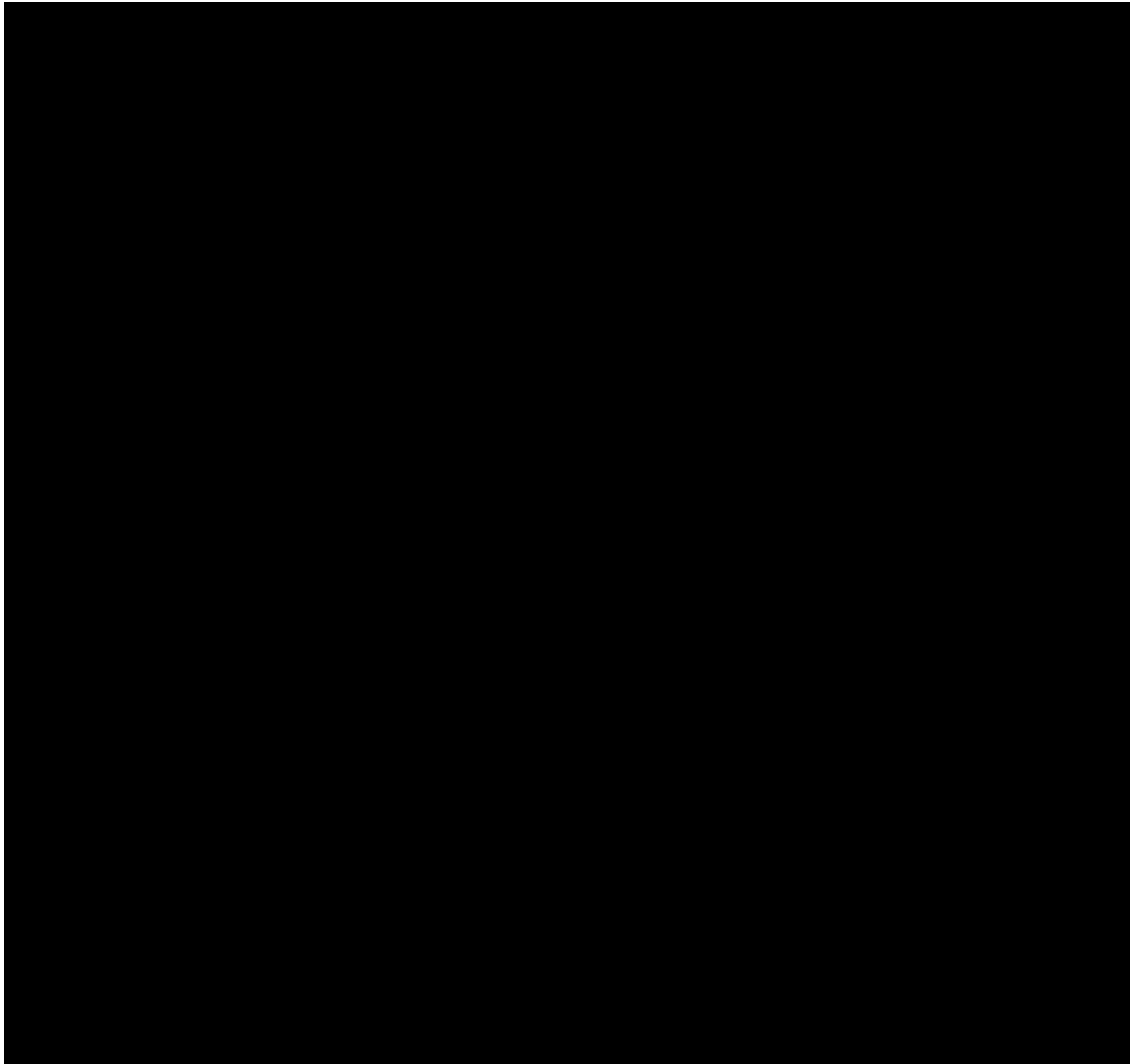


FIGURE 3-28 – DETAIL OF SIEMENS TECHNICAL DRAWING AZ.710455, 1924  
(SIEMENS ARCHIVE: 11139)

The first of these (see Figure 3-28) is a plan of the power station site, showing the total development, including the building complex. This focus on the station site allowed the Siemens engineers to situate the buildings within the greater canal development, which was covered by several of the other drawings. There are a number of notable differences between the plan as shown and the building as finally built, the most notable being the inclusion of six turbines, rather than the initial three built, with a fourth added in 1934. In addition, the switch houses are housed in a wing which seems to be attached to the turbine building in three separate places (one of these being the 10kV switch house), rather than being a continuous building, as it was in the final form. This highlights what Starkey calls the predictive nature of technical drawings, visualising

something not yet physically in existence.<sup>78</sup> This is particularly pertinent to development drawings, which are used as a method of moving a solution from mathematical calculations to two dimensions, preparatory to its production as three-dimensional form. As they are generally produced quite early in the design process, they can always be superseded by more accurate drawings later in a project, as new information or results are incorporated into the project. This is evident in the case of the missing two turbines, as the initial drawings based on Chaloner Smith's data suggested six turbines as the optimum for harnessing the fall of the Shannon, whereas the Siemens engineers later made more detailed readings of their own and realised that the fall was really only sufficient for four turbines.

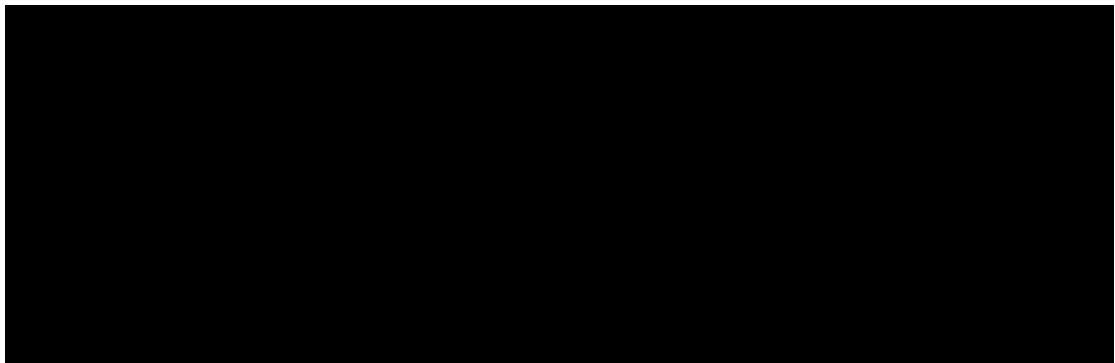


FIGURE 3-29 - DETAIL OF SIEMENS TECHNICAL DRAWING AZ. 710455, 1924  
(SIEMENS ARCHIVE: 11139)

The drawing is also notable in that it has a mixture of text in both German and English, which demonstrates which parts of the drawing were for internal use by Siemens and which were for communication to the Irish clients. For example, the labelling on the drawing itself is in English, as is the title box and scale indication (see Figure 3-29). On the other hand, the rest of the text in the title block is in German and follows a standardised layout, which would have been common to drawings produced in the Berlin office and is still part of standard drawing office practice today. As well as the title of the company and office (here 'Siemens-Schuckertwerke G.m.b.H. AZ7c'), the title block routinely contains information about who has drawn, edited or checked a drawing, all part of how technical drawings are used to track the division of labour within the office. In this case, the drawing was originally produced on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August

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<sup>78</sup> STARKEY. (2007) p. 234.

1924 by 'KG', probably a drawing technician, traced on the 6<sup>th</sup> of that month by 'Gu' and checked on the 18<sup>th</sup> by 'Ui', who is possibly Herr Uitting, who later appears in meeting minutes as a senior Siemens engineer on the project in Ireland.<sup>79</sup> That the production of the extant drawing included a tracing stage is typical of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century drawing office, where drawings were first produced as line drawings by hand, which were then copied using the 'blueprint' process, although here it is still noted as '*gepaust*' or 'traced', regardless of whether this was a manual or mechanical process.<sup>80</sup> As colour does not reproduce through the blueprint process, the colours to indicate water, earth and roof have been added by hand in pencil at the same time.<sup>81</sup> The lettering on the drawing is typical of an early version of the round, regular 'architectural' handwriting which has evolved slowly over the 20<sup>th</sup> century, due to the requirements of readability and clarity paramount in technical drawing production.

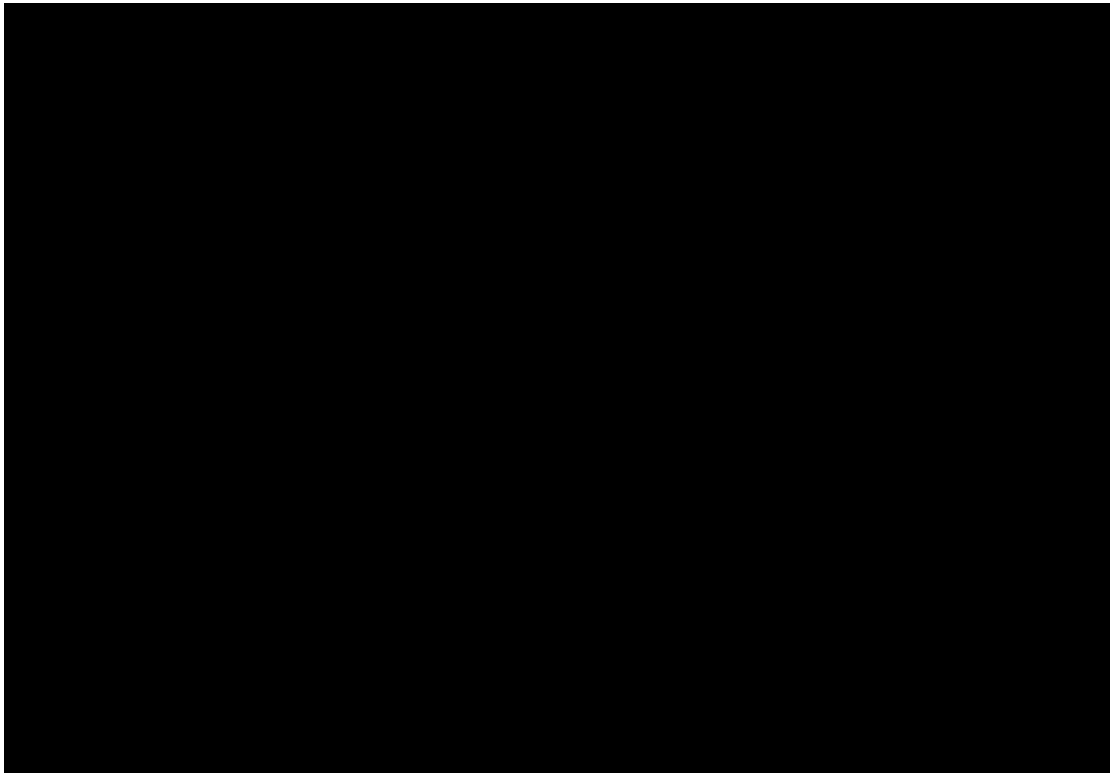


FIGURE 3-30 - COMPOSITE PHOTOGRAPH OF SIEMENS TECHNICAL DRAWING  
AZ.710456, 1924  
(SIEMENS ARCHIVE: 11139)

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<sup>79</sup> 'Subject: Generating Station, Ardnacrusha. Description of the works for the construction of the Power House, dated Siemensstadt 25th Jan.28' Letter from Wilhelm Fleischer to Dr. P.W. Sothman, March 26 1928 in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495.**

<sup>80</sup> POWELL & LEATHERBARROW (eds.) (1982) p. 187.

<sup>81</sup> BOOKER. (1963) pp. 133, 71.

The second drawing is a more detailed development plan of the power station building itself, also from 1924, which includes three cross-sections through the building (see Figure 3-30). This drawing demonstrates the hierarchies within the drawing office, as it was drawn by the same person (KG), checked by the same person (Ui), but traced by a different tracer (Trh). This was due to the relative importance of the initial drawing, based on engineering data and possibly initial sketches, as well as the authoritative nature of checking of work for accuracy. Both of these tasks would have required engineering qualifications, whereas tracing and colouring a drawing would have been considered a less qualified task, suitable for 'bright working-class boys', rather than middle-class professionals.<sup>82</sup> This drawing also shows the initial layout of the switch houses and administration building in more detail in the plan, as well as both sections. These sections are particularly revealing, as they show the initial plan for a gently canted roof on the turbine hall and intake house (see Figure 3-31) and flat roofs on the complex of buildings between the turbine hall and the 100kV switch house. As compared to the final iteration of the built complex, this design has a number of much smaller architectural elements, rather than the single articulated building which was finally built.

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<sup>82</sup> BAYNES & PUGH. (1978) p. 9.

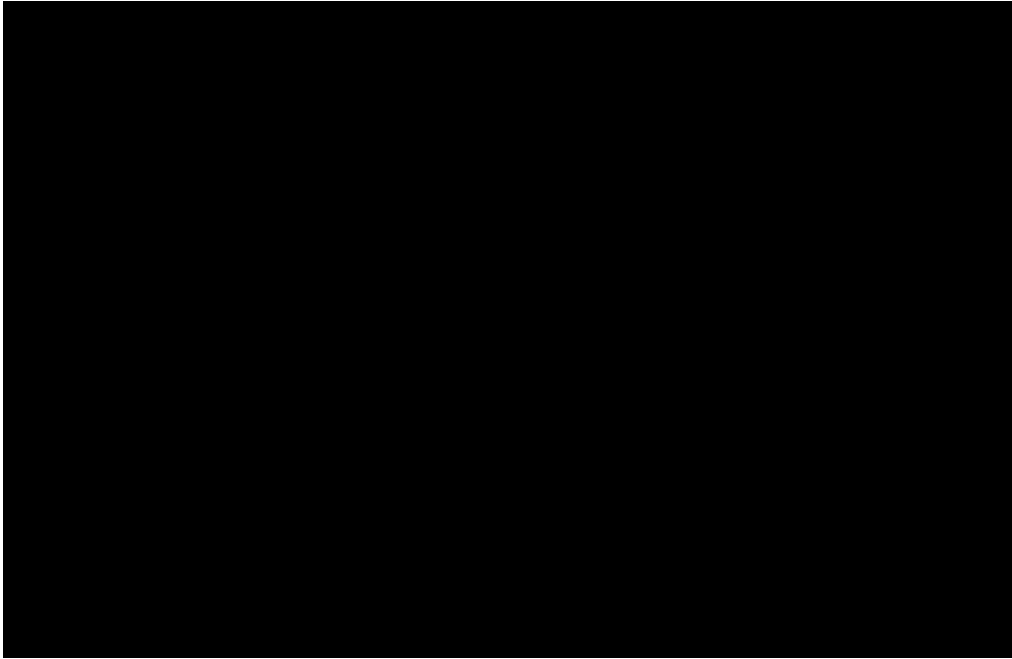


FIGURE 3-31 - DETAIL OF SIEMENS TECHNICAL DRAWING AZ.710456, 1924  
(SIEMENS ARCHIVE: 11139)

Once the project got underway, Siemens located a small technical staff in the Limerick office of the Resident Engineer (J. K. Prendergast) who had been appointed by the Government to oversee the works, although any final plans for the Power House were to be prepared in Berlin.<sup>83</sup> However, according to the letters and memos archived in the Shannon Power Development files, there was actually a delicate set of negotiations between Siemens-Schuckert in Ireland and the Government's Civil Engineer Frank Sharman Rishworth as to the style and overall effect of the station, with both parties referring to the authority of Siemens architect Herr Dohme in Berlin and the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Patrick McGilligan to provide weight to their arguments.<sup>84</sup> This exchange begins with a request by Rishworth in November 1926 for designs for the façade of the power house “as we are anxious that it will fit in with its Irish environment”. Rishworth seems to see Olidan power station in Trollhättan in Sweden as a suitable model for emulation, despite the fact that it has flat roofs and a heavily rusticated façade, resembling a Northern European castle or fortified building (see

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<sup>83</sup> 'Minutes of Meeting 25th November, 1925' in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1929) *Minutes of Meetings and Conferences*. **National Archives: SS 166.**

<sup>84</sup> (2011) 'Rishworth, Frank Sharman', *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940*. <http://www.dia.ie/architects/view/4553> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

Figure 3-32), as opposed to the pitched roofs and red brick of German stations.<sup>85</sup> Rishworth's somewhat inconsistent concern for the appearance of the station is emphasised in a later letter, where Siemens Head Office quotes Rishworth as requiring sloped roofs "in consideration of the character of Irish buildings and of the local climatic conditions".<sup>86</sup>

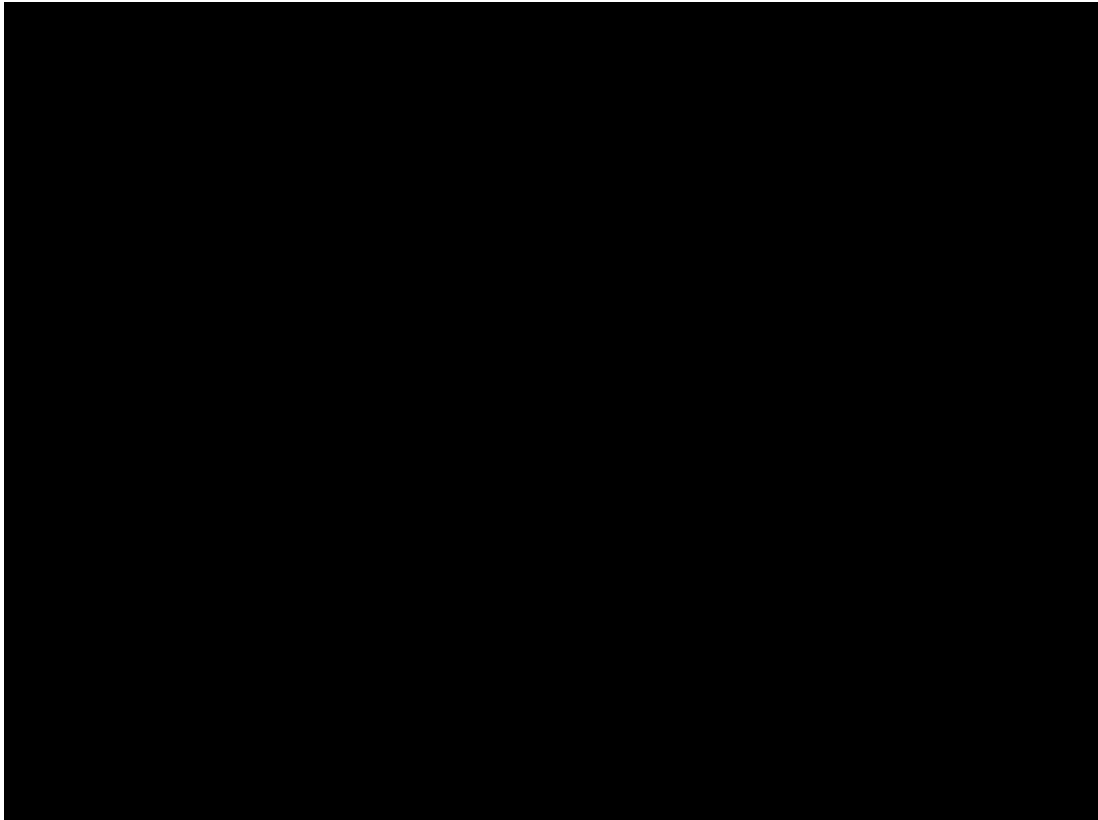


FIGURE 3-32 - OLIDAN POWER STATION, TROLLHÄTTEN, SWEDEN, 1910  
([HTTP://WWW.FLICKR.COM/PHOTOS/F\\_UDDGREN/4406367337/IN/PHOTOSTREAM/](http://www.flickr.com/photos/f_uddgren/4406367337/in/photostream/))

A set of drawings (AZ.716590 to 94), referred to as 'architectural sketches', are sent to Rishworth by the following February and four photographs of a clay model in March.<sup>87</sup> Although these drawings and photographs have unfortunately not survived, they are

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<sup>85</sup> 'Power House Design', Letter from Rishworth to Siemens Limerick, November 22 1926, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495**. The planning for Bankside A Power Station, designed by British architect Sir Giles Gibert Scott, was not started until 1929 and commissioned until 1933.

<sup>86</sup> 'Shannon Scheme Ireland, Water Power Plant, Power Station and Intake Building' Letter from Wallem to Rishworth, August 31 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495**.

<sup>87</sup> 'Power Station Buildings', Letter from Prendergast to Rishworth, February 19 1927, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495**.



clearly being used to communicate the intention of Siemens architects and engineers as to the physical qualities of the proposed power station, which is particularly noticeable in the extended discussion about the roofing of the complex. Rishworth wrote to the Minister in September 1927, discussing these drawings, rejecting “various alternative arrangements of the windows, attempts at a Romanesque façade, etc” due to the great height of the building and expressing dissatisfaction with the depicted 45° slope of the roof.<sup>88</sup> He had asked Siemens to provide an altered set of drawings, which they do in November, although expressing the dissatisfaction of the Berlin architect with Rishworth’s proposed roof slope of 37°.<sup>89</sup> The original proposals for the ventilation units are reconsidered and two alternative arrangements for the glass roof over the control room are proposed (drawings AZ.717401/1 and AZ.717402/1).<sup>90</sup> There is no further reference to these drawings in the files, as they are superseded by two new drawings (AZ.717142 and AZ.719021) the following May, when discussions about the roof and façade resume with particular attention being paid to the arrangements for the glass roof over the control room (see Figure 3-33).<sup>91</sup> The number of working drawings produced and discarded during this phase is entirely typical of the many iterations through which a project may go, particularly with a demanding client. The level of detailed inspection of works by a phalanx of Government-employed engineers suggests that the Shannon Scheme definitely qualified as such a project.

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<sup>88</sup> 'Power House Design', Letter from Rishworth to McGilligan, September 21 1927 in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495.**

<sup>89</sup> 'Re: Power House Architecture', Letter from Ott & Uitting to Rishworth, November 5 1927 in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495.**

<sup>90</sup> 'Re: Architecture Power Station', Letter from Ott & Uitting to Rishworth, November 5 1927, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495.**

<sup>91</sup> Letter from Bach & Goffin to Prendergast & Rishworth, May 31 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495.**

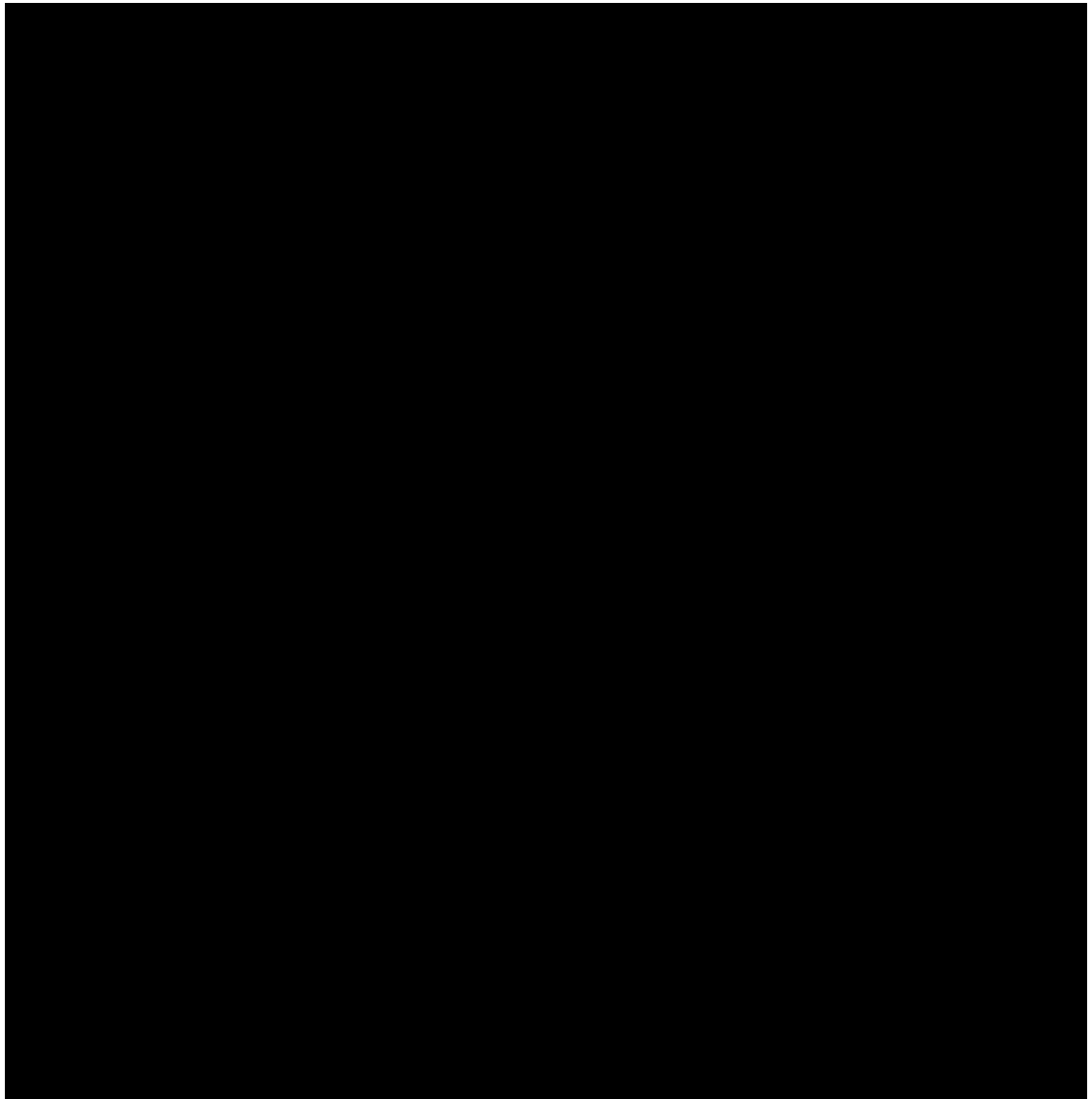


FIGURE 3-33 - SIEMENS TECHNICAL DRAWING AZ.717142 ELEVATION DETAILS OF THE  
DOWNSTREAM SIDE, DRAWN 5.2.1928  
(ESB ARDNACRUSHA POWER STATION: FILE 1 NO. 56)

The discussions about the roof of the power station take an unusual turn in May 1928, when Siemens BauUnion requested information about a verbally proposed change to flat roofs.<sup>92</sup> A number of letters between Prendergast in Limerick, Rishworth in Dublin and Siemens in Berlin and Dublin over the next few weeks demonstrate a real concern on Siemens' behalf that Rishworth had side-stepped proper procedure of negotiation through drawings, with Siemens and Eilers producing drawings in response to each requested change. This concern seems to stem not only from the fact that Rishworth

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<sup>92</sup> 're: Power House', Letter from Bach & Goffin to Prendergast & Rishworth, May 26 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495.**

was operating outside of agreed standards of professional behaviour in both architectural and engineering practice, but from the fact that the procedure of design by drawing had ensured that the firm of Messrs. Louis Eilers had been engaged on producing the steel frames for the building in Germany for some months previously, with the first three frames already on site in Limerick at the time of the discussion.<sup>93</sup> The motive for the sudden decision to radically alter the profile of the station to include flat roofs seems to be motivated by a concern on Rishworth's behalf for the mounting cost of the project, overriding his previous concern for a contextually sensitive building. Despite concerns voiced by Prendergast, the Resident Engineer, and Professor Meyer Peters, one of the original group of European experts, Rishworth estimated that the change in roofs could save the Government a total of £10,000 to £12,000 from an estimated bill of £97,550, which was nearly twice the original estimated cost for the buildings.<sup>94</sup> He received backing from the Minister, through his Secretary Gordon Campbell, although this seems to have been based on purely financial considerations, rather than aesthetic.<sup>95</sup> The only aesthetic comment which is recorded from the Government on the proposed flat roofs (of which no drawings have survived) is a reference to an 'encsclule' (sic) on the top of the main building, referring to the glass lantern which apparently looked out of place alongside a flat roof, but Rishworth assured Campbell that it could be replaced by a flat glass roof.<sup>96</sup>

In the end, it was the physicality and complexity of the construction of such an enterprise which determined the shape of the power station roof, as dictated by Eilers' production schedule. As the steel construction was so far advanced when the decision

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<sup>93</sup> 're: Steel Superstructure of Power House', Letter from Bach & Goffin to Prendergast & Rishworth, May 31 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495.**

<sup>94</sup> 'Power House Buildings', Letter from Rishworth to the Secretary, Department of Industry and Commerce, June 26 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495.**

<sup>95</sup> 'Re: Power House', Letter from the Secretary, Department of Industry and Commerce to Rishworth, July 5 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495.**

<sup>96</sup> Letter from Gordon Campbell, Secretary, Department of Industry and Commerce to Rishworth, June 25 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495;** 'Power House Buildings', Letter from Rishworth to the Secretary, Department of Industry and Commerce, June 26 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495;** 'Re: Power House', Letter from Gordon Campbell to Siemens Ireland, July 3 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495.**

to change the roofs was made, it appears that the production of a new roof frame, suitable for supporting a flat roof (particularly one which could be walked on), would have set back the timescale of the project by a minimum of six weeks, which was deemed financially unacceptable by the Government, so the roof of the power station was returned to its original sloped design as represented in drawing AZ.717142, which was drawn in February 1928 and stamped by the Resident Engineer in June 1928 (see Figure 3-33).<sup>97</sup> The resentment of Siemens towards this departure from normal design procedure is evident in a later letter from Rishworth to the Minister, where he states that “I do not claim to be an architect and am prepared to give way to their views, but in this case I cannot help feeling that they rather resent an engineer putting forward an alternative proposal.”<sup>98</sup> I would suggest, however, given the similarity in working method between civil engineers and architects, that it was the method by which Rishworth’s alternative was proposed that was resented by Siemens, rather than an objection to his professional views on building design.

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<sup>97</sup> 're: Steel Superstructure of Power House', Letter from Bach & Goffin to Prendergast & Rishworth, May 31 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495**; 're: Power House. your letter of the 3.7.28', Letter from Uitting to Rishworth, July 6 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495**; 're: Power House. Construction of Roof', Letter from Bach to Rishworth, August 2 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495**; 're: Power House. Construction of Roof', Letter from Bach to Rishworth, August 3 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495**; 'Shannon Scheme Ireland, Water Power Plant, Power Station and Intake Building', Letter from Wallem to Rishworth, August 31 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495**.

<sup>98</sup> 'Power House - Roofs of Intake and Minor Buildings', Letter from Rishworth to Campbell, September 17 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495**.

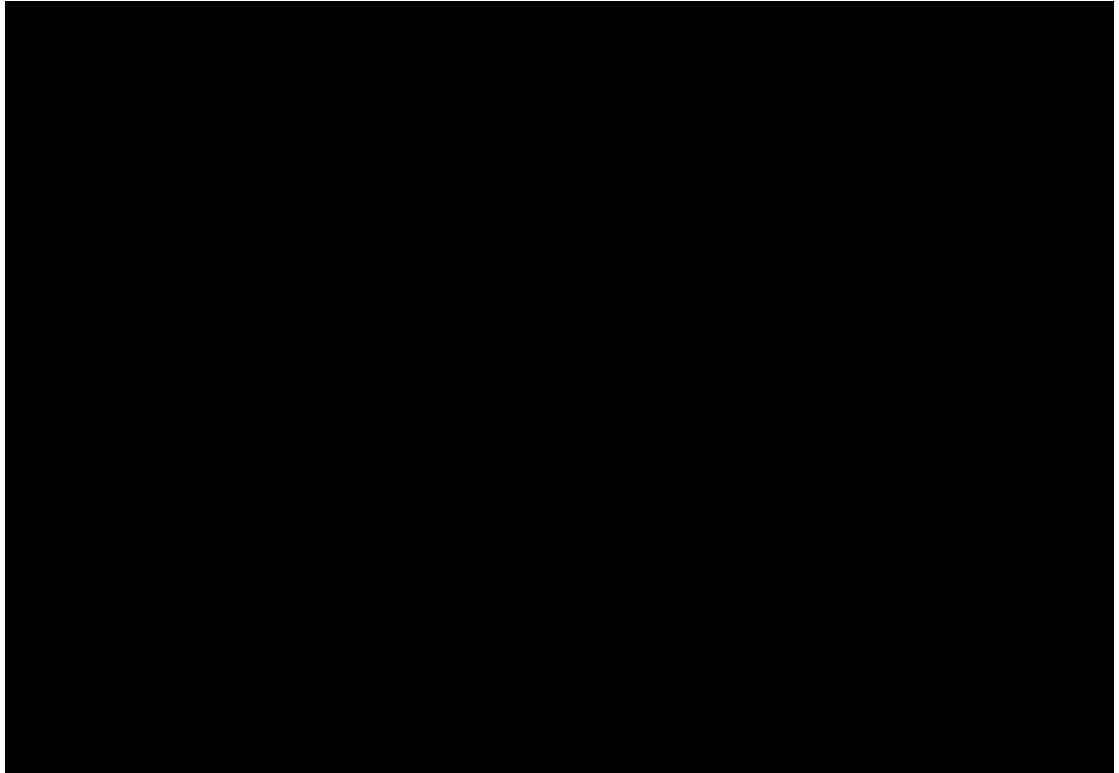


FIGURE 3-34 - SIEMENS BAUUNION DRAWING L.719, 1928 (NATIONAL ARCHIVES: SS 495)

It is this sloped roof design, along with the refinements of ventilation and lantern, which is represented in Siemens BauUnion drawing L.719, which has survived in the Shannon Power Development files in the National Archives (see Figure 3-34). This construction drawing consists of a plan and a number of sections of the power house building including the switch houses, again drawn on a sheet with a title block in German and the rest of the text in English. Unusually, the 'drawn' box is empty, whereas the 'traced' date is the 12<sup>th</sup> of March 1928 by 'J. Davids' and the drawing has been edited by 'Fe' on the 24<sup>th</sup> of August 1928. The dates are significant here, as the tracing took place before the change in plans for the roof and it seems that the drawing was resurrected and edited in August 1928, once the roof was returned to its previous sloped design. The overall design of the station has been much simplified, with the 38kV switch house now totally attached to the middle building, leading directly into the turbine hall. The rear line of the station has been simplified into the form which was actually built, with the 10kV switch house sitting behind the amalgamated building, but on top of the intake turbines. The edits include an indication of where the level on the foundations differ from the original drawings and a number of other small, but pertinent engineering details, which would be needed for the final resolution of the

financial side of the contract. Rather than using the colouring to indicate different materials, this drawing colour codes the turbine hall in blue and the switch houses in brown. This is significant in the light of the fact that this drawing has ended up in the Shannon Power Development files, rather than in Siemens' own archive, as it has been coloured to help the client understand the relation of the various sections to each other, as well as recording changes to the design negotiated during the construction process.

The relative importance and power of the Chief Civil Engineer, F. S. Rishworth, in the negotiations about the roof is also evident in a subsequent exchange of letters discussing the roofs of the intake building, navigation lock and auxiliary buildings, which he succeeded in retaining with flat roofs, despite Siemens Head Office's objections that:

Different kinds of roof on the various buildings will, later on, make the impression as if the buildings had not been erected at the same time but at quite different periods with intervals of many years. As to be seen from the buildings of newly built power stations, for instance in America and Switzerland, the builders of such stations in the whole world attach great importance to giving the exterior of the building a dignified appearance. Nobody will, later on, understand, why just one of the largest and most modern power stations, which the Shannon Power Station certainly is, and which the Irish people may be proud of, was made to look like an accumulation of various styles joined to one another at different periods.<sup>99</sup>

Rishworth was confident enough of his position to dismiss this objection, due to the distance between the main complex and the auxiliary buildings. Significantly, he also asserted that the drawings under discussion were exaggerated for effect and that the power house would hide the intake building from the banks of the tail race, which is indeed the case today (see Figure 3-16).<sup>100</sup> This is the sort of specialised spatial knowledge and skill at interpreting drawings which is confined to professionals trained in reading technical drawings.

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<sup>99</sup> 'Shannon Scheme Ireland, Water Power Plant, Power Station and Intake Building', Letter from Wallem to Rishworth, August 31 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495.**

<sup>100</sup> 'Power House - Roofs of Intake and Minor Buildings', Letter from Rishworth to Campbell, September 17 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) **National Archives: SS 495.**

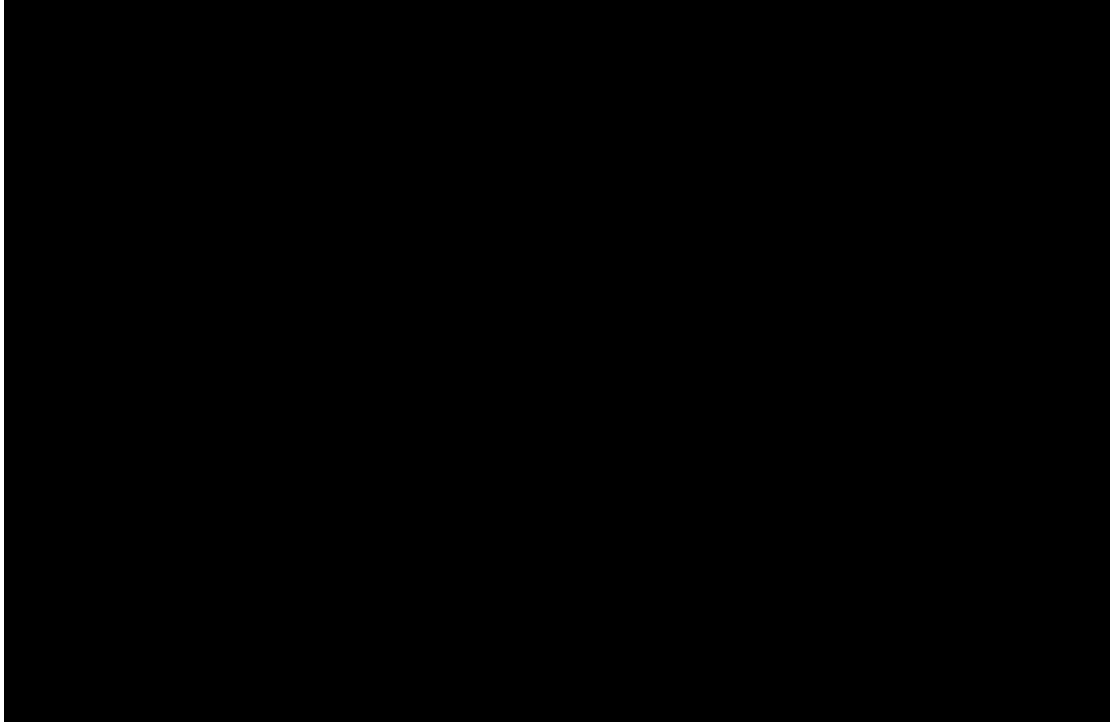


FIGURE 3-35 - ESB CONTRACT DRAWING, 1930 (SIEMENS ARCHIVE: 12671)

The final technical drawing under discussion has been produced with precisely the opposite aim in mind. It is one of a set of drawings in a folder in the Siemens Archive, contained in a folder from Siemens' 'Rechtsabteilung' or 'legal department'. This drawing (no. CW/D 105) formed part of the negotiations between Siemens and the newly formed ESB on the discharge of the duties of the contract (see Figure 3-35). It contains a detailed cross-section through the power station, showing the intake penstocks and a generator, as well as numerous details of the construction of both the power station and intake buildings. It has an ESB title block and was drawn on the 7<sup>th</sup> of March 1930 by J. J. Breen, who has included a level of detail in the drawing which was not present in the previous ones discussed, due to the legal nature of contract drawings. This drawing is also a blueprint copy, although it is uncoloured, which can be read as providing an emphasis on technical detail for a technical, rather than a lay, audience.<sup>101</sup>

The interpretation of projects for a non-technical audience is mostly the preserve of technical illustrations, a small number of which survive as illustrations in contemporary

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<sup>101</sup> POWELL & LEATHERBARROW (eds.) (1982) p. 50.

texts about the Scheme. One of these, in particular, demonstrates the role played by technical illustrations in providing easily readable visualisations before the actual project is underway. This type of technical drawing evolved during the 19<sup>th</sup> century due to the importance of architectural competitions as a way of deciding commissions. The entries generally only included plans, elevations and side views, which were not easily understood by the general public. This difficulty in reading the specialised visual code of technical drawings influenced the outcome of the competitions, giving the advantage to entries with were accompanied by easily reprinted lithographic renderings of the schemes, often as perspective drawings.<sup>102</sup> Often they were also used as illustrations in product advertisements or educational texts, as is the case with the view of the power station published in an extended article in *The Engineer* in 1927, which was reprinted as a booklet by the ESB in 1928 (see Figure 3-36).<sup>103</sup>

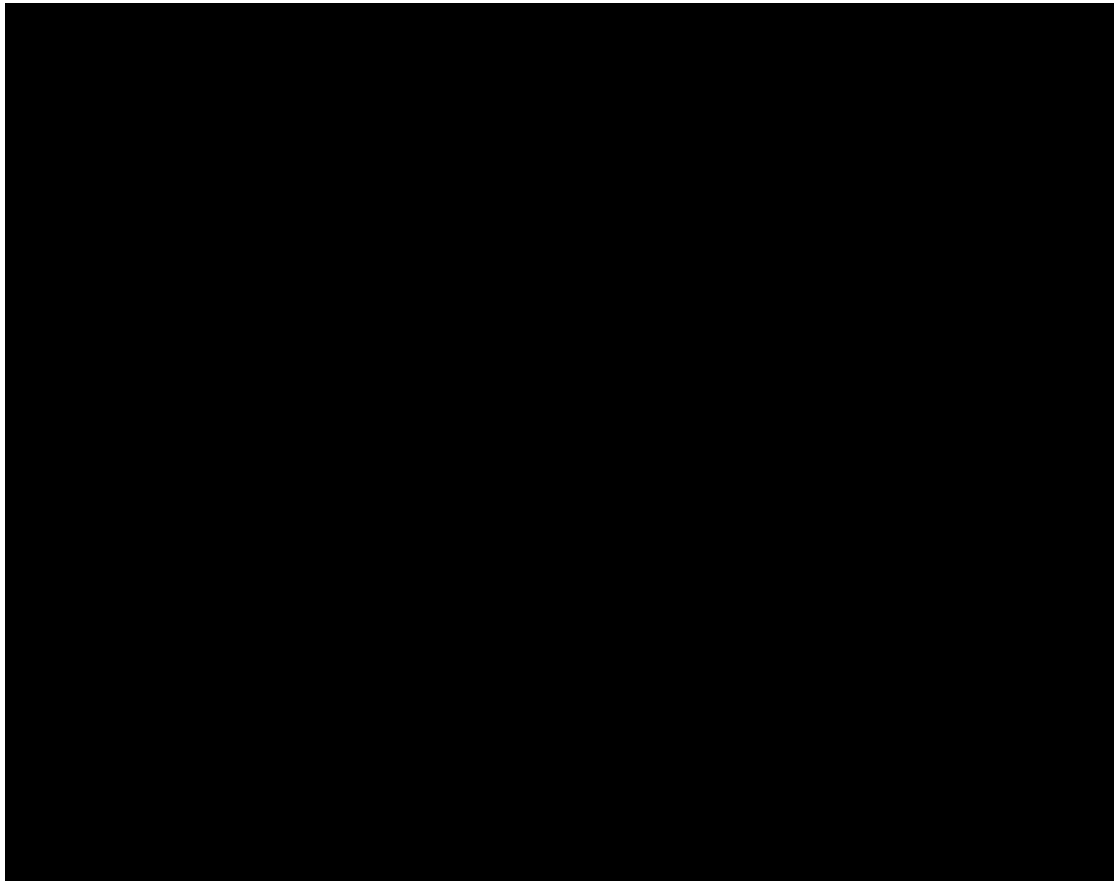


FIGURE 3-36 - TECHNICAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE POWER STATION  
(*THE ENGINEER*, 1927, FRONTISPIECE)

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<sup>102</sup> POWELL & LEATHERBARROW (eds.) (1982) pp. 50-55.

<sup>103</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1928) *The Shannon Hydro-Electric Power Station: Reprinted From The Engineer*. Dublin: Electricity Supply Board; PURBRICK. (1998) p. 275.



This illustration, despite its late date in the development of the scheme, shows an early version of the power station buildings, identifiable from the slightly sloping roofs on the turbine hall and the three-part arrangement of the switch houses and middle building. It is most notable for the deep vertical pilasters between the windows on the power house, which give the complex a much more aggressively Modernist aspect than what was finally built. The size of the originally proposed ship lift is noticeable in this drawing, which may be due to the fact that the drawing is constructed using rather exaggerated two point perspective. This perspective, which was commonly used in architectural illustrations, is only actually perspective in two dimensions, with the vertical lines remaining parallel, so fails to provide a realistic view of what the finished scheme would look like to the naked eye.<sup>104</sup> It is also noticeable that the viewer is apparently sitting in thin air, or possibly in an airplane or helicopter, as there is no physical vantage point near the Scheme which would provide this view. However, the tenuous connection of such architectural visualisations to the final built reality is not the point of their existence; rather, it is to excite the imagination of the viewer about the striking and ambitious Scheme proposed for the Shannon.

### **Silver presentation model**

June 1930 saw a dispute over the financial management of the Shannon Scheme, which eventually led McLaughlin to resign from his position with the ESB.<sup>105</sup> His leaving the semi-state body was marked the following February by a small ceremony, attended by employees of the ESB, where a silver model of Ardnacrusha power station was presented to McLaughlin, in recognition of his central role in the creation of the Scheme and the ESB itself.<sup>106</sup> This silver model was made by John Smyth & Sons of

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<sup>104</sup> PORTER, T. (1997) *The Architect's Eye: Visualization and Depiction of Space in Architecture*. London: E&FN Spon, pp. 104-06.

<sup>105</sup> (1931) 'Electric Shock for Dail: Minister on the E.S.B. Short Circuit', *The Irish Times*. July 9. **ESB Clippings Book 17**; (1931) 'The Shannon Scheme: Statement by Late Managing Director', *Derry Standard*. July 15. **ESB Clippings Book 17**; (1931) 'Supply Board: Resignations from the E.S.B.', *Irish Independent*. July 9. **ESB Clippings Book 17**.

<sup>106</sup> (1932) 'Model of Shannon Power House', *The Irish Times*. January 26. **ESB Clippings Book 19**; (1932) 'Presentation to Dr. McLaughlin', *Irish News*. January 27. **ESB Clippings Book 19**.

Wicklow Street, Dublin and even then it was hailed as “a triumph of the silversmith’s art”.<sup>107</sup>

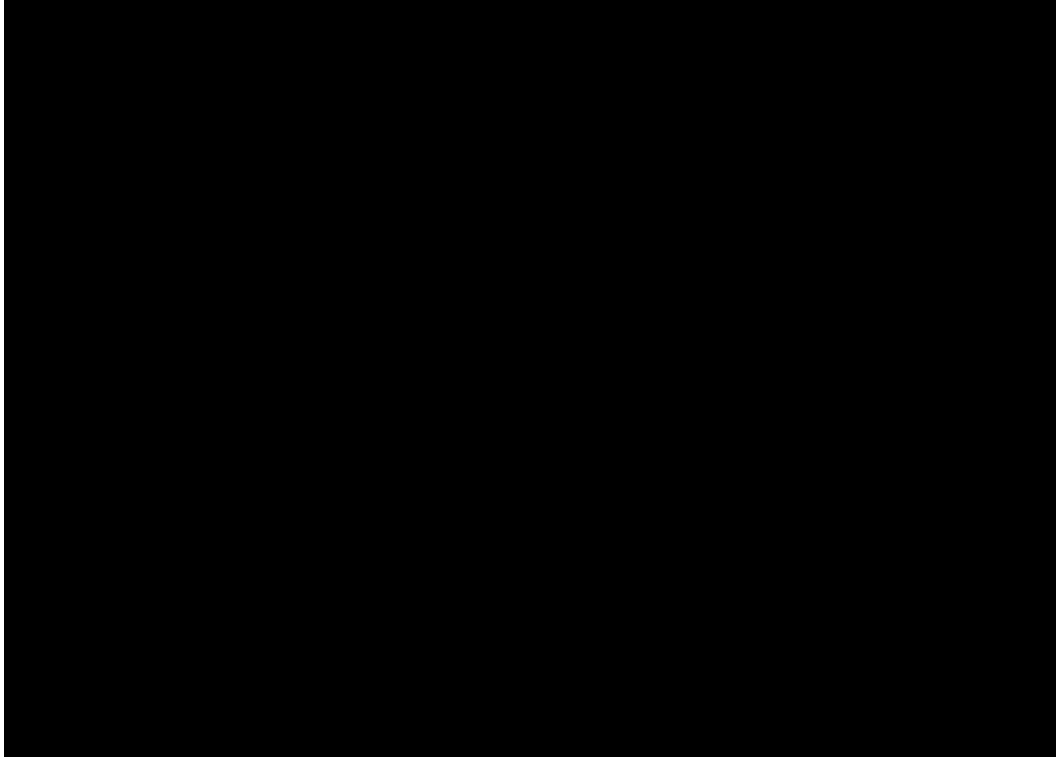


FIGURE 3-37 - SILVER PRESENTATION MODEL OF THE SHANNON SCHEME  
(*IRISH INDEPENDENT*, FEBRUARY 24 1932, P. 10)

The delay in the presentation seems to have been to allow the construction of the model, which was made from 1650 ounces of sterling silver, to a scale of 1 inch to 25 feet.<sup>108</sup> Smyth was a well-known silversmith, who generally worked in the Neo-Celtic vein in this period, producing items of jewellery such as replicas of the Ardagh Chalice and the Tara Brooch.<sup>109</sup> Three and occasionally four craftsmen worked for approximately four months to produce a 20 inch square scale model of the power

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<sup>107</sup> (1932) 'Presentation to Dr. McLaughlin', *Irish Independent*. January 26. p. 6. **ESB Clippings Book 19.**

<sup>108</sup> (1932) 'Power Station Model in Silver: Staff Presentation to Dr. McLaughlin', *The Irish Press*. April 25. **ESB Clippings Book 19.**

<sup>109</sup> BUCKLEY, J. J. (1939) 'Supplement: Some Irish Altar Plate (Continued)', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. 9, No. 2. John Smyth & Sons is recorded as 'Metalworkers in gold and silver, electroplaters & gilders' from the 1850s to the 1960s in the records of the Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin, using the hallmark JS, which appears on the model. See COMPANY OF GOLDSMITHS OF DUBLIN. (1960) *John Smyth & Sons. Company of Goldsmiths of Dublin*. See also (1925) *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory*. Dublin: Thom, p. 1746.

station building, including the intake, penstocks, turbine hall and administration building.<sup>110</sup> This silver model is currently in the possession of the ESB and examination proves it to be a very detailed rendering of the station buildings, carried out with the dexterity and attention to detail typical of Arts and Crafts silversmiths (see Figure 3-38). However, it is not a simple product of the Arts and Crafts movement as, apart from its technological subject matter, the interior of the main buildings are hollow and can be lit up with an electric light inside (see Figure 3-39).<sup>111</sup>



FIGURE 3-38 - JOHN SMYTH & SONS, DETAIL OF SILVER PRESENTATION MODEL OF ARDNACRUSHA POWER STATION, 1932

(PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, COURTESY OF THE ESB, MARCH 2011)

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<sup>110</sup> (1932) 'E.S.B. Staff Presentation to Dr. T.A. McLaughlin', *Limerick Chronicle*. April 30. **ESB Clippings Book 19**; (1932). 'Power Station Model in Silver'.

<sup>111</sup> (1932) 'Irish Electricity Pioneer Honoured: Dr. T. A. McLaughlin tells of his "realisation of a dream"', *Irish Independent*. May 7.



FIGURE 3-39 - JOHN SMYTH & SONS, SILVER PRESENTATION MODEL OF ARDNACRUSHA POWER STATION WITH ELECTRIC LIGHT SWITCHED ON, 1932 (PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY THE AUTHOR, COURTESY OF THE ESB, MARCH 2011)

It is this symbolic bringing of epochal electric light which forms a dialectic with the hand-crafted nature of the model, making the model an extremely good example of the tensions between these two aspects of Irish society. If the staff of the ESB wished to commemorate McLaughlin's involvement with the project, one would expect a silver medal to have been seen as an appropriate means of commemoration. The fact that they felt it necessary to recast this highly technical project in essentialist crafted form means that it reduces the impact of the German Modernist form of the station, while also celebrating it in a very expensive fashion. However, the silver model also retains part of the sense of awe and the sublime associated with the Scheme, both in the amount of precious material used and particularly in the installation of electric light, which would allow the model to partake in the technological sublime, while still making reference to the tradition of Irish silversmithing. This is referred to by Mr. P.J. Corr, Secretary of the Presentation Committee, who emphasised that "the results proved that Irish craftsmanship occupied a commanding position among the silversmiths of the world".<sup>112</sup> It is this combination of influences which allows the silver model to function as a celebration of skill and technique, forming a continuity between the ancient and the modern.

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<sup>112</sup> (1932). 'Power Station Model in Silver'.

## Conclusion

Overall, the initial impression given by the Shannon Scheme power station buildings is that they were directly influenced by industrial building in 1920s Germany, from the initial innovations of Peter Behrens to the more developed structures of Siemensstadt, where the functionality of steel-framed industrial buildings was used by Siemens to construct a large complex of buildings with some very detailed technical requirements. However, the Shannon Scheme is not as purely Germanic as a superficial analysis might depict, as the engineers and architects of the Siemens companies retained a concern for balancing technical requirements with the cultural context of the development. The background of German industrial building does not include pure formalism or completely bare or stripped forms, but a distinct awareness of the expressive potential of factory buildings, housing the most advanced technology of the time. It is this concern for the expression of technological form, the epochal spirit of the age, which underpins the design of the Shannon Scheme buildings, with their balanced and rhythmic interpretation of technical form. However, their concern for the local context demonstrates the German technical staff's sophisticated awareness of universal *Technik* and local *Kultur* with some concessions made to the essentialist nature of the rural, Irish location. However, it is notable that these concessions are not made in the form of applied neo-Celtic decoration or Classical forms, but in the use of typical Irish building material to relate to other buildings in the locality, as well as the insistence on a style of roofing suitable to the climate, regardless of cost.

The influence of the different interest groups diagrammed at the start of this chapter in the production of the building can be seen from the use of technical drawings to negotiate form, particularly when the Shannon Power Development civil engineer Rishworth stepped outside the normal course of such negotiations. It is evident from this discussion that the Shannon Power Development team appointed by the Irish Government was intimately involved in the development process, approving or rejecting modifications at every turn. Ironically, it is also apparent that the main concern of the Irish team was for the financial viability of the project, at the expense of the appropriateness of the design to any Irish *Kultur*. I would suggest that this is largely to do with their status as intermediaries on behalf of the Government, as they were acting on behalf of an interest group which had little or no technical expertise, and that this

financial pragmatism is actually a result of this arrangement. The Government lacked the necessary technical knowledge to vet the work being carried out by Siemens, and I would argue that they were making decisions based on the wider political and budgetary context, rather than based on the most appropriate technical solution. While the Siemens engineers and architects were working from a consideration of the Irish technological context, they were thinking about the physical and meteorological environment and making their decisions accordingly, rather than considering the much wider political and financial context of the Free State Government, which had barely managed to cling onto power in the two general elections of 1927 while still balancing the country's books and attempting to pay for the Scheme. It is this wider context that precipitated the row over the power house roof, as the German sensitivity to the context of engineering works was restricted to the cultural, rather than to the organisational or institutional.

## Chapter 4 - Technological modernity: Siemens industrial photography and amateur visions

### Introduction

The discussion of the materiality of images is possibly most advanced within the study of photography. The assumption that a photograph is nothing but a mere image is one that has been influential in the analysis of photography, but one which has been increasingly rebutted, as photographic historians move away from a purely semiological analysis of the content of the image, to considering the context of the photographic object.<sup>1</sup> Edwards and Hart argue against the analysis of a photograph as an abstract commodity or purely as a set of meanings, but as an artefact with material qualities that bears “the marks of its own history”, in the same way that any other material object does.<sup>2</sup> They go on to discuss how photographs exist in the world, whether printed and pasted into an album or reproduced and circulated in a magazine or newspaper, and how that context has a framing effect on the meaning that can be read from the photographic image. As a mechanical medium, the photograph can partake of the seemingly autonomous forces of science and technology, taking on the qualities of reality, truthfulness and neutrality that hand-produced images find very hard to achieve.<sup>3</sup> This can function as an epochal attempt to bring mechanical processes into the domain of fine art (as much of the contemporary 1920s art photography did) or to use the realistic quality to shore up and reinforce existing structures of industrial and bureaucratic power.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> WALKER, J. A. (1997) 'Context as a Determinant of Photographic Meaning', in EVANS, J. (ed.) *The Camerawork Essays: Context and Meaning in Photography*. London: Rivers Oram Press, pp. 52-63.

<sup>2</sup> EDWARDS, E. & J. HART. (2004) *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*. London: Routledge, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> BOLTON, R. (ed.) (1989) *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. xii.

<sup>4</sup> MOLDERINGS, H. (1978) 'Urbanism and Technological Utopianism: Thoughts on the photography of Neue Sachlichkeit and the Bauhaus', in MELLOR, D. (ed.) *Germany - The New Photography 1927-33*. London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, pp. 87-94; SEKULA, A. (1999) 'Reading an Archive: Photography Between Labour and Capital', in EVANS, J. & S. HALL (eds.) *Visual Culture: The Reader*. Milton Keynes: Open University, pp. 190-91.

Photography is one specific mode of production of images which works alongside other systems of ideas and representations, both in general terms and in the representation of the Shannon Scheme. Alongside the fine art images, the advertisements and other ephemera, it works in a specific way to construct and reinforce a status quo, in this case, dealing with the problematic technological advancement of the Scheme and using it as an apparatus of ideological control to naturalise it within an Irish context.<sup>5</sup> It differs from the other forms of representation in that it is reproducible from a negative – while the negative may be singular, it does not form the entirety of the image and (in this period, anyway) the image cannot be reproduced without the original negative or the creation of a new one. In addition, the multiple reproduction of photographic prints allows for the dispersal of the Benjaminian ‘aura’, while also being formed specifically to aid remembrance of people and events.<sup>6</sup>

### **Mapping the photographs of the Shannon Scheme**

This chapter addresses both the technical and physical choices made for several sets of photographs of the Shannon Scheme: the size and type of paper used, as well as the presentation of the photographs themselves in albums, mounts and frames and the context of the reprinted photographs in newspapers and journals. Each of these material choices has something to say about the social biography of the photographs, as objects with ‘material trajectories’ through time and space. This chapter is intended to establish the relationships (or lack thereof) between the diverse sets of photographs of the Shannon Scheme and the institutional and intellectual networks that surround them, whether they be German or Irish, amateur or official, overtly political or avowedly neutral. These photographs come from very different sectors of photographic practice, although they share a subject and each set of actors associated with these sets of images forms an overlapping network of connections, in relation to both the object of

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<sup>5</sup> TAGG, J. (2001) 'The Currency of the Photograph', in ALVARADO, M., E. BUSCOMBE & R. COLLINS (eds.) *Representation and Photography: A Screen Education Reader*. Hampshire: Palgrave, p. 99.

<sup>6</sup> BENJAMIN, W. (1935) 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Marxists Internet Archive*.  
<http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm> [Accessed: January 8 2006]; EDWARDS, E. (1999) 'Photographs as Objects of Memory', in AYNLEY, J., C. BREWARD & M. KWINT (eds.) *Material Memories: Design and Evocation*. Oxford: Berg, p. 222.



representation itself and the uses to which the images have been put (see Figure 4-1).<sup>7</sup> The four types of photographs in the diagram each have a different background, although some are similar, e.g. both German and Irish workers share their experience of working on the Scheme, whereas the Irish workers share a cultural background with the Irish tourists. Concepts such as professional pride and national pride overlap, while the German workers may share a cultural background with the Siemens engineers, they are photographing the Scheme for a very different set of reasons, embedded in their personal circumstances and working lives. Figure 4-1 is intended to form an overview of the relationships between artefacts, people and ideas, while allowing those relationships to be explored in a deeper manner in the discussion.

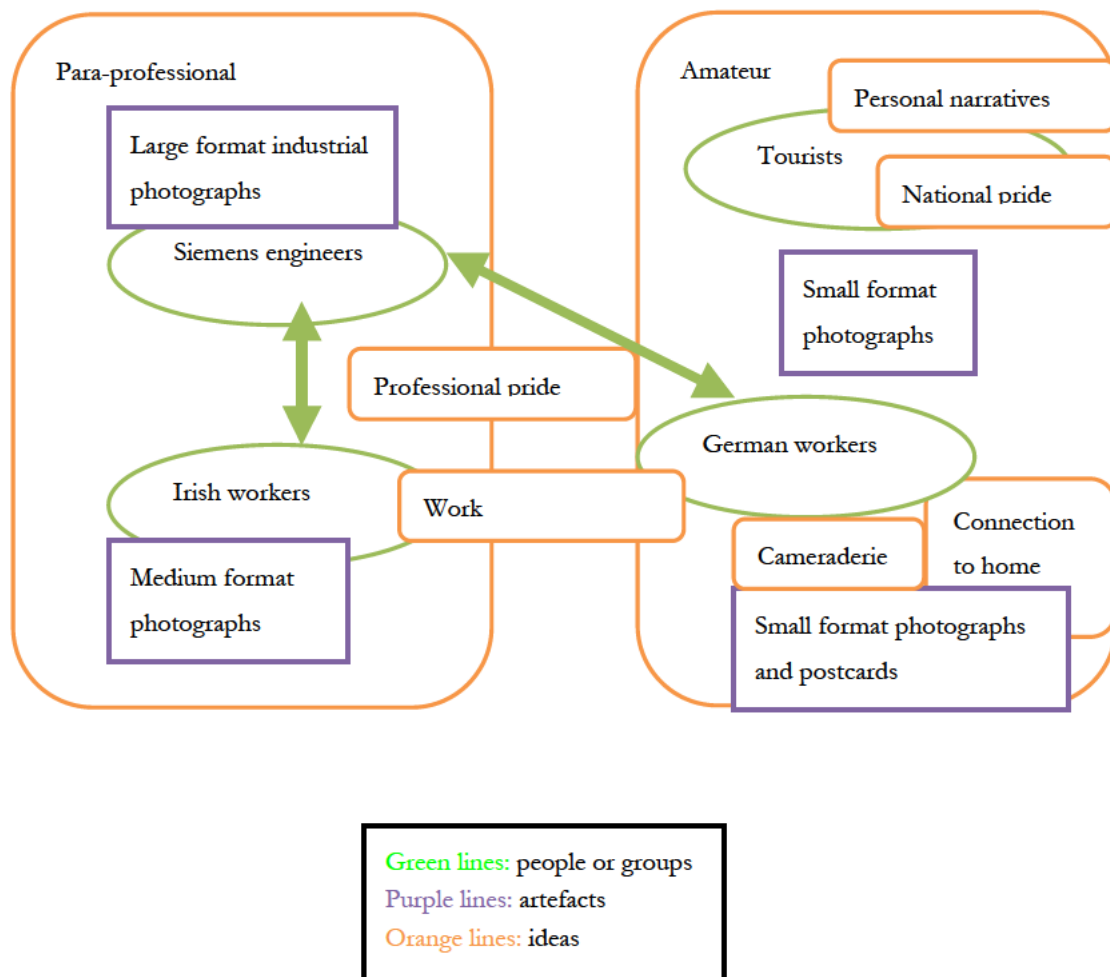


FIGURE 4-1 - DIAGRAM OF IMAGES, IDEAS AND GROUPS INVOLVED WITH THE PHOTOGRAPHY OF THE SHANNON SCHEME

<sup>7</sup> EDWARDS & HART. (2004) pp. 4-5.

In addition, the chapter will consider three broad categories of photograph: official 'industrial' photography sponsored by Siemens, amateur photography by tourist visitors to the Scheme and photographs taken by workers, recording their own labour and that of their fellow workers. Within each of these categories, the issues of national identity and national style reoccur, as does the 'official' status of the photographer as a 'true' recorder of events. Both of these issues influence the technical equipment used to produce the photographs themselves (not to mention the number of images possible), as well as their subsequent reception and circulation, in the period under discussion as well as subsequently. The socially and institutionally constructed contexts for these photographs allow particular interpretative conventions to be naturalised. What is unusual about these photographs, however, is how some of them are able to move between existing as objects of material culture that *are* purely the subject of intentional viewing, in the company archive and the family album, to objects of material culture which *are not*, in the company journal and the daily newspaper.<sup>8</sup> The move from small, limited audiences to larger, more distributed ones is restricted to the official photograph and the privileging of these images in the representation of the Shannon Scheme during the late 1920s will be considered.

### **Industrial photography**

In his discussion of the photographic archive, Sekula discusses the development of industrial photography as a tool of institutional and bureaucratic power.<sup>9</sup> Expanding from an earlier analysis of the use of photography as a tool of the medical and penal gaze, he considers the role which photography plays within a corporate institutional structure.<sup>10</sup> The capacity of photography to provide a purportedly 'real', 'true' representation of events is utilised by corporate structures as a powerful tool in attempts to provide the most favourable representation of themselves to the outside world. This characteristic of photography can be seen at work within the series of photographs taken for Siemens during the period of construction of the Shannon Scheme.

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<sup>8</sup> EVANS, J. (1999) 'Introduction to Part II: Regulating Photographic Meanings', in EVANS, J. & S. HALL (eds.) *Visual Culture: The Reader*. London: SAGE Publications, p. 129.

<sup>9</sup> SEKULA. (1999) p. 191.

<sup>10</sup> SEKULA, A. (1989) 'The Body and the Archive', in BOLTON, R. (ed.) *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 345.

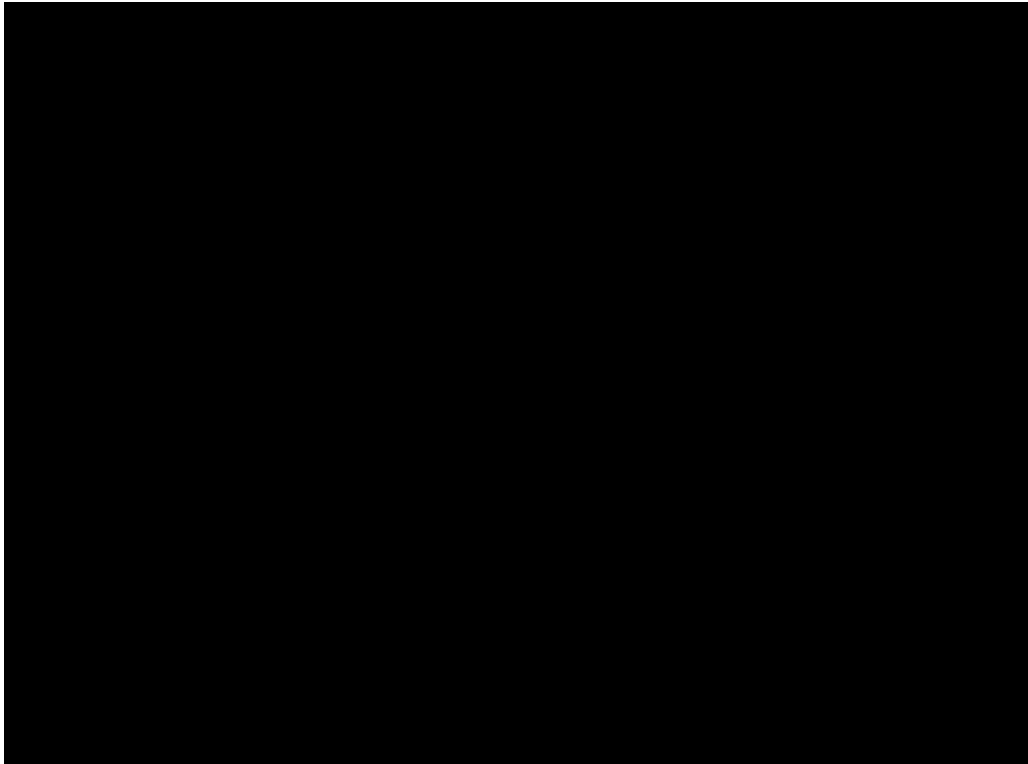


FIGURE 4-2 - SIEMENS PHOTOGRAPH NO. 866, SILVER GELATINE PRINT, 18/6/1928  
(SIEMENS ARCHIVE: A704)

Excluding duplicates, these photographs consist of a series of approximately 1762 silver gelatine prints, which span most of the period of construction at Ardnacrusha, from March 1926 to January 1930.<sup>11</sup> Approximately 1611 of these prints are dated and numbered in the bottom right-hand corner, with two sets of numbers: the earlier running from 1 to 1143 and the later running from A1 to A294 (see Figure 4-2). The extant photographs are housed in the respective archives of Siemens in Munich and the Electricity Supply Board in Dublin (see Appendix C). As the catalogue of prints in the Appendix demonstrates, the Siemens Archive holds the greater numbers of prints (1528 as opposed to a more modest 404 in the ESB Archive), but the archives each hold duplicate prints in some cases, and for other numbers in the sequence no photograph exists in either archive. Some 151 photographs are dated but not numbered, however, which may account for the roughly 136 photographs missing from the numbered series. Although the numbered series starts much earlier, in March 1926, both series run until January 1930 and there is actually significant overlap from December 1928 onwards, as

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<sup>11</sup> COE, B. & M. HAWORTH-BOOTH. (1983) *A Guide to Early Photographic Processes*. London: Victoria & Albert Museum, pp. 14, 22-23.

some photographs appear in both series under different numbers (e.g. photograph 1106 appears again as A9) (see Figure 4-3 and Figure 4-4).

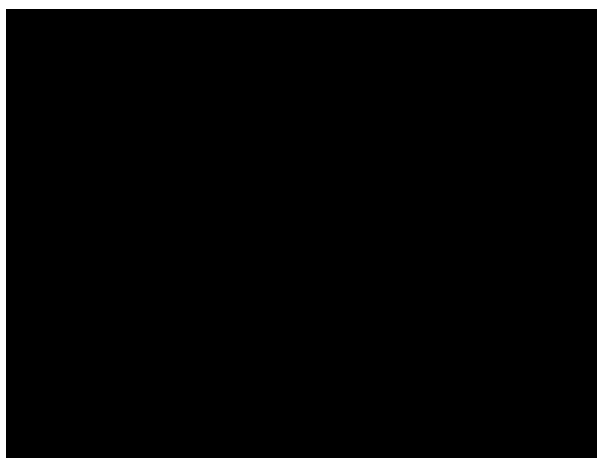


FIGURE 4-3 – CLOSE-UP OF SIEMENS PHOTOGRAPH NO. 1106, SILVER GELATINE PRINT, 8/2/1929 (SIEMENS ARCHIVE: A704)

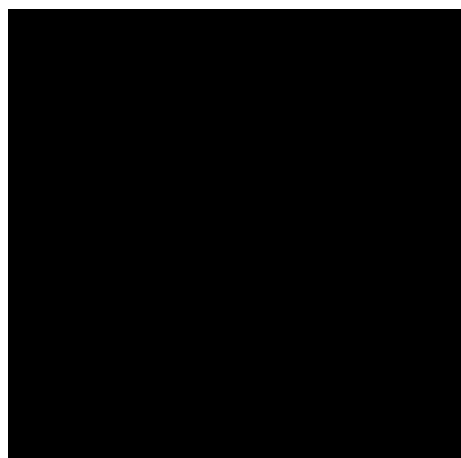


FIGURE 4-4 – CLOSE-UP OF SIEMENS PHOTOGRAPH NO. A9, SILVER GELATINE PRINT, 8/2/1929 (ESB ARCHIVE)

The majority of the prints are printed on 13 by 18 inch sheets of photographic paper and only a tiny handful of negatives exist in the ESB archive, numbering no more than 12. To complicate matters, the photographs in the Siemens Archive are mounted in six large format albums, generally with two photographs to a page, although they also include reproductions of maps, aerial photographs, drawings of equipment and parts (see Figure 4-5). The ESB photographs are spread between six smaller format albums and a collection of loose prints (see Figure 4-6). Their entry into the Siemens cataloguing system is only by Album number (A700 to A705), with the individual photographs remaining uncatalogued (and in cases such as photographs 446 to 448 in Album A700, missing from the albums).<sup>12</sup> The ESB photographs are stored along with other Shannon Scheme related material in archive boxes marked ‘Ardnacrusha’, which have been noted in the catalogue in the Appendix according to the name of file or album in which they are located, or as loose photographs.

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<sup>12</sup> SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1930) *Lichtbilder W.R. Shannon Irland: Ardnacrusha Mappe No. 2 1926-1930. Siemens Archive: A704*; SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1930) *Lichtbilder W.R. Shannon Irland: Ardnacrusha Mappe No. 3 1926-1930. Siemens Archive: A705*; SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1930) *Lichtbilder W.R. Shannon Irland: Cloonlara - Weir 1926-1930. Siemens Archive: A702*; SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1930) *Lichtbilder W.R. Shannon Irland: Hafen, Strand Barracks, Verschiedenes 1926-1930. Siemens Archive: A700*; SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1930) *Lichtbilder W.R. Shannon Irland: Obergraben - Cloonlara 1926-1930. Siemens Archive: A703*; SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1930) *Lichtbilder W.R. Shannon Irland: Tail Race, Ardnacrusha Mappe No. 1 1926-1930. Siemens Archive: A701*.

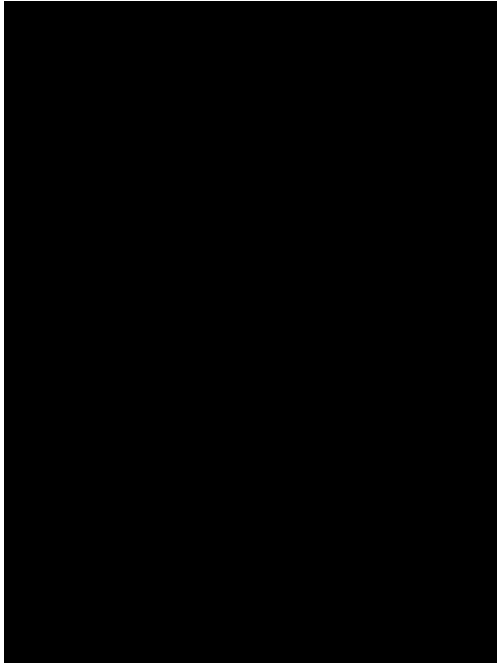


FIGURE 4-5 - SIEMENS ALBUM A704, PAGE 48 (SIEMENS ARCHIVE: A704)

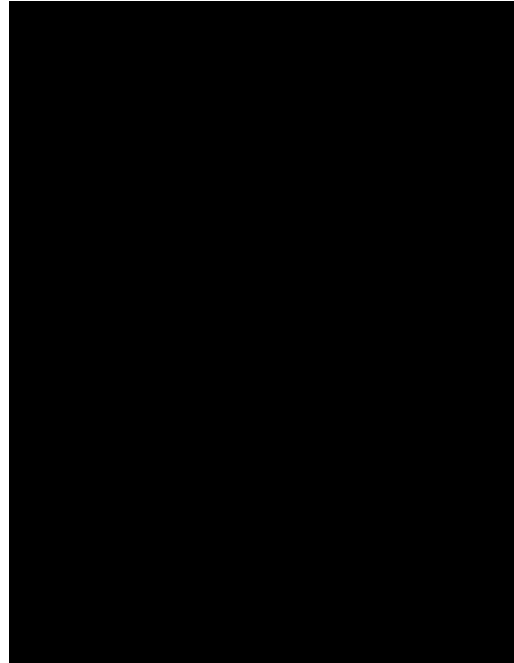


FIGURE 4-6 - ESB ARCHIVE LOOSE PHOTOGRAPH NO A9 (ESB ARCHIVE)

The unregimented nature of these photographs is in itself a contradiction of Sekula's assertion of the archive as an "encyclopaedic repository of exchangeable images", which can be tamed and controlled and presented to the gaze of the searcher.<sup>13</sup> Their very unsearchability removes them from the emblematic image typical of the archive, as the individual images have a mutability and movability that is unusual in an indexed archival setting. The contingency and physical messiness of the images reflects the materiality of their existence as, in both archives, they exist in a context of framing devices and numbering which is a result of their passage through the physical world, as well as through time. Without a 'properly behaved' archive, complete with provenance, documentary and secondary evidence, the history of these photographs as material objects is mostly constructed through their own material trajectories, to be read from their content, their framing, the marks they bear and their relationships between different prints of the same image in the two different archives.

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<sup>13</sup> SEKULA. (1989) p. 352.

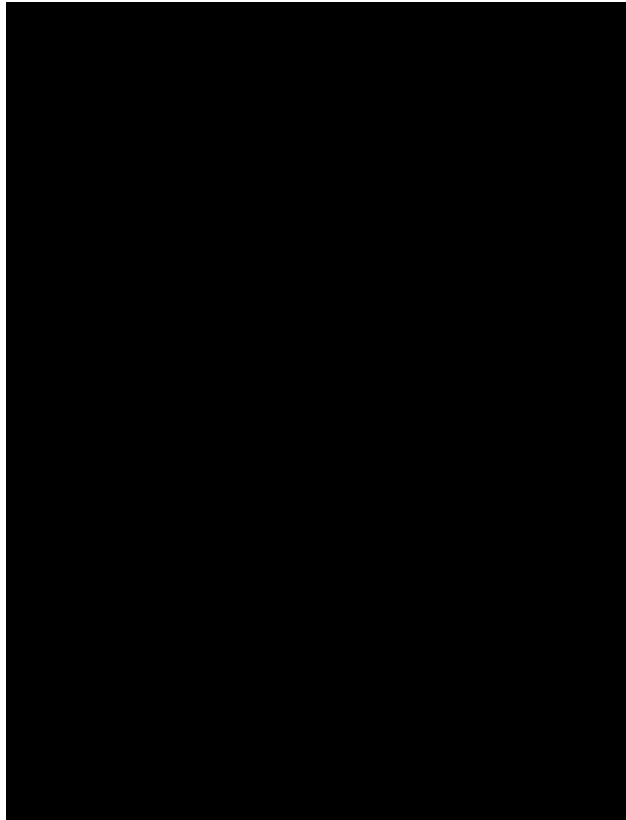


FIGURE 4-7 - NEGATIVE FOR PHOTOGRAPH NO. A129 (ESB ARCHIVE)

To begin, how and when were these photographs made and using what equipment? From an analysis of the photographs in both archives, it can be deduced that they were all contact printed on 13 by 18 inch paper, from a negative of the same size (see Figure 4-7). As they must have been taken with a camera of a type available in either Ireland or Germany during the 1920s, and the size of the film negatives, it is likely that this was a large format camera, rather than a Leica or Kodak, which used roll film during this period.<sup>14</sup> That said, 21 of the initial photographs from 1926 are of a smaller format, indicating that they may have been taken with a different camera.<sup>15</sup> These smaller prints depict the Shannon at Limerick, including scenes of King John's Castle and the motor yard at Strand Barracks, as well as document the arrival of the first German steamer, which leads me to believe that they may have been taken with one of the engineers' own cameras. They are not dated and the number is added to the labels, rather than on the photograph, but they are mounted alongside numbered, dated photographs of the larger size, which show the same scenes and date them to March 1926 (see Figure 4-8).

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<sup>14</sup> COE, B. & P. GATES. (1977) *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography 1888-1939*. London: Ash & Grant, pp. 30-31.

<sup>15</sup> SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1930) **Siemens Archive: A700**, pp. 1-2, 8-10.

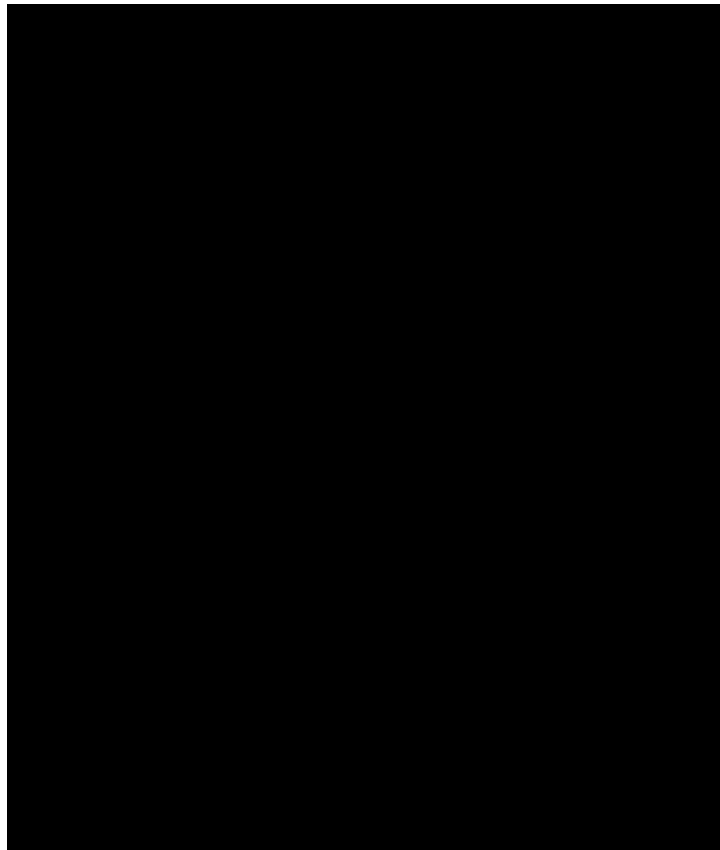


FIGURE 4-8 - PAGE 10 OF SIEMENS ALBUM A700, WITH TWO SIZES OF PHOTOGRAPHS DEPICTING THE UNLOADING OF TRAINS FROM THE GERMAN STEAMER AT LIMERICK DOCKS, MARCH 1926 (SIEMENS ARCHIVE: A700)

A filed set of correspondence in a separate folder in the Siemens archive from early 1927 discusses the purchase of a complete set of photographic equipment to record the Shannon Scheme works for purposes of 'Propaganda'.<sup>16</sup> These documents include a request to Siemens Head Office to buy a set of photographic equipment, rather than tying up the official Siemens photographer in Ireland for a lengthy period of time, despite the fact that the Limerick branch had already been documenting their work for a year at that point.<sup>17</sup> The intermittent grouping of the dates of the resultant photographs over subsequent years continued, following the pattern set in 1926 of small bursts of photographic activity over a long period of time, concluding in January 1930. The file also includes a request sent from Head Office to three Berlin photographic workshops (Werkstätte für Chemie und Photographie [Workshop for Chemistry and Photography];

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<sup>16</sup> SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1927) *Propaganda February-May 1927*. **Siemens Archive: 2086**.

<sup>17</sup> 'Re: Propaganda', Letter from Siemens Dublin to Siemens Head Office, 6th May 1927, in SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1927) **Siemens Archive: 2086**.

L.G. Kleffel & Son; Grass & Worff) for quotes on a 13 by 18 inch camera of tropical quality, specifying Zeiss lenses, a four-legged tripod and a full set of developing equipment (see Figure 4-9).<sup>18</sup> This order was fulfilled by L.G. Kleffel & Son and was dispatched by steamer to Ireland in late June of 1927.<sup>19</sup>

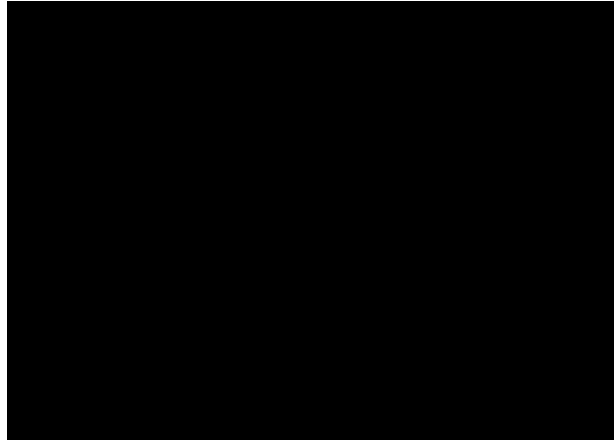


FIGURE 4-9 - ICA TROPICA CAMERA, LATE 1920S  
([HTTP://WWW.PHOTICA.NET/CAMERAS/IMAGES/IPSCO/TROPICAL.JPG](http://www.photica.net/cameras/images/ipSCO/TROPICAL.JPG))

This is probably the camera used for the majority of the industrial photographs, although a one of a pair of additional photographs donated to the ESB archive from a surviving relative show multiple large-format cameras in use by a group identified by the donator as “Germans working on the Shannon Scheme” (see Figure 4-10 and Figure 4-11). These images show almost the same group of people in a rural setting and in front of a house, probably both taken on the same day, as they are wearing the same clothes in both pictures. Each photograph shows a man who is not in the other photograph, so the rural photograph could have been taken by the extra man in the house photograph and vice versa (the elderly man with the camera in Figure 4-10 and

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<sup>18</sup> 'Photoapparat und Zubehör', Typed copies of letter sent to Werkstätte für Chemie & Photographie, L.G. Kleffel & Sohn, Grass & Worff, 12th May 1927, in SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1927) **Siemens Archive: 2086**; 'Betr.: AZA/Wo. Photoapparat und Zubehör', Letter from L.G. Kleffel & Sohn to Siemens-Schuckertwerke, 13th May 1927, in SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1927) **Siemens Archive: 2086**; 'Betr. AZA/WO Photoapparate und Zubehör', Letter from Grass & Worff to Siemens Berlin, 16th May 1927, in SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1927) **Siemens Archive: 2086**; 'Betr. AZA/WO Photoapparat und Zubehör', Letter from Werkstatte für Chemie und Photographie to Siemens Berlin, 17th May 1927, in SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1927) **Siemens Archive: 2086**.

<sup>19</sup> 'Betr. Photoapparat und Zubehör', Letter from L.G. Kleffel & Sohn to Siemens-Schuckertwerke, 20th May 1927, in SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1927) **Siemens Archive: 2086**; Letter from Siemens Berlin to Siemens H.O. Dublin, 28th May 1927, in SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1927) **Siemens Archive: 2086**.



the right-hand seated man in Figure 4-11). Unfortunately, the Siemens personnel records have not survived from this period, so it has not been possible to identify either of the men in question, other than their likely involvement with the scheme on a professional level, presumably as engineers, given their rather formal dress. One of them may be Friedrich Weckler, who was Siemens accountant on the Scheme and who subsequently worked for the ESB, whose name is written on the inside of three of the six albums in the ESB Archive.<sup>20</sup> The cameras in these photographs conform to the typeform of large format box cameras, although recognisably not the ICA Tropic ordered in 1927, as they have deeper boxes. Figure 4-10 also confirms that there was more than one camera in use on the Shannon Scheme, both for official or unofficial purposes (as the official photographs start more than a year before the purchase of the ICA Tropic). The surviving documentation of the purchase of a German camera provides an insight into Siemens' confidence in German *Technik*, broadly defined, as well as their constitution as a separate social group from the Irish engineers: there seems to be no consideration of buying a camera locally, instead following their existing pattern of sending to Germany for complex technical equipment.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Herr Weckler apparently liked Ireland so much that he decided to stay on after the completion of the Scheme and was facilitated by the ESB, who put him in charge of their new accounting department. Although he gained some later notoriety as a member of the Nazi Party, he lived in Dublin until his death in 1943. See O'BEIRNE, G. (2000) *Siemens in Ireland 1925-2000: Seventy Five Years of Innovation*. Dublin: A&A Farmar; O'DONOGHUE, D. (2001) 'Heil Hibernia', *Sunday Business Post*. May 6. <http://archives.tcm.ie/businesspost/2001/05/06/story781555928.asp> [Accessed: November 26 2010].

<sup>21</sup> Irish Government files also include a letter from Sothmann to the Department of Industry & Commerce from August 1928, requesting the appointment of an official photographer and the purchase of two cameras, one of which was to be used at Ardnacrusha to provide a record of Siemens workmanship, should any disputes arise, as well as providing a "valuable historical record". I have not found any reply to this letter or evidence of either photographer or photographs, possibly because the works were already mostly complete by this point. See Letter from Sothmann, Chief Electrical Engineer to Establishment Officer, Department of Industry & Commerce, 28th August 1928, in SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1928) *Supplies: Instruments and Technical Equipment*. **National Archives: SS 5027**.

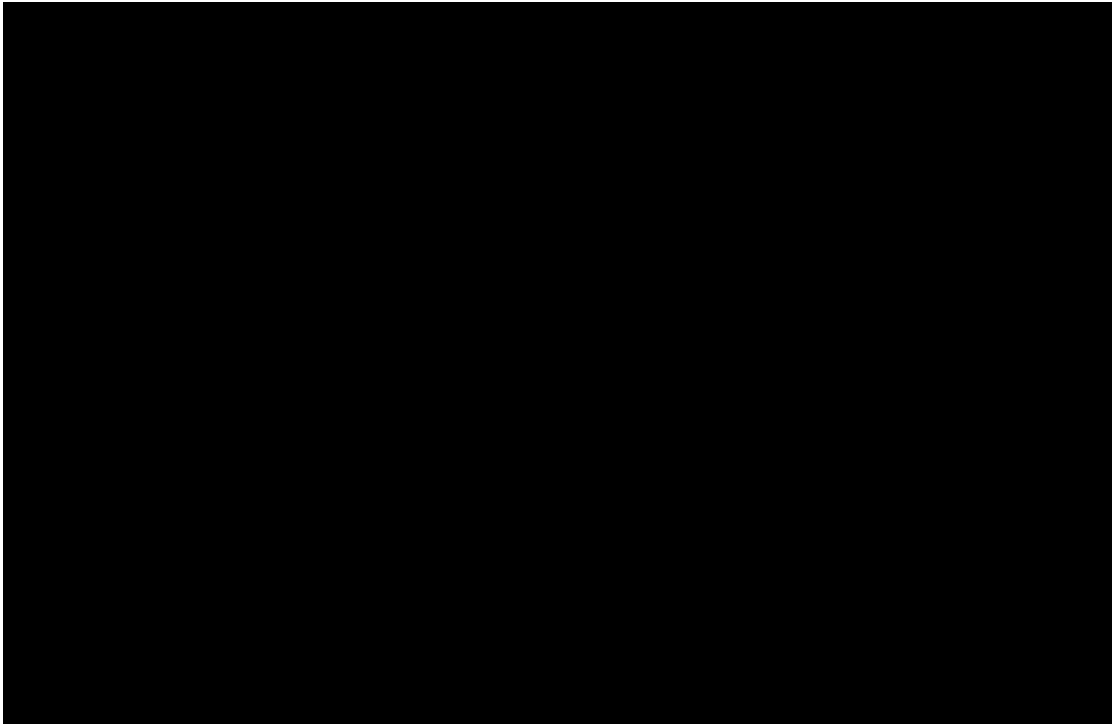


FIGURE 4-10 - PHOTOGRAPH OF 'GERMANS AT ARDNACRUSHA', LATE 1920S (ESB ARCHIVE)

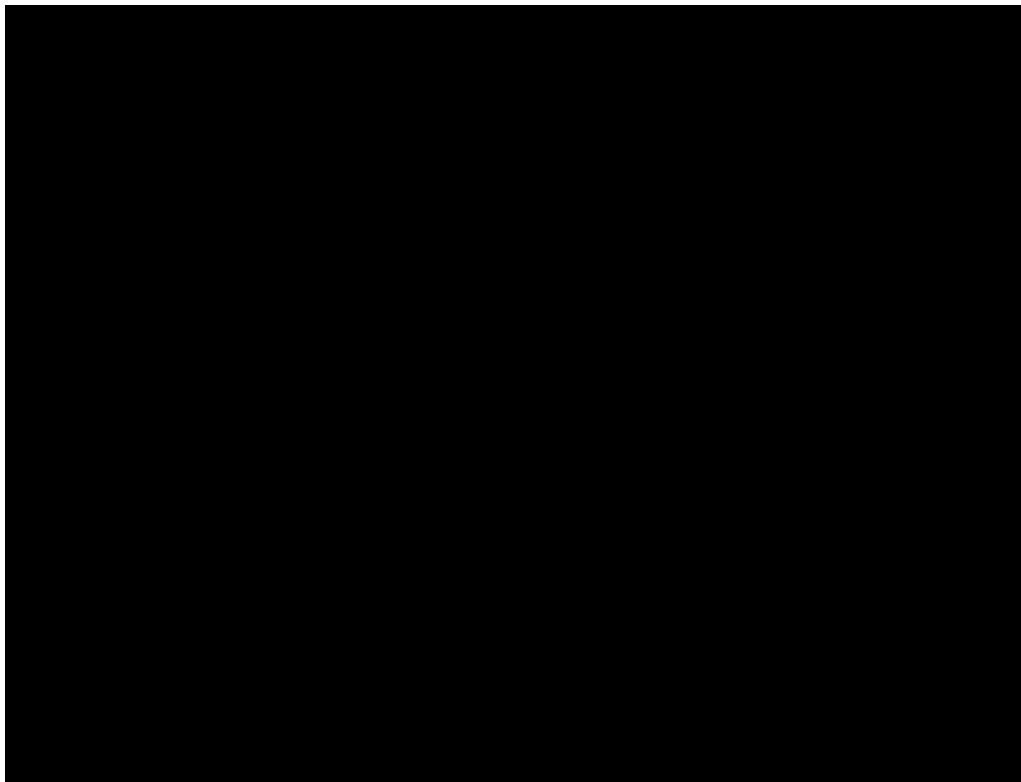


FIGURE 4-11 - PHOTOGRAPH OF 'GERMANS AT ARDNACRUSHA', LATE 1920S (ESB ARCHIVE)

To look at the content of the photographs themselves, these industrial photographs consist of a thorough documentation of the process of constructing the Scheme and

cover both the civil engineering work of the canals, the construction of the power station and the installation of the turbines, as well as views of the accommodation of both workers and engineers and the installation of power lines in Cork and Dublin. They range from broad panoramas of the construction site (see Figure 4-13) to close-ups of mechanical detail, particularly in the later stages of the work. An analysis of a sample of every tenth image in the Siemens albums reveals that the two main topics are views of the architecture or civil engineering works, closely followed by photographs of construction machinery. When the two categories of machinery are put together, they represent nearly half of all of the photographs (42%), as compared to human workers, who appear in only 18% of the photographs, which demonstrates the overwhelming emphasis on work, particularly the mechanisation of work.

<b>Content</b>	<b>No. of photographs</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
General location (incl. Limerick and worker housing)	5	3%
Worker(s)	28	18%
Construction machinery (incl. trains and trucks)	46	29%
Power generation machinery	21	13%
Architectural views (incl. civil engineering and excavations)	57	35%
Maps or drawings	4	2%

FIGURE 4-12 - CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SAMPLE SIEMENS INDUSTRIAL PHOTOGRAPHS

Although studies of photographic history in Ireland have focused on the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it seems that early 20<sup>th</sup> century photography in Ireland was still operating in a largely late 19<sup>th</sup> century mode, with a focus on pictorial representations, mostly topographical views, portraits and later documentary images.<sup>22</sup> The two main professional photograph collections in the National Library which cover the 1920s (the Keogh and Poole collections) both focus on portraits, as well as a smaller number of events and topographical scenes.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> KISSANE, N. (1990) *Ex Camera 1860-1960: Photographs from the Collections of the National Library of Ireland*. Dublin: National Library of Ireland; ROUSE, S. (1998) *Into the Light : An Illustrated Guide to the Photographic Collections in the National Library of Ireland*. Dublin: National Library of Ireland, p. viii.

<sup>23</sup> KISSANE. (1990) pp. x, xii; ROUSE. (1998) pp. 48, 74.

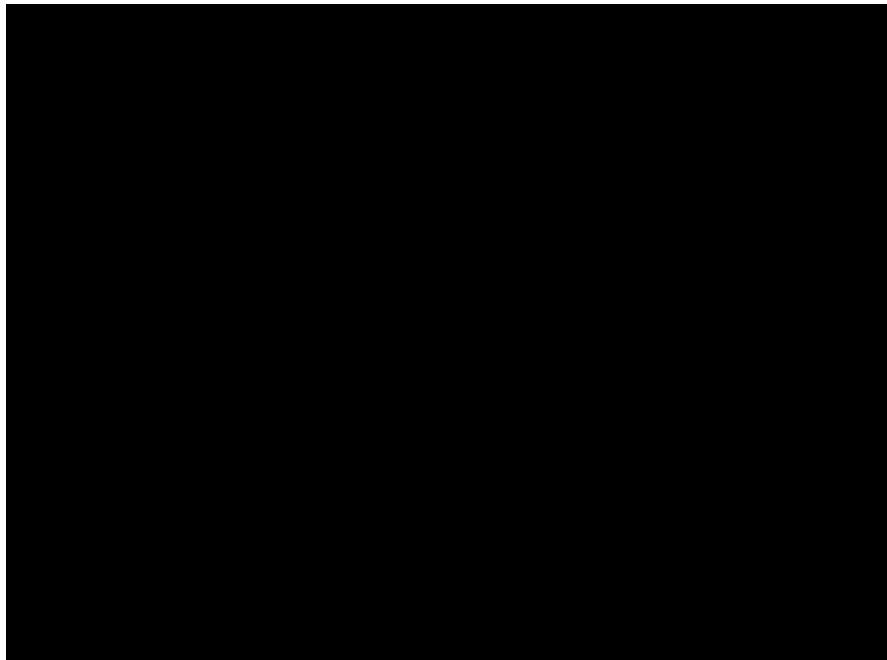


FIGURE 4-13 - SIEMENS PHOTOGRAPH NO 1416, IN ESB ALBUM NO 6, 23/1/1930 (ESB ARCHIVE)

The closest photography during this period on the island of Ireland to the Shannon Scheme photographs is probably the industrial photography of Harland & Wolff. The shipyard in Belfast had employed a professional photographer to record the construction of its ships, which included the Titanic and its sister liners Olympic and Britannic. During the 1920s, their photographer was Robert Welch, who ran a photographic business in Belfast and produced a large number of photographs of the flora, fauna, antiquities, towns and industries of Ulster. He was particularly noted for his photographs of natural history, having received an honorary Masters degree from Queens in 1926.<sup>24</sup> His photographs of the Harland and Wolff shipyards draw on a tradition of industrial photography which dates back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the launch of I.K. Brunel's Great Eastern ocean liner.<sup>25</sup> The Harland and Wolff

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<sup>24</sup> MAGUIRE, W. A. (2000) *A Century in Focus: Photography & Photographers in the North of Ireland*. Belfast: Blackstaff Press, pp. 88-99; (2006) 'Robert John Welsh: Countryside & City', *Ireland Eye*. <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/people/photography/country.shtm> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>25</sup> The iconic photograph of Brunel in front of the Great Eastern was taken by photographer Robert Howlett in 1857, moving photography out of the studio and onto the industrial site. See HOOZEE, R. (ed.) (2008) *British Vision: Observation and Imagination in British Art 1750-1950*. Ghent: Mercatorfonds, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, pp. 92-93; FARA, P. (2003) 'Engineering Fame: Isambard Kingdom Brunel', *Endeavour*. Vol. 30, No. 3, September, pp. 90-

photographs share some of the qualities of the Siemens photographs in their focus on large pieces of obscure, but complicated fabrication, as well as the manner in which work is staged for the camera (see Figure 4-14). This situation within a background of industrial photography situates the Siemens photographs as an 'official' record of industrial work, which focuses on the diligent recording of mechanical work, creating a record of construction over a period of time. This concern for a series of images of the same construction over a period of time is very much part of the condition of modernity, with its emphasis on time and movement.

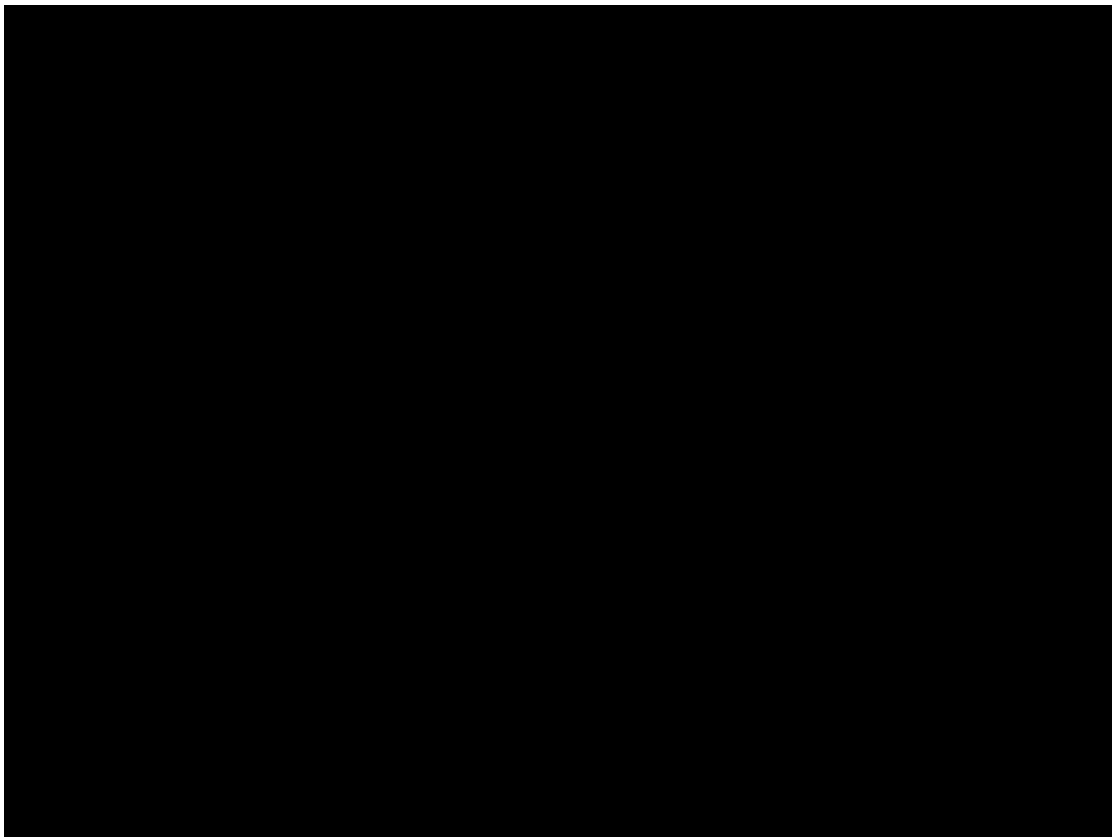


FIGURE 4-14 - ROBERT WELCH, 'BRITANNIC TURBINE ROTOR BEING BLADED',  
HARLAND & WOLFF, 1914

(NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND: H1975)

As the Shannon Scheme photographs were taken by one or more of the staff of Siemens Ireland, who were almost exclusively German, it should be unsurprising that numbers of the extant photographs should show the influence of contemporary German, rather than Irish, photography. German *fotokultur* of the 1920s had been

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91; SACHSSE, R. (2000) 'Made in Germany as Image in Photography and Design', *Journal of Popular Culture*. Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, pp. 43-58.

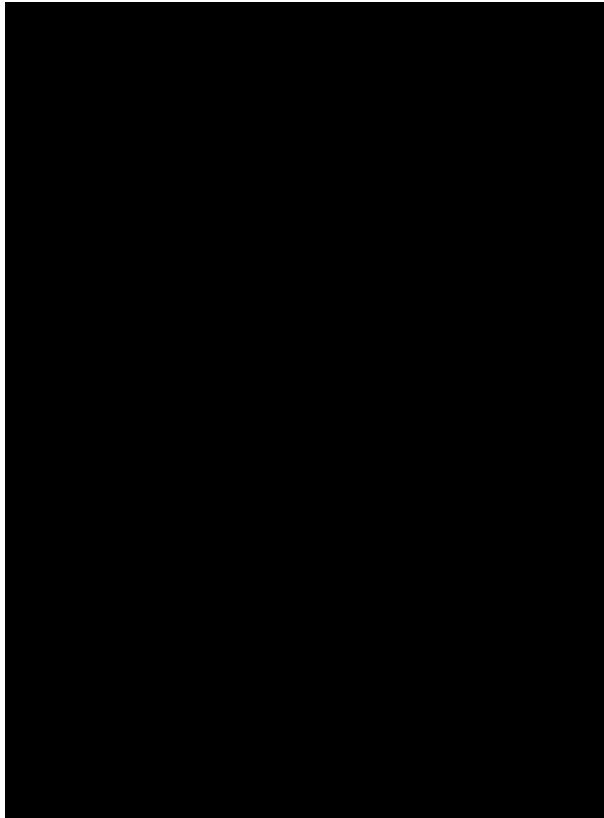


FIGURE 4-15 - COVER OF ALBERT RENGER-PATZSCH (1928) *DIE WELT IST SCHÖN*, MUNICH: KURT WOLFF

heavily influenced by experiments from within Russian constructivism and by the late 1920s, it was well on the way to developing “the objective eye” as an alternative to art photography.<sup>26</sup> The proper subject of a mechanically-based artform such as photography was seen to be the modern world, but, rather than focusing on the subjective experience, it was the wider, impersonal and anti-individual practice that infused radical practice.<sup>27</sup> This materialist objectivity formed the framing logic of experiments by the artistic avant-garde, such as Moholy-Nagy, becoming more formalised into the photographic movement of the New

Objectivity or ‘Neue Sachlichkeit’ in the 1920s. The photography of the New Objectivity formed a break from the pictorialist tradition in two ways, both in composition and in choice of subject. Technical experimentation with viewpoints, perspectives, close-ups and serial images formed a new approach to the photographic image, one that took advantage of the characteristics of the lens and the negative to frame its image. In addition, the modern world came to be seen as the appropriate subject matter for such a modern technology of seeing. The industrial world and urban life were two specifically modern developments which the camera was seen as being uniquely appropriate to record, harbingers of a technologised future.<sup>28</sup> Photography was

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<sup>26</sup> ESKILDSEN, U. (1978) 'Photography and the Neue Sachlichkeit Movement', in MELLOR, D. (ed.) *Germany - The New Photography 1927-33*. London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, pp. 101-02.

<sup>27</sup> SOLOMON-GODEAU, A. (1989) 'The Armed Vision Disarmed: Radial Formalism from Weapon to Style', in BOLTON, R. (ed.) *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, pp. 84-85.

<sup>28</sup> HONNEF, K., R. SACHSSE & K. THOMAS (eds.) (1997) *German Photography 1870-1970: Power of a Medium*. Cologne: Dumont Verlag, p. 16.

seen as a thoroughly modern effort, in its ability to bring both the new and the previously disregarded to prominence.<sup>29</sup>

This can be seen in the photography of Albert Renger-Patzsch, who had published a photo-book in 1928 called *Die Welt ist Schön [The World is Beautiful]*, concentrating on industrial machinery and mass produced products (see Figure 4-15).<sup>30</sup> Renger-Patzsch's interest in industrial buildings can be seen from his photograph of a blast furnace works in Lübeck, particularly where the formal qualities of the industrial landscape are framed to emphasise the repeated pattern of the intake pipes, angled symmetrically against the background of the works (see Figure 4-16).

However, this type of photographic vision was not restricted to the avant-garde in Germany, but extended out to the popular press, to advertising, as well as to photographic books and exhibitions.<sup>31</sup> Much of this expansion was based on the availability of smaller German cameras such as the Leica or the Rolleiflex, which used more practical 35mm or medium format film and was particularly noticeable in the area of *Sachphotographie* or the photography of the single object.<sup>32</sup> Renger-Patzsch was not alone in his focus on industrially mass-produced objects, which was enthusiastically taken up by the advertising industry.<sup>33</sup> A booming industry in photo-journalism and the expansion of the illustrated press engaged increasing numbers of graduates of photographic training schools; it also provided a readership for educational articles on photography and an audience for encyclopaedic photographic exhibitions such as *Film und Foto*, which took place in Stuttgart in 1929.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> MOLDERINGS. (1978) pp. 90-92.

<sup>30</sup> WILDE, A., J. WILDE & T. WESKI. (1997) *Albert Renger-Patzsch: Photographer of Objectivity*. London: Thames & Hudson.

<sup>31</sup> JOBLING, P. & D. CROWLEY. (1996) 'A Medium for the Masses II: Modernism and Documentary in Photojournalism', in JOBLING, P. & D. CROWLEY (eds.) *Graphic Design: Reproduction and Representation since 1800*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 179-83.

<sup>32</sup> WITKOVSKY, M. S. (2007) *Foto: Modernity in Central Europe, 1918-1945*. London: Thames & Hudson, pp. 91-114.

<sup>33</sup> HELLER, S. & L. FILI. (1998) *German Modern: Graphic Design from Wilhelm to Weimar*. San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, pp. 8-11; ESKILDSEN. (1978) pp. 107-08.

<sup>34</sup> AYNSLEY, J. (2009) *Designing Modern Germany*. London: Reaktion Books, pp. 96-98; SICHEL, K. (1995) *From Icon to Irony: German and American Industrial Photography*. Boston, MA: Boston University Art Gallery, pp. 6-8.

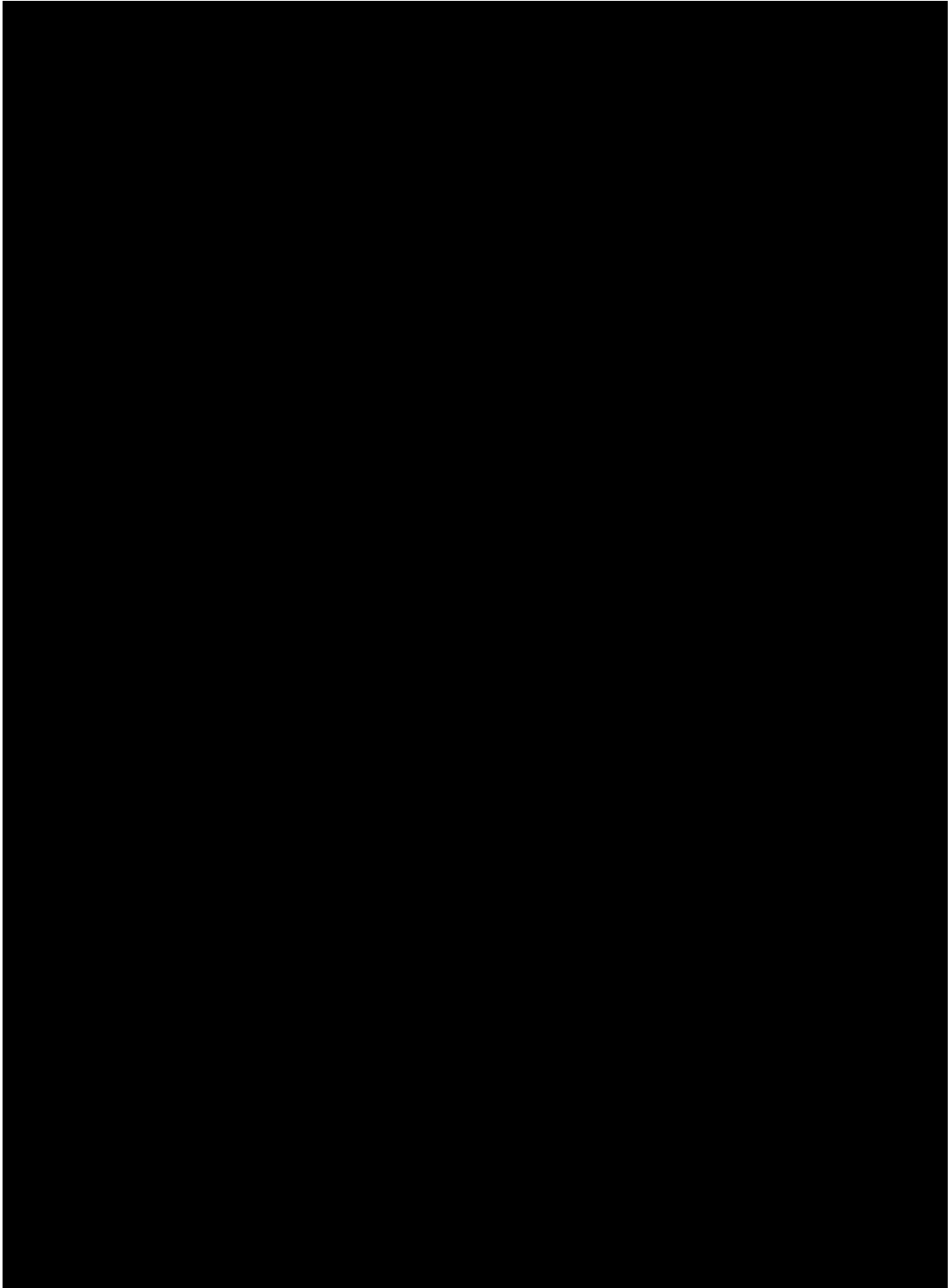


FIGURE 4-16 - ALBERT RENGER-PATZSCH, 'AIR INTAKE PIPES FOR A BLAST FURNACE, LÜBECK', SILVER GELATIN PRINT, 1928

(ALBERT RENGER-PATZSCH ARCHIV - ANN AND JÜRGEN WILDE, ZÜLPICH)

This cultural background underpins the decision of the Siemens staff in Shannon to purchase their own camera and photograph the Scheme themselves, rather than engage a German professional for a short period of time, which was standard practice on other



Siemens sites. Whether the Siemens photographs were taken by a single person or as a joint effort between more than one, they brought a modernist sensibility to the practice of photography that was not evident in Irish work at the time, which was still pictorialist in approach.<sup>35</sup> Many of the photographs are of the turbine hall or the penstocks in various stages of construction, carrying out the task of ‘recording for posterity’. But in addition to this, there is a certain fascination with the formal qualities of half-built structures similar to the work of Renger-Patzsch, as the giant turbines are assembled and the forms for pouring concrete are constructed (see Figure 4-17 and Figure 4-18).



FIGURE 4-17 - SIEMENS PHOTOGRAPH A20, SILVER GELATIN PRINT, FEBRUARY OR MARCH 1929 (ESB ARCHIVE)

FIGURE 4-18 - SIEMENS PHOTOGRAPH A74, SILVER GELATIN PRINT, 9/5/1929 (ESB ARCHIVE)

This may be partly due to the unique opportunity for an engineer with an interest, and possibly training, in the concerns of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* movement to photograph the process of creation of form as well as the finished forms themselves. The later photographs, particularly, give a sense of an ordered endeavour both in subject matter and their composition, a sense of construction, creation and great measured feats of engineering. This sense of controlled form also runs through the interior photographs of the station. The photographer’s eye has picked out physical details of the construction, some large, some small, and focused on the physical and formal qualities of the industrial structure. There are many examples of this *Neue Sachlichkeit* “metallic

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<sup>35</sup> ROUSE. (1998).

precision” within the series, for example, photograph A142, which is an interior shot of cables running down a wall and fanning out across a concrete floor (see Figure 4-19).<sup>36</sup> The repeated lines created by the black cables on the pale background are articulated into geometrically precise arcs as they travel throughout the station. The debt to the *Neue Sachlichkeit* is clear in this emphasis on the formal qualities of the industrial environment, presented for their abstract form.

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<sup>36</sup> HONNEF, et al. (eds.) (1997) p. 14.

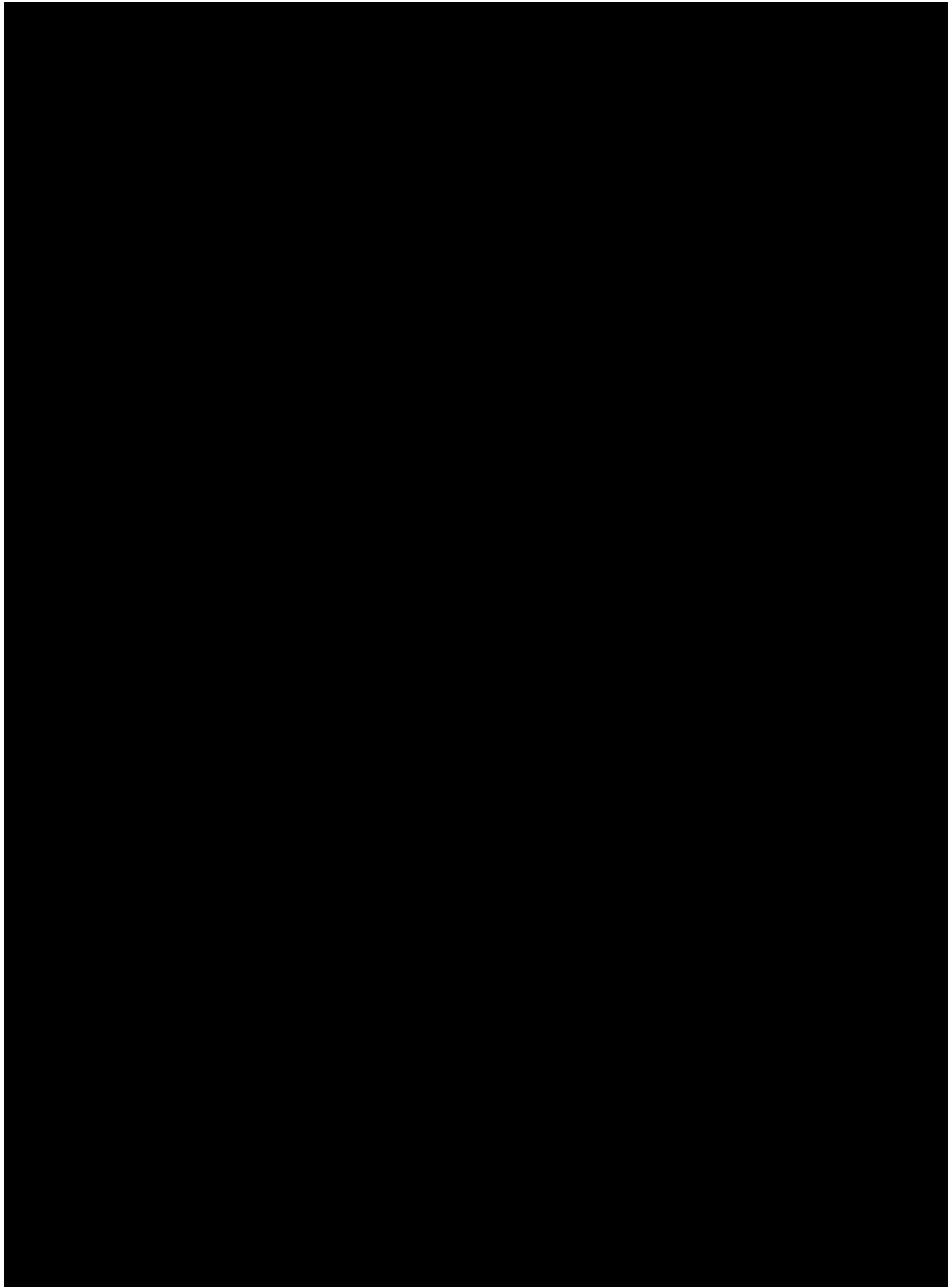


FIGURE 4-19 - SIEMENS PHOTOGRAPH A142, SILVER GELATIN PRINT, 7/9/1929 (SIEMENS ARCHIVE: A704)

In contrast to Renger-Patzsch's work, however, the labourers in the photographs are commonly included, either still working or stopped momentarily to stare at the camera (see Figure 4-12). The sense of agency of these anonymous workers is stronger, as they are allowed by the photographer not only to be present alongside their creation, but also

to look out at the world through the lens, often quite proprietarily, even though they are dominated by the size of the giant construction. The resulting images show a sense of inclusion in the work as well as ownership of the project. The photographs of the testing of the lift are especially interesting in this respect. One of a series of three photographs (A176-8) particularly demonstrates this. The first image is of the empty lift (see Figure 4-20), while the next has a man wearing a cap, overall and distinctive German knickerbockers walking across the lift compartment (see Figure 4-21). The next image has 32 men squashed into the lift to demonstrate its carrying capacity (see Figure 4-22). The men vary from suit-and-tie engineers to a number of manual workers who have been brought away from other tasks for this demonstration, to judge by their overalls, caps and goggle-marks. A certain stiffness can be detected in the novelty of their posing for the camera, along with deadly seriousness, embarrassment and amusement, but this photograph displays a sense of active involvement with a great collaborative piece of work. Not only do these photographs carry out the function of recording that the physical functioning of the lift has been checked, but they also record the participation of the workers in creating this moment. Again, this is where these photographs differ from their German antecedents - the great building project of the Shannon Scheme is recorded as being the product of man's labour, rather than springing from the ground fully formed and shining, without human intervention.

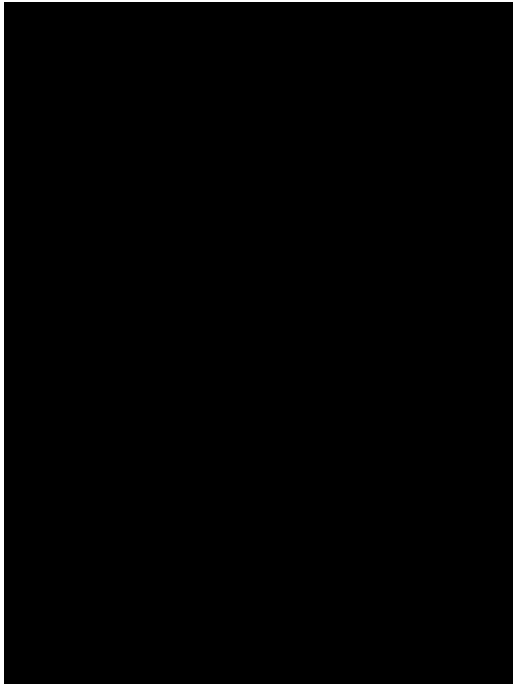


FIGURE 4-20 - SIEMENS PHOTOGRAPH NO. A176, SILVER GELATIN PRINT, 4/11/1929 (ESB ARCHIVE)

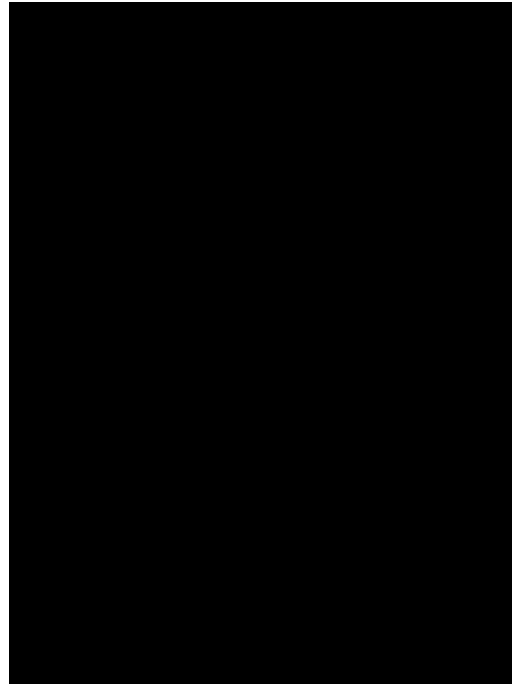


FIGURE 4-21 - SIEMENS PHOTOGRAPH NO. A177, SILVER GELATIN PRINT, 4/11/1929 (ESB ARCHIVE)

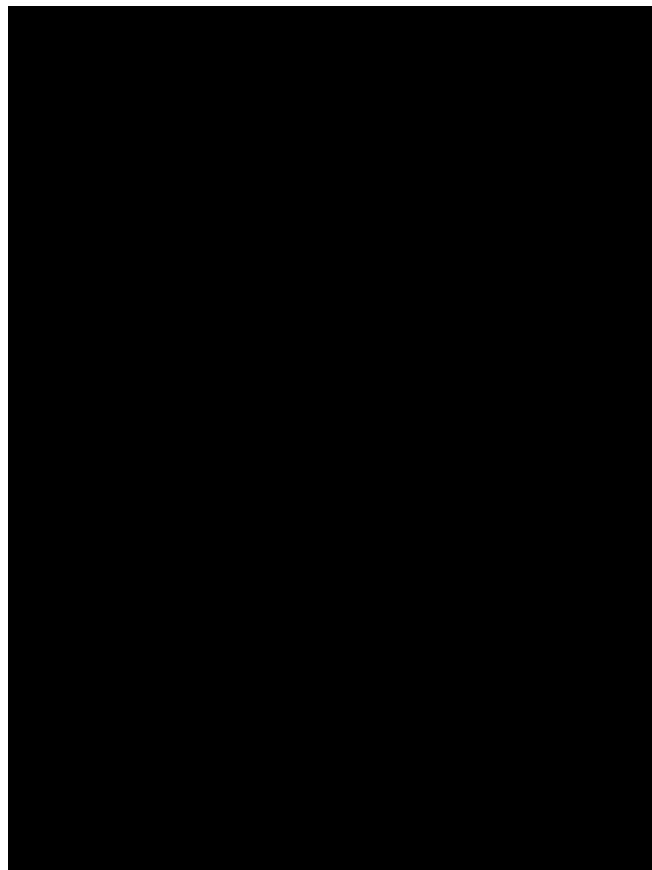


FIGURE 4-22 - SIEMENS PHOTOGRAPH NO. A178, SILVER-GELATIN PRINT, 4/11/1929 (ESB ARCHIVE)

That said, the relationship between the men and the product of their work is uneven. The sheer size and scale of the work means that the photographs generally show small groups of workers in conjunction with large, complicated pieces of machinery, often tens of metres in size. The relationship is dominated by the technology and the photographs could be accused of showing the men in a subsidiary or occasionally decorative position, picking up the landscape tradition of using human figures to show scale. In examples such as Figure 4-23, the worker is posed as part of the overall composition, providing a counterpoint to the rhythmic shapes of the penstock vanes. These photographs could be read as either displaying a narrative of man incorporated as a cog in the machine system, or as a representative of human creativity and effort which has produced this 'great work'.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> This ambivalence in reading these photographs is often reminiscent of the work of Charles Sheeler, the painter and photographer of early 20 century American technology and industry, whom Lucic argues is not wholly celebratory of the technology he depicted. See LUCIC, K. (1991) *Charles Sheeler and the Cult of the Machine*. London: Reaktion Books, pp. 75-117.

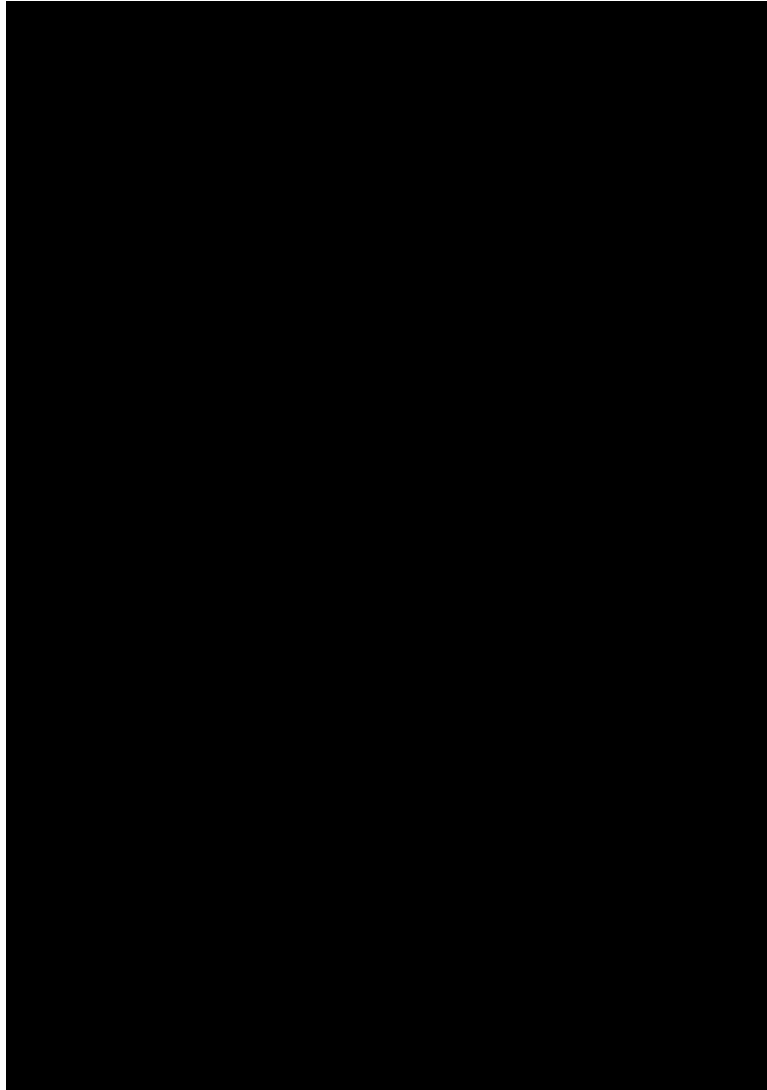


FIGURE 4-23 - SIEMENS PHOTOGRAPH NO. A71, SILVER GELATIN PRINT, 8/5/1929 (ESB ARCHIVE)

The currency of the Shannon Scheme photographs in the late 1920s is somewhat uneven. A large number of them were reproduced in newspapers both in Ireland and Germany during this period, both as illustrations to written articles and as stand-alone captioned photographs. These ‘photographic articles’ generally consisted of a captioned photograph and seem to be a common element of newspaper layout at the time.

The German photographs in the Siemens Archive range in date from March to May 1929, although the file folder contains newspaper clippings from as early as 1925.<sup>38</sup> The 21 images reproduced in these articles actually represent 7 different photographs, with image A appearing 9 times, image B appearing 5 times, image E

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<sup>38</sup> SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1929) *German Newspapers*. **Siemens Archive: 4086**.

appearing twice and the remainder once each (see Appendix B). All of these images (bar one) are wide angle shots of the entire power station complex taken from the far bank of the tail race and all of them correspond to photographs from the Siemens photographic collection, taken on dates between November 1928 and March 1929. While these newspaper clippings only represent a partial sample of German news coverage of the Shannon Scheme over the entire time span of the project, they do provide a good sample of coverage during a discrete time period (that of August 1925 to May 1929), as well as the sort of image-making that Siemens considered important propaganda for their company. It is notable that the German newspapers only reprinted such a limited number of repeated images. The wide spread of clippings from 39 different newspapers and the tendency of German newspapers to purchase photographs from picture agencies, rather than to employ photographers, would indicate that the repetition of specific photographs was more likely due to a limited supply of images from Siemens, selected to present the Scheme in a particular fashion.<sup>39</sup> This wide range of types of newspapers indicates interest from a variety of social groups within German society, from capitalists and industrial workers to the broader general public. The similarity of the images reproduced in the German newspapers is reinforced by the continued textual references to 'deutscher Technik [German technique]', emphasising the national origin of the builders of the Scheme (see Figure 4-24). Also, most of the photographs chosen are wide angle photographs of the entire work site, which emphasise the monumental shapes of the construction, reducing the organised chaos of the building site to an ordered pattern. I would argue that these images presented a view of 'German technique' which would have tied in with the general approach to technical matters in Germany at the time, framing the project in an appropriate way for that particular audience.

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<sup>39</sup> These newspapers include national papers such as *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* [German General Newspaper] and *Die Woche im Bild* [The Week in Pictures], local papers such as *Hamburgischer Correspondant* and *Berliner Tageblatt* [Berlin Daily Paper], as well as special interest papers such as the *Industrie-und Handelszeitung* [Industry and Trade Newspaper] and the political organs *Vorwärts* [Progress] and *Der Rote Fahne* [The Red Flag].



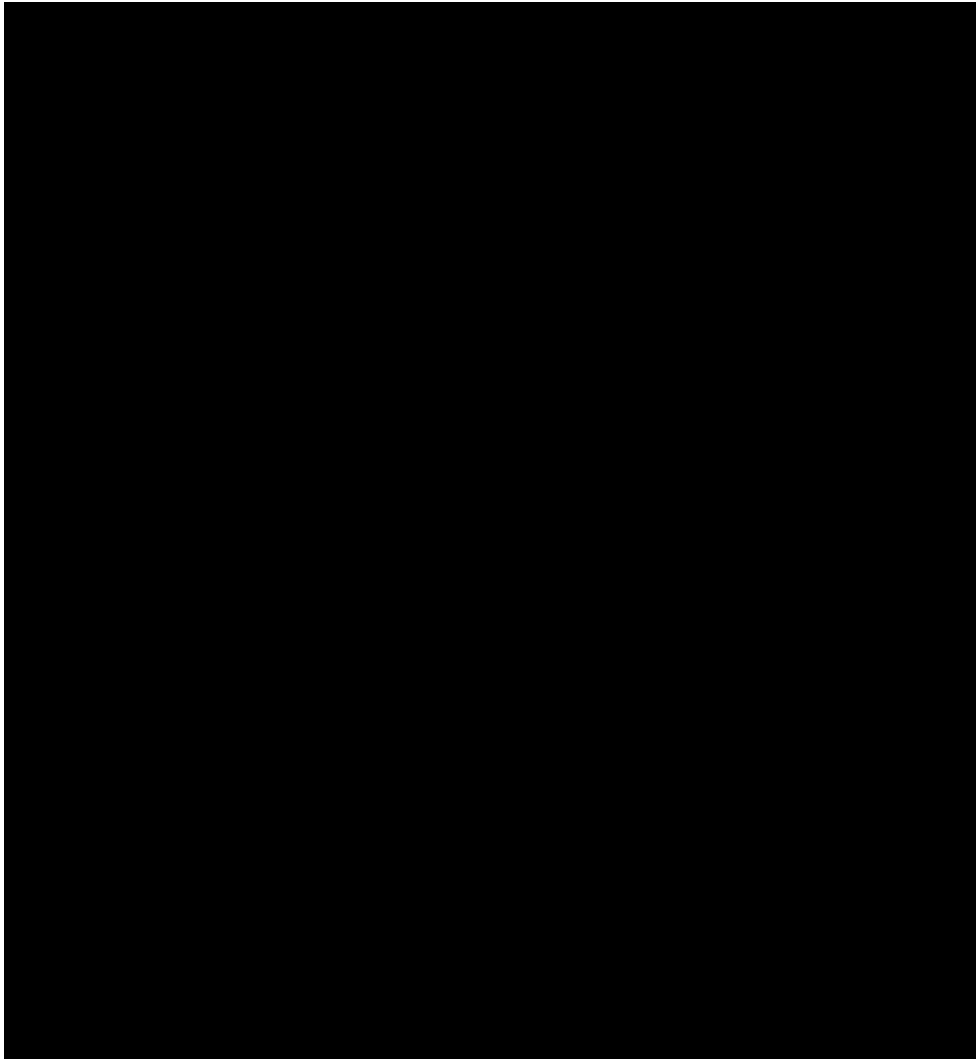


FIGURE 4-24 - 'DAS DEUTSCHE INGENIEURWERK IN IRLAND [GERMAN ENGINEERING WORK IN IRELAND]', ARTICLE IN *DEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG*, MARCH 24 1929 (SIEMENS ARCHIVE: 4086)

A special case is the reproduction of a large number of images in the Siemens magazine *Siemens: Progress on the Shannon*, published from October 1926 to December 1929.<sup>40</sup> Publishing a monthly magazine documenting a specific project seems to have been a common strategy for Siemens, as other parallel magazines exist in the Siemens archive (see Figure 4-25).

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<sup>40</sup> Copies of *Siemens: Progress on the Shannon* have been preserved in the ESB and Siemens archives, as well as in McGilligan's ministerial papers in UCD. See MCGILLIGAN, P. (1929) *Siemens: Progress on the Shannon*. **McGilligan Papers, UCD Archive: P35/143.**

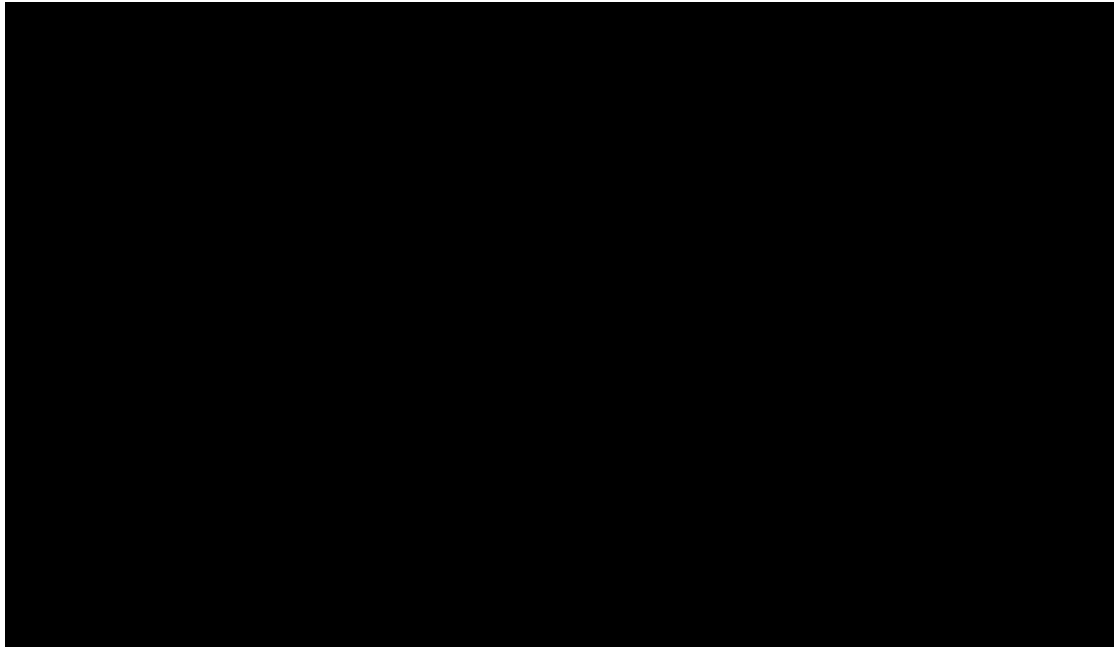


FIGURE 4-25 - *SIEMENS-BAUUNION* MAGAZINE BANNER, MAY 1933 (SIEMENS ARCHIVE: 68.L1.233)

*Progress on the Shannon*, however, seems to be unusual in the lengthy period of its publication and focus on this one individual project, and was circulated to the Irish Government as well as internally within the Siemens group.<sup>41</sup> Each edition varied from 4 to 12 pages long, was printed on glossy paper, with the first page headed by a banner title. The format for this title seems to have been standardised across Siemens' magazines, although incorporating the Siemens logo and different texts in a standard layout under an image in an arched cutaway. In the case of *Progress on the Shannon*, the text is in a clear, serif font, with barely any decorative flourishes. The image, however, is a detailed pen-and-ink sketch of Saint John's Castle and Thomond Bridge in Limerick, with St. Marys Cathedral in the background (see Figure 4-26). The drawing is initialled ZG and closely resembles the initial smaller photographic prints from the first seven pages of the A700 photograph album discussed above, although the viewpoint is from Brown's Quay, rather than Clancy Strand.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> DEPARTMENT OF THE TAOISEACH. (1930) *Illustrated Record of Progress*. **National Archives: S8 305**.

<sup>42</sup> See Siemens photograph No. 3, Shannon river with King John's Castle, Thomond Bridge, view from the right bank [Shannonfälle mit King John's Castle Thomond Bridge, Blick vom rechten Ufer]?, March 1926, SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1930) **Siemens Archive: A700**, p. 1.

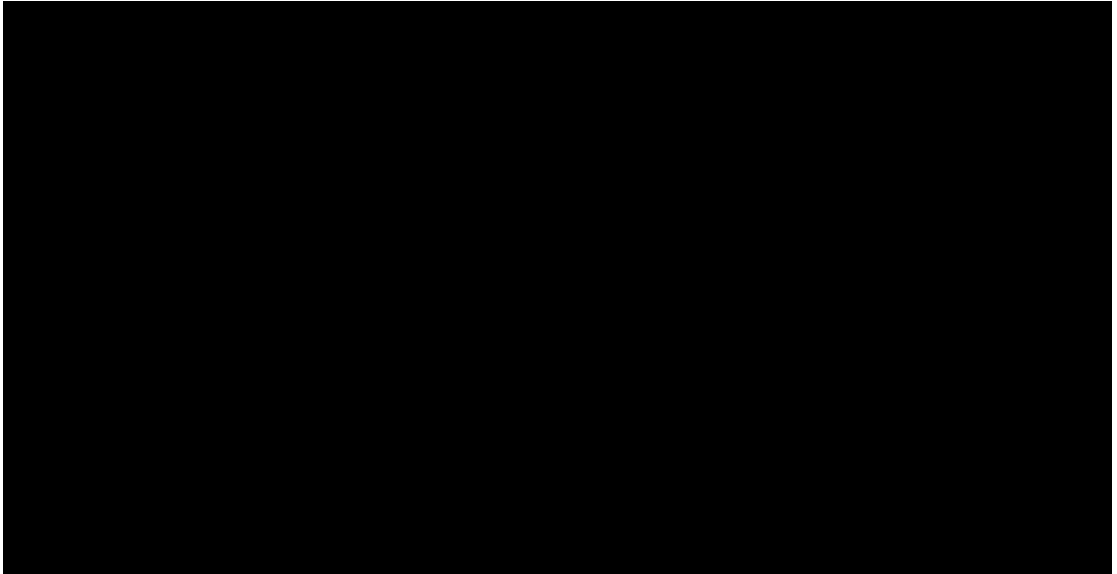


FIGURE 4-26 - *SIEMENS PROGRESS ON THE SHANNON BANNER*, 1926 (ESB ARCHIVE)

The inclusion of this romantic hand-drawn image of medieval Limerick in what is otherwise a resolutely technical publication featuring articles on ‘Rock Excavation on the Shannon’ and ‘Concrete Work at the Main Power Station’ seems incongruous, as the lavishly illustrated magazines contain large numbers of reproduced photographs from both series of photographs (see Figure 4-27).<sup>43</sup> However, taken in conjunction with the initial photographs in the albums, the hand-drawn banners can be seen as an attempt to locate the publication within the ‘Kultur’ of Limerick and the mouth of the Shannon, giving a flavour of local colour to the publication. The reproduction of the photographs in this manner serve to embed them even more firmly into the official discourse of Siemens about the modernising power of German industrial technology and the central role of the company within this.

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<sup>43</sup> (1927) *Siemens: Progress on the Shannon*. Vol. 1, No. 7, April; (1928) *Siemens: Progress on the Shannon*. Vol. 2, No. 9, June.

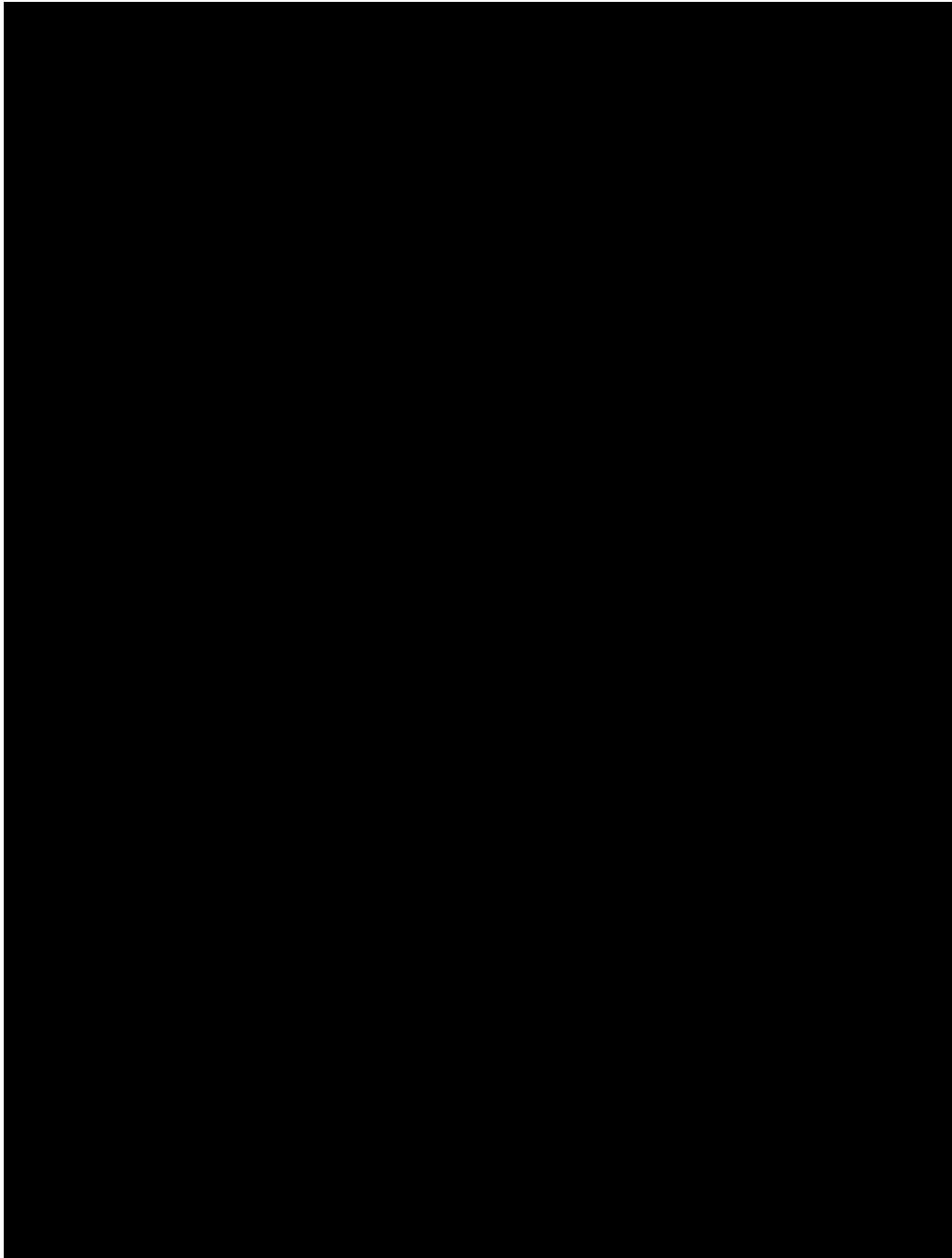


FIGURE 4-27 – *SIEMENS: PROGRESS ON THE SHANNON*, 2:9, JUNE 1928 (ESB ARCHIVE)

A very different situation can be seen, however, from the ESB newspaper clippings books. These books were compiled by the ESB Publicity Department, starting in July 1928, and represent an invaluable and detailed insight into the publicity surrounding the Shannon Scheme and the ESB in Ireland. The first 20 of these clippings books relate to the period 1928 to 1932 and hold approximately 2500 clippings from Irish, British and American newspapers (see Primary Sources: Newspapers section of the Bibliography for articles relating to the Shannon Scheme). Naturally, the bulk of the clippings come

from Irish newspapers, but there is evidence of the ESB receiving material from an American cuttings service (see Figure 4-28), as well as material from engineering journals available to Irish engineers such as *Electrical Review* and *The Electrician* (see Figure 4-29).<sup>44</sup>

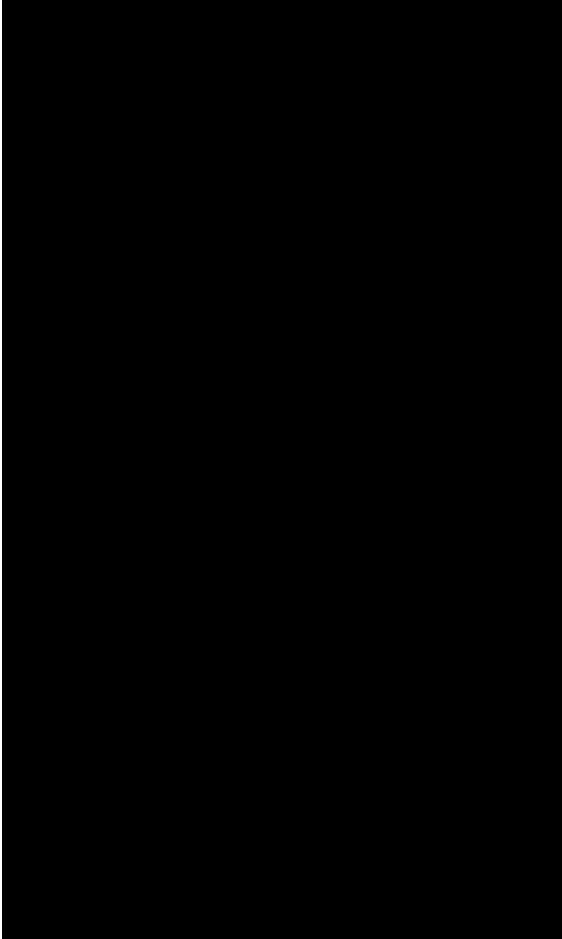


FIGURE 4-28 - PAGE FROM ESB NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS BOOK SHOWING AMERICAN NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS, JULY 1929 (ESB ARCHIVE: NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS BOOK 6)

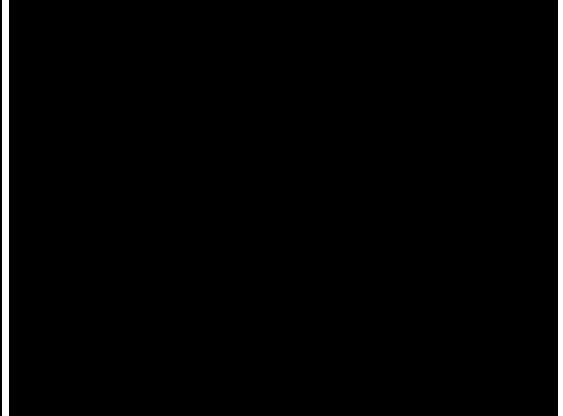


FIGURE 4-29 - ARTICLE FROM *THE ELECTRICIAN*, 29/11/1929 (ESB ARCHIVE: NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS BOOK 10)

The Irish newspapers range from national newspapers such as *The Irish Times* and the *Irish Independent*, to a large number of local papers such as the *Cork Examiner* and the *Connacht Tribune*.<sup>45</sup> The photographs reproduced in these clippings number

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<sup>44</sup> (1928) 'Electricity in the Irish Free State', *Electrical Review*. October 5. **ESB Clippings Book 02**; (1929) 'Pictorial Survey of Ireland's Big Electricity Scheme on the Shannon', *Irish Independent*. May 7. p. 3. **ESB Clippings Book 02**.

<sup>45</sup> (1928) 'Shannon Scheme Nears Completion: Power Station Erection', *Connacht Tribune*. January 14. p. 12; (1928) 'What Mr. Cosgrave Will See On The Shannon', *The Irish Times*. September 8. **ESB Clippings Book 02**; (1929) 'Photographs: The Shannon Scheme', *Cork Examiner*. July 6. **ESB Clippings Book 05**; (1929).

approximately 250 and form a much wider range of images than the sample from German newspapers. There is some repetition, for instance in the coverage of events such as the inauguration ceremony, but overall a large number of different photographs are reproduced, each reprinted a small number of times. A large proportion of the photographs reproduced are wide-angle exterior shots of the powerhouse or of the weir (see Figure 4-30), and the frequency of the images decreases noticeably after the inauguration ceremony, which was extensively covered. There seems to have been regular communication between the Publicity Office and the Irish newspapers, with plentiful supplies of images and copy released at regular intervals, although, in the absence of the Publicity Office correspondence, it is impossible to verify this. Considering the relative distance of the Scheme from Berlin and its importance to the national projects of the two states, this is not surprising. The only exception seems to be the *Irish Independent*, which sent its own photographer to document the Scheme.<sup>46</sup> The images circulated in the German context are identical in some cases to the Irish images, but there they are invariably captioned as ‘German’, carefully framing the Scheme to the German public as a work of German engineering (see Figure 4-24). In contrast, the captions in the Irish newspapers focus on the name of the scheme as the important term, emphasising its location on the Shannon river (see Figure 4-30 and Figure 4-31).

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<sup>46</sup> See the *Irish Independent* photographs in the National Library of Ireland collection and INDEPENDENT HOUSE. (1929) *The Production of a Newspaper*. Dublin: Independent House, pp. 10-11.

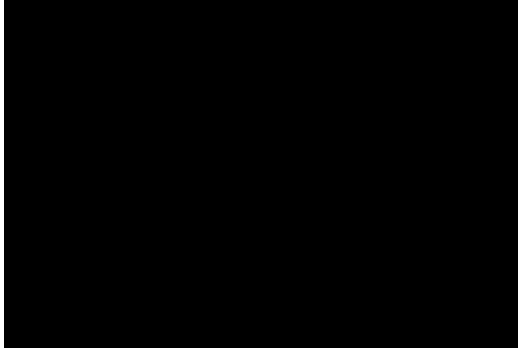


FIGURE 4-30 - PHOTOGRAPH REPRINTED  
IN *THE IRISH TIMES*, 8/9/1928 (ESB  
ARCHIVE: NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS BOOK  
2)

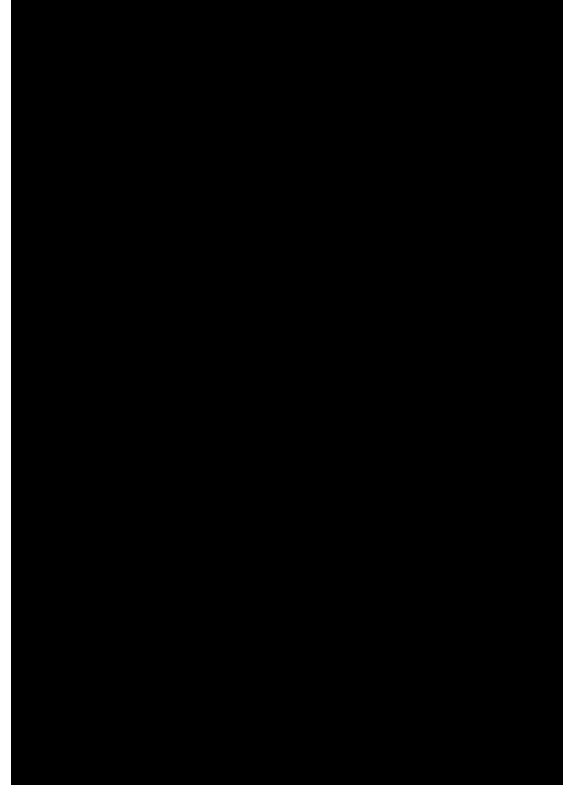


FIGURE 4-31 - PHOTOGRAPHS PRINTED IN  
*THE CORK EXAMINER*, 6/7/1929 (ESB  
ARCHIVE: NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS BOOK 5)

The reproduction of such diverse images of the Scheme functioned as the main channel of visual information to the Irish public for the majority of the project, particularly at the earlier stages of the construction. Photographs had only recently been introduced into Irish newspapers, with the implementation of half-tone engraving in the mid 1920s.<sup>47</sup> The use of this technology was taken up enthusiastically, with the development of a small picture press and national newspapers regularly running full page or double page photographic spreads. As a departure from previous methods of reproduction, the photograph retained a distinct aura of the ‘true’, particularly as it was used to capture both ordinary and extraordinary events (see Figure 4-32). The mass consumption of photographic reproductions was used to bring events of national importance to the attention of the reading public in a way that had not been possible before, literally opening an eye onto events that could not otherwise be witnessed. Again, the captioning of these photographs emphasised the vested interests of the publications, emphasising ‘The Shannon in Harness’ and the national importance of the Scheme,

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<sup>47</sup> (1981) 'The News in Pictures', in MIDLAND TRIBUNE (ed.) *The Midland Tribune, 1881-1981: 100 Years of a Family Newspaper*. Birr: Midland Tribune, p. 13.

rather than the German origin of the technological expertise and technology, which is ignored. Also, the choice of photographs for such spreads reflects the continuing importance of pictorialist conventions in Irish photography. Of the thirteen photographs reproduced in Figure 4-32, there are two portraits, five photographs of 'men at work' and one of a man walking in the unfilled canal, as compared to one interior view of the turbine hall and four broad exterior views of the sort discussed above. These photographs have been chosen to emphasise two specific aspects of the Scheme: the size and scale of the construction, and Irish construction workers. I would argue that the publication of this type of photograph demonstrates an Irish concern with a different set of issues from those incorporated into the wider set of German photographs, such as Figure 4-23 (which was taken two days before this newspaper spread was printed). They are concerned with depicting the Shannon Scheme as a modern undertaking, but modern in the sense of engaging with the condition of modernity, rather than any Modernist aesthetic experimentation. While the German photographer was working from a background where an engagement with modernity was routinely carried out through Modernist experiments, the interpretation and representation of the modern world was still carried out in Ireland using pre-modern aesthetic strategies.

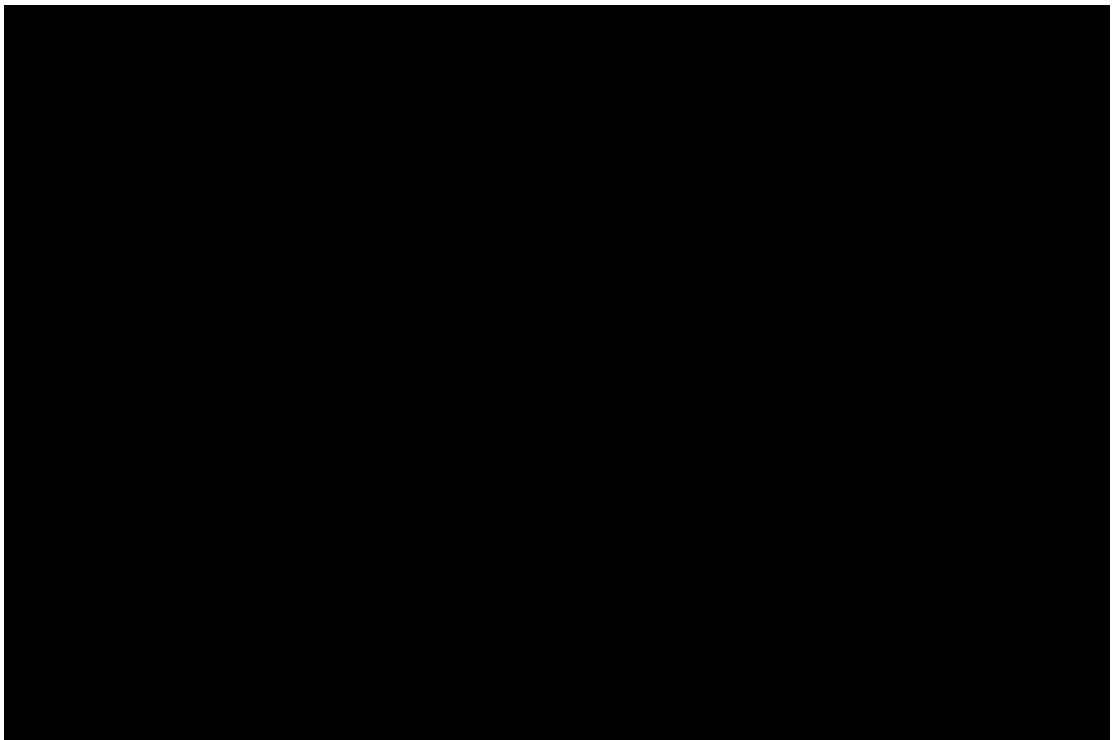


FIGURE 4-32 - PHOTOGRAPHIC SPREAD PRINTED IN THE *DAILY SKETCH*, 10/5/1929  
(ESB ARCHIVE: ESB CLIPPING BOOK 5)



### **The modern amateur: holiday snaps and commemoration**

In contrast to the professional photographs taken for purposes of reproduction and propaganda, the second category of Shannon Scheme photographs exists in a much more bounded condition. These photographs were taken by visitors to the Scheme during the period that it was open to the public as a tourist attraction, from the summer of 1928 onwards. As discussed in the previous chapter, the ability for both special interest groups and the general public to visit the Scheme played an important role in its naturalisation as an Irish national project and the construction of the Scheme as a tourist destination was a necessary precondition for its inclusion into the canon of appropriate subjects for the amateur photographer.

The social group of the amateur is an important one in the conception of a modern society, as it includes those who are involved with a particular activity (e.g. sport, music, theatre, art), but do not make any money from it. They form a distinctly separate social group from that of the dabbler or dilettante, who refuses definition as a practitioner of any particular activity; or that of the professional, who is engaged with it as part of their occupation. Stebbins defines the professional as someone who has a wide knowledge of specialised techniques and has mastered a generalised cultural tradition, usually passing through a form of institutionalised training and with an emphasis on providing standards and service to their public.<sup>48</sup> In contrast to this, the amateur is engaged with the activity as a leisure pursuit, attempting to master the same standards and quality production, often without the benefit of institutionalised training. The level of commitment necessary to master the specialised knowledge of the professional means that amateurs are often incredibly dedicated and enthusiastic practitioners, spending large amounts of time and money trying to achieve a professional level of production. This level of commitment involves a high level of seriousness in engagement with the activity and a more complicated reward structure than a hobby without a professional counterpart.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> STEBBINS, R. A. (1979) *Amateurs: On the Margin Between Work & Leisure*. London: SAGE Publications, p. 24.

<sup>49</sup> STEBBINS. (1979) p. 261.

This level of engagement is typical of the amateur photographer, even today. The technical aspect of photography allows for an engagement with technique and the levels of artistry introduced to the medium by successive generations of avant-garde practitioners means that the dice is weighted against the amateur photographer ever attaining similar levels of overall accomplishment. But, rather than acting as a deterrent, as with the dabbler, the true amateur will be inspired to try and achieve the same levels of achievement. However, the lack of professional training combined with utter seriousness tend to result in systematised “vernacular” production, rather than the levels of unstandardised experimentation open to the professional.<sup>50</sup> This is particularly true of the amateur photographer, who is generally male, between 25 and 44 and, due to the division of labour peculiar to photography, almost entirely divorced from the actual making of his images. The separation of ‘taking’ and ‘making’ means that the amateur practice of photography is rather more limited than other activities and consequentially the internal pressures of the amateur are even more inescapable. Unlike the Siemens photographer, with all the equipment of a full photographic studio, amateur photographers of the Shannon Scheme were restricted to ‘pressing the button’, while someone else ‘did the rest’, to paraphrase Kodak.<sup>51</sup> The irony of amateur photographic practice is that while the personal significance of the amateur photograph is high, the inability to carry out certain types of technical experiment, coupled with a fetishisation of the technical details of ‘taking’, results in what Evans calls “the most stultified and limited repertoire of compositions, subject matter and styles.”<sup>52</sup> Unlike the propagandising ‘truth’ of the industrial photograph, the amateur photograph encodes the familiar, the ordinary and the sentimental composed as formal ‘camera studies’, based on pictorial ‘salon’ paintings.<sup>53</sup> While the Shannon Scheme itself does not fit into the type of subject categorised as ‘presentable’, it does provide a stage on which family relations can be played out on. This is particularly relevant to family and holiday photographs, as they record and display family relationships staged for the camera, based on “the evocation of familiar faces, memorable places or moments” and

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<sup>50</sup> BATCHEN, G. (2001) *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, p. 57; STEBBINS. (1979) p. 20.

<sup>51</sup> COE & GATES. (1977) p. 17.

<sup>52</sup> EVANS. (1999) pp. 130-31.

<sup>53</sup> COE & GATES. (1977) pp. 10-11; SEKULA. (1999) p. 191; POLLEN, A. (2006) *Lost and Found*. Unpublished MA Thesis, Faculty of Arts, University of Brighton, pp. 63-6.

emphasising the significance of the subject, in this case, reinforcing the verbal rhetoric of the official discourses of the Shannon Scheme as a 'memorable place'.<sup>54</sup>

The practice of amateur photography seems to have been quite popular in Ireland during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as the sale of the Box Brownie and other roll film cameras allowed easier access to the activity.<sup>55</sup> Photography moved from an exceedingly expensive and time-consuming activity, mostly restricted to the landed gentry and gentlemen of large incomes, towards a mass pursuit. The late 1920s in Ireland saw an active trade in Kodaks and Rolleiflexes, with chemists' shops advertising their developing services in rural newspapers, such as the *Limerick Leader*.<sup>56</sup> Dublin was home to a thriving community of amateur photographers, many being involved in both the Dublin Camera Club set up in 1922 and the more high-brow, artistically orientated Photographic Society of Ireland, which had been running since 1858.<sup>57</sup> The Society ran regular 'Salons' from 1927 onwards and published a monthly magazine called *The Camera* as a method of encouraging amateur photography in Ireland.<sup>58</sup>

Of the large numbers of people who visited the Shannon Scheme from the summer of 1928 onwards, many went equipped with small portable cameras, and some of their photographs have survived in archives and private collections. Although albums have been found in several locations, this section will focus on three particular examples of amateur photography.<sup>59</sup> The first of these three albums is that of Malcolm Mitchell, amateur photographer from Limerick city, whose family donated several albums of

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<sup>54</sup> BOURDIEU, P. (1999) 'The social definition of photography', in EVANS, J. & S. HALL (eds.) *Visual Culture: The Reader*. Milton Keynes: Open University, p. 167.

<sup>55</sup> COE & GATES. (1977) pp. 22-35.

<sup>56</sup> (1925) 'Laird's Photographic Chemists', *Limerick Leader*. June 20. p. 1; (1926) 'John Laird & Co.: The Rexall Pharmacy', *Limerick Leader*. July 21. p. 2; (1927) 'Liston's Chemist, O'Connell Street', *Limerick Leader*. September 24. p. 4.

<sup>57</sup> CHANDLER, E. (1995) 'History of the Dublin Camera Club', *Dublin Camera Club*. <http://www.dublincameraclub.ie/dcc/joomla/images/stories/history.pdf> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>58</sup> MERNE, O. S. (1954) *The Story of the Photographic Society of Ireland, 1854-1954*. Dublin: The Photographic Society of Ireland, pp. 21-23.

<sup>59</sup> (c.1930) *Stokes Album*. **NLI Manuscripts: ALB 235**; (c.1930) *Ternan Album*. **NLI Manuscripts: ALB 162**; BRUTON, C. (2006) *Shannon Scheme Construction Photos 1928/29 C16/517 - C16/534*. **Irish Architectural Archive: 2006/138/1-18**. Some of the Bruton photographs were exhibited in *The Moderns* exhibition in the Irish Museum of Modern Art, 2010-2011 and are republished without comment in the illustrations of GIBBONS, L. (2011) 'Mirrors of Memory: Ireland, Photography and the Modern', in JUNCOSA, E. & C. KENNEDY (eds.) *The Moderns: The Arts in Ireland from the 1900s to the 1970s*. Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art, pp. 432-35.

amateur photography to the Limerick City Museum in 1993.<sup>60</sup> One of these albums contains five pages of photographs of the Shannon Scheme, taken between 1927 and 1930. The dates indicate that these photographs were most likely taken during tours of the scheme, as does the presence of a group of tourists in one of the photographs (see Figure 4-34, lower left). While there is no extant information on the camera (or cameras) used, the photographs are printed on Velox contact paper and vary slightly in size, indicating that they were probably taken with a Brownie-type camera and professionally developed, possibly in one of the chemists mentioned above. Of the 25 photographs present in the archive, 15 of them are dated to specific months during this period (June and August 1927, Easter 1928, August 1928 and April 1930), with the rest dated to 1928, which reinforces the argument that they were taken on a small number of successive visits, as opposed to the regular documentation of the Siemens photographer, who would have been working on site and in a position to take regular small numbers of photographs.

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<sup>60</sup> Mitchell is registered in the 1911 census as being 4 years of age, living with his older brother Robert (8) and parents Frederick and Ada in Kilrush, Co. Clare. His father's occupation is given a Commercial Clerk – Flour and the family religion is Church of Ireland. Mitchell would have been between 20 and 23 when the Shannon Scheme photographs are taken and his albums are later labelled with his address as 'Malbay', 25 Belfield Park, Ennis Road, Limerick.

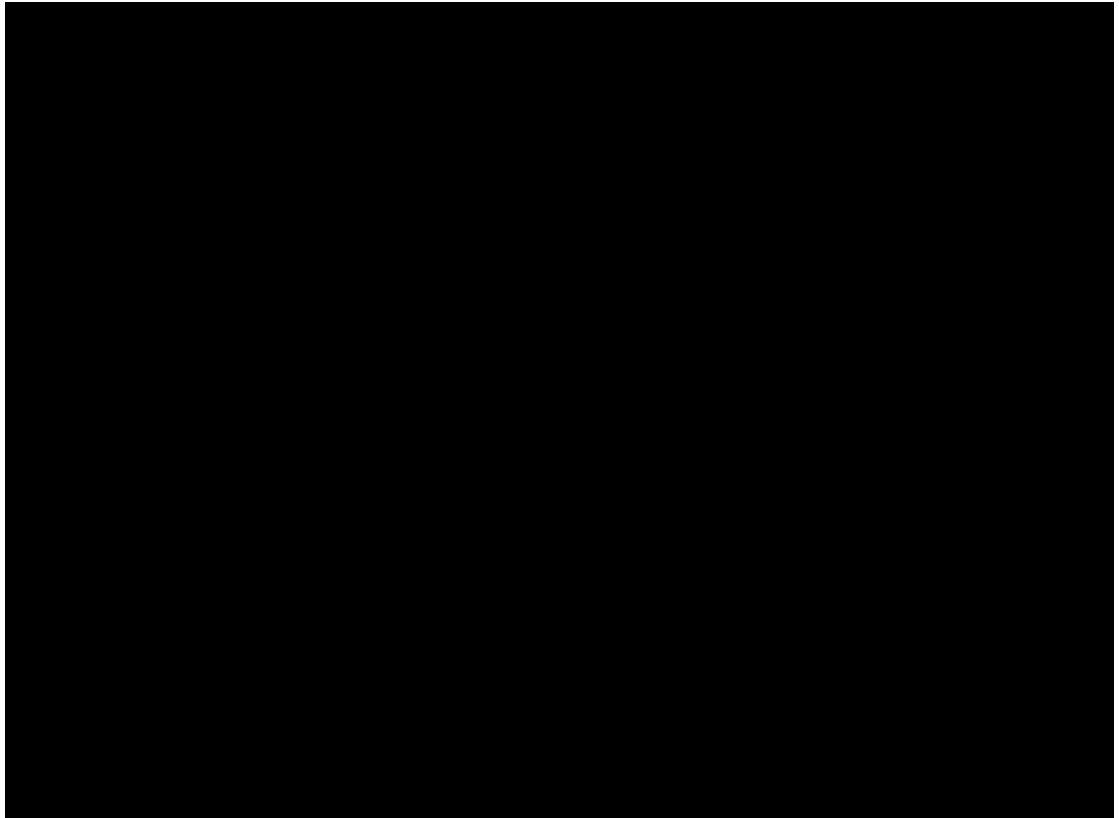


FIGURE 4-33 - LOOSE PAGE FROM MITCHELL ALBUM, C1930 (LIMERICK CITY MUSEUM: 1993.0216 TO 1993.0221)

Within the photographs themselves, the subjects show a wide range of exterior shots, including the steam engines used to ship cargo to and from the Limerick Docks (see Figure 4-33, top right). The time span represents a broad period of construction and this is represented by some repeated subjects, for example the bridge at Ardnacrusha village, which is shown supported by construction scaffolding in 1927, finished in 1928 and then again in 1930, with the head race flowing below (see Figure 4-34, bottom left and top left, and Figure 4-33, middle left). Additionally, two figures who are probably Mitchell and his older brother Robert appear in several of the photographs, posing in front of the power house, the dam and a steam engine (see Figure 4-34, bottom centre, top centre and middle left). Their self-conscious posing in front of the Scheme exemplifies Bourdieu's description of the "simulated naturalness, the theatrical attitude" of amateur photography.<sup>61</sup> The brothers, evidently photographic enthusiasts, are recording and emphasising their joint efforts as amateur photographers, repeatedly using the epochal 'truth-recording' function of photography to record their endeavours, becoming subject, as well as objective force, self-consciously recording their presence at

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<sup>61</sup> BOURDIEU. (1999) p. 166.

the Scheme at a specific moment in time. This inclusion of the Shannon Scheme as a backdrop to their photographs means that it has been included in the epochal pantheon of places that are suitable to be photographed in – the memorable places, which are usually restricted to either domestic sites or, more commonly, the location of holidays. The Shannon Scheme was not a place of natural beauty or ancient historic significance, though, and its inclusion within a photographic narrative of a family album would seem incongruous unless it is considered as a location of the specifically technological sublime. This sense of the technological sublime is accentuated by the lack of workers in their photographs, where the only representation of human agency is their own. It is also important to note that the Mitchell brothers were using photography to purposefully insert themselves into a great national project, demonstrating a sensitivity to the epochal nature of the new nation.

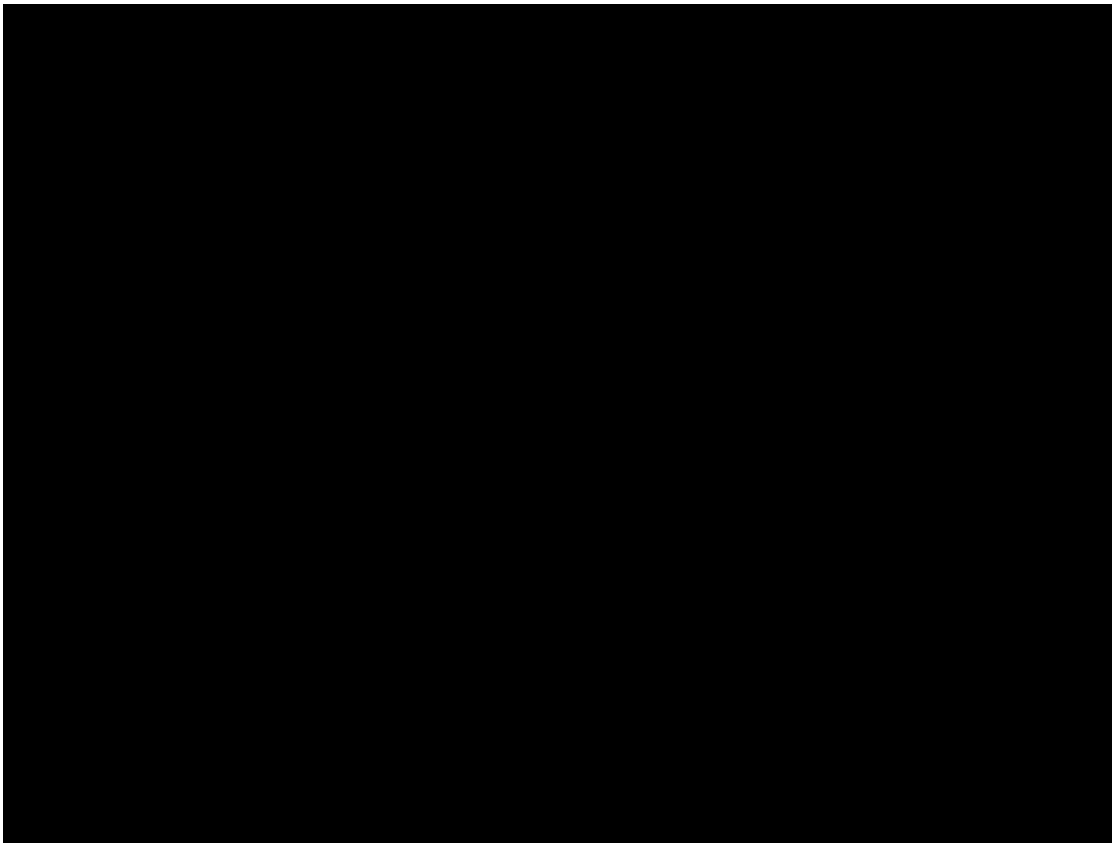


FIGURE 4-34 - LOOSE PAGE FROM MITCHELL ALBUM, C1930 (LIMERICK CITY MUSEUM: 1993.0229 TO 1993.0236)

The inclusion of the Shannon Scheme photographs into a family album further emphasises the successful naturalisation of the Scheme as a tourist destination. The Mitchell photographs are mounted on five pages of a larger album, which also contains

other holiday photographs. This inclusion within the photographic narrative of family life also occurs in the other family photographic albums consulted, naturalising the Shannon Scheme as another interesting place to visit, as a legitimate ‘destination’ for the tourist. They are not laid out in chronological order, but seem to have been laid out as a discrete set of thematic pages within a larger album. The album pages, however, have been separated from the album on their donation to the Limerick City Museum in 1993 and some of the photographs removed, implying that a later generation considered some of the photographs of continuing importance to the family, while others retain only ‘historical’ interest.<sup>62</sup> The donation of these photographs reinforces the Mitchell family’s place in Irish history, linking them to the past and a sense of Irish identity.<sup>63</sup>

The second set of amateur photographs of the Shannon Scheme was taken by Ernest Bennis, also an enthusiastic amateur photographer in the Limerick area.<sup>64</sup> These consist of a set of 9 Velox prints, 8.2 by 13cm in diameter, indicating that they were taken using a similar type of camera as the Mitchell photographs and developed in a similar manner. The photographs are undated, but internal evidence suggests a date quite late in the construction of the Scheme, between May and September 1929.<sup>65</sup>

The subjects of the Bennis photographs are similar to the Mitchell ones, in that they form a survey of certain exterior points of the Scheme, with three views of the power house, two of the canals and two of large pieces of equipment. The steam engines are noticeably absent, but are replaced with rock drillers and a bank-building machine. In addition, there are no people in evidence in these photographs, giving the Scheme a feel of a deserted monument, rather than a place of active work, probably due to the

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<sup>62</sup> This is in contrast to Pollen’s photograph albums, which lost their private meaning after the death of the photographer’s son and their subsequent move into the area of commercial commodity in a car boot sale. See POLLEN. (2006) pp. 14-25, 40-46, 99-102.

<sup>63</sup> EDWARDS. (1999) p. 233.

<sup>64</sup> Ernest H. Bennis was registered in the 1911 census as resident at 23 Ascot Terrace (O’Connell Avenue) with his wife Helen and daughter Emilie. He is recorded as a 42 year old Quaker merchant and marriage registrar, which would have made him in his late 60s at the time the Shannon Scheme photographs were taken. He is noted as having died in 1956 in BENNIS, E. H. (1999) ‘Reminiscences of Old Limerick’, *Old Limerick Journal*. Vol. 36, p. 55. He also briefly appears in the 1887 register of the Metropolitan School of Art as an 18 year old, although he only paid for one month of tuition. See METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART. (1887) *Index Register of Payments by Students, School of Art, for the Session 1887-88*. **NIVAL: NCAD College Register 1887-88**.

<sup>65</sup> The finishing of the power house is similar to Siemens photograph no. 1200, which is dated 24/5/1929. The next Siemens photograph no. 1283 of the power house shows similar finishing, but with the tail race full of water.

photographs being taken at the weekend or on a holiday. In contrast to the Mitchell photographs, though, the technical skill of the photographer is nowhere near as accomplished, with two of the photographs being underexposed and one being taken from an unusual angle down onto the penstocks between the power house and weir (see Figure 4-35). The lack of family members in the photographs may be because Ernest Bennis was concentrating on photography as a solitary hobby, rather than as part of a family-based activity. This is also reinforced by the large number of photographs donated to the Museum by his children, which cover locations of historic interest throughout Limerick and Clare. Bennis was also notable as a local historian and member of the Old Limerick Society during the 1940s and 1950s, evincing a developed interest in amateur enthusiasms.<sup>66</sup> The donation of the photographs to the Limerick City Museum indicates their categorisation as photographs of historical, rather than familial, value, particularly in the light of subsequent recognition of the Shannon Scheme as a site of epochal historical importance to the Irish nation.<sup>67</sup> The choice of views seems to be individual to the photographer, although it would have been dictated to an extent by the safe paths through the site for the visitor (e.g. the top middle photograph in Figure 4-35 is taken from the north bank of the tail race, in a similar location as several Siemens photographs).<sup>68</sup> While the Siemens postcards would have been available at the time (see Chapter 7), there is very little attempt to reproduce those ‘official’ views, and Bennis is instead, rather ineptly, mimicking pictorialist conventions.<sup>69</sup> For example, the top of the administration building is cropped out of the top centre photograph, the centre left photograph of the canal is under-exposed and the centre photograph of the penstocks is taken at an angle, with the penstocks underexposed in comparison to the scaffolding in the foreground. Bennis’ photographs also depict a project without workers, showing monumental landscapes without any human intervention.

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<sup>66</sup> BENNIS. (1999) p. 55. This article was originally published in 1936 and was republished in an expanded edition with some Bennis family history in 1951. See BENNIS, E. H. (1951) *Reminiscences of Old Limerick*. 3rd ed. Limerick: Limerick Literary and Economics Society.

<sup>67</sup> EDWARDS. (1999) p. 233.

<sup>68</sup> The same location is also used in Siemens industrial photographs nos. 488 (11.4.27), 639 (n.d., but taken 9 or 10.27), 962 (28.7.28), 1009 (7.11.28), 1046 (27.11.28), 1088 (16.1.29), 1137 (4.3.29), 1200 (24.5.29), 1244 (11.7.29), 1283 (26.8.29), 1338 (5.10.29), 1390 (11.12.29), 1417 (23.1.30), as well as Sean Keating’s painting *Night’s Candles are Burnt Out*, discussed in Chapter 6.

<sup>69</sup> To be fair, these photographs are the earliest in the Bennis collection in the Limerick City Museum and may represent a first attempt at using a camera.



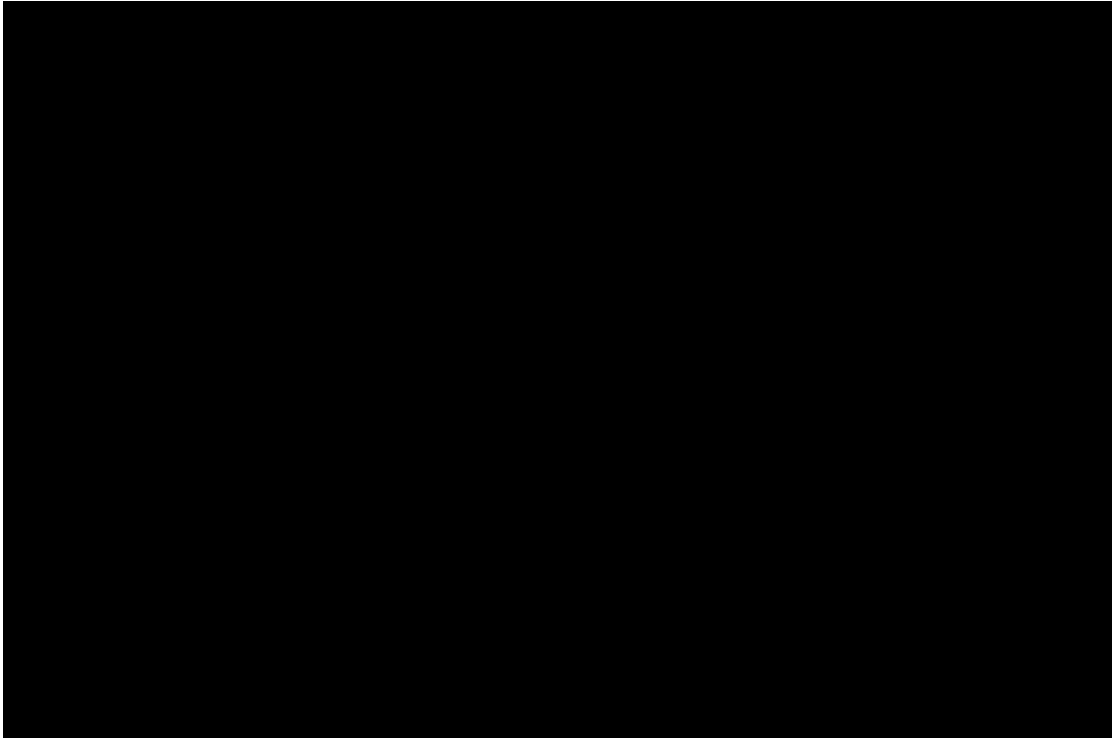


FIGURE 4-35 - BENNIS PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE SHANNON SCHEME, VELOX PAPER, C1929 (LIMERICK CITY MUSEUM: 1996.1282 TO 1996.1290)

A third set of photographs fits firmly into the category of holiday photographs, though. These consist of 8 small photographs in a cardboard album, documenting a Gordon family visit to the Scheme in September 1928. These photographs were taken with a small-format camera, possibly a Leica, which produced contact prints of the same size (see Figure 4-36). This represents a smaller format than any of the photographs considered so far, but also one which was cheaper to buy and maintain than even the Box Brownie and suitable for the hobbyist, rather than the serious amateur.

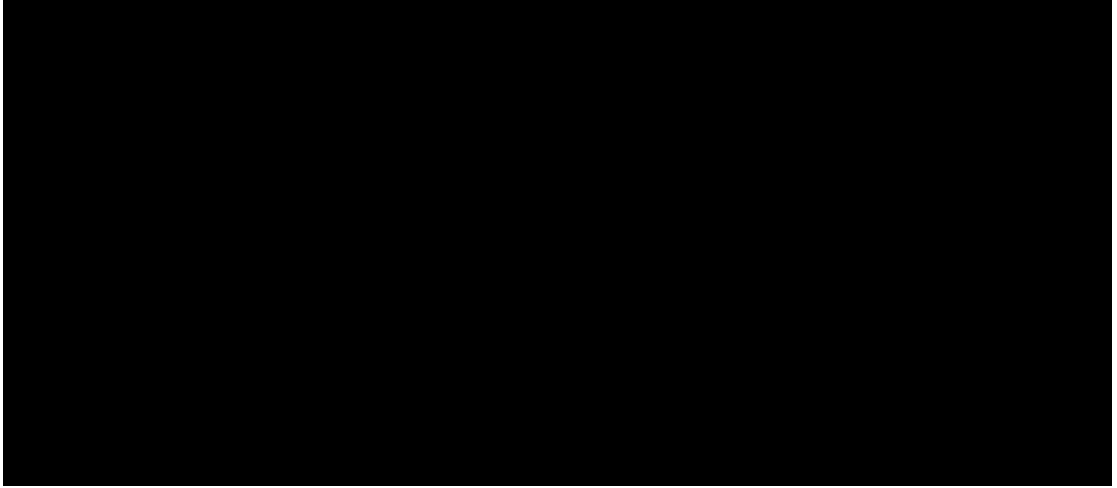


FIGURE 4-36 - RICHARD GORDON, INSIDE COVER AND PHOTOGRAPH IN SHANNON SCHEME ALBUM, SEPTEMBER 1928 (PRIVATE COLLECTION)

The photographs cover a similar gamut of outdoor shot of the Scheme to the other sets of photographs, showing the power house, the weir and a bridge under construction. However, these are framed by the inclusion of two more traditional holiday photographs, showing a motor car in a hotel forecourt and the family eating a picnic lunch by the side of a country road (see Figure 4-37). The inclusion of these two photographs helps create a narrative of a family visit to the Shannon, representing the journey, as well as the actual destination. The inclusion of the photographs in a palm-sized album also allows for easy viewing for an individual, as well as easy transportation of the album itself. In addition, the inclusion of the family photographs may have ensured that the album has been kept within the original family, rather than donated to a museum or archive.

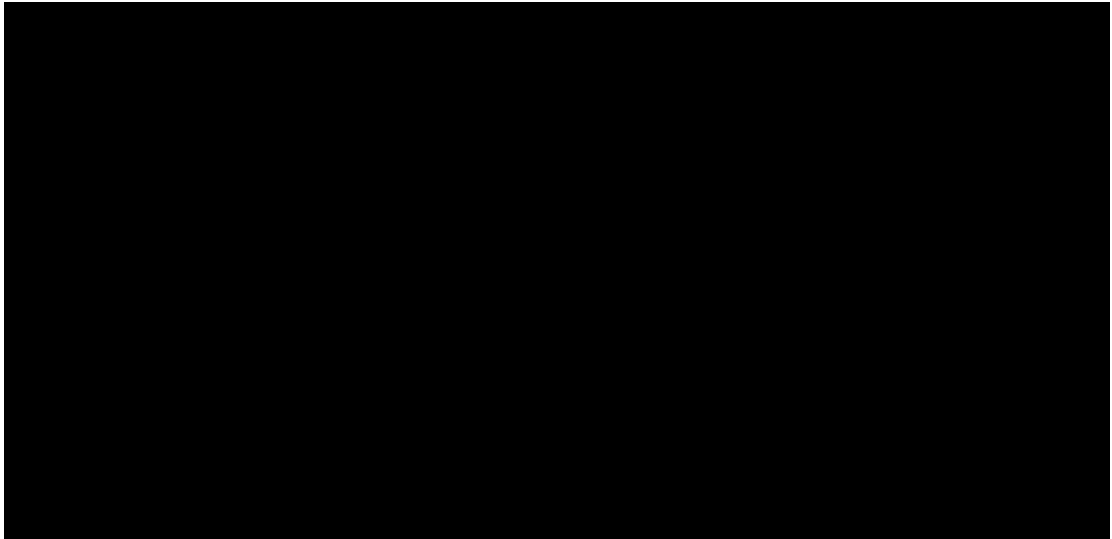


FIGURE 4-37 – RICHARD GORDON, PAGES 6 & 7 OF SHANNON SCHEME ALBUM, SEPTEMBER 1928 (PRIVATE COLLECTION)

So, the amateur visions of the Shannon Scheme focus on both the creation of familial narratives and the technical improvement of the skills of the amateur photographer. They show a marked repetition of the same scenes around the Scheme, although this may be partially dictated by the locations open to tourists. They lack the consideration of the aesthetic evident in the Siemens industrial photographs, as well as the professional level of attention to labelling and dating, but are still, in most cases, carefully assembled into albums in order to construct a narrative of the Scheme, naturalising it into the category of acceptable things to photograph.

From a wider point of view, all of these photographs share a common attitude to the Scheme, where it is included in the personal and family narratives of Irish people, in the same way that they would visit tourist sites in their own or other countries. They accept the Shannon Scheme as an important Irish place, despite its lack of overtly Celtic or Gaelic symbolism, and do not display concern about locating it alongside the pantheon of sublime tourist sights in their albums. I would argue that this inclusion of such a technological undertaking demonstrates an awe of the technological in Irish society. It also demonstrates a cautious acceptance of the idea that, to these amateur photographers at least, a vision of Ireland as a modernised country was not impossible.

## Worker photography

A third category of photographs of the Shannon Scheme has also survived to the present day, that of the photographs by the workers on the Scheme. This category of photographs plays a distinctly different role from either of the types of photograph discussed above, in this case as a record of labour and of a working environment. Unlike the official record of the Siemens photographs, these photographs record the views of the workers themselves, providing an alternative view of the industrial power relations in play on the Scheme. In the case of both sets of worker photography under discussion here, the context of the images themselves has been retained, albeit in two different manners, as the specificity of original use and context is not lost and the images not reduced to purely visual concerns.<sup>70</sup>

The first set of images consists of glass negatives taken by Franz Haselbeck, who worked as a storesman on the Scheme from 1926 to 1930. Haselbeck had been born in Manchester to German parents, moving to Limerick as a child.<sup>71</sup> He had grown up with German as his mother tongue, as well as speaking fluent English, so was in an unusual and somewhat privileged position among men seeking work on the Shannon Scheme, with a fluency in both languages, but not requiring a visa for work in Ireland.<sup>72</sup> Haselbeck was also unusual in that he had attended the Metropolitan School of Art as an evening student and had worked as a photographic assistant in Killarney from 1909 to 1912.<sup>73</sup> He later set up a photographic studio in the Limerick area, but at the time of the Shannon Scheme, the general difficulty of finding work in Ireland meant that he took up non-photographic work on the Shannon Scheme.<sup>74</sup> However, his background

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<sup>70</sup> SEKULA. (1999) p. 183.

<sup>71</sup> He is recorded in the 1911 census as Francis Haslbeck, a 26 year old Church of Ireland photographer, living with his mother and 5 younger siblings at 77 Colooney Street (now Wolfe Tone Street) in Limerick city centre.

<sup>72</sup> O'BRIEN, S. (2010) 'Interview with Patricia Haselbeck, grand-daughter of Franz Haselbeck' Hunt Museum, Limerick. October 27; HASELBECK, P., B. DELANY, P. YEATES & G. HAMPSON. (2010) *Fond Memories Bring the Light...: The Photography of Franz Sebastian Haselbeck 1885-1973*. Limerick: Hunt Museum, p. 31.

<sup>73</sup> ANTHONY, L. (1912) *Reference letter for F. Haselbeck*. **Haselbeck Collection**; METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART. (1904) *Index Register of Payments by Students, School of Art, for the Session 1903-04*. **NIVAL: NCAD College Register 1903-04**. Franz is recorded here as Frederick.

<sup>74</sup> The employment situation in Limerick in the 1910s and 1920s is discussed in MASTRIANI, M. (2003) 'From Crubeens to Computer Chips: Limerick's Industrial Development, 1914-2003', in LEE, D. (ed.) *Made in Limerick: History of Industries, Trade and Commerce Vol. I*. Limerick: Limerick Civic Trust, pp. 72-73.

and training differentiates his work from the amateur efforts discussed above, as he comes into the category of the post-professional photographer. According to Stebbins, the post-professional is a professional who, for whatever reason, is no longer practising professionally within an area, but who retains ties and connections to it.<sup>75</sup> This can be clearly seen in Haselbeck's continued interest in photography, throughout an interlude in his life where there was little professional photographic work available.

This continued interest in and practice of photography can be demonstrated by the presence, among the extant collection of over a thousand glass negatives from Haselbeck's photographic practice, of 24 negatives and 75 prints clearly depicted elements of the Shannon Scheme, to a total of 73 different images. These photographs are mostly of the extension work carried out in 1933 to install the new generator, but several show earlier work (see Figure 4-38).

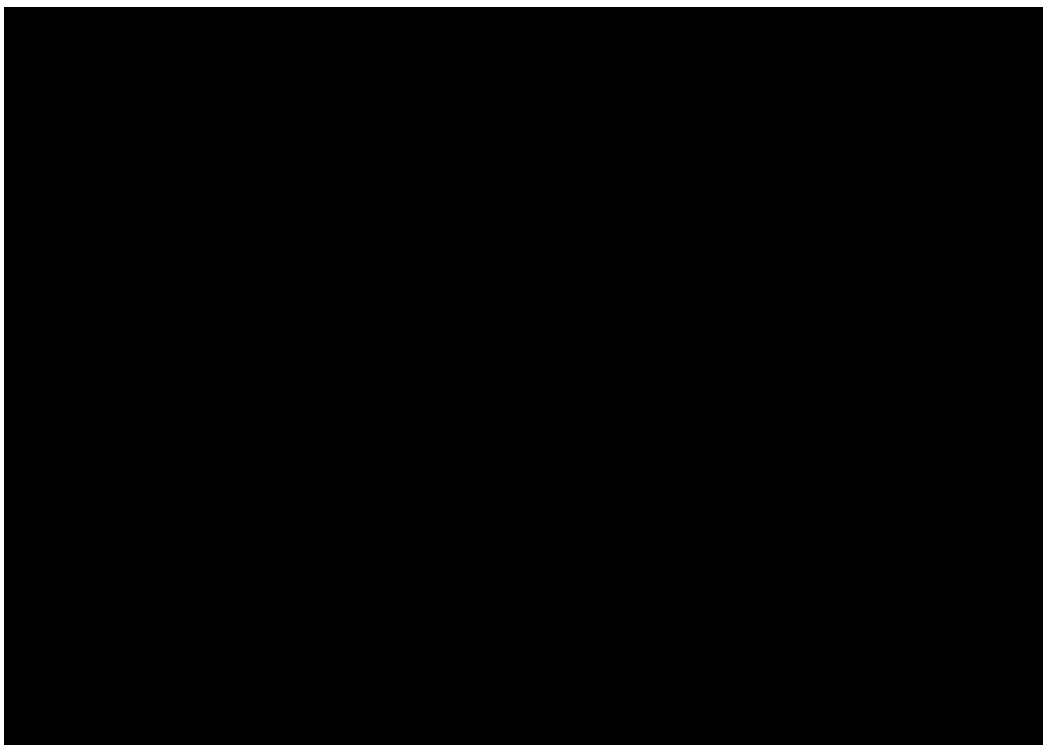


FIGURE 4-38 – FRANZ HASELBECK, PHOTOGRAPH OF ARDNACRUSHA POWER STATION, SILVER GELATIN PRINT, 14.9.32 (ESB ARCHIVE: HASELBECK COLLECTION)

These photographs show a professional level of composition, in line with Haselbeck's training and, although they were taken for his private use, they are stored with the

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<sup>75</sup> STEBBINS. (1979) pp. 36-37.

archive of his professional work, and are produced using identical methods and materials. They only differ as to content, showing a professional's desire to continue practising, as well as a worker's desire to record his place of work. Haselbeck was using a professional medium format camera, and it seems from the lack of workers in most of his photographs that he was taking photographs outside of working hours, again providing a view of a splendid project under construction without human involvement. His wide angle views of the power station building and the penstocks under construction hold a debt to the conventions of depiction of landscapes, which is not surprising, considering his conservative artistic education in the Metropolitan School of Art.

This second issue is particularly apparent in one specific photo, which was stored separately from the rest of the glass negatives, along with its negative in an original envelope. This envelope is addressed to 'Engineer Uitting, Power House, Ardnacrusha' and the photograph shows a photographer with camera standing by the railway tracks, with the finished power house in the background (see Figure 4-39). The photographer in this image is not Haselbeck himself, so it is possible that this is a portrait of Engineer Uitting, although why Haselbeck retained his photograph undelivered is unclear, particularly as it is a different type of negative from the rest of his production of the period. However, it may provide a clue to the identity of (one of) the Siemens photographer(s), as Herr Uitting was a regular signatory of documents on behalf of Siemens in Limerick.<sup>76</sup> The evidence of the material artefacts cannot tell the complete story, though, particularly as such details have not been transmitted through the Haselbeck family, as they relate not to familial but to work ties.

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<sup>76</sup> SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1927) *Correspondence September-December 1927*. **Siemens Archive: 2057**. Uitting's entry visa has survived and details that he was born in Viegersdorf in the Harz region of Germany on 21.12.1897 and was resident at 4 Siemensdamm, Charlottenburg, Berlin. See DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. (1924) *Visa for Engineer Otto Witting (Uitting) - Shannon Hydro Electric Scheme*. **National Archives: PP/8**.

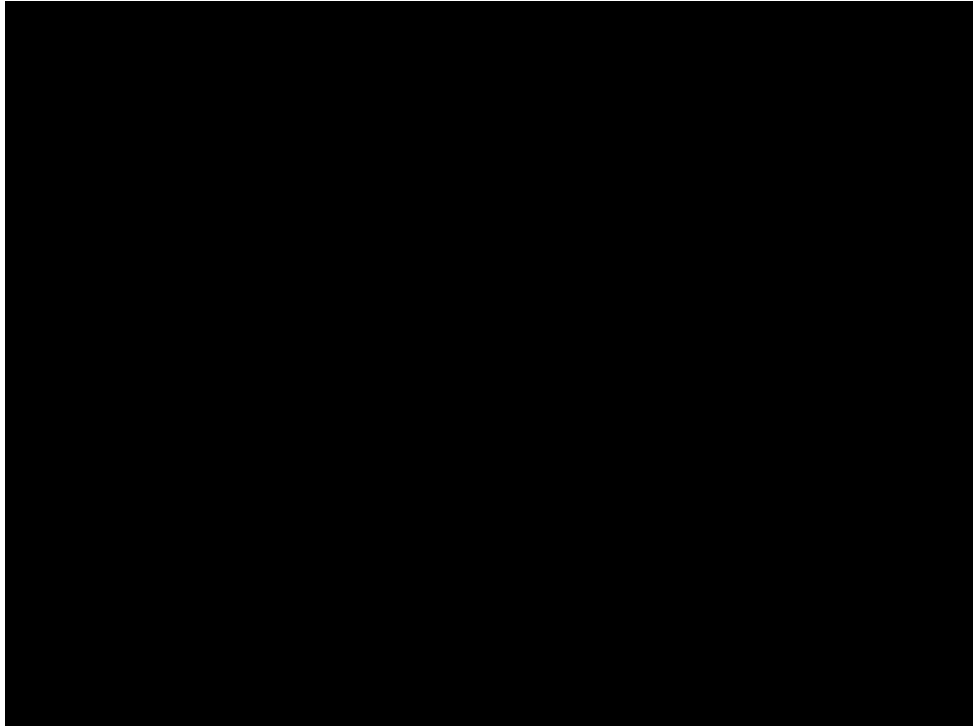


FIGURE 4-39 - PHOTOGRAPH AND NEGATIVE WITH ENVELOPE ADDRESSED TO 'ENGINEER UITTING', UNDATED (PRIVATE COLLECTION)

Haselbeck's other interest in the Scheme is demonstrated in the occasional photographs of workers scattered among his photographs of the construction work. In Figure 4-40, a group of manual workers have posed for Haselbeck, some with shovels in hand, shovelling material into casings to make Ambistones. The posture and gazes of the workers emphasise the serious nature of the work, appearing almost as a formal portrait group. This is emphasised by the use of shovels as props, and by the fact that they are grouped in a triangular composition. The space is also too small for such a large number of men to actually be working in, which leads me to believe that Haselbeck was taking a semi-formal portrait of 'men at work', likely including men known to him. This photograph provides an alternative view of the Scheme, one of hard physical labour and manual work, carried out in an all male environment of camaraderie, emphasised by the hardship of physical labour.

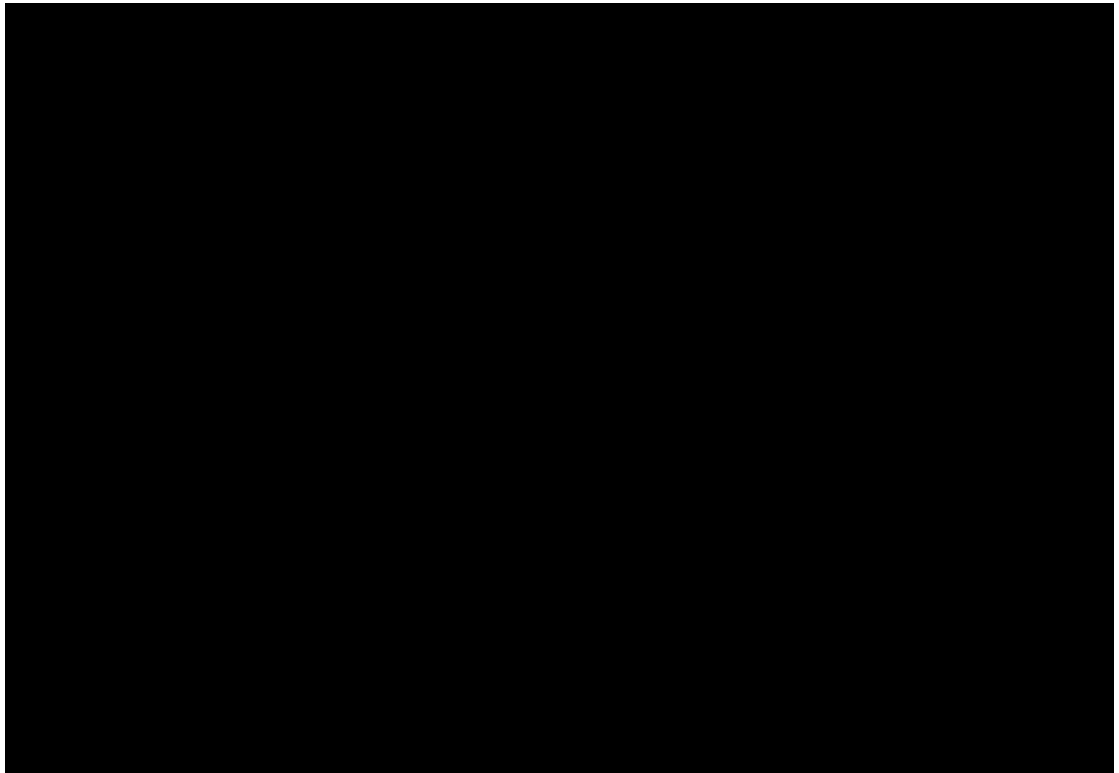


FIGURE 4-40 - FRANZ HASELBECK, ARDNACRUSHA WORKERS, GLASS NEGATIVE AND SILVER GELATIN PRINT, N.D. (ESB ARCHIVE: HASELBECK COLLECTION)

In contrast to Haselbeck's professional-level photography stands the small collection of photographic and other artefacts of Otto Rampf. Consisting of 13 annotated photographs, 8 annotated postcards, a letter of reference from Siemens and a copy of the 1928 booklet *The Shannon Hydro-Electric Scheme*, this collection was donated to the ESB archive by his daughter Edith Meissner in the 1990s.<sup>77</sup> Rampf was employed as an excavator driver from 1928 to 1929 and, according to his daughter, "His fellow workers were his friends for a long time before the Second World War and he cherished his memories during the bomb attacks."<sup>78</sup> The images include three rough themes: Rampf's living situation, his workplace and machinery, and his workmates, with some overlap between the categories in particular photographs (e.g. no. 12 is a photograph of digging equipment, but is annotated 'In memory of Hans D.'). It does not look likely that these photographs were all taken by Rampf himself, as the annotation on no. 12 continues 'I didn't know a photo was taken' and he himself appears in at least 5 of them. Several of the images are actually in the format of postcards, a process which used silver-gelatin

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<sup>77</sup> (1992) *Edith Meissner*. **ESB Archive**.

<sup>78</sup> "Die Kumpel, mit denen er dort arbeitete waren vor dem 2. Weltkrieg noch lange seine Freunde und er hütete die Erinnerungen über Bombenangriffe hinweg." Letter from Edith Meissner to Hannelore Thierauf, Irish Tourist Board, June 16 1992 in (1992) **ESB Archive**.



emulsion on a postcard backing to provide instant, personalised postcards, with Rampf himself appearing in one (see Figure 4-41) and his digging equipment in another (see Figure 4-42).<sup>79</sup>

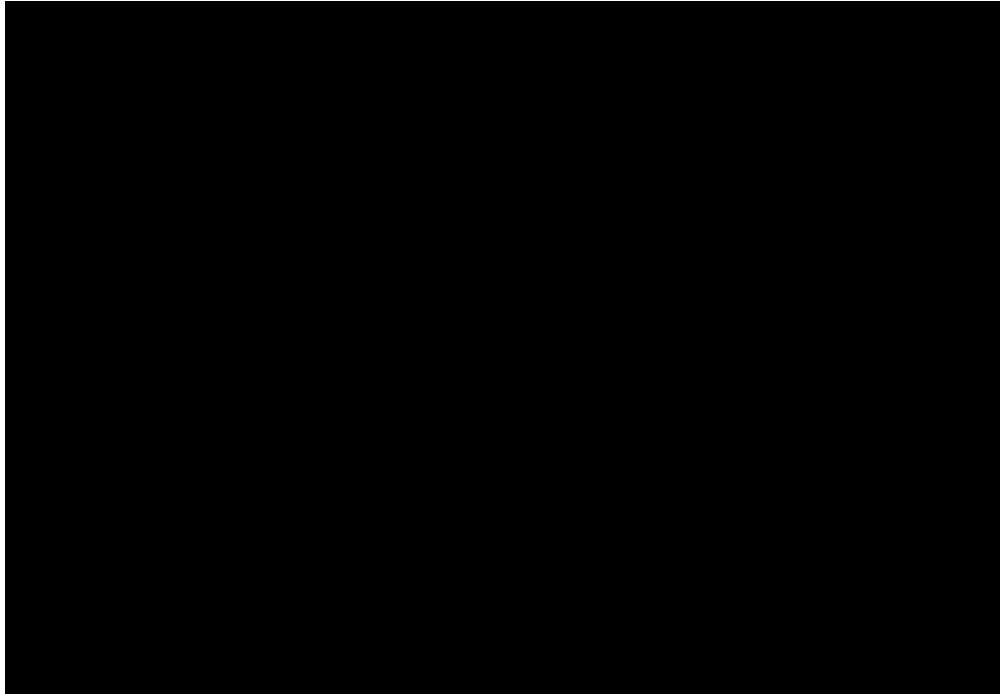


FIGURE 4-41 – BESPOKE POSTCARD, ANNOTATED 'WITH MY FARMER AFTER A SUNDAY WALK. THE SON DROVE THE TRAIN'. RAMPF ON FAR LEFT' (ESB ARCHIVE: RAMPF COLLECTION NO. 17)

The images in this small collection are entirely focused on the experience of living and working at the Ardnacrusha site for an ex-patriot German worker, with an emphasis on enabling family in Germany to visualise his everyday life. Crosses mark the window of the room he sleeps in, photographs are taken of his particular digger on site, excursions are noted and commented on and colleagues are celebrated, both living and dead. These images add texture and depth to the Shannon Scheme, personalising it and allowing it to play a background role in the personal narrative of a life, something that an official photograph is unable to do. The ability of photography to create 'snapshots' in space and time is fully brought into play here, as Rampf uses the photographs to weave together a narrative of a significant episode in his life, in the sense of Alvarado's definition of narrative, constructing and reconstructing the order of events implied by

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<sup>79</sup> COE & HAWORTH-BOOTH. (1983) p. 16.

the photograph.<sup>80</sup> Significantly, the annotations are clarified and expanded on by his daughter in a letter to the ESB archive, particularly in picking out which anonymous figure is her father, an act which ties in with her statement that “...my family still talk about his travels.”<sup>81</sup> The importance of these images to the Rampf family is similar to those of the Mitchell and Bennis photographs, although they were not necessarily taken by Rampf himself. The importance of these images to the family narrative has meant that they were seen as suitable candidates for inclusion into an overseas ‘official’ archive, reinforcing the connection between Rampf’s personal narrative of work and the Shannon Scheme project.<sup>82</sup>

The Rampf photographs illuminate the daily lives of the German semi-skilled and skilled workers in a way that the official photographs do not even attempt. They recognise the harshness of conditions on the canal-digging works, underpinning the textual narrative about the conditions of labour on the Scheme in a visceral manner (see Figure 4-42).

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<sup>80</sup> ALVARADO, M. (2001) 'Photographs and Narrativity (1979-80)', in ALVARADO, M., E. BUSCOMBE & R. COLLINS (eds.) *Representation and Photography: A Screen Education Reader*. Hampshire: Palgrave, pp. 151-52.

<sup>81</sup> “...in der Familie wird heute noch von seinen Erlebnissen erzählt.” Letter from Edith Meissner to Hannelore Thierauf, Irish Tourist Board, June 16 1992 in (1992) **ESB Archive**.

<sup>82</sup> EDWARDS. (1999) p. 233.

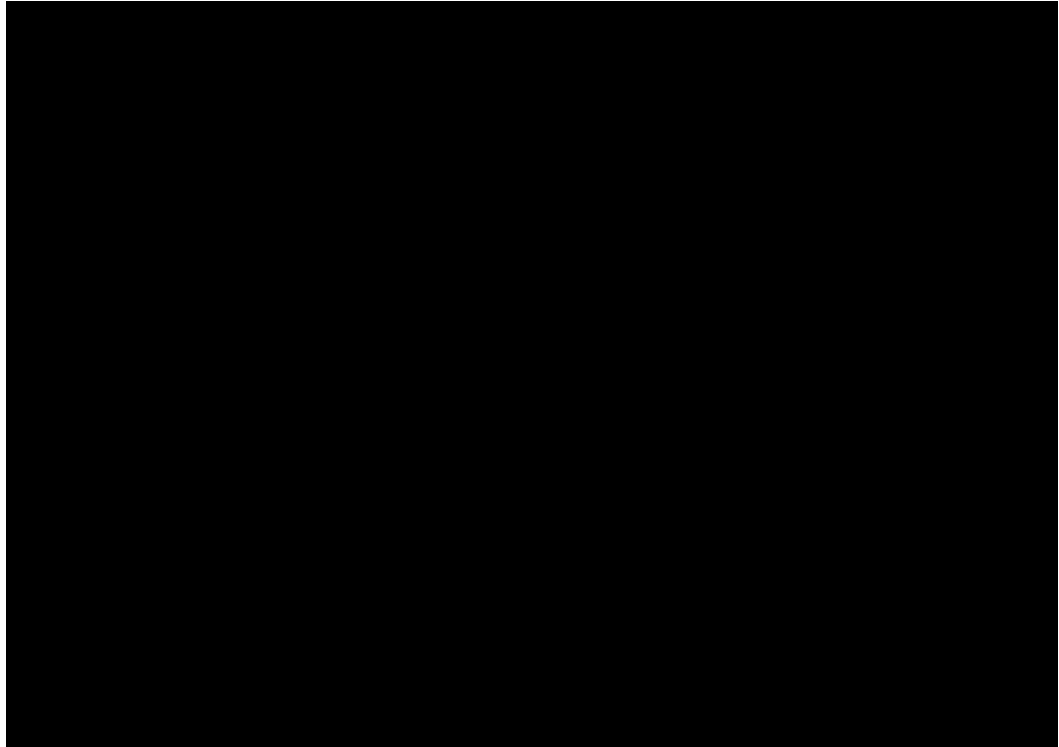


FIGURE 4-42 - PHOTOGRAPH ANNOTATED 'MY EQUIPMENT 1008 IN THE CANAL, DIFFICULT TO EXCAVATE, ONLY ROCKS, 11.8, PARTEEN SITE.' (ESB ARCHIVE: RAMPF COLLECTION NO. 16)

This point is particularly apparent in the photographs of Rampf with his co-workers which were taken in their living accommodation, recording friendships and the camaraderie of the overseas worker, cut off from both their place of origin and the local people by linguistic and cultural barriers. This is particularly apparent in a pair of photographs recording Rampf among a group of men in an accommodation hut, underneath a sign which translates as: “We share good times and bad, in memory forever” (see Figure 4-43). They are raising their glasses to the camera, acknowledging the supportive relationships built up among working men far from home, implicitly including the deceased members of the group as well as those who had returned home to Germany.

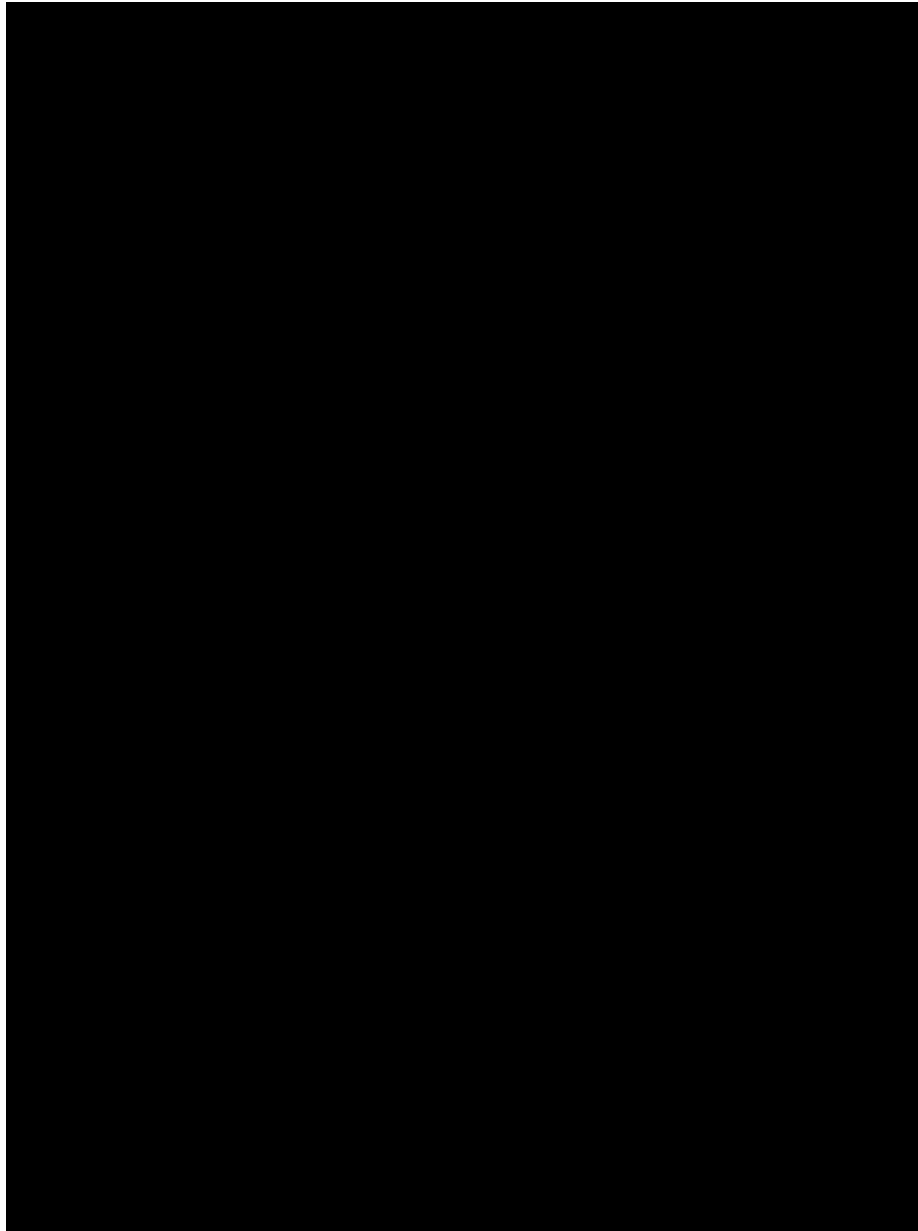


FIGURE 4-43 – PHOTOGRAPH ANNOTATED ‘ARDNACRUSHA NEAR LIMERICK, IRELAND. 3.1.29’ (ESB ARCHIVE: RAMPF COLLECTION NO. 20)

Unlike the mute gaze of the workers in the official photography, these images are drawn upon, corrected and annotated with the familiarity of the man on the ground, who is more concerned with the detailed narrative of his own experience, rather than the creation of any grand epochal narratives. These photographs can be used to puncture the visual rhetoric of the great undertaking of the Irish nation, pencilling in the detail of living and working conditions, the dangers and the colleagues lost to accidents, in a way that the strike of 1925 failed to do.

## Conclusion

The materiality of all the photographs of the Shannon Scheme and their passage through context and situation provides an important corrective to a purely visual analysis of their content. Looking at content alone, it could be proposed that the photographs played an important and extant role in the visual interpretation of the Shannon Scheme, particularly in the case of the hundreds of official industrial photographs. However, on examination of the context and circulation of these photographs, it becomes apparent that the industrial photographs were largely confined to the archive and only reproduced in a limited and conservative manner. On the other hand, the amateur and worker photographs remained in the domain of private ownership and circulation within the families of the original photographers until long after the Scheme was finished. In two cases, the photographs continue in the ownership of the photographer's family, whereas in the other three cases, the photographs were donated to various archives by their children. That this act of donation to a greater national narrative took place a generation later is significant, as the person to whom the photographs would have had the most significance, their original photographer or owner, had passed away.

It is ironic that the highly technical mode of representation of photography became associated with 'true' representation, as the circulation of these Shannon Scheme photographs remained limited for decades, either in family albums or in the depths of institutional archives, with only small, selected numbers of photographs receiving a wide circulation during the 1920s. This limited circulation is in line with the limited use and circulation of photographic images during this period, although their reception seems to have been enthusiastic and significant in specific circles. The 'trueness' of the photographic signifier depended on the technical accomplishment of the photographer at mastering exposure, framing and focus, and often in developing and printing, acquiring skills in what was then considered a 'high-tech' area of image making, an accomplishment which was at odds with the dominant modes of representation in 1920s Ireland. A small selection of wide-angle images dominate the public photographic discourse on the Scheme. These images seem selected to give a particular view of the Scheme, that of a monumental undertaking, which easily promote its sublime and epochal qualities. In comparison, the private photographs of the Scheme perform multiple functions: they certainly record and memorialise an epochal 'national effort'

but, more importantly, show concerns about the development of technical and artistic skill (or lack thereof). Most importantly, the private photographs naturalise the Scheme as a backdrop for personal narratives of family, both present and absent, in a similar manner to places of natural beauty or of work. This more nuanced approach to the Scheme builds on the personal approaches to the Scheme constructed by tourist visitors in an unexpected way, as it is built into private narratives of development and experience, as well as into the narratives of public and national achievement.

The representation of labour in these photographs varies widely, forming an integral part of the composition in many of the Siemens industrial photographs, absent in the Irish tourist or worker photographs, and taking centre stage in the German worker photographs. It is notable that the two sets of photographs taken by German photographers show the workers in the most prominence, despite the very different backgrounds of the photographers. These two sets of photographs negotiate the relationship of worker with machinery in a rather different manner, as the Siemens photographs use the workers as an element in Modernist aesthetic compositions, whereas Rampf uses the machinery as a backdrop to his personal narrative of life on the Shannon Scheme. However, they are linked by the emphasis put on depicting the relationship of worker and machinery, unlike the Irish photographs, which tend to emphasise the sublime qualities of the buildings and work site. To be fair to the Irish photographers (and I include Haselbeck here), they are restricted to taking photographs outside of working hours, which would make the inclusion of working men in their photographs difficult. That said, their photographs seem to follow broader pictorial traditions of depicting landscape in their representation of wide-angle views of varying quality, rather than any close-up emphasis on the detail of the Scheme.

All of these photographs are involved in a process of documenting history in the making, and taken with an awareness of the historical importance of the Scheme. The creation of a hydroelectric power station is recognised by a variety of photographers as an epochal moment, marking the progress of a nation, in a similar fashion to flags and stamps and other paraphernalia of state. However, this is a building which is not only modern in its association with electrical power, but with the forefront of Modernist thinking in Germany. For the Siemens photographer, their photographs were intended to include the Shannon Scheme in the company policy of documenting their

engineering projects, both as a promotion tool for Siemens itself, and as a means of promoting *deutsche Technik* in domestic newspapers. His representation of the Scheme using techniques borrowed from avant-garde German photography also showcase the project as part of the new German emphasis on the spirit of the age. The Irish amateur photographers were interested in photographing this Scheme for an entirely different set of reasons, more to do with national pride and a personal desire to record their witnessing of a historical Irish undertaking. Haselbeck seems to have worked from a similar premise, despite his professional training and equipment, as his Shannon Scheme photographs form just one episode in his photographic depiction of notable events in Munster life. It is left to the German worker Rampf to record the Scheme, not for its larger significance, but as a backdrop to an important period of his life, working overseas during a time of economic uncertainty. That one artefact (large as it may be) could be used to represent such a range of historical meanings is a testament to the multivalent contextual nature of artefacts, as they can be imbued with a range of meanings by people from different backgrounds and social groups. With the Shannon Scheme, its negotiated Germanic form in an Irish location meant that photography could be used to make it mean a triumph of German technology, a landmark development in the new Irish state, or the location of temporary personal exile and place of work.

## Chapter 5 - Strategies for national appropriation: mass tourism and ESB advertisements

### Introduction

The Irish advertising industry developed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century into a fully-fledged, sophisticated promotion machine from its 19<sup>th</sup> century British origins.<sup>1</sup> The role that the visual could play in promoting vested interests was expanded and explored during this period, as new media and techniques were developed and put to new ends. The role of advertising in the familiarisation of the Shannon Scheme to the Irish public should not be underestimated, particularly the role that it played in encouraging the public to visit the Scheme, experience a guided tour of the work site and adopt it as their own, in a similar manner to an antique national monument. This chapter considers the role which newspaper advertising, the main form available in Ireland at the time, played in bringing an image of the Scheme to a wide audience, as well as considering what sort of image was being promoted. This is particularly important in the light of attitudes towards electricity and modernisation in a predominantly rural country, which was used to specific forms and types of image making being distributed and read on a daily basis. It considers the strategies necessary to reconcile ideas about progress and modernisation with those of national identity, particularly in the historical context of Irish society of the late 1920s. Despite recent political independence, Irish society was still made up of a number of different tendencies and attitudes towards its own national identity and how that identity should be represented. How, then, could a modern, technological topic be rendered within this context and within the technical constraints of newspaper production in the 1920s? This is particularly relevant when the emphasis on the heroic nature of the Scheme is considered, as well as the necessity to ignore, or at least downplay, the involvement of large numbers of German engineers.

This chapter considers the official representations of the Shannon Scheme project, which were created under the auspices of the Electricity Supply Board's Publicity Department, set up in the summer of 1928. These consisted of a number of advertisements which were placed in national and local newspapers, in order to

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<sup>1</sup> ESKILSON, S. J. (2007) *Graphic Design: A New History*. London: Laurence King, p. 58.



familiarise the Irish general public with the idea of the Shannon Scheme project and the imminent arrival of electrical power into many of their lives. It looks at the role that the advertising industry played in Ireland after the Civil War, as this background is vital in understanding the context in which these advertisements were produced. While the ESB archives do not contain a great deal of material directly related to the early years of the Publicity Department, it is possible to piece together much of the background from references in surviving Governmental files in the National Archive of Ireland, as well as from ESB Annual Reports and the few sources which deal with the broader advertising industry in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> The survival of an extensive set of newspaper clippings books in the ESB Archive has proved an invaluable source for the discussion of the ESB advertisements, as it contains newspaper reports on the activities of the ESB from 1928 onwards, as well as giving an indication of the range and breadth of material that the Publicity Department considered worth preserving.<sup>3</sup> In the absence of the Publicity Department records or even ESB personnel records, much of the discussion of the advertisements is based on these sources. It must also be noted here that there is very little extant scholarly writing on the history of advertising in Ireland, with only one survey text published in the 1980s, and a current research project underway in the University of Limerick, so much of the discussion in this chapter is based on inferences made from primary material.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) *Annual Report and Accounts of the Electricity Supply Board (For the year 1st April 1928 to 31st March 1929)*. **ESB Archive**; ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) *Annual Report and Accounts of the Electricity Supply Board (For the year 11th August 1927 to 31st March 1928)*. **ESB Archive**; MCGILLIGAN, P. (1926) *Letters*. **McGilligan Papers, UCD Archive: P35/29**; MCGILLIGAN, P. (1929) *Progress of Works; Quarterly Reports*. **McGilligan Papers, UCD Archive: P35/51**; CORR, F. (1998) *The Publicity Club of Ireland 1923-1998*. Dublin: MO Publications; ORAM, H. (1986) *The Advertising Book: The History of Advertising in Ireland*. Dublin: MO Books.

<sup>3</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1928) *ESB Newspaper Clippings Book 02*. **ESB Archive**; ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) *ESB Newspaper Clippings Book 03*. **ESB Archive**; ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) *ESB Newspaper Clippings Book 05 (May to July 1929)*. **ESB Archive**; ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) *ESB Newspaper Clippings Book 10 (November to December 1929)*. **ESB Archive**; ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1930) *ESB Newspaper Clippings Book 12 (January to March 1930)*. **ESB Archive**; ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1930) *ESB Newspaper Clippings Book 16 (June to July 1930)*. **ESB Archive**; ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1931) *ESB Newspaper Clippings Book 17 (May to September 1931)*. **ESB Archive**; ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1931) *ESB Newspaper Clippings Book 18 (September to December 1931)*. **ESB Archive**.

<sup>4</sup> ORAM. (1986). The IRCHSS Project 'Inventing & Reinventing the Irish Woman: external Influences on Gender Construction 1760-2005' is a collaborative project between UCD, UL and Queen's University Belfast, which includes research on women and Irish advertising. This work is unpublished at the time of writing, but includes two papers presented at the *Inventing and*

## Mapping the Shannon Scheme Advertisements

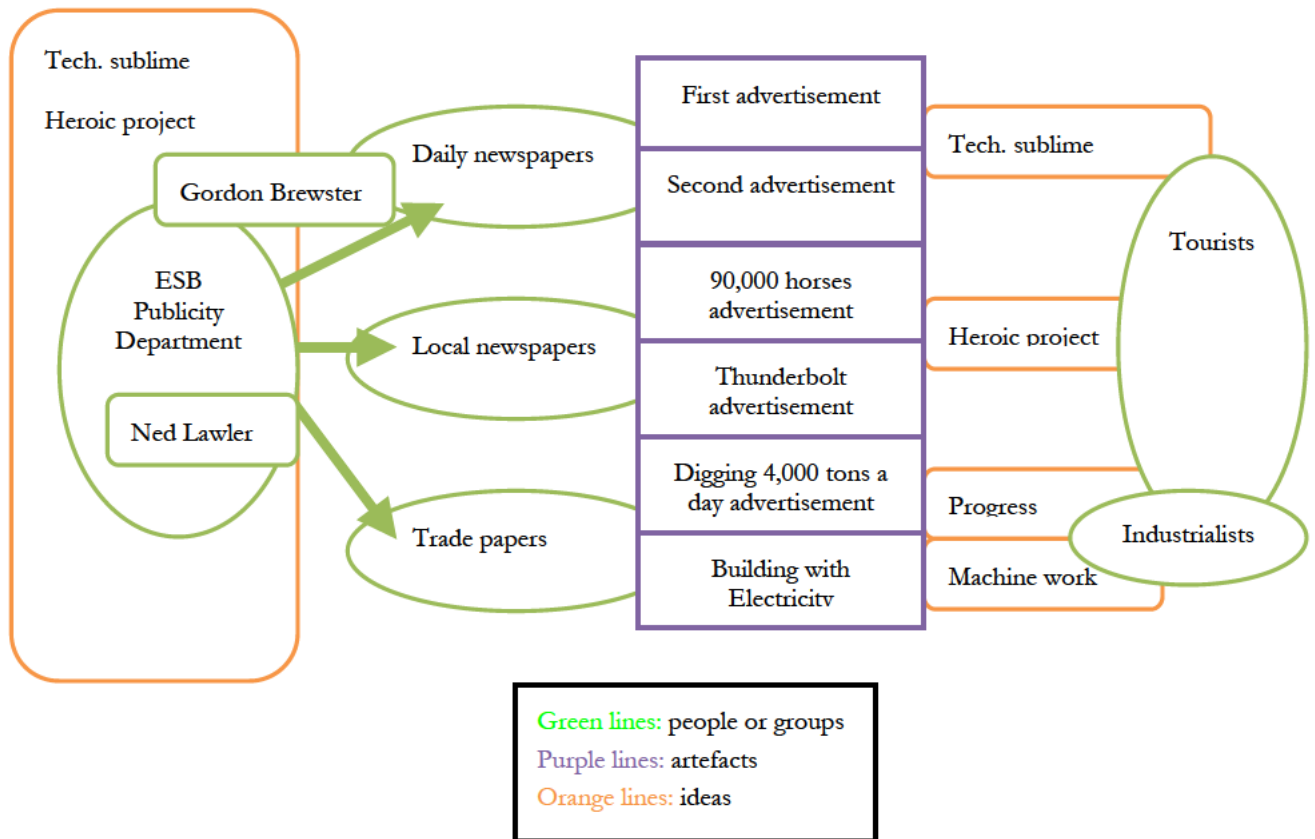


FIGURE 5-0 - DIAGRAM OF IMAGES, IDEAS AND GROUPS INVOLVED WITH THE ADVERTISING OF THE SHANNON SCHEME

This diagram of the relationships involved in the Shannon Scheme advertisements includes the series of six different advertisements which were produced by the ESB Publicity Department during late 1928 and early 1929. These advertisements were placed in a range of Irish newspapers and conveyed a range of ideas to the newspaper-reading public, particularly the specific interest groups of tourists intending to visit the Scheme and potential customers for electrical power, particularly industrial ones. The diagram also highlights the role of two individuals involved with the creation of the

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*Reinventing the gendered consumer from the early modern to postmodern periods* conference at the University of Limerick, 21-22 May 2010. MCCARTHY, M. (2010) 'Advertising Ireland: Newspaper Advertisements, 1922-60', at *Inventing and Reinventing the Gendered Consumer from the Early Modern to Postmodern Periods*, University of Limerick; WHELAN, B. (2010) 'Targeting the Consumer: American Influences on Irish Advertising, 1922-60', at *Inventing and Reinventing the Gendered Consumer from the Early Modern to Postmodern Periods*, University of Limerick. Also, a short article was published in 1998 on Irish brand names. See SHARE, B. (1998) 'In Our Own Image', *History Ireland*. <http://www.historyireland.com//volumes/volume6/issue4/features/?id=192> [Accessed: April 17 2011]

advertisements, Ned Lawler of the ESB Publicity Department and the freelance illustrator Gordon Brewster (see Figure 5-0).

## **Irish Advertising in the 1920s**

The development of advertising in Ireland up to the 1920s is quite typical of a rural hinterland, in that it lacked the big budget mass media campaigns which were becoming a common feature of the industry in England at that time.<sup>5</sup> By 1928, the British advertising industry was worth approximately £57 million a year, with agencies run by Charles Frederick Higham, William Crawford and Samuel Benson leading the industry.<sup>6</sup> Despite the lifting of a war-time Amusement Tax and the arrival of the ‘talkies’ in 1924, the industry was still resolutely print-focused, with the newspapers functioning as a central medium for the communication of advertising messages. This was emphasised by the regular publication of newspaper circulation figures, taken as the main indicator of success in circulating advertisements, although mass media campaigns were not uncommon.<sup>7</sup> American ideas of market research and the psychological rationale behind buying decisions were beginning to infiltrate the British Isles during the mid-1920s, with the first British statistical studies based on the 1924 census being used as advertising and marketing tools.<sup>8</sup>

The structure of the Irish advertising industry during the 1920s was heavily influenced by that of London, with small advertising agencies such as Wilson Hartnells and McConnells operating in Dublin.<sup>9</sup> These agencies were focused on selling and placing newspaper advertising, with sidelines in showcards and outdoor advertising in both enamel and litho-printed posters, particularly as the first Irish radio station 2RN only began broadcasting in 1926 and was yielding only miniscule advertising revenues during the 1920s.<sup>10</sup> That said, there was a strong interest in developments in the British

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<sup>5</sup> ORAM. (1986) p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> NEVETT, T. R. (1982) *Advertising in Britain: A History*. London: Heinemann, pp. 102-45.

<sup>7</sup> NEVETT. (1982) pp. 156-58; ORAM. (1986) p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> NEVETT. (1982) p. 150; TUNGATE, M. (2007) *Adland: A Global History of Advertising*. London: Kogan Page Publishers, pp. 25-27; WHELAN. (2010).

<sup>9</sup> MCCARTHY. (2010).

<sup>10</sup> HORGAN, J. (2001) *Irish Media: A Critical History Since 1922*. London: Routledge, pp. 20-21; ORAM. (1986) p. 29.

industry, with several agency figures regularly visiting advertising conventions in London in the early 1920s and the resurrected Publicity Club sending a number of delegates to the London advertising conference in 1924.<sup>11</sup>

This dominance of newspaper advertising within the industry is emphasised by a 1930 article in an Irish special issue of the British trade publication *Advertiser's Weekly*, which addressed the important role of the provincial newspaper in Irish advertising.<sup>12</sup> Marion Lavery, the Secretary of Associated Irish Newspapers, the organisation of the provincial press, discusses the differences in Ireland between the daily press and the weekly provincial newspaper. She advises the prospective British advertiser not to ignore the provincial newspapers, despite their small published circulation numbers. This is in direct reaction to the circulation wars ongoing in the British press, where the maximum exposure for an advertisement was to be gained by publishing it in one or two of the highest circulation city papers as "...beyond question, what it lacks in breadth it makes up in depth."<sup>13</sup> Her defence of the provincial paper is very much based in Irish exceptionalism, particularly referring to the rural nature of the country and the fact that provincial newspapers (such as the *Limerick Leader* or *Meath Chronicle*) often had a wider circulation in nearby towns and extensive rural hinterlands, as well as multiple readers of individual copies. She emphasised the human element of the provincial press, with local newspapers seen as "the guide, the friend and the voice of the population of Ireland outside our few cities" by people who rarely visited the cities or saw shop window displays.<sup>14</sup> This extensive network of provincial papers, often without overlapping distributions, seems to have played an important role in the distribution of Irish advertising, just as much as daily papers such as the *Irish Independent* or *The Irish Times*, and advertising agencies would have been involved in placing advertisements in both types of paper.

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<sup>11</sup> CORR. (1998) pp. 5, 13.

<sup>12</sup> (1930) 'Publicity for Ireland: Advertisers' Dublin Visit', *Irish Independent*. October 18. p. 11. **ESB Clippings Book 16.**

<sup>13</sup> LAVERY, M. A. (1930) 'Some "Don'ts" for Advertisers: Advertising to the Irish Provinces: How to Reach the Agricultural Market', *Advertiser's Weekly*. October 17. pp. 24, 26. **ESB Clippings Book 16.**

<sup>14</sup> LAVERY. (1930) p. 24.

For example, the launch of the Sweet Afton range of cigarettes in Ireland in 1927 included advertisements placed in the Navan-published *Meath Chronicle*, among a number of other provincial newspapers (see Figure 5-1). Sweet Afton was manufactured by Dundalk tobacco company Carrolls and was named after the Robert Burns poem ‘Afton Water’, but had only been sold in Scotland prior to this point.<sup>15</sup> The advertisement illustrated here is simply laid out into a single column space, with cursive text below a hand-drawn black and white illustration of a woman smoker reclining in a dressing gown on a rug, in a pose reminiscent of Hollywood movie stars such as Joan Crawford or Greta Garbo (see Figure 5-2). The simple message that ‘they’re lovely!’ could be interpreted as an introduction to ‘American’ methods of psychological advertising, with the message of recommendation coming from a figure that the audience could identify with (or aspire to), rather than direct from the manufacturer itself, an early type of testimonial. Although the Sweet Afton brand did not have a logotype at that point, which was not unusual, the brand name is set in a different decorative typeface at the bottom of the advertisement, with the entire advertisement centred within the frame of the newspaper column. This advertisement gives a good indication of the type of work being produced by Irish advertising agencies during the 1920s, moving away from simple information-based advertisements to the promotion of desires and lifestyles.

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<sup>15</sup> ORAM. (1986) p. 38.

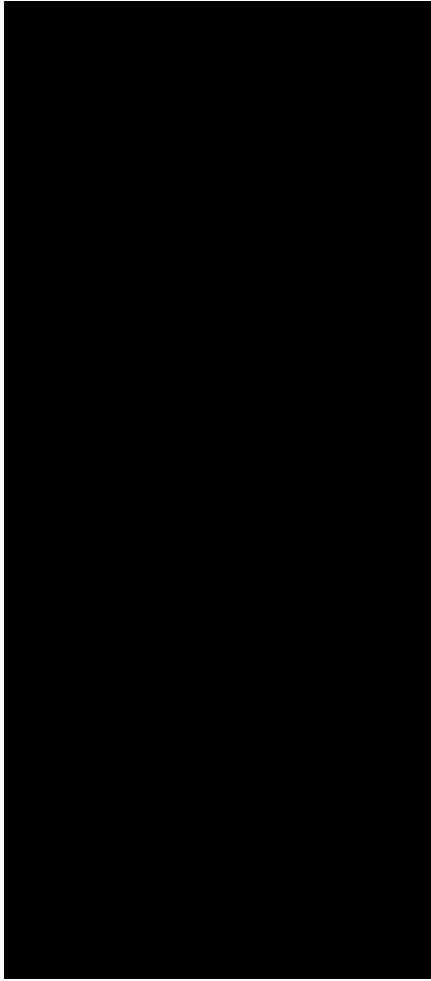


FIGURE 5-1 - ADVERTISEMENT  
FOR SWEET AFTON  
CIGARETTES

(*MEATH CHRONICLE*, MAY 28  
1927, P. 6)



FIGURE 5-2 - JOAN CRAWFORD STARRING IN *THE  
TAXI DANCER*, 1927

([HTTP://WWW.JOANCRAWFORDBEST.COM/TAXI071.  
HTM](http://www.joancrawfordbest.com/taxi071.htm))

The publication of the special issue of *Advertiser's Weekly* in 1930 was part of a continuing effort during the mid to late 1920s to encourage outside business, including tourists, to return to Ireland after the previous decade of turmoil. Government efforts had attracted companies such as Ford, partly on the promise of Shannon power being provided to the site.<sup>16</sup> The moribund Tourist Organisation Society was also revived in

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<sup>16</sup> (1926) 'Mr. Henry Ford and His Workers in Cork', *Limerick Leader*. August 25. p. 3; (1929) 'Football Officials Visit Shannon Works', *Irish Independent*. June 18. p. 3. **ESB Clippings Book 05**; (1929) 'The Shannon Electric Scheme', *Belfast Telegraph*. February 1. **ESB Clippings Book 03**; (1929) 'Shannon Scheme Construction: "Even the Tool Boxes Came From Germany"', *Free Press*. July 13. **ESB Clippings Book 06**; (1929) 'Shannon Scheme Progress', *Sunday Independent*. July 7. p. 3. **ESB Clippings Book 06**; (1929) 'The Shannon Scheme: Minister Satisfied With Undertaking', *Free Press*. July 13. **ESB Clippings Book 06**; (1930) 'Shannon Power on for Ford

1924, although its role was quickly taken over by the Irish Tourist Association, founded by Patrick McGilligan in 1925.<sup>17</sup> The new organisation was particularly concerned with the negative image of Ireland which was common abroad at that point, due to the shadow of Civil War:

As the new state sought to establish a modern, post-independence identity for itself, it was concerned to create new images to take the place of those that would prove injurious to its new status, such as 'the fighting Irish'.<sup>18</sup>

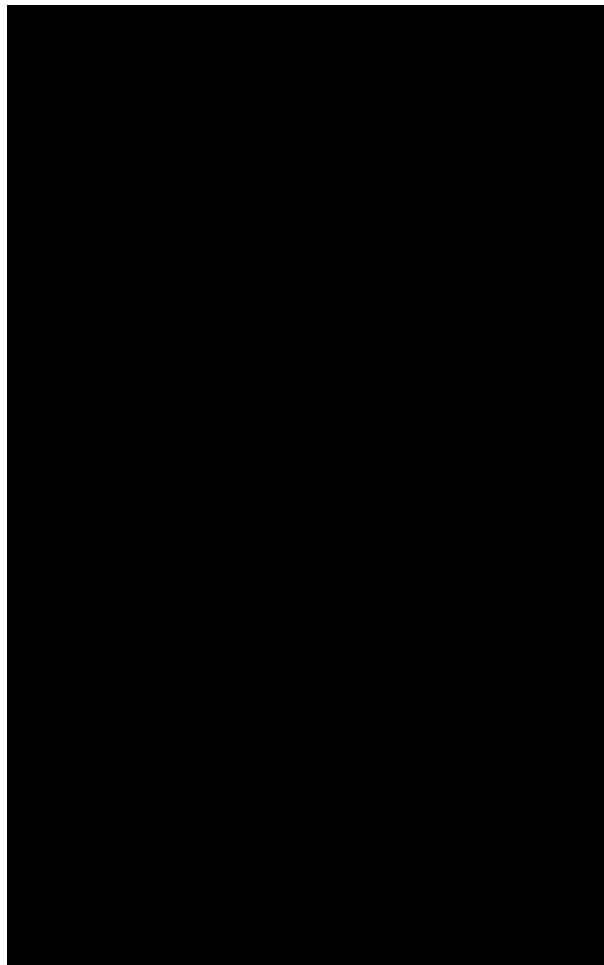


FIGURE 5-3 - WALTER TILL, 'KILLARNEY: HEAVEN'S REFLEX', GREAT SOUTHERN RAILWAYS POSTER, 1930 (BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY)

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Tonight: Cork Plant to Utilize National System Instead of Generating Own Current: Move Pleases Country', *New York Evening Post*. February 12. **ESB Clippings Book 12.**

<sup>17</sup> FURLONG, I. (2009) *Irish Tourism 1880-1980*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, pp. 38-41; ZUELOW, E. (2009) *Making Ireland Irish: Tourism and National Identity Since the Irish Civil War*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> FURLONG. (2009) p. 46.

J. P. O'Brien, also writing in the same issue of *Advertiser's Weekly*, discusses the promotion of the unspoilt countryside as a tourist attraction, particularly the traditional trinity of hunting, shooting and fishing, and was firmly focused on the English-speaking business class of Britain and America.<sup>19</sup> This ties in closely with the Irish Tourist Association's focus on attracting British and American visitors, with large sums spent on press advertisements and other tourist literature about Ireland.<sup>20</sup> The discourse around tourism was firmly centred around the business class, which had interests in hotels, railways and other businesses that would benefit from increased tourism traffic.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the Great Southern Railways Company owned several hotels in tourist resorts and had a vested interest in encouraging overseas tourists to use their services to travel.<sup>22</sup> An example of its advertising from 1930s shows a painting of the lakes of Killarney, without any hint of civilisation, modern or otherwise, an unspoilt vista of tress, water and hillsides (see Figure 5-3). This image of the Irish countryside emphasises the view of the country as an exclusively rural, depopulated place, notable for the sublime beauty of its landscape. The image is constructed to present the prospective English-speaking tourist with a place which is accessible by rail, but where they can forget about the stresses of work or city living, and relax in beautiful, natural and timeless surroundings, punctuated only by visits to sublime natural wonders.<sup>23</sup> Centrally, like many similar images of the Scottish Highlands, this is an image of the depopulated countryside, without inconvenient locals either working or displaying visible signifiers of poverty (see Figure 5-4).<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> O'BRIEN, J. P. (1930) "'Ireland of the Welcomes': Tourist Development in the Irish Free State', *Advertiser's Weekly*. October 17. pp. 16-18. **ESB Clippings Book 16.**

<sup>20</sup> FURLONG. (2009) p. 46.

<sup>21</sup> ZUELOW. (2009) pp. 4-5. Publications such as *Ireland Beautiful* aimed to attract American tourists and investors to Ireland, arguing for the development of the tourist and agricultural industries. See NUTTING, W. (1925) *Ireland Beautiful*. Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing Co, pp. 63-66.

<sup>22</sup> FURLONG. (2009) p. 49.

<sup>23</sup> O'CONNOR, B. (1993) 'Myths and Mirrors: Tourist Images and National Identity', in O'CONNOR, B. & M. CRONIN (eds.) *Tourism in Ireland: A Critical Analysis*. Cork: Cork University Press, pp. 70-74. MEHEGAN, A. (2003) '..Pictures from the Wilds': *Trains, Travels and Tourists in County Donegal, 1890-1914*. Unpublished MA Thesis, HADCom, National College of Art & Design, pp. 71-81, 143-44.

<sup>24</sup> HALDANE GRENIER, K. (2005) *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia*. Hampshire: Ashgate, pp. 93-134; LENMAN, R. (2003) 'British Photographers and Tourism in the Nineteenth Century', in CROUCH, D. & N. LÜBBREN (eds.) *Visual Culture and Tourism*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 94-96.





FIGURE 5-4 - NORMAN WILKINSON, SCOTLAND FOR HOLIDAYS POSTER FOR LMS AND LNER RAILWAYS, 1920S (NMSI: 1986: 9347)

This view of Ireland as an unspoilt rural paradise seems to have been strongly outwardly focused, although Barbara O'Connor argues that the lack of a strong visual tradition in Irish society resulted in the adoption of the dominant type of external representation, in the absence of strong internal alternatives.<sup>25</sup> This does seem to be somewhat the case in 1920s in relation to the choice of style and techniques, if not subject matter: the use of the Neo-Celtic style, while common, was never in a position of absolute dominance in popular imagery across the country, possibly due to its load of overtly nationalist connotations. This seems to be particularly the case in the world of advertising images, as demonstrated by the sample of Irish newspaper advertisements reproduced in the *Advertiser's Weekly* article discussed above. Of the five advertisements reproduced, only one uses any 'Neo-Celtic' visual elements, that of the quasi-uncial typeface and rendering of a Hiberno-Romanesque church carving at the bottom of the advertisement for Keltic Soap (see the central image in Figure 5-5).

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<sup>25</sup> O'CONNOR. (1993) pp. 68-85.

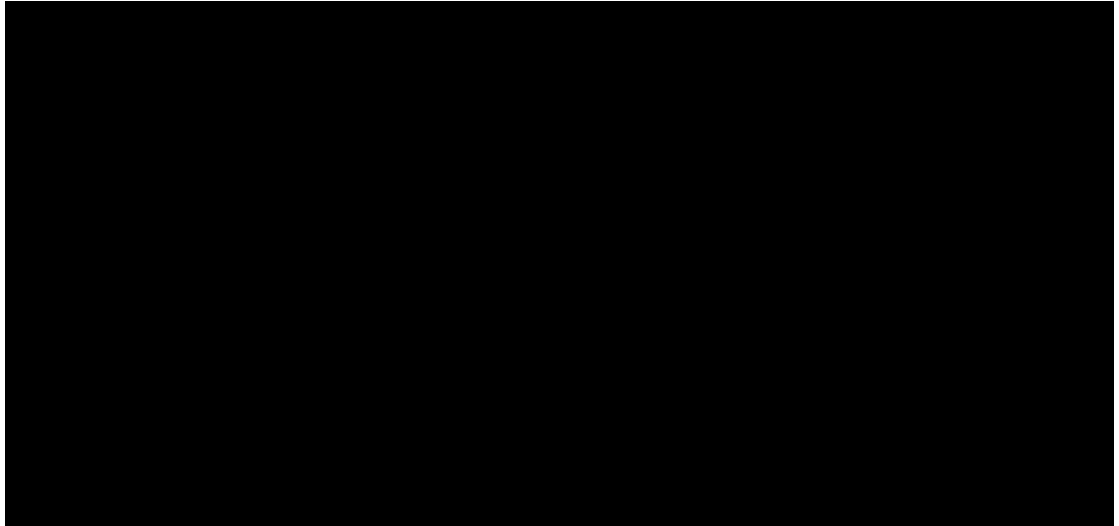


FIGURE 5-5 - REPRODUCTION OF IRISH NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS  
(*ADVERTISER'S WEEKLY*, OCTOBER 7 1930, P. 24)

Rather than being concerned with an external audience like the rail posters, these are intended for the consumption of Irish men and women and they focus on a rather literal representation of the product in question, demonstrating the polished socialite, capsule drops of relish, the workman with a dirty job, a packet of cigarettes and a man drinking a glass of whiskey. They are laid out using blocks of explanatory text, balanced by black and white line drawings in a jumble of layouts, typefaces and juxtapositions. It is also worth noting their dependence on drawn imagery: although the reproduction of photographs in newspapers was technically possible, it was not commonly used in Irish advertisements until the later 1930s.<sup>26</sup> While these images are resolutely connected to the modern world by their very publication in the newspaper (and are labelled as “modern press advertisements”), they do not engage with the discourses of aesthetic Modernism, replying on literal and pictorial devices to promote their products.

In a questionable location between internal and external representations lies the posters produced by Irish artists for the British Empire Marketing Board in the late 1920s. The Board was set up in 1926 with the aim of promoting intra-Empire trade and among its other activities, commissioned approximately 500 posters promoting the traditional produce of a large number of Empire countries, including Canada, New Zealand,

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<sup>26</sup> The earliest photographic advertisement I found in my survey of the *Limerick Leader* was an advertisement for Sweet Afton cigarettes, published on Saturday July 16 1927, p. 2.

Ceylon and the Irish Free State. While one of the three finished posters depicted a symbolic Irish wolfhound, the other two were unusual in that they were not created by London artists working for the Board, but by artists from the subject country, namely Sean Keating and Margaret Clarke. Keating's poster depicting Irish Free State Bacon was produced in 1929, directly after his work on the Shannon Scheme.<sup>27</sup> In contrast, however, it depicts a scene in a country farmyard (see Figure 5-6), as does the poster produced by Clarke a year later. These two images have been noted by Cronin as being a subversion of the British Board's brief of depicting native industry, given their depiction of people conspicuously *not* working, which he contrasts with the usual advertising depiction of Ireland as an idealised location of rural leisure.<sup>28</sup>

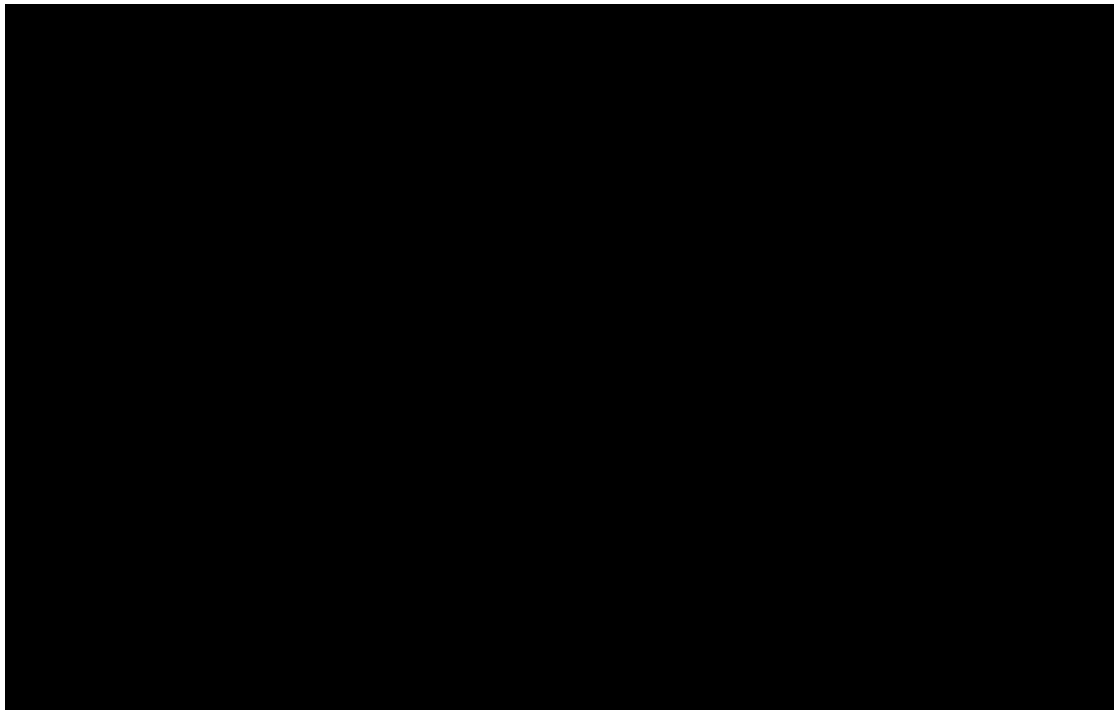


FIGURE 5-6 - SÉÁN KEATING, IRISH FREE STATE BACON BILLBOARD POSTER, 1.0M BY 1.5M, 1928

(NLI EPHEMERA DEPARTMENT: EMB 7)

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<sup>27</sup> Only three Irish posters commissioned were ever produced, as the involvement of Belfast artist James Humbert Craig in an earlier commission seems to have been vetoed by the Free State Government, due to his Northern origins. See CRONIN, M. (2004) 'Selling Irish Bacon: The Empire Marketing Board and the Artists of the Free State', *Éire-Ireland: a Journal of Irish Studies*. Vol. 39, No. 3 & 4, Fall/Winter, pp. 132-35.

<sup>28</sup> CRONIN. (2004) pp. 139, 41.

## The E.S.B. Publicity Department and Guide Bureau

With the development of the Shannon Scheme well in hand and an eye towards developing the future market for its electricity, the newly formed E.S.B. was surprisingly fast in setting up a publicity department for a utility company. The first Annual Report, covering the period August 1927 to March 1928 (although not published until October 1929), discusses McLaughlin's trip to the United States "where the most up-to-date publicity and development methods were studied and a large mass of information obtained."<sup>29</sup> This is explained in the same paragraph by an early realisation by the Board that the success of the Scheme would be based on their ability to educate enough customers about the possible utility of electricity.<sup>30</sup> This was closely followed by the appointment of Edward (Ned) Lawler as the Public Relations Officer in late 1927, not long after the appointment of Sir Stephen Tallents to the British Empire Marketing Board as a PR post in a public company.<sup>31</sup> Lawler had been the political correspondent for the *Irish Independent* before joining the ESB, a connection which may have contributed to the enthusiastic endorsement of the Scheme by the *Irish Independent* in the following years, including the sponsorship of a scale model of the Scheme at the Royal Dublin Society Spring Show in 1929.<sup>32</sup> This appointment is also unusual in that Lawler was involved in organising and writing the copy for the first series of ESB advertisements in-house, from August 1928 onwards. This is somewhat irregular practice, in that the Dublin advertising agency Wilson Hartnell had been contracted to produce the government's advertising from 1924 and the publicity for the Tailteann

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<sup>29</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) **ESB Archive**, p. 12.

<sup>30</sup> WEBB, A. (1928) 'Free State seeks Electricity Users: Needs Treble Present Number to Make the \$20,000,000 Shannon Project Pay.', *New York Times*. March 25. p. 57.

<sup>31</sup> GUNNING, E. (2003) *Public Relations: A Practical Handbook*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, p. 4. states that Lawlor(sic) was appointed before Tallents, based on a reference to Michael Colley, who states that he was appointed 'months' before Tallents, although he does not give a source for this information, other than 'extensive research'. See COLLEY, M. (1993) *The Communicators: The History of the Public Relations Institute of Ireland*. Dublin: Public Relations Institute of Ireland, p. 17. Oram also describes Lawler's appointment as "the first such appointment in a public utility in Europe". See ORAM. (1986) p. 49.

<sup>32</sup> (1929) 'Irish Independent Shows You the Shannon Scheme: Another View', *Irish Independent*. May 9. **ESB Clippings Book 05**; (1929) "'Irish Independent' Stand: Shannon Scheme Model', *Irish Independent*. May 10. p. 3. **ESB Clippings Book 05**; (1929) 'Topical Pictorial Review: One of the Biggest Attractions', *Irish Independent*. May 9. p. 3. **ESB Clippings Book 05**; (1929) 'A Unique Exhibit: The Shannon Scheme in Miniature: Clever Craftsmanship', *Irish Independent*. May 7. p. 9; OCULUS. (1927) 'The Spring Show 1927: A Transformation at Ballsbridge', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. May 14. p. 357.

Games in 1924 and 1928 had been handled by McConnells agency.<sup>33</sup> It seems that the early emphasis on creating publicity for the Scheme and electricity supply led the Board to consider this undertaking to be too important to be left to outside contractors. Although the initial advertisements were drawn by freelance artists to Lawler's copy and direction, the Publicity Department seems to have expanded rapidly in the initial years, with 32 staff employed in Sales, Contracts and Public Relations (excluding electricians) by March 1929.<sup>34</sup> While this figure covers two other departments, as well as Public Relations, Frank Brandt was noted to have led a team of in-house artists from the early 1930s.<sup>35</sup> Lawler is quoted in a column in the *Advertising World* as saying that the in-house arrangement "suited our peculiar conditions better than doing it through an agency."<sup>36</sup> While the column editor is not sure what these 'peculiar conditions' might be, it is clear that he was referring to the semi-state nature of the Electricity Supply Board, which had a mandate to sell its services like a private company, but with a level of governmental oversight and national responsibility unheard of in the private sector. It is likely that Lawler felt the full weight of that responsibility to promote the Scheme, to ensure that the large amounts of money and effort spent by the Government on the Scheme not be wasted.

Lawler seems to have been enthusiastic in his duties – the paragraph in the 1928 ESB Annual Report details the launch of the advertising campaign, a film of the construction and the establishment of an organised Guide Bureau to oversee the visits by the public to the works.<sup>37</sup> The 1929 report carries more details on the activities of the Public Relations Department, describing the initial advertising campaign as having commenced on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1928, involving regular advertisements in the daily newspapers, forty provincial newspapers and a number of other periodicals. The Department was also involved in the promotion of electrical products and house wiring from the start,

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<sup>33</sup> ORAM. (1986) pp. 45, 48-49.

<sup>34</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) **ESB Archive**, p. 21.

<sup>35</sup> ORAM. (1986) pp. 50, 71, 74. Frank Brandt is only mentioned by Snoddy in the context of his 1935 marriage to artist Muriel Brandt. See SNODDY, T. (2002) *Dictionary of Irish Artists: 20th Century*. Dublin: Merlin Publishing, p. 46. He is noted as having exhibited three paintings in the Oireachtas Art Exhibition in 1920 in STEWART, A. (1985) *Royal Hibernian Academy List of Exhibitors: Vol. 1 A-G*. Dublin: Manton Publishing, p. 80.

<sup>36</sup> (1931) 'The Whispering Gallery: Advertising the Shannon Scheme', *Advertising World*. November. p. 344. **ESB Clippings Book 18**.

<sup>37</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) **ESB Archive**, p. 12.

between the running of the Sales Showrooms, the organisation of lecturing tours on lighting systems and the preparation of a number of books and pamphlets on electrical appliances and wiring.<sup>38</sup> Staff such as J. Creagh and Laurence Joye were actively involved in public lectures, as well as giving tours of the Scheme to interested groups.<sup>39</sup> The lectures started in November 1928 and generally involved a talk on the construction of the Scheme, although the majority seem to have become swiftly concerned with selling the advantages of electrical power to potential consumers in towns such as Waterford, Kilkenny, Arklow and Portlaoise.<sup>40</sup> The success of the efforts of the Publicity Department can be seen from a comment in *The Irish Builder and Engineer* in 1929 that “The propaganda of this body has been of particular appeal to those somewhat conservative souls whose placidity is so difficult to disturb.”<sup>41</sup>

Centrally important to the conceptualisation of the Irish public of the Shannon Scheme as a national endeavour was the programme of guided tours run by the ESB’s Guide Bureau, which was set up in June 1928 “to facilitate and conduct visitors to the works.”<sup>42</sup> The demand for public tours was taken on the basis of the large number of requests by groups for tours of the Scheme prior to the summer of 1928, including the

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<sup>38</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) **ESB Archive**, pp. 18-19; (1928) 'Shannon Scheme and an Experimental Farm', *Limerick Leader*. November 12. p. 2. **ESB Clippings Book 02**; (1929) 'The Shannon Scheme: 500 Louth People See the Big Work: A Successful Excursion', *Dundalk Democrat*. May 18. **ESB Clippings Book 05**; (1930) 'Electric Lighting: In the Home, Shop and Factory: Why a Two-Part Tariff is Necessary: Lectures in Tralee', *Kerryman*. March 8. **ESB Clippings Book 12**.

<sup>39</sup> (1928) 'Shannon Scheme Visitors, 32,076', *Irish Independent*. October 6. p. 7. **ESB Clippings Book 02**; (1929) 'Exhibition of Model, Town Hall, Waterford', *Waterford Star*. October; (1929) "'Irish Independent's" Shannon Scheme Model', *Irish Independent*. May 8. p. 3. **ESB Clippings Book 05**; (1929) 'Shannon Scheme Model: Kells Firm's Enterprise Appreciated', *Meath Chronicle*. November 9. p. 1. **ESB Clippings Book 10**; (1929) 'Visit to Shannon Scheme Works: Kilkenny Mayor's Generous Hospitality: Enjoyable and Instructive Outing', *Kilkenny People*. July 13. **ESB Clippings Book 06**; (1939) 'Col. L.T. Joye: Funeral Tribute', *Sunday Independent*. March 12. p. 2; (1939) 'Funeral of L T Joye', *Irish Independent*. March 13. p. 5; (1939) 'Mr. Laurence T. Joye', *The Irish Press*. March 11; O'BRIEN, S. (2010) 'Interview with Lar Joye, grand-son of Laurence Joye, E.S.B. Publicity Department' National Museum, Collins Barracks. August 5.

<sup>40</sup> (1928) 'Electricity Board's Campaign: Lectures in the Free State', *The Irish Times*. November 23. p. 11. **ESB Clippings Book 03**; (1929) 'Shannon Scheme Lecture', *Evening Mail*. October 17. **ESB Clippings Book 06**; (1929) 'Shannon Scheme: Important Lecture at Sligo Congress: Economic Features and Advantages', *Cork Examiner*. June 13. **ESB Clippings Book 05**; (1929) 'The Shannon Scheme: Kells Lecture On Topical Subject', *Drogheda Independent*. November 16. **ESB Clippings Book 10**.

<sup>41</sup> (1929) 'The Shannon Scheme: Another Stage Reached', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. August 3. pp. 689-90.

<sup>42</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) **ESB Archive**, p. 20.

Institute of Civil Engineers, the Institute of Electrical Engineers, the Scientific and Engineering Society, engineering students from UCD, Trinity College and Cork technical schools and at least one group of teachers.<sup>43</sup> These tours were conducted from the Siemens offices at Strand Barracks in Limerick city, with the transport provided by the Irish Omnibus Company from Limerick to Killaloe, via O'Briensbridge, Parteen, Clonlara and the main site at Ardnacrusha itself.<sup>44</sup> It is this guided tour and the package deal arranged with Great Southern Railways that the first ESB advertising campaign was intended to popularise, which in itself was a fairly sophisticated arrangement for a small publicity department in busy and unusual circumstances. The Guide Bureau seems to have operated this routine under the auspices of the Publicity Department from June 1928 to 1931, although hourly tours of the station complex itself continued for a number of years afterwards and can still be organised on an individual basis at the time of writing.<sup>45</sup> The formal organisation of the tour service coincided with the power house reaching an advanced state of construction and an increasing level of organisation within the ESB itself, as it prepared for the launch of the Scheme in 1929 and its subsequent take-over of control from Siemens.

From contemporary newspaper reports, the regular tours ran alongside group bookings from technically-orientated groups such as the Irish Technical Instruction Congress, the Institute of Electrical Engineers (back for a second visit in 1929) and the Association of University Electrical Engineers.<sup>46</sup> Business interests were also represented, with visits

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<sup>43</sup> SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1929) *Engineering & Scientific Assoc. of Ireland Shannon Visit*. **National Archives: SS 5062**; SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT. (1929) *Minutes of Meetings and Conferences*. **National Archives: SS 166**; (1926) 'The Shannon Scheme: An Incursion of Engineers', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. October 2. pp. 745-46; (1927) 'Engineering Students Visit Shannon Scheme', *Limerick Leader*. June 8. p. 3; (1927) 'Engineers Visit the Shannon Scheme', *Limerick Leader*. May 14. p. 5; (1927) 'Shannon Scheme's Progress: Civil Engineers Visit: Clare Transformation Story', *Irish Independent*. May 13. p. 10; (1927) 'Teachers' Excursion to Ardnacrusha', *Connacht Tribune*. July 30. p. 2.

<sup>44</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) **ESB Archive**, p. 20.

<sup>45</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) **ESB Archive**, p. 20; (1931) 'Visitors to Shannon Scheme', *Kilkenny People*. August 22. **ESB Clippings Book 17**; (1931) 'Visitors to Shannon Scheme', *Kerryman*. August 15. **ESB Clippings Book 17**.

<sup>46</sup> (1926) 'The Shannon Scheme: Engineers to Visit Power Development Works', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. September 18. p. 725; (1927) 'Engineering Section: Southern Officials Visit Shannon Works', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. January 8. p. 24; (1928) 'Managed Like A Village: President At Shannon Works: National Effects of Shannon Scheme', *Irish Independent*. September 10. p. 7. **ESB Clippings Book 02**; (1928) 'Shannon Scheme in Detail: Unique Experience for

from the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, the Secretary and Works Manager of the Ford Works in Cork and the staff of the Irish Independent, all presumably with a view to installing Shannon current in their particular businesses.<sup>47</sup> An idea of the broad appeal of the Shannon Scheme as a tourist destination can be gathered by the numbers of American and German tourists noted in the newspapers as touring the Scheme, as well as notables such as Lord Leverhulme, the Archbishop of Westminster and the Chairman of the New York Power Board.<sup>48</sup> That said, the numbers of Irish visitors who did not visit as part of an organised group, but on the specially discounted rail and bus tickets, were also very high, with the 1929 Annual Report detailing some 85,000 visitors over the first ten months of operation, which was almost 3% of the population of the Free State in 1926.<sup>49</sup> A *Limerick Leader* article also quotes the Guide Bureau as having logged 32,776 visitors in the month of September 1928, the highest number in the four months of operation at that point, presumably due to the effects of the national newspaper advertising campaign.<sup>50</sup>

## The Scheme and the Tourist Gaze

The original series of ESB advertisements were aimed at the thousands of Irish visitors to the Shannon Scheme, as it was their physical engagement with the site which would provide a visceral contact with the Scheme, as well as constructing it as an epic undertaking in their consciousness. The tourist was allowed into the construction site

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200 Visitors', *Irish Independent*. June 14. p. 13; (1928) 'Shannon Scheme Visitors', *Limerick Leader*. October 6. p. 7; (1929) 'Engineers to Visit Shannon Scheme', *Limerick Leader*. June 2. p. 3.

<sup>47</sup> (1928) 'Pictorial Review. Dublin Chamber of Commerce Visit to Shannon Scheme', *Irish Independent*. October 4. p. 3. **ESB Clippings Book 02**; (1928) 'Still They Come: More Shannon Scheme Visitors', *Limerick Leader*. November 3. p. 3. **ESB Clippings Book 02**.

<sup>48</sup> (1928) 'French Engineers to see Shannon Works and Drumm Train', *Irish Independent*. July 3. p. 8; (1929) 'Distinguished Visitors to the Shannon Scheme', *Limerick Leader*. September 7. p. 7; (1929) 'To Visit Limerick and Ardnacrusha', *Limerick Leader*. June 15. p. 7; (1930) 'German Boy Scouts On Visit To Limerick', *Limerick Leader*. August 30. p. 7; (1931) 'Cardinal Bourne at Ardnacrusha', *Irish Independent*. March 3. p. 8; (1931) 'German Visitors At Shannon Scheme', *Nenagh Guardian*. August 22. **ESB Clippings Book 17**; (1931) 'Tourists and Shannon Scheme', *Cork Examiner*. August 6. **ESB Clippings Book 17**; (1932) 'Ardnacrusha Visit: Mr. F.P. Walsh Inspects Shannon Power Station', *The Irish Press*. August 11. **ESB Clippings Book 19**.

<sup>49</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) **ESB Archive**, p. 20; CENTRAL STATISTICS OFFICE. (1928) 'Population of Saorstát Éireann and of each Province at each Census since 1881 and the Numbers of Marriages, Births and Deaths Registered in each Intercensal Period since 1871'. Dublin: Central Statistics Office Ireland; (1928) 'Cheap Trips to the Shannon: Guides to Explain the Scheme', *The Irish Times*. June 20. p. 7.

<sup>50</sup> (1928). 'Shannon Scheme Visitors'. p. 7.



only under limited and controlled circumstances and the scale of the project would easily have dwarfed anything in the experience of the Irish public, both in its physical size and in the complexity of the engineering works. Their gaze was guided, focused and directed during the experience of the tour, as they were shepherded around a specific route through the works and particular aspects of the construction are pointed out to them.<sup>51</sup> Architect Harry Alberry recommended visiting with a motor car and a small party, describing:

hundreds of happy holiday makers, *en route* for Limerick, clad in freshly tailored tweed suitings, or more filmy and more brilliant raiment, are anticipating acquaintance with the Free State's venture. Fortunately, the sun is shining.<sup>52</sup>

That the experience of the Scheme was largely visual is emphasised by a surviving postcard in the Limerick City Museum, posted in June 1930, which was posted from Ardnacrusha post office to an address in a Dublin suburb and bears the message 'A great sight to see the works.' (see Figure 5-7). This emphasis on the visuality of the experience is privileging the Scheme as a worthwhile 'sight' to see, vindicating the effort and time spent by the tourist as part of their leisure time to visit this place.

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<sup>51</sup> Urry discusses how the tourist gaze is directed and focused on 'out of the ordinary' features of the landscape. See URRY, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze*. London: Sage, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup> ALBERRY, H. (1929) 'Great Undertakings: A Visit to the Shannon Scheme', *The Irish Builder and Engineer*. June 8. pp. 496-501. Alberry was born in Liverpool, but practised in Ireland and is best known for the refit of Leinster House as a permanent home for the Oireachtas in the early 1920s, as well as writing under the pseudonym of Oculus. See ROTHERY, S. (1991) *Ireland and the New Architecture 1900 – 1940*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press, pp. 103-08; (2011) 'Allberry, Harry', *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940*. <http://www.dia.ie/architects/view/23> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

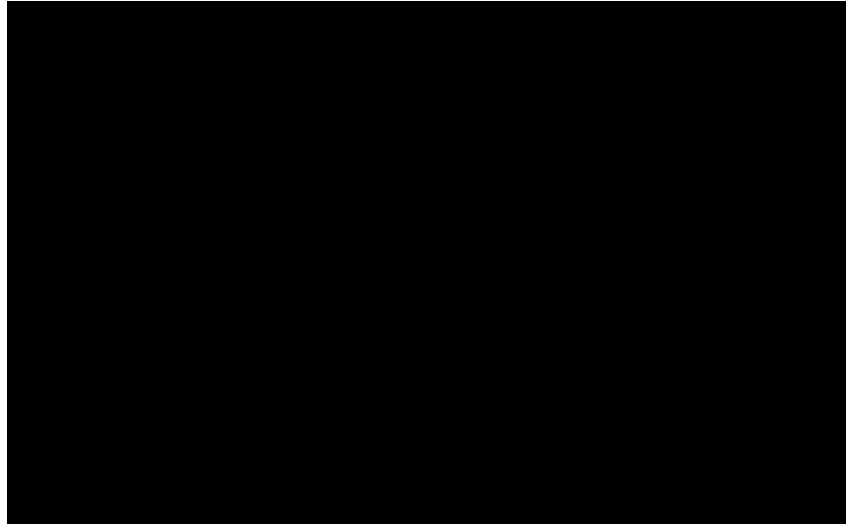


FIGURE 5-7 - SHANNON SCHEME POSTCARD POSTED FROM ARDNACRUSHA, JULY 19  
1930

(LIMERICK CITY MUSEUM: 2001:0259)

One of the main effects of the public tours of the Shannon Scheme was to raise the status of the works to that of a national monument, a place which is worthwhile to make a pilgrimage to, similar to the Rock of Cashel, the lakes of Killarney, or other spots on the tourist trail of Ireland, at least for the period of its construction. This is partly possible through the spectacular scale of the works, but is emphasised by the apparatus of tourism, including the production of images both by the organising body and by the tourists themselves. One newspaper article recounted "...much surprised comment... concerning the immensity of the undertaking and the progress that has been made by the contractors."<sup>53</sup> This discussion of the Scheme in the language of the sublime eases its inclusion in the pantheon of national monuments, as it was turned into an iconic site with a specific function in the national myth, in this case to emphasise the independence of the Irish Free State from Britain.<sup>54</sup>

As tourist sites are constructed as locations of authenticity, where the tourist, taken out of their normal routine, can validate their own experience as also being authentic, the

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<sup>53</sup> (1928) 'Shannon Scheme Visitors: 10,000 Excursionists to Limerick', *The Irish Times*. July 25. p. 5.

<sup>54</sup> See Edensor's discussion of the iconic tourist sites as ideologically loaded national landscapes in EDENSOR, T. (2002) *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 45-48.

Shannon Scheme carries a particular piquancy in this respect.<sup>55</sup> Unlike the majority of tourist sites, which tend to be either ancient sites or places of spectacular natural beauty, the Shannon Scheme was unusual as a tourist sight in that it was actually being constructed in front of the tourists' eyes. Rather than being a timeless reminder of their place in the world or of the gloriousness of their history, it was changing dynamically over time, with a visit in 1928 revealing a different view and vista from that in 1929. It is also unusual in that, for at least the first two years of the Guide Bureau's operation from summer 1928, it was also a place of large-scale building work. Although anything up to 4,000 workers were employed on the construction of the Scheme, the huge numbers involved in the construction of the canal system would not have been in evidence by the summer of 1928, where the focus was on the construction of the powerhouse, complete with the shiplift and the giant curving forms of the penstocks. There would still have been a large number of workers on site at this time, though, mostly carrying out more specialised concrete construction at first, and later installing the giant turbines into the turbine hall. Guiding a group around the half-built Scheme would have been similar in some ways to the stage-managed experience of a tour guide in a museum, using a verbal narrative to guide groups around the space of the site.<sup>56</sup> Normally, tour guides use internal explanatory displays to orient the tour group, as well as putting an emphasis on the protection of fragile artefacts.<sup>57</sup> This could not have worked in exactly the same way on the Scheme, as there are no missing objects of antiquity which have to be imagined and brought into their proper place in the narrative, but the incomplete, unbuilt nature of the Scheme at the time does posit a similar reaction, as the guide would have had to explain the portions of the site which did not exist yet, rather than those which had been lost, as well as restraining tourists from engaging with the dangerous aspects of a building site. The tour of the Shannon Scheme would have shared some characteristics of the industrial factory tour, with tourists guided through an active working environment. MacCannell describes the reframing and fetishising of labour and work as a source of leisure entertainment as part of the modern experience, giving the examples of work as amusement (DIY), work as spectacle (the generation of electrical power at Grand Coulee dam) and work as attraction (the tours of production lines at the Ford Motor Company). The act of sightseeing allows the worker to step

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<sup>55</sup> CROUCH, D. & N. LÜBBREN (eds.) (2003) *Visual Culture and Tourism*. Oxford: Berg, p. 11.

<sup>56</sup> EDENSOR. (2002) pp. 69-70.

<sup>57</sup> MILLS, S. F. (2003) 'Open-Air Museums and the Tourist Gaze', in CROUCH, D. & N. LÜBBREN (eds.) *Visual Culture and Tourism*. Oxford: Berg, p. 77.

outside the context of their everyday work environment and to engage with work on a different, non-mundane, level. The industrial tour allows them to consider the work of others as a part of a bigger picture, of modern society as a whole, rather than focussing on the minutiae of their own work day.<sup>58</sup> They can consider the greater moral drama of labour and its role within society.

As a tourist, the individual may attempt to grasp the division of labor as a phenomenon *sui generis* and become a moral witness of its masterpieces of virtue and viciousness.<sup>59</sup>

The tours of the Shannon Scheme under construction fall into the category of tourist attractions which MacCannell terms “work displays”, and it bears a strong resemblance to his description of the Grand Coulee dam on the Columbia river in the north-western United States, which represents work by both creating electricity itself and as the product of human labour.<sup>60</sup> Visiting the site would have allowed Irish people to engage with the idea of industrial work, using the touristic experience to step outside of their own daily round of work and consider the larger issues relating to it. The opportunity to become a moral witness of industrial labour would have allowed the Irish tourist to appreciate the scale of the undertaking, the importance of the project to the nation, and to develop a sense of the project as a national undertaking. This opportunity would have also been particularly important to the large numbers of agricultural workers, for whom this may be an unusual encounter with industrial work, given the small size of the industrial sector in the Free State. It is also important in familiarising the Irish tourist with the work of industrial machinery as replacement for the human, given the spectacle of large numbers of ditch-diggers, bucket excavators and other German equipment. Even architect Harry Alberry describes the machinery in anthropomorphic terms, conflating machine labour with the human.

Uncannily, they seem to possess superhuman energy, combined with human mentality. Puffing along the banks, with almost offensive pride, are tiny engines drawing diminutive trucks over a Lilliputian track. We watch, for an hour, unceasing mechanical labour... The canal is now approaching completion, and one observes, almost with regret, a handful of flowers tied to some monstrous machine, a pretty

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<sup>58</sup> MACCANNELL, D. (1999) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. 3rd ed. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 5-7.

<sup>59</sup> MACCANNELL. (1999) p. 7.

<sup>60</sup> MACCANNELL. (1999) pp. 36, 62.

conceit, denoting that it has finished its long and arduous task in Ireland, and is awaiting dismantlement and dispatch to some new scene of endeavour.<sup>61</sup>

Rather than emphasising a Protestant work ethic, tours of the Scheme introduced industrial work as virtuous undertaking from a national standpoint. The Shannon Scheme tours represented a route by which a giant industrial project in a predominantly Catholic agricultural nation could be appropriated as a morally upright national project, thus sidestepping any associations with industrial Britain.

In some ways, the Shannon Scheme would have been the ultimate authenticated artefact, being constructed as it was around the tourist. This is confirmed by Mills' description of the intuitive belief that seeing an artefact in its original location is not an interpretative process, but unmediated and unproblematic, when that is really not the case.<sup>62</sup> The opening of a site to the tourist gaze is part of the process of domestication, whereby the spectacular can be tamed and controlled.<sup>63</sup> This is particularly notable within a national context, where the authentic sight is put to work in the service of a national imaginary.

When the sight's connotations are fully absorbed into the culture and language of a society it becomes capable of generating significant cultural energy as the virtuous object, as a location in the spatial dramaturgy of a national or cultural identity, a relay in an international system of cultural values.<sup>64</sup>

The Shannon Scheme acted as a particularly potent virtuous Irish object, as the ESB depicted it as an Irish national achievement, having conveniently glossed over the involvement of the German engineering contractors, and indeed the resolutely German style of the architecture itself. It is notable that, by the summer of 1928, the Irish Tourist Board had incorporated the Shannon Scheme into its own newspaper

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<sup>61</sup> ALBERRY. (1929) p. 498.

<sup>62</sup> MILLS. (2003) p. 81.

<sup>63</sup> BALM, R. & B. HOLCOMB. (2003) 'Unlosing Lost Places: Image Making, Tourism and the Return to Terra Cognita', in CROUCH, D. & N. LÜBBREN (eds.) *Visual Culture and Tourism*. Oxford: Berg, p. 162.

<sup>64</sup> OSBORNE, P. D. (2000) *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 83-84.

advertisements as part of an instructional list to tourists of sights in the Limerick area, which included historical and natural sights such as Limerick City Walls, pre-historic settlements at Lough Gur and angling on the Shannon at Castleconnell (see Figure 5-8).<sup>65</sup> Alberry sees no problem with rounding off a visit to the Shannon Scheme works with a picnic on the shores of Lough Derg, describing:

A vast expanse of sparkling water, a panorama of hills, scarce taking shape in the purple mist, and a white sail, delicately poised in the far distance. An atmosphere of perfect peace, the peace of Eire, with its intimate appeal. Lough Derg, asleep – heedless of the energy latent in her depths, so soon, by the art and craft of man, to be wrested from her keeping and converted into vital and almost terrifying power.<sup>66</sup>

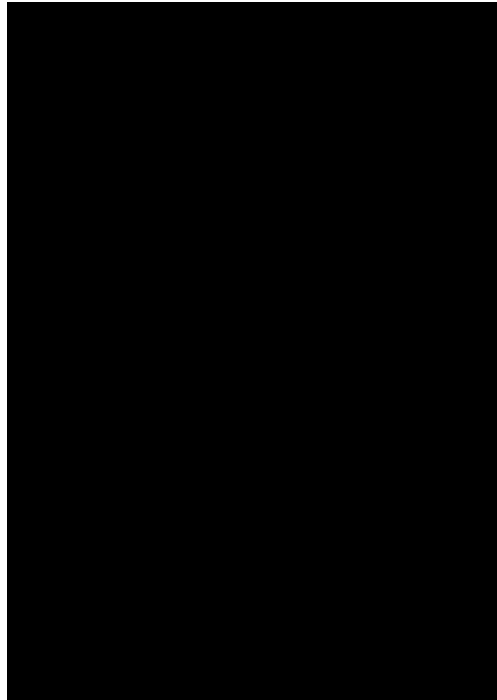


FIGURE 5-8 - IRISH TOURIST ASSOCIATION NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENT, 1928  
(*THE IRISH TIMES*, JULY 7 1928, P. 4)

## ESB Advertising Campaign

The initial campaign of ESB advertisements promoting the Shannon Scheme can be divided into two groups – three advertisements published before the formation of the Publicity Department in the summer of 1928; and a more coherent campaign consisting

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<sup>65</sup> EDENSOR. (2002) p. 86.

<sup>66</sup> ALBERRY. (1929) pp. 496-98.

of 5 advertisements published between the end of August 1928 and January 1929. This section will focus on these advertisements, rather than on the subsequent advertising campaigns for electrical products and services, as they fall outside the remit of this thesis. The initial, rather modest, advertising campaign was described in the 1929 ESB Annual Report as being “of a broadly propagandistic nature dealing with the possibilities of the Shannon Power Scheme”.<sup>67</sup> Ned Lawler also described the campaign in his letter to *Advertising World* as a “considerable amount of propaganda and goodwill advertising” and it is clear that the first priority of the E.S.B. publicity department was to provide a positive exposure of the Scheme to the general public, possibly in an attempt to move the focus away from the problematic financial aspect of the Scheme.<sup>68</sup> There is a lack of extant documentation on the process of commissioning these designs, so much of the analysis is based on the advertisements themselves, as well as what can be inferred from their production and distribution.

### **ESB Advertising: initial advertisements**

The initial advertising campaign by the ESB publicity department began with advertisements aimed at encouraging visitors to avail of the rail and bus package deals to visit the works, as well as general promotion of the idea of electricity as a source of power. These advertisements seem to have been produced in a one-off fashion, published in the daily newspapers on one occasion only, and were designed in a significantly different layout from the later, more co-ordinated series of advertisements discussed.

The first advertisement, published on the front page of the Irish Times on the 20th of June 1928, consisted of a drawing of the power station works above a detailed, centred layout of text which focuses on the packaged tours to the site (see Figure 5-9). The drawing was unsigned and showed a view from the tailrace bank which was repeated by the Siemens photographer on a number of occasions, due the convenient vantage point over the power house area. The style of the illustration is very clear and precise in its

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<sup>67</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) **ESB Archive**, p. 18.

<sup>68</sup> (1931) p. 344.

detail, although it is not directly based on any of the extant Siemens photographs of the Shannon Scheme, so could have been sketched on site by the anonymous artist.<sup>69</sup>

This advertisement seems to have been a one-off production, rather than part of a synchronised campaign, particularly as the textual part of the advertisement bears a direct relation to 19th century letterpress advertising layouts, with a large amount of text arranged in a number of sizes and fonts, usually centred or in a number of columns. The density of this text takes away from the emphasis on the headline ‘Visit the Shannon Works’, as the eye is distracted towards the detailed image so close above and the detailed text so close below. The content of the text includes an exhortation to visit the Scheme, to ‘See this Mighty Project in the Making’, followed by extensive details about the necessary travel arrangements. The references to the ‘mighty project’ and ‘stupendous undertaking’ in this advertisement provide a textual emphasis on the heroic nature of the scheme and the direct exhortation to the audience echoes the technique used by the *Sweet Afton* advertisement discussed earlier. The advertisement works on a direct visual level, demonstrating to the viewer the sublime size and complexity of the works in progress in a rather literal fashion. The depiction of the power station works in a similar manner to the advertisements for rail destinations discussed earlier, with a broad landscape view of the destination providing a ‘view’ for the prospective tourist. Unlike those depictions of the rural idyll, this advertisement attempts to showcase an industrial undertaking as a destination using a similar visual framing of a landscape. It is doubtful that this depiction of the construction landscape was very successful, though, as the advertisement was not repeated, although a very similar one was published in *The Irish Times* and the *Irish Independent* on the 26<sup>th</sup> of July, and the *Cork Examiner* on the 27<sup>th</sup>.

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<sup>69</sup> The closest match is photograph number 809, which was taken the previous February and shows the concrete construction of the station at a similar stage, as well as the wooden shuttering on the entrance holes for the first two penstocks, and at the bottom of the image, the arches which will become the outflow channels under the turbine hall.



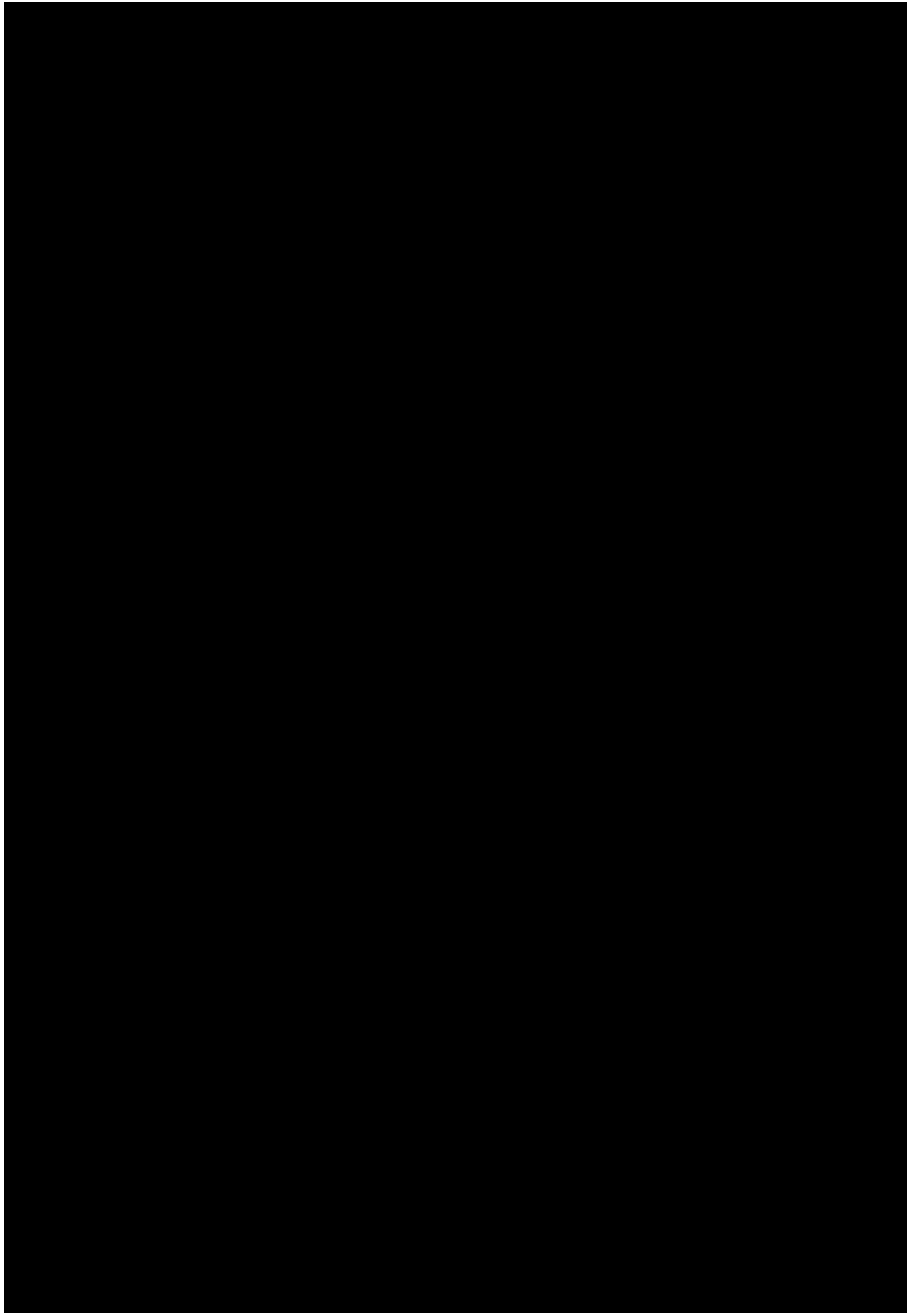


FIGURE 5-9 ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD, 'VISIT THE SHANNON WORKS' NEWSPAPER  
ADVERTISEMENT WITH SKETCH OF WORKS, 1928

(*THE IRISH TIMES*, JUNE 20 1928, P. 1)



FIGURE 5-10 - HENDRIK FELS, DECORATED KEYSTONE IN ARNHEM SWITCHING STATION, THE NETHERLANDS, 1927

([HTTP://WWW.FLICKR.COM/PHOTOS/KLAASFOTOCOLLECTIE/3041930300/](http://www.flickr.com/photos/klaasfotocollectie/3041930300/))

The third, undated, advertisement shows the half-built power house surrounded by machinery, in front of a male silhouette grasping a fistful of thunderbolts. The symbolism of the thunderbolts is immediate, in the literal association of lightning with electricity common in other electrification projects of the time (see Figure 5-10). The text reads 'See this Mighty Project in the Making', a phrase which is used repeatedly in these advertisements, and the image uses the metaphor of a giant silhouette grasping the lightning and using it to build or forge part of the station (see Figure 5-11). The Scheme is depicted as a heroic enterprise, with great effort and energy being spent. The crucial involvement of German engineering expertise from Siemens-Schuckertwerke and Siemens-BauUnion is completely ignored. The text portion of the advertisement is laid out very simply, in the manner of 19<sup>th</sup> century letterpress posters with multiple sizes of lettering, in different fonts, similar to the previous ESB advertisements.

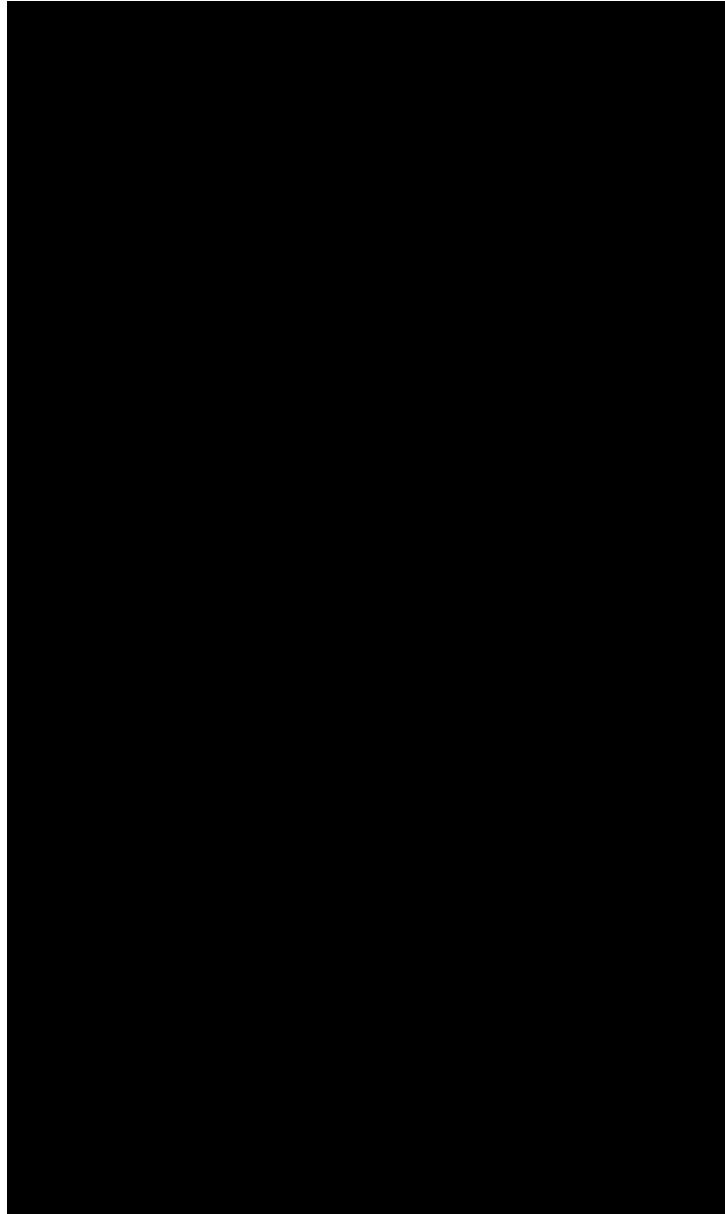


FIGURE 5-11 – ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD, ‘VISIT THE SHANNON WORKS’  
NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENT WITH SILHOUETTE AND THUNDERBOLT, 1928 (ESB  
ARCHIVE)

This image is similar in many ways to images from Soviet Russia during the same period, appropriating the figure of the heroic worker as a representative of the nation (see Figure 5-12). They share the same focus on the male figure and particularly with that of the heroic industrial worker, a figure who often represented a modernised development of European mythological smiths.<sup>70</sup> While not taking the idea of the heroic

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<sup>70</sup> BONNELL, V. (1999) *Iconography of Power. Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 23-63; SCOTT, Y. (1999) *The Iconography of Mythological*

worker to the extremes of the Soviet Union, the influence of both Larkin and Connolly on the revolutionary leaders of 1916 had led to some inconclusive negotiations with the Soviet Union in the early 1920s, which was the only state to formally recognise the First Dáil and the 1919 republic.<sup>71</sup> Organised labour and the trade union movement represented a significant subsection of the urban Irish, particularly after the trade disputes of the early 1910s, although the Labour Party was not a particularly strong political force, due to the strength of nationalist feeling. The silhouette of the heroic worker in this advertisement would speak clearly to that minority, particularly when it was juxtaposed with the construction scene in the foreground.



FIGURE 5-12 - 'OUR ERA CALLS - FORWARD! THE FIVE YEAR PLAN CALLS - FORWARD!', SOVIET RUSSIAN POSTER, C1928

([HTTP://POSTERS.NCE.BUTTOBI.NET/RUSS2.HTM](http://POSTERS.NCE.BUTTOBI.NET/RUSS2.HTM))

Despite the urban focus of the syndicalist socialism of Larkin and Connolly, Mathews makes the argument that the Irish countryside had distinct socialist tendencies in specific areas. He connects it to the development of a 'self-help' ethos which had

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*Themes in German Art c.1920-1950*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, History of Art, Trinity College Dublin, pp. 183-84.

<sup>71</sup> MITCHELL, A. (1974) *Labour in Irish Politics, 1890 – 1930: The Irish Labour Movement in the Age of Revolution*. Dublin: Irish University Press, p. 36.

emerged in Ireland in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, which produced organisations like the co-operative movement - not actually a political party, but a group with somewhat collectivist tendencies.<sup>72</sup> The pragmatic small farmer had little time for socialist ideas in the abstract, but could easily see the sense in banding together with his neighbours to sell their milk in bulk. It does however provide a practical understanding of the aims of the workers movement in the countryside, which could have also provided a 'way in' for these particular interest groups to this advertisement. The repetition of the textual rhetoric about the 'mighty project in the making' also has the effect of focussing on the figure of the worker as a national force, creating an Irish project for Irish people.

### **ESB Advertising: main newspaper advertising campaign**

The main campaign of E.S.B. advertisements ran for a little over 5 months and consisted of a series of 5 different newspaper advertisements, placed in multiple Irish newspapers (see Appendix E). The advertisements seem to have been designed and published in the newspapers one after the other, rather than all at once, although some were repeated at a later date, and have a level of sophistication and unity in the design and layout which was missing from the initial advertisements. These were published in a large number of newspapers, including "all the daily newspapers published in the Saorstát, in forty of the leading Saorstát provincial weekly newspapers and in a selected number of other weekly and monthly publications published in the Saorstát".<sup>73</sup>

Appendix E shows the dates of the publication of the different advertisements in 4 sample publications; one daily newspaper (*The Irish Times*, published in Dublin six days a week), two provincial weekly newspapers (*Limerick Leader* and *Connaught Tribune*, both published on a Saturday) and *The Irish Builder and Engineer*, a bimonthly architectural and engineering publication. The first three advertisements were published in the newspapers in a biweekly pattern, which was later reduced to monthly, mostly following the pattern of publication in the national newspapers on a Thursday, followed by the provincial papers in their regular Saturday publication a few days later. This leads me to believe that the E.S.B. publicity department went through a regular cycle at this time,

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<sup>72</sup> MATHEWS, P. J. (2003) *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Fein, the Gaelic League and the Co-operative Movement*. Cork: Cork University Press, pp. 2-9.

<sup>73</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1929) **ESB Archive**, p. 19.

with the copywriting, design and publication of each advertisement happening in a sequential manner, rather than all the advertisements being designed at once and then placed strategically in the newspapers. This is borne out by an unaddressed letter in the ESB Archive, which requests the repetition of “the last advertisement in this week’s issue of your paper”<sup>74</sup>. The advertisements in *The Irish Builder and Engineer* do not follow this pattern, however, with the 90,000 horsepower advertisement not appearing and the next two appearing some weeks after their initial appearances in the newspapers. It appears that the decision to include the advertisements in this specialist trade publication may have been made in late September or early October, once the campaign was already firmly established in the national and local press.

Apart from the text-only ‘PROGRESS’ advertisement published at the end of September 1928, the other four advertisements all include images signed by Gordon Brewster, the noted Dublin freelance illustrator.<sup>75</sup> This is unlike the later illustrated advertisements produced for the Electricity Showrooms, Electricity Supply Board stands in the Spring Show or specific electrical products, which are either signed R. Breslin, monogrammed with a B (possibly for R. Breslin or Frank Brandt) or unsigned.<sup>76</sup> Brewster had trained at the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art, initially as a day student, but continued sporadic evening classes after beginning work as an illustrator for his father at Independent Newspapers.<sup>77</sup> He produced illustrations and cartoons for the *Irish Independent*, the *Sunday Independent*, the *Evening Herald* and a number of commercial clients

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<sup>74</sup> Unaddressed letter from E.A. Lawler, November 11 1928, in ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1932) *ESB Newspaper Clippings Book 19 (December 1931 to July 1932)*. **ESB Archive**.

<sup>75</sup> ORAM. (1986) pp. 50, 71, 74.

<sup>76</sup> ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. (1944) *Pulls: Pre-1935 (Duplicate) and Miscellaneous Small up to 1944*. **ESB Archive**.

<sup>77</sup> METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART. (1905) *Index Register of Payments by Students, School of Art, for the Session 1904-05*. **NIVAL: NCAD College Register 1904-05**; METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART. (1906) *Index Register of Payments by Students, School of Art, for the Session 1905-06*. **NIVAL: NCAD College Register 1905-06**; METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART. (1907) *Index Register of Payments by Students, School of Art, for the Session 1906-07*. **NIVAL: NCAD College Register 1906-07**; METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART. (1908) *Index Register of Payments by Students, School of Art, for the Session 1908-09*. **NIVAL: NCAD College Register 1908-09**; METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART. (1910) *Index Register of Payments by Students, School of Art, for the Session 1909-10*. **NIVAL: NCAD College Register 1909-10**; METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART. (1912) *Index Register of Payments by Students, School of Art, for the Session 1911-12*. **NIVAL: NCAD College Register 1911-12**. He exhibited two works in the RHA annual show in 1916 and one in 1917, with his address given as Independent Newspapers Art Department. See STEWART. (1985) p. 81.

up until the 1940s.<sup>78</sup> Brewster's work in pen and ink has a lively quality, based on his experience as a cartoonist (see Figure 5-13), and it is this skill which is put to use in the depiction of the Shannon Scheme.<sup>79</sup>

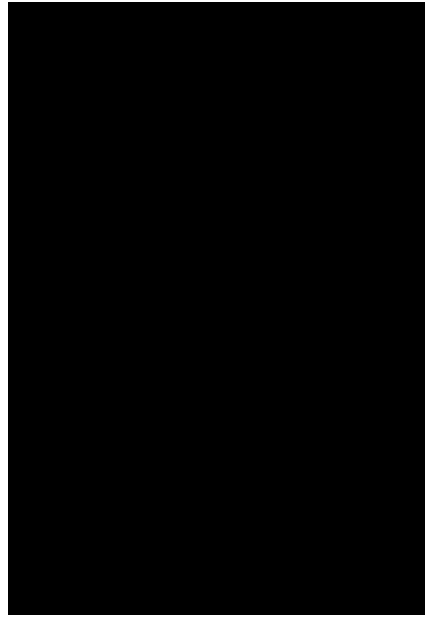


FIGURE 5-13 - GORDON BREWSTER, 'LIFFEY LIDO' CARTOON,  
(*SUNDAY INDEPENDENT*, SEPTEMBER 18 1927, P. 7)

The first two advertisements, published at the start and in the middle of September, continue to advertise the rail deals to visit the Scheme, while the subsequent monthly advertisements are of general propaganda for the Scheme and electrical power, rather than a specific invitation to visit the works. This tallies with the newspaper report that September 1928 had the highest visitor numbers to date, which would have been influenced by the visibility of the advertising campaign.<sup>80</sup> The subsequent advertisements are also functioning as an indirect advertisement for the tours of the Scheme, as well as carrying out a main function of familiarisation of the population to the idea of electricity, arguably the aim of the entire work of the Publicity Department.

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<sup>78</sup> BREWSTER, G. (1946) *The Gordon Brewster Collection*. National Library of Ireland: PD 2199.

<sup>79</sup> SNODDY. (2002) pp. 50-51.

<sup>80</sup> (1928) p. 7.

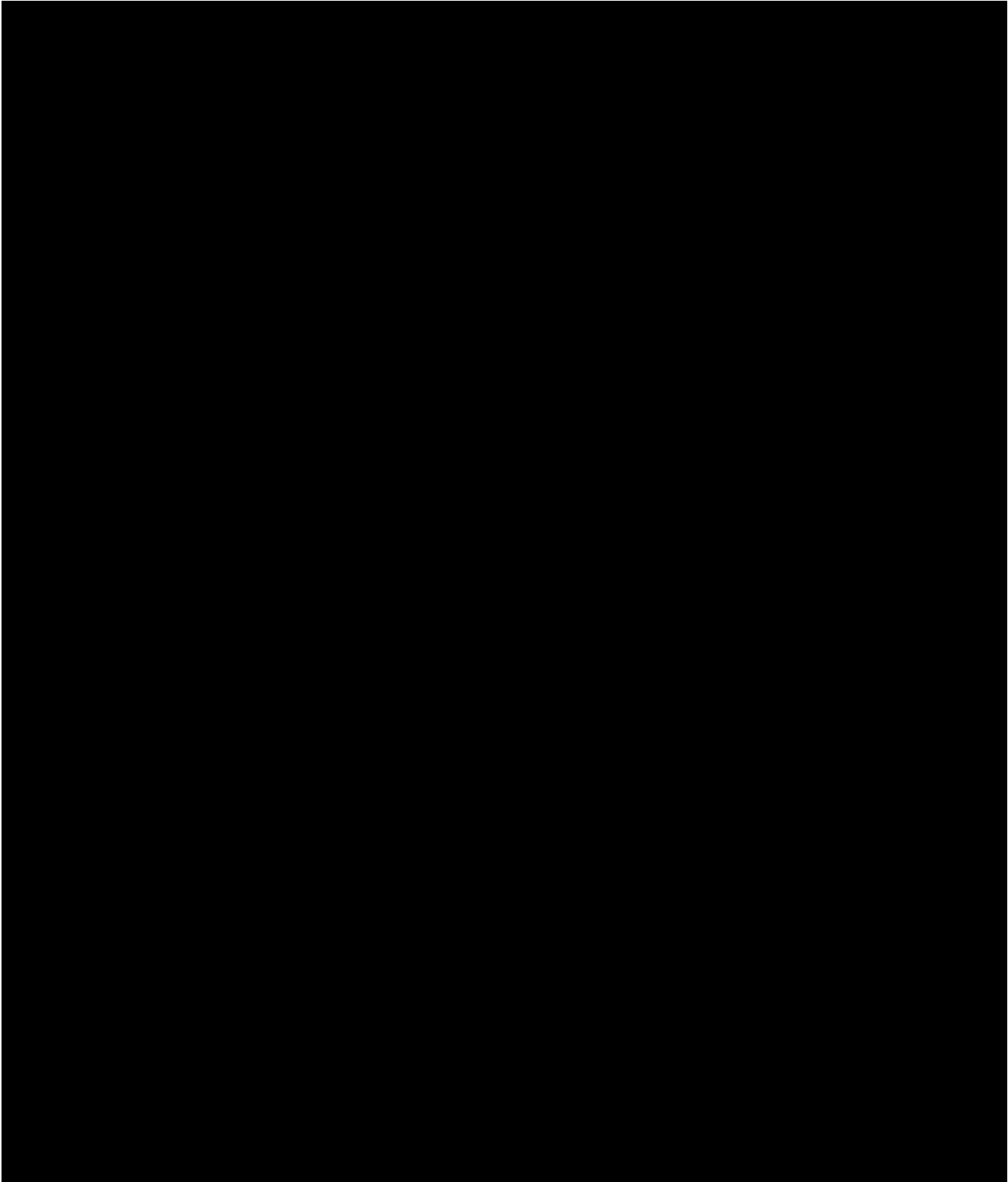


FIGURE 5-14 - ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD, '90,000 HORSES' NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENT, 1928 (*THE IRISH TIMES*, AUGUST 30 1928, P. 5; *NENAGH GUARDIAN*, SEPTEMBER 1 1928, P. 6; ESB ARCHIVE: NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS BOOK 1)



The first of the advertisements for the Shannon Scheme is perhaps the best known, as it has been reprinted a number of times in scholarly publications and a framed copy is currently hanging in the ESB Archive.<sup>81</sup> This advertisement has a more sophisticated layout than the previous advertisements, with the top half of the advertisement dominated by a Brewster illustration, which is separated by a line of bold capital text from the lower, textual, part of the advertisement, with the whole arrangement using smaller fonts and much more white space to emphasise the strapline than in the earlier ones (see Figure 5-14). This section is broken into two columns of text over a line of text in a slightly smaller bold font. The central line of text provides a focus to the advertisement, reading '90,000 HORSE POWER', which relates to both the upper illustrated and lower textual halves of the image. The advertisement is also balanced between the larger statement of 'Energy!' in the top half and 'THE ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD' on the bottom. The illustration returns to a fairly simple line-drawn style which would reproduce clearly on newsprint paper. It shows the erstwhile 90,000 horses, which are rushing towards the spectator harnessed to and pulling a Gaelic chariot, complete with charioteer.

This image uses three interlinked metaphors, both visual and verbal, to make the Scheme accessible and desirable to the reader, while simultaneously sidestepping any undesirable technological associations. The first metaphor is of the horses and that of harnessing, a familiar idea in a land of small farmers, where fields were still rarely ploughed by tractor and the plough horse was a familiar sight.<sup>82</sup> The link between the physical power of a horse and that of electricity would also be understandable to the farmer, as it describes the availability of an extravagant level of horsepower.<sup>83</sup> Again, the idea of harnessing is very important, especially in respect to fears of electrical fires amongst an uneducated population. This is electricity tamed and under control. The

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<sup>81</sup> For example, see COLLEY. (1993) p. 16; CAMPBELL, H. (1997) 'Irish Identity and the Architecture of the New State', in BECKER, A., J. OLLEY & W. WANG (eds.) *20th Century Architecture: Ireland*. Munich: Prestel, p. 84.

<sup>82</sup> FOSTER, R. F. (1988) *Modern Ireland 1600 - 1972*. London: Allen Lane, p. 538.

<sup>83</sup> The horse has been used as symbol for power and energy in a number of contexts, including the Italian Futurist Umberto Boccioni, although in his 1910 painting *The City Rises* it is more a symbol of the metaphorical energy of the modern city, than the literal energy of electricity.

next metaphor is that of the Shannon itself, which is particularly apt as this is a hydro-electric power station. The mythological associations of the river Shannon date back to the Gaelic epics, with Sionnan appearing in the story of the Well of Knowledge. The flooding movement of the horses in the image can be seen as a direct echo of the movement of river water, which is itself providing the electricity. The text directly refers to 'harnessing the power of the Shannon', making use of the State's natural resources, as well as imaginatively linking the project to popular pride in 'the great river'. It is these antiquarian links to a notably 'Irish' past that resulted in the inclusion of a Gaelic charioteer on the top right hand corner of the image. Not only is the river of water/horses being tamed, but the horses are being symbolically harnessed to the Irish nation, in much the same way that the electrical power of the Shannon is to be used by the Irish people. In a similar fashion to other newly independent countries, the importance of ancient myths and legends to the imagining of the Irish state meant that the upright Gaelic warrior of the popular imagination can be easily slotted into this naturalising metaphor.<sup>84</sup> This is particularly important in this interpretation of the Scheme as a heroic Irish project for the Irish people, emphasised as it is by the use of recognisably Irish imagery.

Although the charioteer in this advertisement does contain a symbolic reference to Roman charioteers such as Ben Hur, the eponymous hero of the film shown in Irish cinemas the previous November, his headband and the scrolling decoration on his chariot and cloak allow him to be much more closely identified with figures from Celtic legends such as Cúchulainn and the Red Branch Knights.<sup>85</sup> These connotations would have been recognisable in the context of one of the strongest cultural forces in the decades preceding the building of the Shannon Scheme - the 'Irishing' of Ireland. As discussed earlier, this tendency involved a cultural rejection of Britishness (more specifically Englishness) and attempts to revive various forms of native Irish culture.

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<sup>84</sup> ASHBY, C. (2010) 'Nation Building and Design: Finnish Textiles and the Work of the Friends of Finnish Handicrafts', *Journal of Design History*. Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 360-61. MACDONALD, M. (2003) 'Anima Celtica: Embodying the Soul of the Nation in 1890s', in CUSACK, T. & S. BHREATHNACH-LYNCH (eds.) *Art, Nation and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-Figures*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 29-37.

<sup>85</sup> (1927) 'Advertisement for Ben Hur', *Limerick Leader*. November 26. p. 1; KELLY, M. (2003) *The Role of Advertising in the Establishment and Early Development of a Semi-State Company*. Unpublished MA Thesis, Communications & Cultural Studies, Dublin City University, pp. 43-44.

Heavily dependent on the antiquarian work of the nineteenth century, as well as whatever remaining fragments of oral culture were to be found in remote areas, this movement made the important step of bringing the nationalist struggle onto a cultural level.

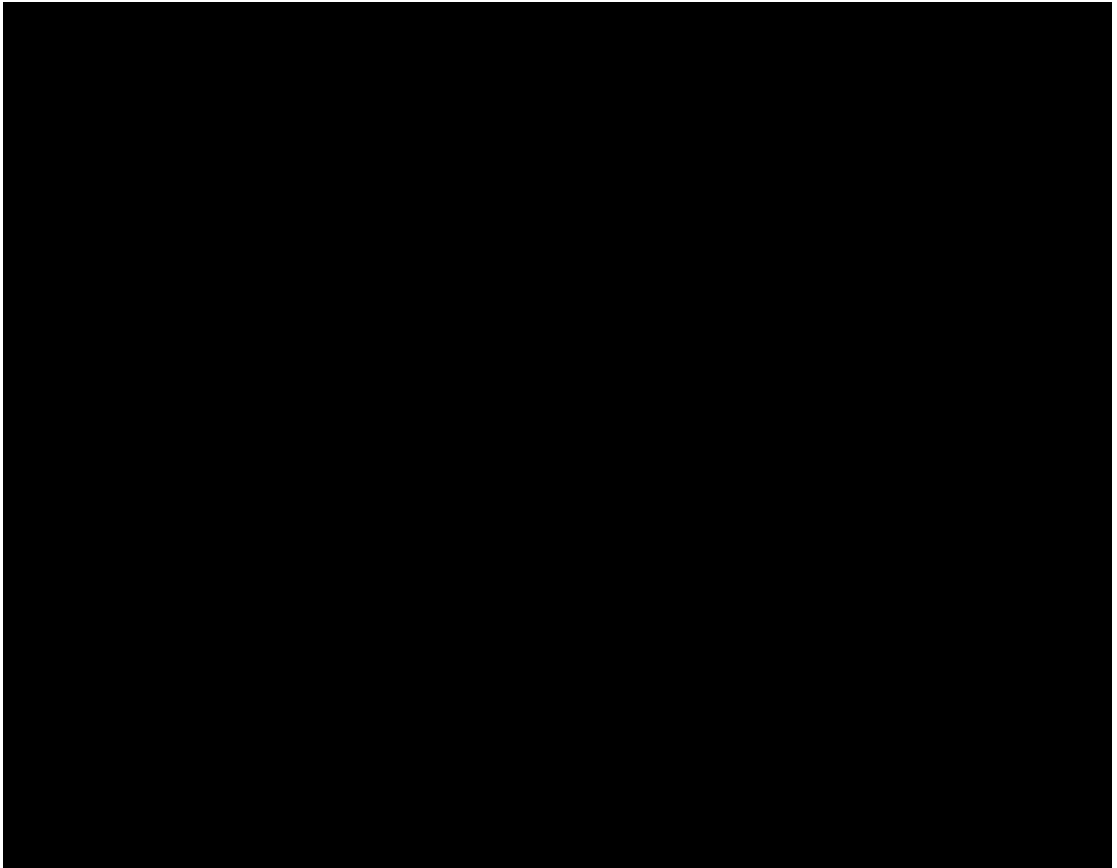


FIGURE 5-15 - SEAGHAN MACCATHMHAOIL, 'MAEV RIDES FORTH TO SPEAK WITH HER DRUID', ILLUSTRATION, 1909

(HUTTON, M. A. (1924) *THE TÁIN*. 2ND ED. DUBLIN: THE TALBOT PRESS)

Figure 5-15 is a neo-Celtic illustration of Queen Maeve and her charioteer, from the *Táin* and it is the use of line and movement that gives the image its sense of power and speed, with charioteer, chariot and horses all charging forwards into the top right of the frame. Maeve wears a rounded helmet with a decorated trim, as well as a cloak billowing in the wind, much like that of the charioteer in the ESB advertisement and it is not unlikely that Gordon Brewster, in particular, would have been exposed to images such as these, as he was a direct contemporary of MacCathmhaoil in the world of Irish illustration. Although the style of the 90,000 horses does not closely resemble the work

of MacCathmhaoil and O'Murnaghan in terms of Neo-Celtic style, it is clearly related in its use of the recognisably Irish symbol of the Celtic charioteer.

In direct contrast to the Neo-Celtic imagery used in Brewster's illustration, the main column of text in the 90,000 horses advertisement discusses the benefits to the Irish industrialist and the Irish worker of this promised supply of energy. It refers directly to Fordist manufacturing principles, with 'the American workman' being described as 'a director of machinery' and discussing methods of creating prosperity and high wages. It seems directly unconnected to and divorced from the antiquarian and pastoral imagery above, but it is the connotation of harnessing the Shannon which provides the connection between text and image. It makes a direct connection between the horse-power of the illustration, which is compared to the work of human slaves, stating that 'Shannon electricity will lift the heavy work of industry from human shoulders to the iron shoulders of machines', relating the metaphor of the image directly back to the physical work of Irish industry. Despite the small numbers of business entrepreneurs and industrialists in the Free State, it is evident from this use of the language of rationalisation that there was some knowledge about Fordist and Taylorist manufacturing in the country. However, the ESB publicity department were employing a common strategy of collapsing past and present by harnessing the incongruous combination of a Neo-Celtic charioteer to such an unashamedly Fordist text, expressing the tensions present in Irish culture in a metaphorical and mythical manner.<sup>86</sup>

These ideas about the rationalisation of industry can be seen in the second ESB advertisement, again nominally promoting tours of the Scheme, in mid-September 1928. While an interest in industry and technology was relegated to the textual component of the first advertisement, here it is given full expression, both visually and textually. Electricity was intended to play a central role in the development of Irish industry, both in the provision of motive power for assembly lines and in electrical labour-saving devices in the home. Indeed, the Government was specifically aware of the possibilities

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<sup>86</sup> This same strategy is pointed out in later Irish advertisements in KING, L. (2011) '(De)constructing the Tourist Gaze: Dutch Influences and Aer Lingus Tourism Posters, 1950-1960', in KING, L. & E. SISSON (eds.) *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity 1922-1992*. Cork: Cork University Press, p. 186.

afforded by interesting Ford in the possibilities afforded by Shannon power for his Cork factory. The Free State trade agent in New York, Lindsey Crawford, made overtures to Ford as early as 1926, with an agreement signed to supply the Cork factory with some 16 million units of power in 1929.<sup>87</sup> I would argue that the ESB changed the focus of the advertisements around this point, from the general public, to a smaller group of engineers and industrialists, who would form the basis of the ESB's industrial customers after the full operation of the Scheme in 1929. This is particularly noticeable in the choice of advertisements reproduced in *The Irish Builder and Engineer* from this point onwards, which concentrated on machinery, equipment and the rhetoric of progress, rather than any involvement with Celtic or heroic symbolic strategies of representation.

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<sup>87</sup> Letter from Lindsay Crawford, Free State Trade Agent, New York to Gordon Campbell, April 16 1926 in MCGILLIGAN. (1926) **McGilligan Papers, UCD Archive: P35/29**; Letter from Thomas McLaughlin to Patrick McGilligan, December 23 1929 in MCGILLIGAN. (1929) **McGilligan Papers, UCD Archive: P35/51**.

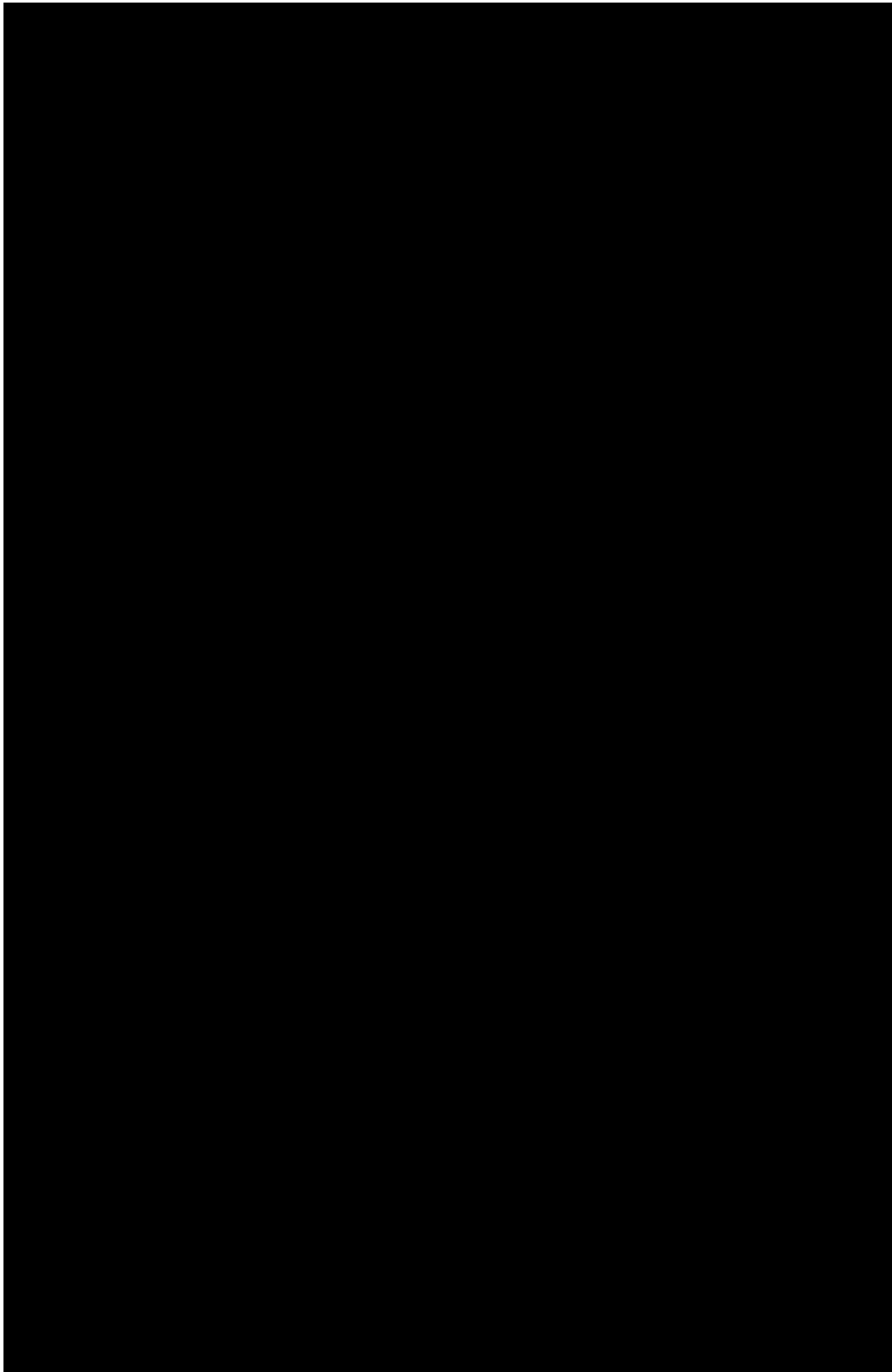


FIGURE 5-16 - ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD, 'ELECTRICITY DOES THE HEAVY WORK'  
NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENT, 1928

(*AN PHOBLACHT*, SEPTEMBER 29 1928; *THE IRISH BUILDER AND ENGINEER*, OCTOBER  
13 1928, P. 889 AND OCTOBER 27 1928, P. 925; ESB ARCHIVE NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS  
BOOK 2; ESB ARCHIVE: PULLS)

This advertisement is laid out in a similar manner to the earlier one, although the balance between text and image has altered slightly, with a smaller image and the strapline being placed further up the page (see Figure 5-16). It depicts a scene at Limerick docks with a steamer being unloaded of its cargo of rail engines, which would have been a common sight during the construction of the Scheme and may have been drawn from life. Although also carried out by Gordon Brewster, the same artist as the previous poster, it portrays a much more realistic scene of the work associated with the Shannon Scheme, as an overwhelming proportion of the equipment used in the Scheme was imported wholesale from Germany on a number of regular steamers. In tune with the written message that 'Electricity does the Heavy Work', it depicts two dockers in the foreground, taking their ease on the dockside as they watch the engine being unloaded by electric crane, illustrating the previously textual theme of machinery replacing human labour.

The very literal visual message stands to reinforce the text, which points out the extensive and efficient use of electrical machinery on the Scheme. In terms almost directly borrowed from some of the more progressive literature, it describes the benefits of electrical machinery to the workman and notably, to the housewife. It shares this verbal rhetoric with the previous advertisement, despite its visual emphasis on the Celtic charioteer. It is notable that, again, the intermediate agent and actor of the German engineer is not acknowledged, instead of returning directly to the English-speaking source of progressivist ideas.

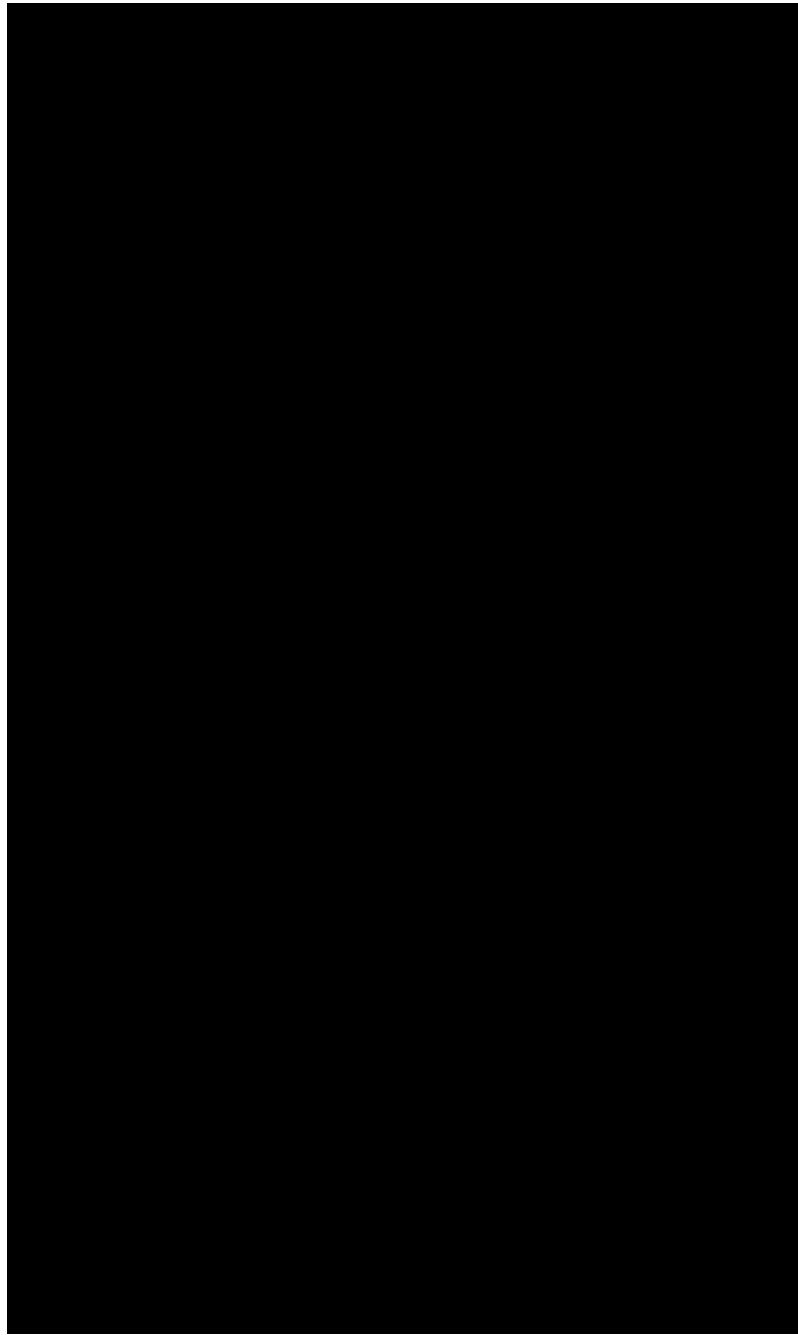


FIGURE 5-17 - ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD, 'PROGRESS' NEWSPAPER  
ADVERTISEMENT, 1928

(*THE IRISH TIMES*, SEPTEMBER 27 1928, P. 8; *THE IRISH BUILDER AND ENGINEER*,  
JANUARY 5 1929, P. 36)

The third E.S.B. advertisement, published at the end of September, differed from the previous ones in that it was text-only, without any component of imagery (see Figure 5-17). The entire advertisement seems to have been set quickly on a letterpress, with the headline 'PROGRESS' in large bold fat-face font, the main text set in a series of short paragraphs in a condensed version of Cheltenham, a commonly used late 19<sup>th</sup> century



font for ephemeral printing, and the ESB name set in a plain sans-serif bold font.<sup>88</sup> This return to simple text-only advertising makes it resemble a political manifesto or effort at vote-collecting, rather than the 19<sup>th</sup>-century product advertisements which some of the other ESB advertisements resemble in their layout (see Figure 5-18).

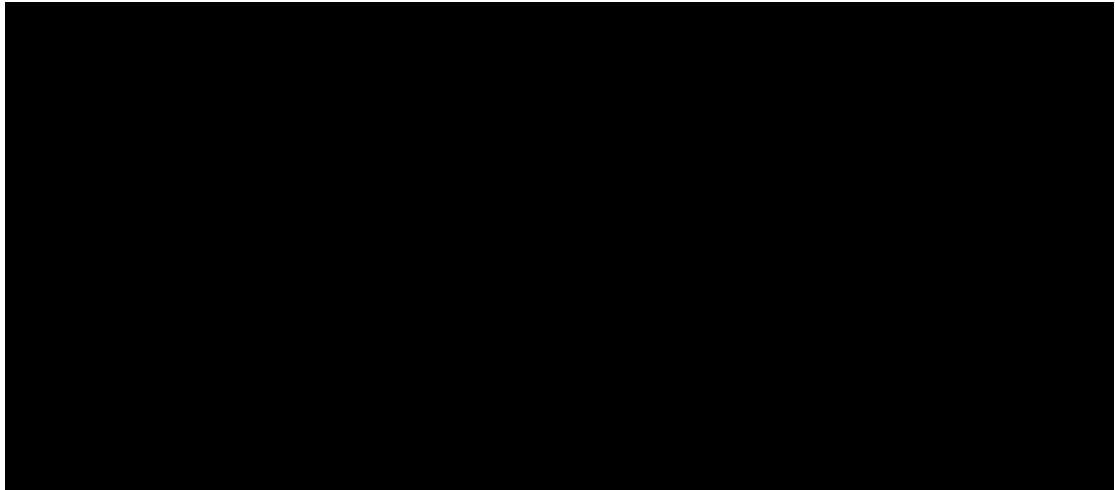


FIGURE 5-18 - CUMANN NA NGAEDHEAL, ELECTORAL NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENT, 1927 (*THE IRISH TIMES*, JUNE 7 1927, P. 4)

The text of this ESB advertisement is written in a similar vein to the previous advertisement copy and is squarely aimed at the Irish homeowner. Although it lacks the exhortation to visit the Scheme, it emphasises the availability of a cheap and abundant supply of electrical power from the Shannon Scheme. The text manages to present the highly-charged term ‘progress’, with its associations of modernity and forward-thinking, as a distinctly national achievement, a feat which the previous advertisements attempted through the combination of text and imagery. It is notable that this advertisement did not appear in the regional press, but in *The Irish Times* and the trade press, both of which would have been read by a smaller circle of middle-class readers in the 1920s, many of whom would be potential commercial customers of the ESB.

The last two advertisements were published in October and November of 1928 respectively and continue the theme of machine work from the “Electricity does the

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<sup>88</sup> (2010) 'Cheltenham Font Family', *MyFonts*.  
<http://new.myfonts.com/fonts/bitstream/cheltenham/> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

Heavy Work' advertisement. They also follow a very similar layout, with a Brewster illustration of some of the imported German machinery at work on the banks of the headrace, a title in a heavy black bold font in the centre, with the lower half of the advertisement taken up by minor and major columns of text over the ESB name (see Figure 5-19 and Figure 5-20). Notably, the exhortations to visit the Scheme are again absent, as the Publicity Department shift their focus to possible customers for electrical current.

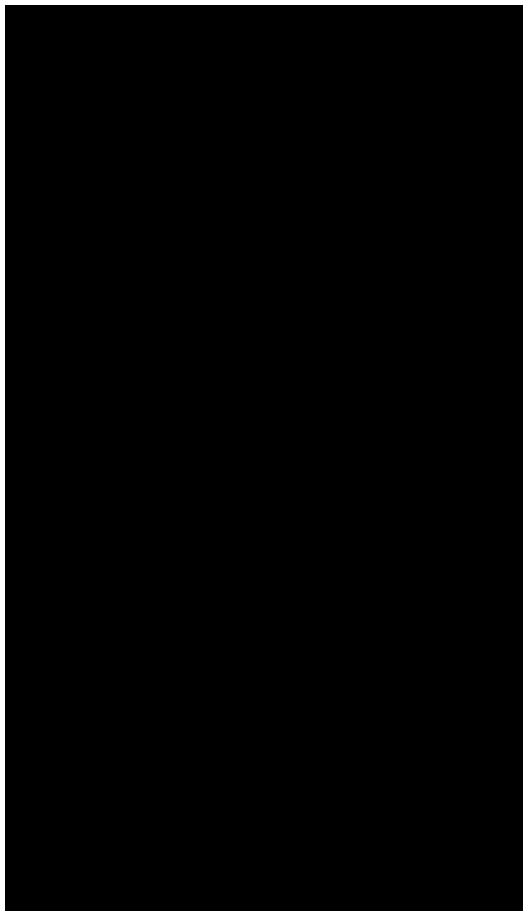


FIGURE 5-19 - ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD, 'DIGGING 4,000 TONS A DAY' NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENT, 1928  
(*THE IRISH TIMES*, OCTOBER 25 1928, P. 5; *THE IRISH BUILDER AND ENGINEER*, NOVEMBER 10 1928, P. 969; ESB ARCHIVE: PULLS)

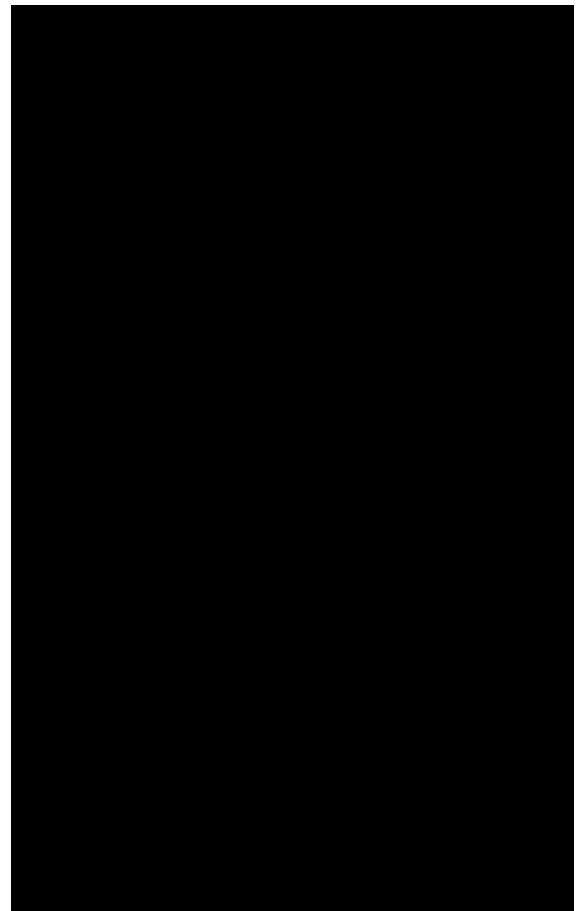


FIGURE 5-20 - ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BOARD. 'BUILDING BY ELECTRICITY' NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENT, 1928  
(*THE IRISH TIMES*, NOVEMBER 27 1928, P. 5; *THE IRISH BUILDER AND ENGINEER*, NOVEMBER 24 1928, P. 1005 AND DECEMBER 8 1928, P. 1049; ESB ARCHIVE: PULLS)

The images in both of these advertisements are very similar in style and content, as well as in general layout. Each one shows one of the pieces of specialised canal-building equipment shipped over from Germany by Siemens to speed the construction of the

Scheme. They are both sketched in a realistic style by Brewster and are very similar, to some of the Siemens photographs of the machinery at work taken in 1926.<sup>89</sup>

These images, along with the earlier advertisements, have a common theme: work carried out by machinery, rather than by human hands. This is emphasised in Figure 5-19, not just by the strapline of ‘Digging 4,000 tons a day’, but by the circular inset depicting Irish navvies working on a canal bank with hand tools. This is reminiscent of an inset detail from a technical drawing and as such, is in keeping with the industrial theme of these two advertisements. The message is clear that such equipment will soon replace the humble navvy and his shovel, in the name of progress and efficiency. Each advertisement carries a description of the machinery (bucket dredger and overburden spreader respectively) in the small column on the left hand side, which is balanced by a larger block of text on the right, in a larger font and set into 5 small paragraphs. In each advertisement, this text is again extolling the virtues of electrically driven machinery, with the final three paragraphs almost identical in both advertisements. Again, the message is unambiguously concerned with the theme of relieving Irish people of a burden of physical labour, as well as the idea of electricity bringing light into their lives. These later advertisements work on the principle that the viewer has a clearer idea of what electricity is, compared to the earlier metaphorical depiction, and that the viewer is more than happy to have human workers replaced with machinery. The reference to electricity as the slave or servant of humanity, which is heavily emphasised in the later advertisements for electrical products, was gaining traction here, at least in the text.<sup>90</sup>

## Conclusion

From a stylistic point of view, the advertisements produced by the ESB Publicity Department during the late 1920s are not all that unusual within the world of Irish advertising of the period. They rely heavily on hand-drawn pictorial line illustrations combined with letterpress text, generally interpreting the material in a rather literal

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<sup>89</sup> The image in the ‘Digging 4,000 tons a day’ advertisement is very similar to Siemens photograph no. 383, taken on 21<sup>st</sup> November 1926, and the image in the ‘Building by Electricity’ advertisement is very similar to Siemens photograph no. 292, taken on the 30<sup>th</sup> July 1926, both of which are found in Siemens Album A703.

<sup>90</sup> KELLY. (2003) p. 43.

fashion, with some notable exceptions based around male heroes. They share a rather conservative sense of layout, heavily based on their legacy of the codes of 19<sup>th</sup> century British advertising, rather than on any of the more avant-garde Modernist work being produced in Continental Europe at this time. It is only the later advertisements that even start to approach the advertisement as an integrated piece of visual communication, rather than as a combination of disparate elements, relying on stylistic motifs from Soviet realist or national romantic sources for impact. These images provide an uneasy balance between the dominant imaginings of Ireland in the Free State, where the ESB Publicity Department started with traditional landscape views, then made attempts to represent the Scheme using symbolic techniques, before returning to an literal representation of machinery and work. The earlier advertisements show a lack of co-ordination into a coherent campaign and the traditional techniques and strategies of representation are consistent with a somewhat amateur effort prior to the assembly of an organised and focused department. Despite the industrial scale and the importance of labour to the project, these first advertisements depicted a landscape empty of workers, focussing instead on the sublime qualities of the building and the visit.

Although the frequency and spread of the advertisements seemed to expand hugely once Lawler and his staff were in place, they were still struggling with the problem of representing the Scheme within the visual landscape of the Irish newspaper advertisement. Like the uneasy compromises of the Irish images for the Empire Marketing Board, the 90,000 horses advertisement attempts to frame the Scheme in terms of rural Ireland. However, the inherently non-rural nature of the Scheme does not allow for an easy combination of text and image, as the unashamedly progressivist text sits in an uncomfortable synthesis beside the imagery, particularly the Neo-Celtic inclusion of a mythical charioteer. Quasi-Soviet realist imagery didn't seem to have worked any better, despite an emphasis on the wonders of electricity, as well as on the buildings themselves. The fact that the Scheme was built by German technology and German expertise was strategically ignored by the ESB publicity department, who preferred to focus on the discourse of national importance and the generally heroic nature of the project, continuing their promotion of the visit to the Scheme, but couched in symbolic terms. It is also interesting to note that, despite the uneasy symbolic balance of these two advertisements, they are the two which are continually

republished and represented in relation to the Scheme to this day, which provides a view into their positive widespread reception in Ireland.

If the advertisements demonstrated a number of different strategies for attracting the interest of different groups within Irish society to the Scheme, by the winter of 1928, it was the industrialist and the worker that were being consistently addressed. The last few advertisements form a much more cohesive set of messages, with the text and image agreeing in form and content, as the advertising team finally settled on the theme of the importation of electrically-driven machinery and the electrification of work. The message that the Irish worker will be able to take his ease, or maybe even disappear altogether, is one which is addressed to the small, but developing group of Irish industrialists and engineers. It is arguable that the later advertisements would not have been possible without the earlier ones, which acclimatise the broader Irish population to the idea of the Scheme, particularly with so many people visiting the work site itself. It was certainly important that the focus of the advertisements moved during the winter from inviting the general people of Ireland to visit the Scheme to promoting the use of electrically-driven machinery, once a large proportion of the newspaper-reading population had either visited the Scheme or knew someone who had. Although the work of the ESB Publicity Department may have experimented with different styles and visual interpretations of the Scheme, from the literal to the highly symbolic, they returned to what was really their core role – advertising and promoting the use of electrical power on as large a scale as possible.

Later ESB advertising campaigns were aimed squarely at a domestic market, representing the stylish, active middle-class Irish woman, liberated from the drudgery of housework.<sup>91</sup> However, the early ESB advertisements considered here spoke to interests and concerns which were definitively coded as male in Irish society of the time, whether the representation of the male hero, the male worker or (by insinuation) the male industrialist. It is particularly the replacement of the Irish worker by electrical machinery as a central agent in the bringing of 'PROGRESS' to the Free State which emerges as a theme here, as well as the acclimatisation of the general population to this idea.

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<sup>91</sup> KELLY. (2003) pp. 43-44.

## **Chapter 6 - National myths and technological romanticism: the artwork of Séan Keating, George Atkinson and Anton Scheuritzel**

### **Introduction**

This chapter will look at the work of three different artists active in the late 1920s, all of whom produced work based on the Shannon Scheme. It will consider the cultural and national context of each artist, as well as the relationship of their Shannon Scheme work to the rest of their artistic production, in order to demonstrate how each responded to the dichotomy of advanced engineering and high technology situated in the evocative and mythologised west of Ireland. This is particularly pertinent to the work of two Irish artists, Séan Keating (1889-1977) and George Atkinson (1880-1941), although the issue of the representation of landscape and national traditions is also relevant to the German artist Anton Scheuritzel (1874-1954). In addition to looking at the representation of construction work and machinery, it will also consider the situation of each series of work within the consumption of artwork, whether based in galleries and exhibitions or in the negotiation of commissioning or purchasing work. It also investigates the reasons that three different artists from two different countries found the Shannon Scheme under construction to be a suitable subject for artistic depiction and inclusion into the privileged circulation of fine art. Of all the different media considered in this thesis, the fine art representations of the Shannon Scheme have probably received the most scholarly attention, at least in the case of Séan Keating, largely due to his long and well-publicised career as an artist and his outspoken views on Irish art. It is also an area where debates about national identity have been thoroughly discussed over a long period of time, particularly in relation to the area of national romanticism and the development of aesthetic Modernism, which complicates the historiography of the area to a high degree.

## Irish Art and the Myth of the West

Like other European counties, the concerns about national identity which had exercised the members of the Irish Literary Revival in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century had a profound influence on the painters, print-makers and sculptors of the new state.<sup>1</sup> Much of this developing discourse in the visual realm about the representation of nationhood in the new state (as discussed in Chapter 1) took place in the wider forum of professional artistic endeavour. In the early part of the century, there was an extensive debate centred around the formation of a possible 'Irish school' of art, over what form that school could and should take, as well as on the level of influence that originally British approaches such as the Arts and Crafts Movement should have. The dominant position in this artistic debate developed during the 1920s as an emphasis on 'Irish' Ireland, symbolically shutting out any other interpretations of Irishness. The lack of an existing overtly 'Irish' school of painting, even in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, was seen by figures such as Paul Henry and Jack B. Yeats as a severe shortcoming in Irish art, particularly during the 1920s.<sup>2</sup> The same conditions which allowed the West of Ireland to be considered a parochial backwater of the Empire, also allowed it to be seen as a reservoir of unsullied essentialist 'Irishness' by Irish writers and painters of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, untouched by the development of modern civilisation.<sup>3</sup> This was particularly true of the isolated islands of the Western seaboard, which were to become a source of inspiration to Irish painters such as Jack B. Yeats and Keating himself.<sup>4</sup> As Steward explains, "The West thus provided a way of access to the true Irish past through its language, its folklore, its

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<sup>1</sup> KENNEDY, S. B. (1991) *Irish Art and Modernism 1880 – 1950*. Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast, pp. 22-23.

<sup>2</sup> This was despite the use of Western settings by 19<sup>th</sup> century painters such as F.W. Burton and Aloysius O'Kelly. STEWARD, J. C. (1998) 'The Irishness of Irish Painting', in STEWARD, J. C. (ed.) *When Time Began To Rant and Rage: Figurative Painting from Twentieth Century Ireland*. London: Merrell Holberton Publishers, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> FALLON, B. (1998) *An Age of Innocence: Irish Culture 1930 – 1960*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, p. 238; WALKER, D. (1997) *Modern Art in Ireland*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, p. 19; BHREATHNACH-LYNCH, S. (1998) 'Framing Ireland's History: Art, Politics, and Representation', in STEWARD, J. C. (ed.) *When Time Began To Rant and Rage: Figurative Painting from Twentieth Century Ireland*. London: Merrell Holberton Publishers, p. 43; NASH, C. (1993) 'Embodying the Nation': The West of Ireland Landscape and Irish Identity', in O'CONNOR, B. & M. CRONIN (eds.) *Tourism in Ireland: A Critical Analysis*. Cork: Cork University Press, pp. 86-112; SCOTT, Y. (2005) 'The West as Metaphor', *The West as Metaphor*. Dublin: Royal Hibernian Academy, pp. 7-52.

<sup>4</sup> Keating was introduced to the Aran Islands by Harry Clarke, who had started visiting the islands in 1909. See GORDON BOWE, N. (1994) *The Life and Work of Harry Clarke*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, p. 39; KENNEDY. (1991) p. 19.

antiquities, and its way of life.”<sup>5</sup> Although much of this way of life was specific to the post-Famine world and to the area, the ‘anachronistic’ rural community was still hailed as an authentic remnant of a past otherwise lost to the modernised world, in order to create link to a re-invented mythical vision of a lost past.<sup>6</sup> The noble peasant reappears continuously through the early work of Orpen, Yeats, Henry, Lamb and Keating, romanticising and heroicising the subsistence farmers and fishermen of the West of Ireland.<sup>7</sup>

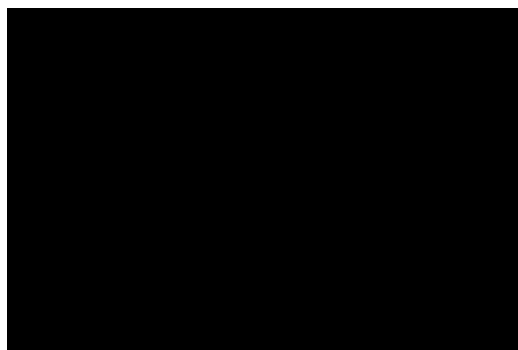


FIGURE 6-1 - PAUL HENRY, 'LAKESIDE COTTAGES', OIL ON CANVAS, 41.5 BY 61 CM, 1929

(NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND: 4078)

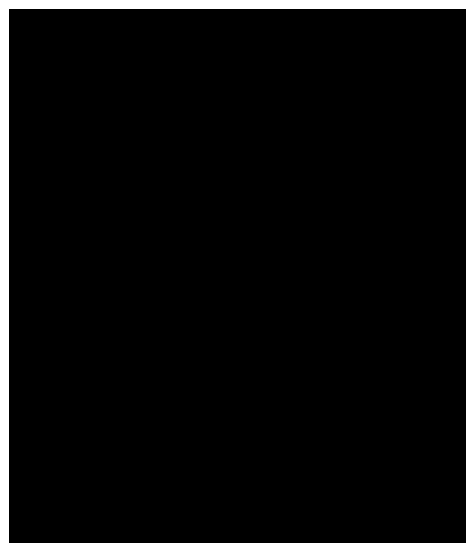


FIGURE 6-2 - PAUL HENRY, 'THE POTATO DIGGERS', 51 BY 46 CM, 1912

(NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND: 1870)

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<sup>5</sup> STEWARD. (1998) p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> BHREATHNACH-LYNCH, S. (2000) 'Landscape, Space and Gender: Their Role in the Construction of Female Identity in Newly Independent Ireland', in ADAMS, S. & A. GRUETZNER-ROBINS (eds.) *Gendering Landscape Art*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 77-78; BHREATHNACH-LYNCH, S. (1997) 'The Peasant at Work: Jack B. Yeats, Paul Henry and Life in the West of Ireland', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*. Vol. 13, p. 151. GIBBONS, L. (1996) *Transformations in Irish Culture*. Cork: Cork University Press, p. 23; NADEL-KLEIN, J. (1995) 'Occidentalism as a Cottage Industry: Representing the Autochthonous 'Other' in British and Irish Rural Studies', in CARRIER, J. G. (ed.) *Occidentalism: Images of the West*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 110-11; STEWARD. (1998) p. 22; CUSACK, T. (2002) 'Crossing the Shannon: Ireland's 'Mighty Stream' and the Making of the Nation', *Visual Culture in Britain*. Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> Part of this recasting of the West of Ireland as the home of the noble peasant was due to the legacy of 19<sup>th</sup> century realist painters such as Millet, with their romanticisation of the French peasant, through the influence and training of painters such as Orpen, who had taught at the Metropolitan School of Art in Dublin from 1902 to 1914. See CROOKSHANK, A. & THE KNIGHT OF GLIN. (2002) *Ireland's Painters 1600-1940*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, p. 281; STEWARD. (1998) pp. 18-19; BHREATHNACH-LYNCH. (1997) pp. 143-44; TURPIN, J. (1985) 'The Metropolitan School of Art (Part 3)', *Dublin Historical Record*. Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 90-91.



The Western landscape became an important representation of national identity, particularly in the paintings of Paul Henry (see Figure 6-1 and Figure 6-2). The Shannon plays a very specific role in the Irish landscape, that of imaginative boundary between the colonised, civilised East and the mythic West. As well as being a focus of ancient myths and legends, both Christian and pagan Gaelic, it worked as a liminal area, an entry zone to the “...authentic homeland beyond the reach of colonial transformations.”<sup>8</sup> This romanticisation of the unspoilt, poor land of the West of Ireland is central to understanding the search for an ‘Irish school’ of painting during the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the problematic relationship that these artists had with their own modernity. As Ciarán Benson said in his article on Irish Modernism, “...the artist’s role was the Romantic one of seer in solidarity with his people... The artist’s job was to create images which best represented the idea of what it was to be *truly* Irish.”<sup>9</sup> This attitude is represented by the first page of the chapter on the Shannon Scheme in the *Saorstát Éireann Irish Free State Official Handbook*, which took one of the Siemens industrial photographs and re-framed it as a woodcut terminal letter, produced by academic artist Sean O’Sullivan (see Figure 6-3).<sup>10</sup> As well as a dependence on traditional subjects, the artists of the ‘national realist’ school also depended heavily on traditional techniques and modes of representation, as part of their focus on the traditional and archaic world.

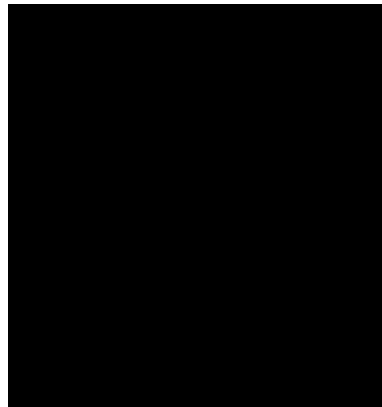


FIGURE 6-3 - SEAN O'SULLIVAN, TERMINAL LETTER 'O' FROM THE CHAPTER ON THE SHANNON SCHEME IN THE *FREE STATE HANDBOOK*

(HOBSON, B. (1932) *SAORSTÁT ÉIREANN IRISH FREE STATE OFFICIAL HANDBOOK*. DUBLIN: THE TALBOT PRESS, P. 157)

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<sup>8</sup> CUSACK. (2002) pp. 77-82.

<sup>9</sup> BENSON, C. (1992) 'Modernism and Ireland's Selves', *Circa*. Vol. 61, January/February, p. 22.

<sup>10</sup> HOBSON, B. (1932) *Saorstát Éireann Irish Free State Official Handbook*. Dublin: The Talbot Press, p. 157.

This approach is similar in some ways to other European countries such as Norway, where artists made an effort to incorporate electrical technology into their national imaginaries, although artists such as Theodor Kittelsen went for the more direct route of depicting the reaction of mythological figures to hydro-electric power stations (see Figure 6-4). Such artworks depicted a possibly positive integration of electrical technology into the landscape, as well as an awareness that the symbolic load of electricity could be as powerful as ancient myths of mountain trolls.

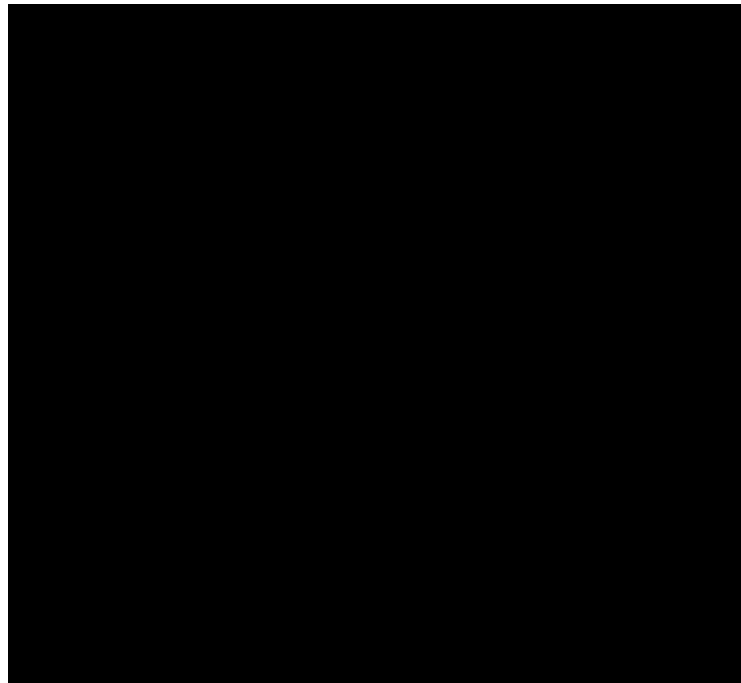


FIGURE 6-4 - THEODOR KITTELSEN, 'SVELGFOSS HYDRO POWER STATION', C1907  
([HTTP://KITTELSEN.EFENSTOR.NET/DISPLAYIMAGE.PHP?PID=401](http://kittelsen.efenstor.net/displayimage.php?pid=401))

The irony of the focus on agricultural labour in Irish art was that it excluded the labour force of the largest urban area on the Western seaboard, that of Limerick city, which was the third largest industrial centre in the new Free State, after Dublin and Cork. Strongly involved with the processing of agricultural products from the co-operative farms of the Golden Vale, Limerick city in the 1920s was also a major port on the river

Shannon.<sup>11</sup> It was also strongly associated with Irish labour, having been the location of numerous strikes and the short-lived Limerick Soviet of 1919.<sup>12</sup> As pointed out in Chapter 1, the official representation of the State in the *Free State Handbook* was almost entirely antiquarian and rural in focus. It seems that Limerick as a location of industrial labour was generally ignored by the artists of Irish Ireland, as it was too industrialised to function within their imagining of the 'true, rural Ireland', despite its location in the West.

### **Mapping of Shannon Scheme paintings and prints**

The diagram of the relationship between the three artists considered in this chapter divides into two different sections, one Irish and one German, although the ideas expressed by them are actually quite similar (see Figure 6-5). Keating and Atkinson were tied together by their involvement with the Metropolitan School of Art, as well as their exhibitions in similar Irish and English galleries. On the other hand, Scheuritzel was working from an entirely different German context, which will be explored later in the chapter.

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<sup>11</sup> Ó'GRÁDA, C. (1994) *Ireland: A New Economic History 1780-1939*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 33; MASTRIANI, M. (2003) 'From Crubeens to Computer Chips: Limerick's Industrial Development, 1914-2003', in LEE, D. (ed.) *Made in Limerick: History of Industries, Trade and Commerce Vol. I*. Limerick: Limerick Civic Trust, pp. 70-73; PRENDERGAST, F. (2003) 'The Decline of Traditional Limerick Industries', in LEE, D. (ed.) *Made in Limerick: History of Industries, Trade and Commerce Vol. I*. Limerick: Limerick Civic Trust, pp. 1-22.

<sup>12</sup> LEE, D. (2003) 'The Munster Soviets and the Fall of The House of Cleeve', in LEE, D. (ed.) *Made in Limerick: History of Industries, Trade and Commerce Vol. I*. Limerick: Limerick Civic Trust, pp. 286-306; (2011) 'The Limerick Soviet of 1919', *Workers Solidarity Movement*. [http://www.wsm.ie/news\\_viewer/3144](http://www.wsm.ie/news_viewer/3144) [Accessed: April 21 2011]

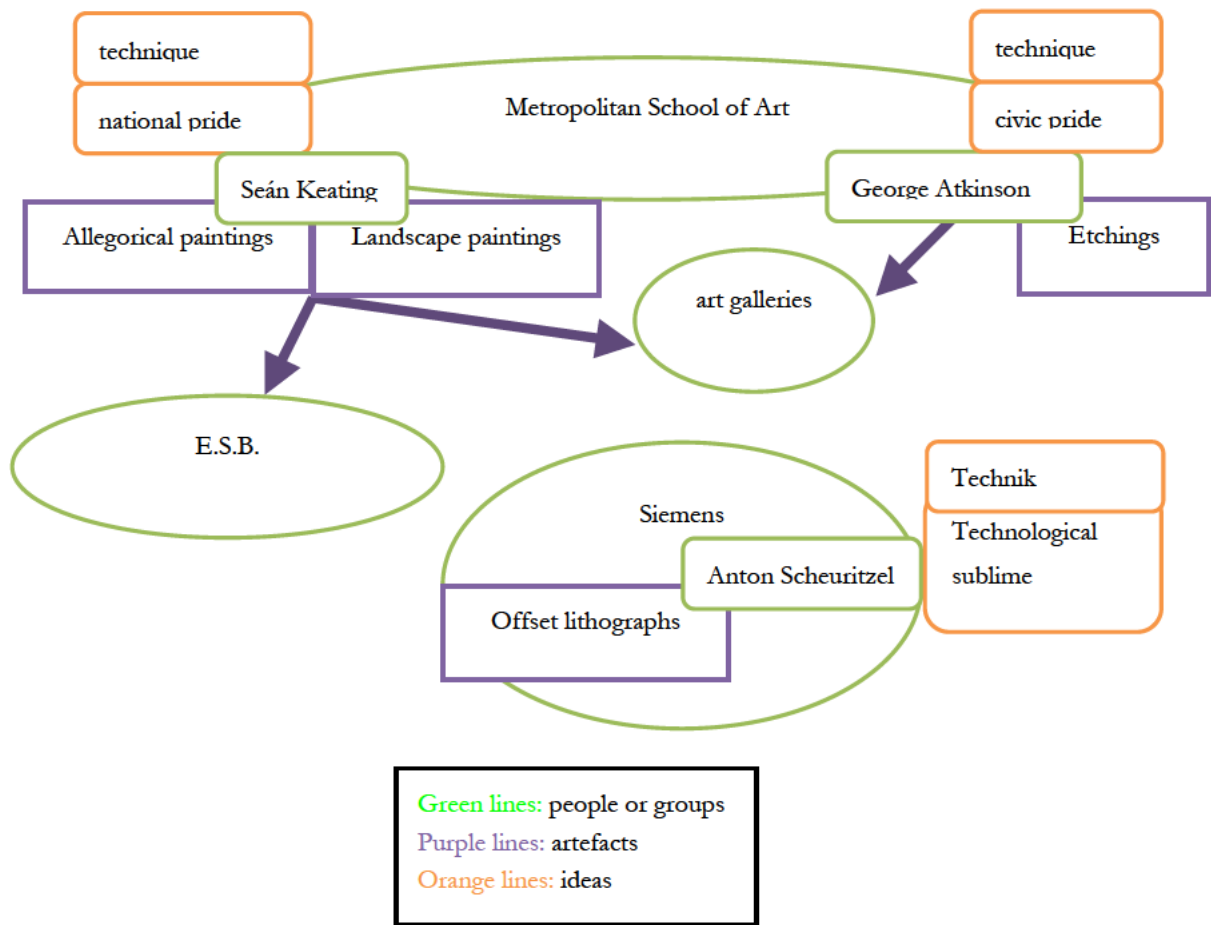


FIGURE 6-5 - DIAGRAM OF IMAGES, IDEAS AND GROUPS INVOLVED IN THE ARTISTIC REPRESENTATION OF THE SHANNON SCHEME

### Seán Keating: politics, passion and heavy machinery

There are few Irish artists of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as discussed as Seán Keating, because of his painting style, his politics, as well as his influence on Irish art education. He looms large over the art world of the 1920s, particularly as he spent much of the decade creating controversial paintings with a political edge, while teaching in the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art (the precursor to the current National College of Art and Design). His involvement with the Shannon Scheme has been discussed by several eminent historians of Irish art, focusing on his allegorical painting ‘Night’s Candles are Burnt Out’ (1929) and on the issue of whether his Shannon Scheme paintings could be

considered propaganda for the new state.<sup>13</sup> He has been used repeatedly as an exemplar of the more traditional, academic tendency in Irish art, frequently contrasted with early abstract Modernists such as Mainie Jellet, who had returned from France in the early 1920s with a training in abstract art under Cubists Lhote and Gleizes.<sup>14</sup> Although Keating was later described as “a virulent anti-Modernist” and the opponent of “every manifestation of modernism”, it seems that he was only against Modernist stylistic use of abstraction, rather than being totally against the condition of modernity, a rather different proposition.<sup>15</sup> However, from a historiographical point of view, this extended focus on his position within later debates on Irish art has a tendency to accentuate his later views on High Modernism and the International Style, and to neglect the subtleties of his earlier paintings, particularly his landscapes.

Seán Keating, known for most of his early life as John Keating, was born in Limerick city in 1889. By his own admission, he was a poor student and seemed to have spent more time poaching and hanging around the Limerick docks than attending school, until he won a scholarship to art school in Dublin in 1911, where he was heavily influenced by the portrait painter Sir William Orpen.<sup>16</sup> He was a prolific painter,

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<sup>13</sup> BHREATHNACH-LYNCH, S. (2007) *Ireland's Art, Ireland's History: Representing Ireland 1845 to Present*. Omaha, NE: Creighton University Press, pp. 222-25; CULLEN, F. (1997) *Visual Politics: The Representation of Ireland 1750 – 1930*. Cork: Cork University Press, pp. 168-69; KENNEDY, B. P. (1993) *Irish Painting*. Dublin: Town House and Country House, p. 34; KENNEDY, S. B. (1997) *Great Irish Artists: From Lavery to Le Brocqy*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, pp. 11, 96; O'CONNOR, É. (2009) *Seán Keating in Focus*. Limerick: The Hunt Museum, p. 22; WHITE, J. (1963) *John Keating: Paintings – Drawings*. Dublin: Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, p. 7; BHREATHNACH-LYNCH. (1998) pp. 48-50; BHREATHNACH-LYNCH, S. (2008) 'Crossing the Rubicon: Sean Keating's An Allegory', *New Hibernia Review*. Vol. 12, No. 2, Summer, p. 125; BIELENBERG, A. (1997) 'Keating, Siemens & the Shannon Scheme', *History Ireland*, Autumn, p. 47; CUSACK. (2002) pp. 91-92; DUNNE, A. (1989) 'RHA and Keating: Overdrawn on the Image Bank', *Sunday Times*. November 19. **NIVAL: Sean Keating file.**

<sup>14</sup> CULLEN. (1997) pp. 165-82; O'CONNOR, É. (2009) *Seán Keating in Context: Responses to Culture and Politics in Post-Civil War Ireland*. Dublin: Carysfort Press, p. 1; WALKER. (1997) pp. 18-33; O'BYRNE, R. (2011) 'Irish Modernism: The Early Decades', in JUNCOSA, E. & C. KENNEDY (eds.) *The Moderns: The Arts in Ireland from the 1900s to the 1970s*. Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art, pp. 17-18; BENSON. (1992) pp. 21-23.

<sup>15</sup> WALKER. (1997) p. 118; COULTER, R. (2003) 'Hibernian Salon des Refusés', *Irish Arts Review*. Vol. 20, No. 3, p. 83. The only Keating painting to be shown at the Modernist *Irish Exhibition of Living Art* in 1943 was a painting of dumper trucks at Poulaphouca, the ESB's next hydro-electric project after the Shannon Scheme, finished in 1944.

<sup>16</sup> METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART. (1912) *Index Register of Payments by Students, School of Art, for the Session 1911-12*. **NIVAL: NCAD College Register 1911-12**; METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART. (1913) *Index Register of Payments by Students, School of Art, for the Session 1912-*

exhibiting regularly with the Royal Hibernian Academy from 1915 until his death in 1977 and started working as a teacher of painting at the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art in 1919.<sup>17</sup> Although many of his works were composed from sketches or from life, his outlook was unusually modern for his day in his use of photography and film cameras to capture poses which he would later develop into fully fledged works.<sup>18</sup> Despite this use of recorded images for compositional purposes, he remained a resolute draughtsman, retaining a thorough appreciation of the technical skill of drawing throughout his life.<sup>19</sup> Keating had a perpetual admiration for skill of any sort, which tied in with this respect for the craft of drawing.<sup>20</sup>

There is no doubt that Keating, in his early years particularly, had a very well-developed political sensibility. He was at the forefront of the efforts to create a self-consciously 'national' school of art in Ireland, reacting to and addressing the political issues of the day.<sup>21</sup> His work in the 1910s and 1920s responding in a highly charged manner to, first, the War of Independence, and later to the Civil War, turning his figures into heroic noble men, archetypes of 'true' Irishmen, engaged in revolutionary nationalist activity.<sup>22</sup> Keating was an active figure in constructing images of the fighters of the War of Independence as national heroes, self-consciously constructing a national record as he went. 'Men of the West' (see Figure 6-6) has been described as "a romantic study in fortitude", which reinforces the idea of the noble heroic Aran man in *bainín* wool jacket

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13. **NIVAL: NCAD College Register 1912-13; METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART.** (1914) *Index Register of Payments by Students, School of Art, for the Session 1913-14.* **NIVAL: NCAD College Register 1913-14; METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART.** (1915) *Index Register of Payments by Students, School of Art, for the Session 1914-15.* **NIVAL: NCAD College Register 1914-15.** Orpen was teaching sporadically at the Metropolitan School of Art at this point, and Keating worked in London as Orpen's assistant during 1915.

<sup>17</sup> KENNEDY. (1993) p. 34; KENNEDY. (1997) p. 96; MCCONKEY, K. (1990) *A Free Spirit: Irish Art 1860 – 1960.* London: Antique Collectors Club & Pym's Gallery, p. 150; SNODDY, T. (2002) *Dictionary of Irish Artists: 20th Century.* Dublin: Merlin Publishing, pp. 300-03.

<sup>18</sup> BIELENBERG, A. (2002) 'Seán Keating, the Shannon Scheme and the Art of State-Building', in BIELENBERG, A. (ed.) *The Shannon Scheme and the Electrification of the Irish Free State: An Inspirational Milestone.* Dublin: The Lilliput Press, pp. 124, 64. He is best known as a studio painter, who worked mostly in oil, charcoal and pencil, from a studio beside his house in Rathfarnham, Dublin, as well as another studio in the School of Art in the city centre.

<sup>19</sup> KENNEDY. (1997) p. 96; MCCONKEY. (1990) p. 150; WALKER. (1997) pp. 118-19; BIELENBERG, A. (2000) 'Keating in Perspective', in MCMONAGLE, A. (ed.) *Keating and Ardnacrusba: Art and Archive Exhibition at UCC May 2000.* Cork: University College Cork, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup> KEATING, D. (1995) 'Sean Keating: Where Do I Begin?'. Dublin: Radio Teilifís Éireann.

<sup>21</sup> KENNEDY. (1997) p. 96.

<sup>22</sup> BHREATHNACH-LYNCH. (1998) p. 50.

and woven *críos* belt, posed with rifles and revolutionary flags.<sup>23</sup> The way in which it constructed an ideological linkage between the struggle for Irish national self-determination and a specific interpretation of Irish identity brought Keating to the notice of the Irish art world as a vehement and politicised painter.<sup>24</sup> This was the reason why he has been described as almost “the official artist of the Irish Free State”, despite his only work in an official capacity coming two decades later.<sup>25</sup> Keating is also notable as a “provocateur” for a number of articles on art published during the 1920s and 1930s, as well as RTE broadcasts on the art establishment during the 1930s. The earliest of his articles ‘The Slave Mind of Ireland’, dates from 1924 and castigated the people of Ireland for their slowness in throwing off the psychological aspects of colonisation.<sup>26</sup> That he had a distinct influence on the Irish art world of the 1920s and 1930s is evident from *The Irish Times* review of the 1932 Royal Hibernian Academy exhibition: “If it were not for Mr John Keating’s pictures there would hardly be any specimens of the “national group” – the only group that really matters in Ireland at present.”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> KENNEDY. (1997) p. 98; KENNEDY, B. P. (1994) 'The Irish Free State 1922-49: A Visual Perspective', in KENNEDY, B. P. & R. GILLESPIE (eds.) *Ireland: Art into History*. Dublin: Town House & Country House, p. 147.

<sup>24</sup> BHREATHNACH-LYNCH. (2007) p. 81; BHREATHNACH-LYNCH. (1998) p. 43; BIELENBERG. (2002) p. 120.

<sup>25</sup> For example, Keating painted a mural inside Michael Scott’s Irish Pavilion at the New York Worlds Fair in 1939. BIELENBERG. (2000) pp. 115-17; KENNEDY. (1994) p. 147.

<sup>26</sup> KEATING, J. (2009) 'The Slave Mind of Ireland', in O'CONNOR, É. (ed.) *Seán Keating in Context: Responses to Culture and Politics in Post-Civil War Ireland*. Dublin: Carysfort Press, pp. 71-74.

<sup>27</sup> (1932) 'Royal Hibernian Academy: The Last Day', *The Irish Times*. May 7. p. 4.

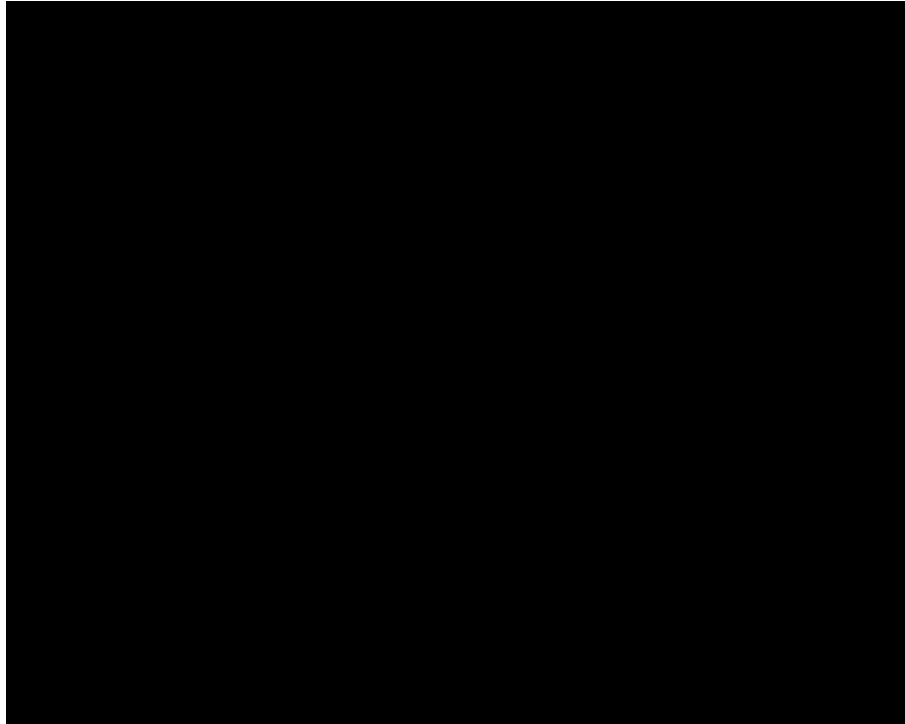


FIGURE 6-6 - SÉAN KEATING, 'MEN OF THE WEST', OIL ON CANVAS, 1917  
(DUBLIN CITY GALLERY, THE HUGH LANE: REG. 226)

This passionate embrace of a specifically rural interpretation of Irish national identity can also be seen in his painting 'An Allegory' of 1922 (see Figure 6-7), which was first exhibited in the Royal Hibernian Academy show of 1925.<sup>28</sup> In this painting, Keating refines his allegorical approach, using compositional techniques borrowed from the stage to construct a tableau where every person has a symbolic meaning.<sup>29</sup> These symbols were deliberately aimed at his contemporary Irish men and women, and are not necessarily easily understandable to viewers either in other countries or at a remove in time from the political background of their creation.<sup>30</sup> It has been described by Justin Keating as “a very angry painting” and “a ferocious denunciation of brother killing brother”, depicting the desolation and burial of hopes destroyed by the vicious Civil War.<sup>31</sup> It contains six figures arranged in the foreground of the painting, against the backdrop of a ruined 'Big House', symbolising not just literal property destruction, but

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<sup>28</sup> STEWART, A. (1985) *Royal Hibernian Academy List of Exhibitors: Vol. 2 H-M*. Dublin: Manton Publishing, p. 140.

<sup>29</sup> MCCONKEY. (1990) p. 152.

<sup>30</sup> O'CONNOR. (2009) p. 11.

<sup>31</sup> KEATING. (1995).



the destruction of Ireland's Anglo-Irish inheritance. The two men on the right are the putative brothers, dressed in the uniforms of the opposing sides of the civil war, working together to dig a grave for a tricolour-covered coffin, critiquing both sides of the Civil War in their wanton destruction of the very thing they fought for. The central couple symbolise the effect on the common people of Ireland: the mother with child and dispirited father. It is particularly significant that the father figure here is a self-portrait of Keating himself, who is the only figure looking out at the viewer, with an accusing stare.<sup>32</sup> The final two figures are those of a priest, twiddling his thumbs, and a suited man standing with his back to the rest of the tableau, which can be interpreted as representing the additional failure of church and business to support the Irish family.<sup>33</sup> The overall impression is one of Keating's anger and disillusionment at the internecine conflict of the Civil War.<sup>34</sup>

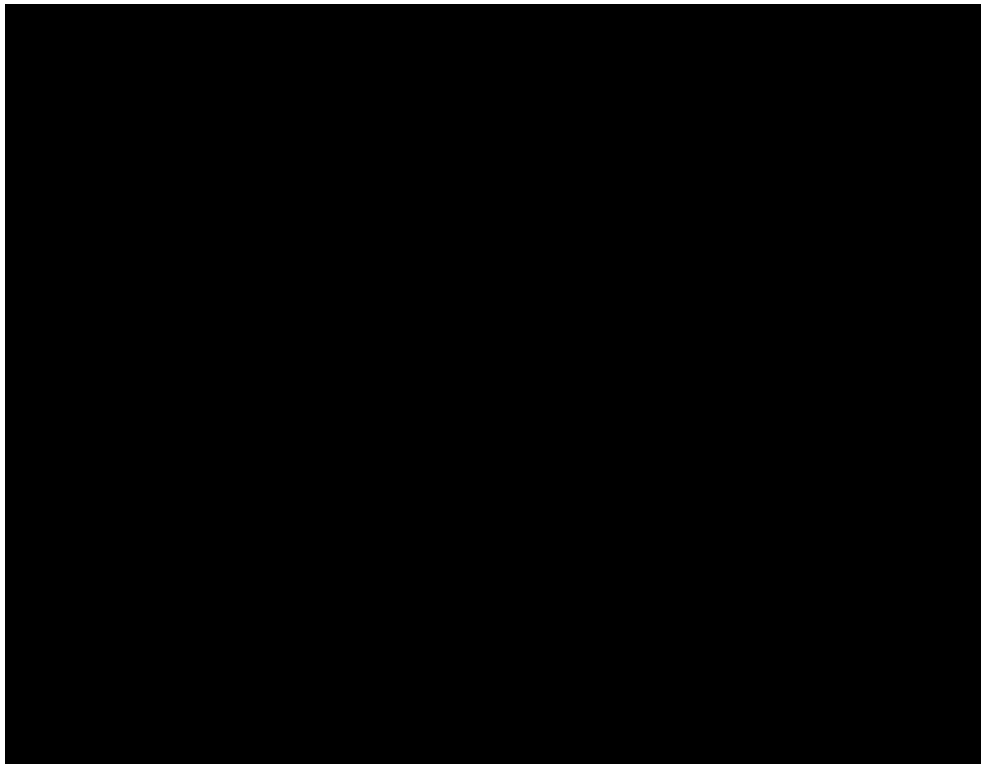


FIGURE 6-7 - SÉAN KEATING, 'AN ALLEGORY', OIL ON CANVAS, 102 BY 130 CM, 1922  
(NATIONAL GALLERY OF IRELAND: 1236)

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<sup>32</sup> BHREATHNACH-LYNCH. (2008) pp. 122-23.

<sup>33</sup> CUSACK. (2002) p. 87.

<sup>34</sup> REGAN, J. M. (1999) *The Irish Counter Revolution 1921 – 1936*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, p. 182.

In addition to his deeply held nationalist beliefs, Keating's early interest in the Limerick docks seems to have sparked another aspect of his political idealism, holding political views which were decidedly on the left. His wife May was a friend of and had worked as secretary to Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, suffragette and union organiser, and both women were members of the USSR Society (or Friends of the Soviet Union), a politically radicalised group in Dublin, along with fellow artist Harry Kernoff.<sup>35</sup> Although Keating does not seem to have been as radicalised as his wife, he is described by his son Justin as holding distinctly left-wing views throughout the period under discussion.<sup>36</sup> These views are supported by O'Connor's description of his knowledge of left-wing ideology and his call for an Irish 'Five Year Plan' in his 'Talk on the Future of Irish Art'.<sup>37</sup> Keating seems to have seen the emphasis on hard work and physical achievement of socialist reorganisation, not only as a parallel to his own personal craftsmanlike ethos, but as a way to extricate his country out of an otherwise inevitable decline.<sup>38</sup> His work has resonances with Soviet realism, particularly in his depiction of heroic allegorical figures representing different aspects of the national struggle and is described by Bielenberg as "the most powerful visual propagandist of the new regime".<sup>39</sup> Indeed, Keating and his contemporaries are described by Barrett as "crypto-socialist-realists" and Kennedy as a "socialist realist", although for Keating, the national aspect of his work always seems to have been of utmost importance.<sup>40</sup>

It is Keating's reported fascination with machinery and heavy engineering equipment which provided him with an alternative to the atmosphere of despair and decline after the Civil War.<sup>41</sup> It should be no surprise that this interest, combined with his Limerick background, led him to the giant construction site on the Shannon during the late

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<sup>35</sup> O'CONNOR. (2009) p. 24. Kernoff had been born in Manchester to a Russian Jewish family, who moved to Dublin when he was a child, and he retained links to Russia throughout his life.

<sup>36</sup> KEATING. (1995).

<sup>37</sup> O'CONNOR. (2009) pp. 20-21; KEATING, S. (1931) 'Talk on the Future of Irish Art', in O'CONNOR, É. (ed.) (2009) *Seán Keating in Context: Responses to Culture and Politics in Post-Civil War Ireland*. Dublin: Carysfort Press, pp. 27-28.

<sup>38</sup> KEATING, J. (2000) 'Sean Keating at Ardnacrusha', *Tracings*. Vol. 1, Spring, pp. 59, 63.

<sup>39</sup> BIELENBERG. (1997) p. 45.

<sup>40</sup> KENNEDY. (1993) p. 34; BARRETT, C. (2003) 'The Visual Arts and Society, 1921-1984', in MOODY, T., F. MARTIN, F. BYRNE & A. COSGROVE (eds.) *A New History of Ireland Volumes 7-8*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 605.

<sup>41</sup> KEATING, M. (1985) 'John Keating Would Rather Have The Key Men', *The Engineers Journal*. Vol. 38, No. 9 & 10, September/October, pp. 49-51.

1920s, reinforcing his belief in the new Free State. He recognised the national importance of the Scheme from two points of view; that of providing national inspiration to a disillusioned country, and the practical provision of much needed work. O'Connor confirms that Keating thought of the Shannon Scheme as the Irish equivalent of the Russian Five Year Plan, both from a practical and symbolic point of view, a connection which the Government was not keen to promote, despite the obvious parallels.<sup>42</sup>

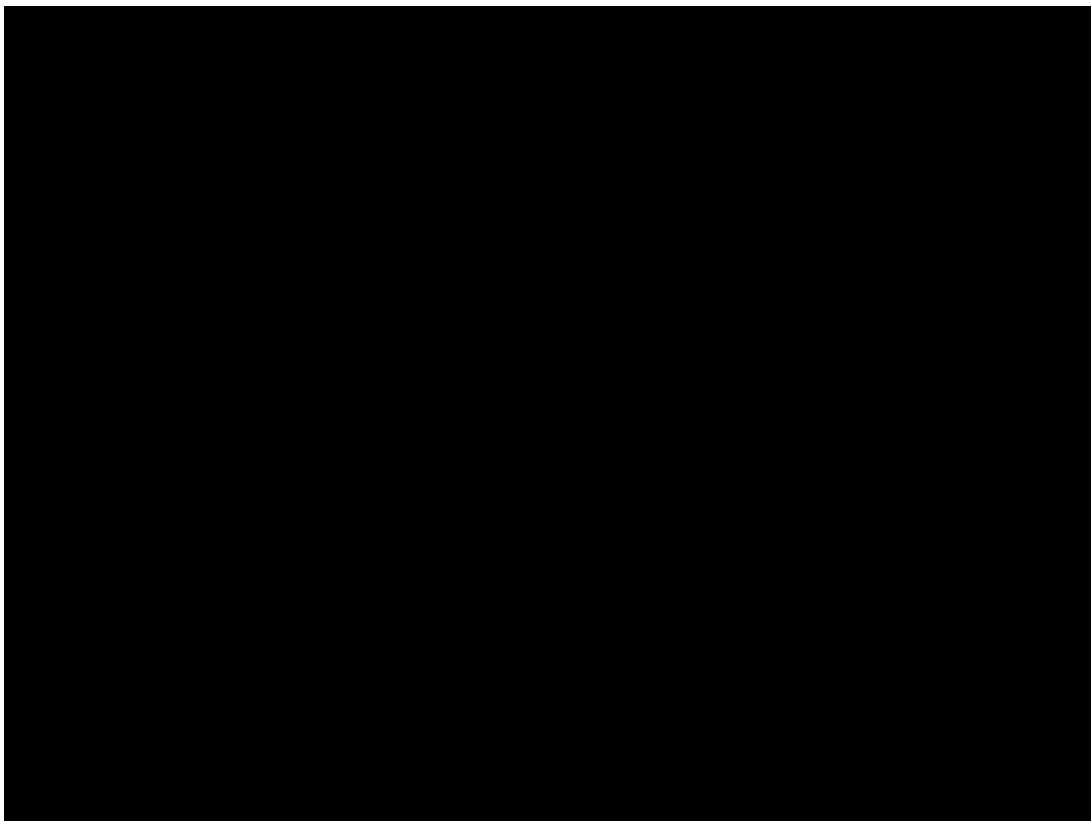


FIGURE 6-8 – PHOTOGRAPH OF SÉAN KEATING PAINTING ‘EXCAVATOR AT WORK. LUBECKER WITH STONE WAGON AND WAGON TRAIN’ AT THE SHANNON SCHEME EXCAVATIONS, ARDNACRUSHA, CIRCA 1926. (© RTÉ STILLS LIBRARY 0506-042)

Despite descriptions by several academics of Keating’s Shannon Scheme work as a commission, it seems that the impetus for the project came directly from the artist

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<sup>42</sup> O'CONNOR. (2009) p. 1. This may also have been due to the unsuccessful strike which marked the start of the construction, with a dispute with the Limerick unions as to whether the Scheme’s workers should receive an industrial or agricultural workers wage.

himself, rather than from the Government or the ESB.<sup>43</sup> Keating already knew Laurence Kettle, one of the few Irish engineers involved with the project, through Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington.<sup>44</sup> It seems that Kettle organised the necessary permits for Keating to start spending time on the Scheme, as he produced some initial sketches there in 1925.<sup>45</sup> He seems to have spent at least two weeks during the summer of 1926 living in the barracks with the workmen and setting up his easel at different points around the site to paint or sketch the work in progress, compared by Michael to a freelance photographer documenting a project.<sup>46</sup> He is reported to have changed from paint to charcoal or pencil depending on the weather and frequently had to repair to a large skip during heavy rain or ongoing blasting operations and a (possibly staged) photograph of him on the Scheme (see Figure 6-8) shows him working on a large canvas, while wearing wellington boots due to the poor terrain.<sup>47</sup> It is also likely that he took a number of photographs or short clips with a cine camera, in order to capture scenes for later working out in his studio, some of which are shown in his grandson's documentary film 'Sean Keating: Where Do I Begin?'<sup>48</sup> This visit to the Scheme produced "some twenty sketches in oil, watercolours and black and white", which were reported to form the basis of a series of 30 large oil paintings.<sup>49</sup> He exhibited three oil landscape paintings of the power station site in the Royal Hibernian Academy of 1927,

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<sup>43</sup> FERRITER, D. (2004) *The Transformation of Modern Ireland 1900-2000*. London: Profile Books, p. 316; BHREATHNACH-LYNCH. (2000) p. 83; BIELENBERG. (2000) p. 4; BIELENBERG. (1997) pp. 44-45; CUSACK. (2002) p. 85; DUNNE. (1989) p. 98; WHITE, J. (1977) 'Mr Sean Keating: An Appreciation', *The Irish Times*. December 23. p. 9. **Irish Architectural Archive: Press Cutting File - Sean Keating RW.B.30**. all describe it as a commission, although sometimes as one initiated by Keating.

<sup>44</sup> Laurence Kettle's brother Thomas, the Home Rule politician who died fighting in the Somme, had been married to Hanna's Sheehy-Skeffington's sister Mary. As discussed above, May Keating was friends with Sheehy Skeffington and Keating painted a portrait of Laurence Kettle in 1939, when he was Dublin City engineer, now in the Dublin City Gallery The Hugh Lane.

<sup>45</sup> BIELENBERG. (2002) p. 127.

<sup>46</sup> (1927) 'Shannon Scheme: Mr. John Keating's Sketches', *The Irish Times*. January 25. p. 7; MCMONAGLE, A. (2000) 'Keating's Biographical Details', in MCMONAGLE, A. (ed.) *Keating and Ardacrusha: Art and Archive Exhibition at UCC May 2000*. Cork: University College Cork, p. 6; BIELENBERG. (1997) p. 44; KEATING. (1985) p. 49.

<sup>47</sup> BIELENBERG. (2002) pp. 128-29; KEATING. (1985) p. 49.

<sup>48</sup> KEATING. (1995).

<sup>49</sup> (1927) 'Royal Hibernian Academy: Portraits in Favour', *The Irish Times*. April 11. p. 8; (1927) p. 7.

as well as three drawings.<sup>50</sup> Keating was reported to have returned to the Scheme the following summer, with the intention of working on a second series, although he only showed two further drawings of machinery in the RHA exhibition in 1928.<sup>51</sup> He appears to have worked on the large allegorical canvasses, such as ‘Night’s Candles are Burnt Out’ and ‘Der Ubermann’, in his Dublin studio after this point, as they are not exhibited until 1929 onwards.<sup>52</sup> The majority of these works were purchased by the ESB in the mid 1930s, possibly at the instigation of Laurence Kettle, who was an ESB Board member by this time.<sup>53</sup> Keating’s paintings of the Shannon Scheme were certainly not unknown to the Government in the late 1920s, as witnessed by a letter from Keating to Thomas Bodkin written in January 1927. This letter invited Bodkin along to a viewing of his Shannon work in his college rooms along with Cosgrave and “some of the ministers and others interested in the Shannon Scheme”.<sup>54</sup> The letter does not give any further detail, but this group is likely to have included Siemens engineer Thomas McLaughlin at the very least, and possibly figures such as Professor Rishworth or James Fay, who would have been involved in the setting up of the ESB at that time.<sup>55</sup> This meeting did not lead directly to a sale, as it predates the RHA exhibition of the landscape paintings, as well as the 1931 purchase of ‘Night’s Candles are Burnt Out’ by Oldham Art Gallery in the Manchester area.<sup>56</sup> One of Keating’s drawings was used to illustrate the chapter on Electricity Supply in the Free State Handbook of 1932 and others have appeared for sale from private collections over the last few years, which suggests that the ESB did not purchase every single work relating to the Scheme, but

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<sup>50</sup> ROYAL HIBERNIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS. (1927) *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts Catalogue 1927*. Dublin: Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts, pp. 16, 21; STEWART. (1985) p. 140.

<sup>51</sup> ROYAL HIBERNIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS. (1928) *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts Catalogue 1928*. Dublin: Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts, p. 19; (1927) 'Shannon Scheme on Canvas: A Series of Oil Paintings', *The Irish Times*. August 25. p. 5; (1928) 'Royal Hibernian Academy: Annual Exhibition Second Notice', *The Irish Times*. April 9. p. 6; STEWART. (1985) p. 140.

<sup>52</sup> JARMAN, A. (1985) *Royal Academy Exhibitors 1905-1970: Volume III E-HAR*. 2nd ed. Wiltshire: Hilmartin Manor Press, p. 166. ‘The Key Men’ is often connected to the Shannon Scheme, but was painted in the 1940s, based on the building of the second Irish hydroelectric power station at Poulaphouca in Wicklow.

<sup>53</sup> BIELENBERG. (2002) p. 127.

<sup>54</sup> BODKIN, T. (1927) *Correspondence with John Keating: re Shannon Scheme series*. **Bodkin Papers, TCD: Ms. 6941/444**.

<sup>55</sup> The Electricity Supply Bill of 1927 went before the Dáil in April 1927 and was passed in May 1927, with the ESB being formally constituted out of the Shannon Board of Control in August of that year.

<sup>56</sup> O'CONNOR. (2009) p. 20; WHITE, J. (1989) *Sean Keating P.R.H.A. 1889 – 1977*. Dublin: Royal Hibernian Academy; BIELENBERG. (2002) p. 135.

rather a representative selection.<sup>57</sup> Most of these depict the construction of the canals and the early stages of construction of the power station, which reflect the timing of the two periods that Keating spent on the Scheme (see Appendix F).

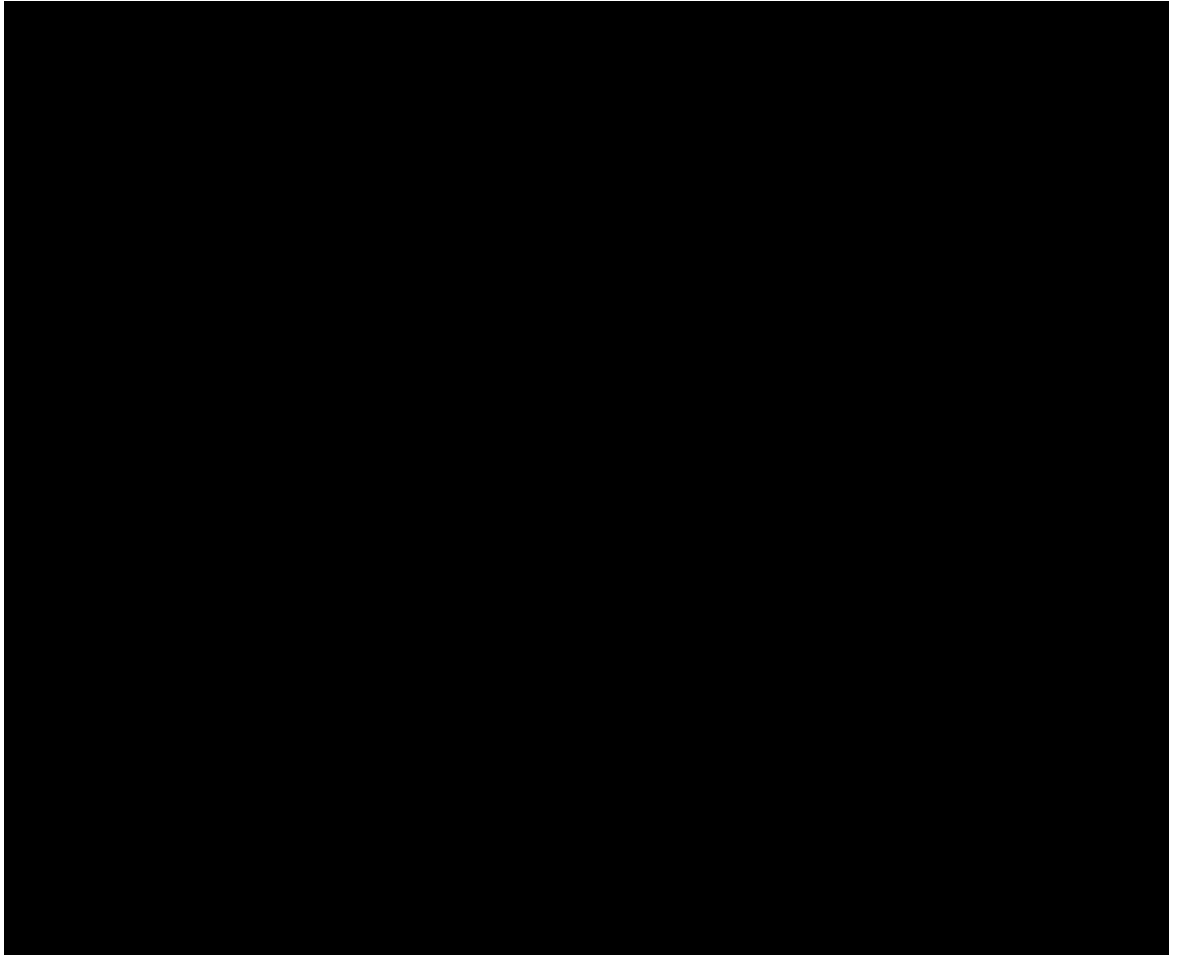


FIGURE 6-9 - SÉAN KEATING, 'NIGHT'S CANDLES ARE BURNT OUT', OIL ON CANVAS, 1929 (GALLERY OLDHAM)

'Night's Candles are Burnt Out' is a powerful allegorical composition and is easily the best known of Keating's Shannon Scheme work (see Figure 6-9). It has been discussed at length by numerous art historians, both for its depiction of Keating's hopes for the

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<sup>57</sup> (2006) 'Sean Keating: Bunkhouse at Shannon, Ardnacrusha Works', *Whyte's, Fine Art Auctioneers and Valuers, Dublin*, No. November 20 2010; (2008) 'Details of Lot 139: Séan Keating - Bank Building Machine at Blackwater Aquaduct', *James Adam Salesrooms*. <http://www.jamesadam.ie/BidCat/detail.asp?SaleRef=3087&LotRef=139> [Accessed: April 21 2011] HOBSON. (1932) p. 160.

new Ireland and as a symbol of his relationship with the early days of the ESB and his status as the semi-official artist of the Irish Free State.<sup>58</sup> The canvas depicts the same cast of characters as 'An Allegory', but in radically different circumstances. Instead of the ruin of Ireland Past, the backdrop to this allegory is the monolithic sight of the half-built power house at Ardnacrusha, based on one of the landscape sketches Keating had previously made in oils on site, around August or September 1927, from the state of construction work (see Figure 6-10).<sup>59</sup>

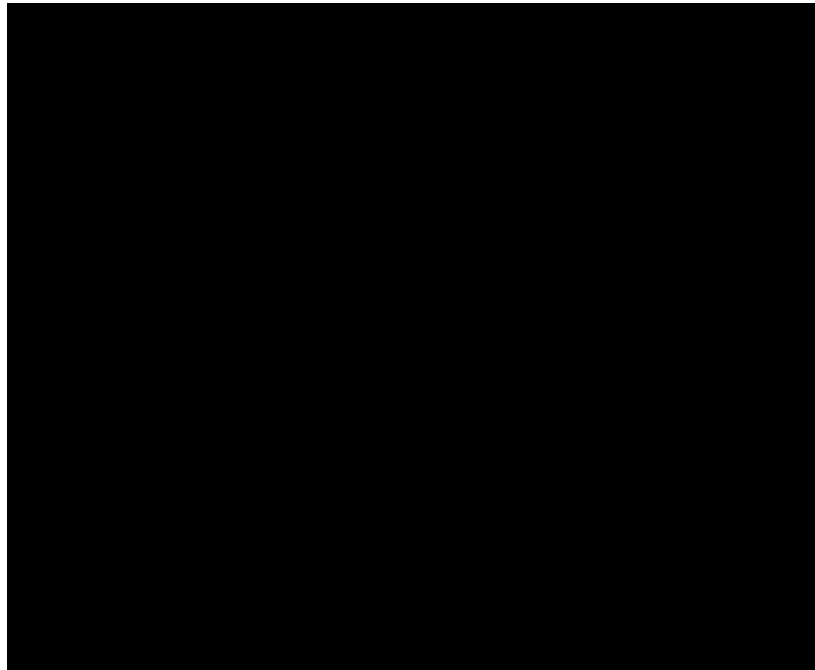


FIGURE 6-10 - SÉAN KEATING, 'VIEW OF DAM FROM POWER STATION SIDE WITH FIGURES IN THE BACKGROUND', OIL ON CANVAS, AUGUST OR SEPTEMBER 1927 (ESB ARCHIVE)

The positive theme of creation, rather than destruction, continues throughout the painting, with the central figure grasping a portfolio of technical drawings under his arm and the revitalised family group on the right, with the parents pointing out the power house works to their children. These parents are again portraits of Keating and his wife May, with the older child based on their son Michael.<sup>60</sup> The main allegory of the

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<sup>58</sup> KENNEDY. (1993) pp. 34, 119; KENNEDY. (1991) pp. 320-21; KENNEDY. (1997) p. 98; BHREATHNACH-LYNCH. (1998) pp. 49-50; BHREATHNACH-LYNCH. (2000) pp. 82-84; KENNEDY. (1994) p. 147; CUSACK. (2002) pp. 77-97.

<sup>59</sup> The concrete shuttering on the power house is at a stage in between photograph No. 603, approx. August 1927 and photograph No. 639, taken 29 September 1927.

<sup>60</sup> O'CONNOR. (2009) p. 20.

painting is the change in relative positions and demeanour of the ‘characters’ from ‘An Allegory’ – the besuited man and the gunman are now centre stage, with the gunman bowing to his contemptuous companion, symbolising the decrease of importance of the military, in comparison with business in the new state. This central figure has variously been referred to as a businessman or an engineer and this ambiguity is one of the central reasons for the continued fascination with the symbolism of this painting. Given Keating’s nationalist ideas, it is unlikely that he would give a German such a central position in a composition based on the creation of a new Ireland, despite the central role played by the German engineers, some of whom he had befriended on the Scheme. Regardless of the actual profession of this central figure, he represents civilian interests and civilian planning, particularly considering the deference that he is being shown by the soldier in this painting. The other military figure in the painting is nothing more than a skeleton, hanging on a derrick, a trenchant comment on the anti-Treaty side. The priest is marginalised, sitting reading by candle-light at the bottom right of the painting, seemingly oblivious to all that is going on around him. Keating’s use of lighting as metaphor emphasises this irrelevance, with the priest’s candle and the oil-lamp being removed from the derrick by a labourer, both to be superseded by electric light from the Shannon Scheme, a metaphorical version of Romeo’s new dawn.<sup>61</sup> The three labourers are new additions to Keating’s cast, possibly based on sketches of workers on the Scheme and symbolise the effort and labour of Irishmen going into the construction of this Scheme.

It is a measure of the importance of context in reading allegorical work that this ‘problem picture’ was interpreted by London critics during its exhibition in the Royal Academy as a satire on German involvement in the Scheme as well a direct attack on Britain, with the assumption that the skeleton represented the British Army. Once these reports reached Keating he vehemently denied this wider framing, directing attention back to the Irish context, referring to the central figure as “any businessman” and the

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<sup>61</sup> The title is based on a couplet from Shakespeare’s ‘Romeo and Juliet’, where the titular couple discuss whether or not the new day is breaking.

“Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day  
Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops.”

SHAKESPEARE, W. (2011) 'Romeo and Juliet: Entire Play', *MIT: The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*. [http://shakespeare.mit.edu/romeo\\_juliet/full.html](http://shakespeare.mit.edu/romeo_juliet/full.html) [Accessed: April 21 2011]



trio on the left as Connemara peasants. Even from a historical perspective, it seems unlikely that a respected Irish artist would exhibit a painting showing a German contractor dominating a subservient Irish client, unless things were going exceedingly badly on the Shannon. A comment made by Keating in the same newspaper article, suggested how he intended the painting to be read: “The allegory represents the dawn of a new Ireland, and the death of the stage Irishman, who is seen hanging on one of the power standards in the corner of the picture.”<sup>62</sup> The painting also has a dynamic, rhythmic composition, a group of figures posed on either side of the central businessman, framing the view of the power station site. It is a very positive painting, depicting the possibilities of 1929, the year in which the Scheme was officially launched, particularly in comparison with the hopeless scene depicted in ‘An Allegory’ (see Figure 6-7). Keating seems to have spent a large amount of time talking to both the Irish and German engineers on the Scheme and had been infected with their enthusiasm for the project. As both Bhreathnach-Lynch and Bielenberg point out, the earlier noble peasants and stoic gunmen have been superseded by a new class of hero – those of the engineer and entrepreneur, figures dedicated to creation and construction.<sup>63</sup> It has also been described as “having all the elements of socialist realism”, particularly in relation to its division of figures looking forwards to the future, juxtaposed against the remains of the old regime.<sup>64</sup>

Although ‘Night’s Candles are Burnt Out’ is very much about the building of a national project, its cast of characters is shown mostly at rest, at a pause in their labours, rather than actually working. This can partly be explained by Keating’s focus on the staging and symbolic interaction of a group of disparate figures, who would have been unlikely to meet in this configuration in real life (particularly the presence of small children on an engineering site). Also, most of the actual work of the Shannon Scheme was not carried out on such a focussed scale, whether the construction of the canals or the power house complex itself.

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<sup>62</sup> (1929) ‘The Problem Picture: End of the Stage Irishman’, *The Irish Times*. May 6. p. 6. **ESB Clippings Book 05**.

<sup>63</sup> BHREATHNACH-LYNCH. (1998) p. 50; BIELENBERG. (1997) p. 45.

<sup>64</sup> BARRETT. (2003) p. 605. The painting is also described as ‘socialist realism’ by FERRITER. (2004) p. 316.

Keating's landscapes of the Shannon Scheme are composed on a much larger scale, particularly when compared with his allegorical paintings. They comprise the majority of the paintings carried out on site, although some of them may have been finished off in one of his Dublin studios at a later date, they have been almost ignored by art historians in favour of his allegorical works.<sup>65</sup> Three paintings and two drawings were exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy show in 1927 and another three drawings in 1928, although it is difficult to determine which works these were, as the titles recorded in the RHA List of Exhibitors and the RHA catalogues do not match with those currently associated with the works in the ESB collection.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> They are discussed very briefly in CROOKSHANK & THE KNIGHT OF GLIN. (2002) p. 281.

<sup>66</sup> ROYAL HIBERNIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS. (1927) pp. 16, 21; ROYAL HIBERNIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS. (1928) p. 19; STEWART. (1985) p. 140. See Appendix E for details of the titles used in the RHA exhibitions.

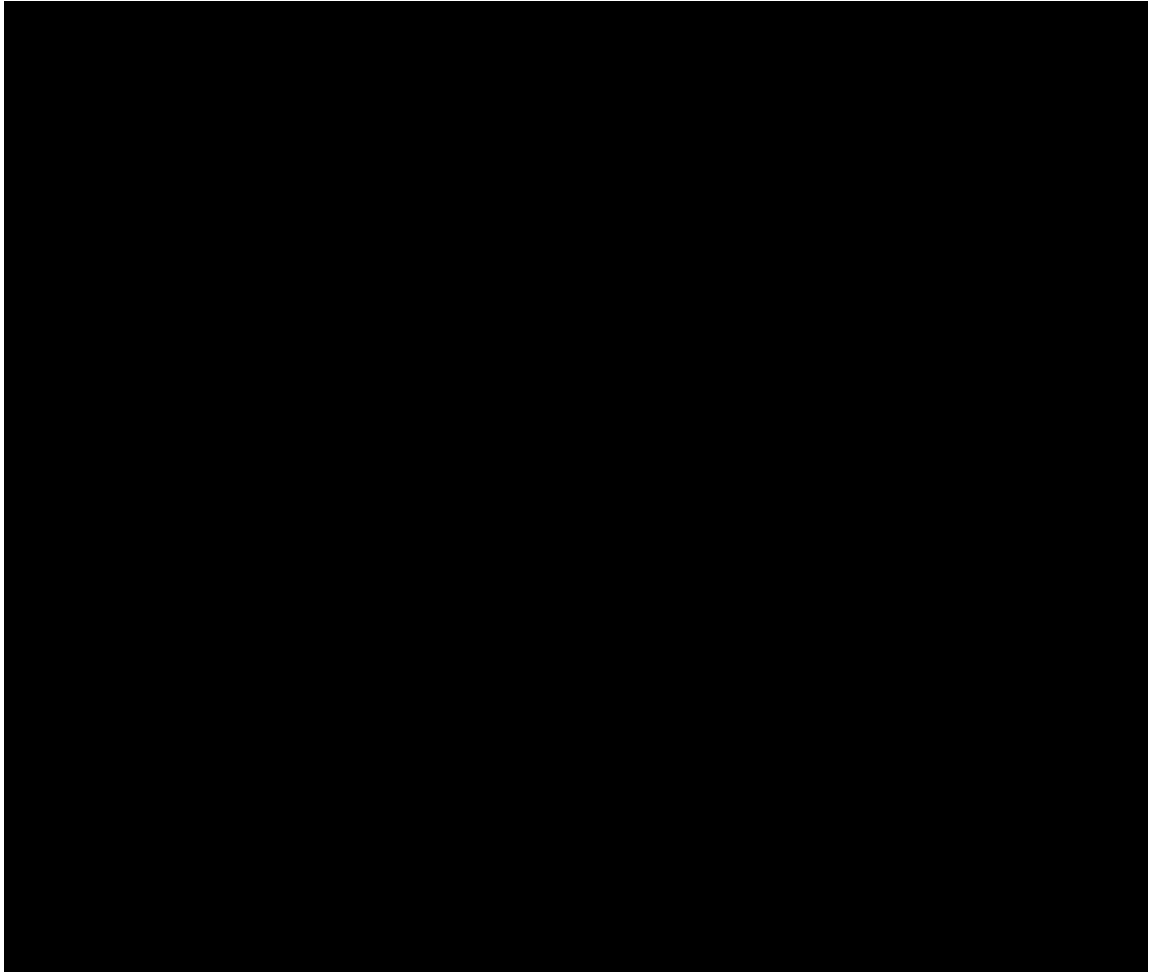


FIGURE 6-11 - SÉAN KEATING, 'SITE OF POWER HOUSE, DRILLING GANG AND STEAM SHOVEL AT WORK', OIL ON CANVAS, 1926 OR 1927 (ESB ARCHIVE)

The unsigned painting 'Site of Power House – Drilling gang and steam shovel at work' (see Figure 6-11) is a good example of these works, the majority of which follow the same pattern of loosely painted impressions of large machinery in a muddy landscape. Most of the paintings and drawings carried out on site show large pieces of German excavation equipment set within the landscape of a construction site.<sup>67</sup> In this case, a steam shovel sits on its caterpillar tracks to the right of the image, while an Absetzer spreading machine looms overhead. From the position of the Absetzer, it is possible that it was being winched into place, as it was used to transport the rubble and earth from the excavators to a wagon train, and could have been painted during either of Keating's visits to the Scheme, as these machines were in constant use throughout both

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<sup>67</sup> Some of the titles retain approximations of the German names for the equipment, for example, Lufflebagger for a Löffelbagger, rather than a bucket excavator.

summers. Keating's fascination with machinery is responsible for the consideration of German construction machinery as a possible subject for an Irish painter, although there is no attempt here to provide an overt allegorical symbolism for the viewer. Instead, we are shown the work being carried out by enormous pieces of machinery, which loom in the middle ground of a desolate landscape. The precious Irish countryside has been stripped away, layer by layer, to reveal levels and platforms of mud and earth, with only a small glimpse of the archetypal green landscape in the far distance of the scene. The majority of Keating's Shannon Scheme landscapes follow this pattern, with the traditional West of Ireland landscape being forcibly moulded into something new. The landscape paintings are focused on the machinery, as well as on the detail of the banks and blasted rocks to some extent. The lack of sentimentality towards the landscape is striking, particularly when compared to Keating's emotional treatment of the human figure in his allegorical paintings. There are few human figures in these paintings, with some being totally depopulated, while others feature anonymous groups of workmen in the foreground or background, such as the three men working in front of the steam shovel here or the anonymous figures in the foreground of Figure 6-10. It is this move of focus away from the detailed human figure that led a contemporary critic writing in *The Irish Times* to judge that:

Mr. Keating's style is hardly suitable for that kind of work. His Shannon studies lack that decisive approach which is so characteristic of his figure paintings, making one feel that he is wasting his time in County Limerick.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> (1927) p. 8.



FIGURE 6-12 - WILLIAM ORPEN, 'ZONNEBEKE', OIL ON CANVAS, 63.5 BY 76 CM, 1918  
(TATE BRITAIN: T07694)

Such criticism may have been what prompted Keating to return to allegorical figures for his later paintings of the Scheme, which did end up having a much larger circulation, both in exhibition and in reproduction, particularly 'Night's Candles are Burnt Out'. The landscape paintings represent a detour from the main trajectory of his portrait work, and they seem to have been driven by his interest in machinery and the epochal nature of the Shannon Scheme, although they bear a striking resemblance to the war paintings of his teacher Orpen, in their desolate muddy landscapes (see Figure 6-12). However, Keating's are landscapes of construction, rather than desolation, similar in some ways to the 19<sup>th</sup> century British depiction of pit machinery, combining the latest construction technology in a Romantically arranged vista (see Figure 6-13).<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> KLINGENDER, F. (1947) *Art and the Industrial Revolution*. London: Noel Carrington, pp. 81-82.

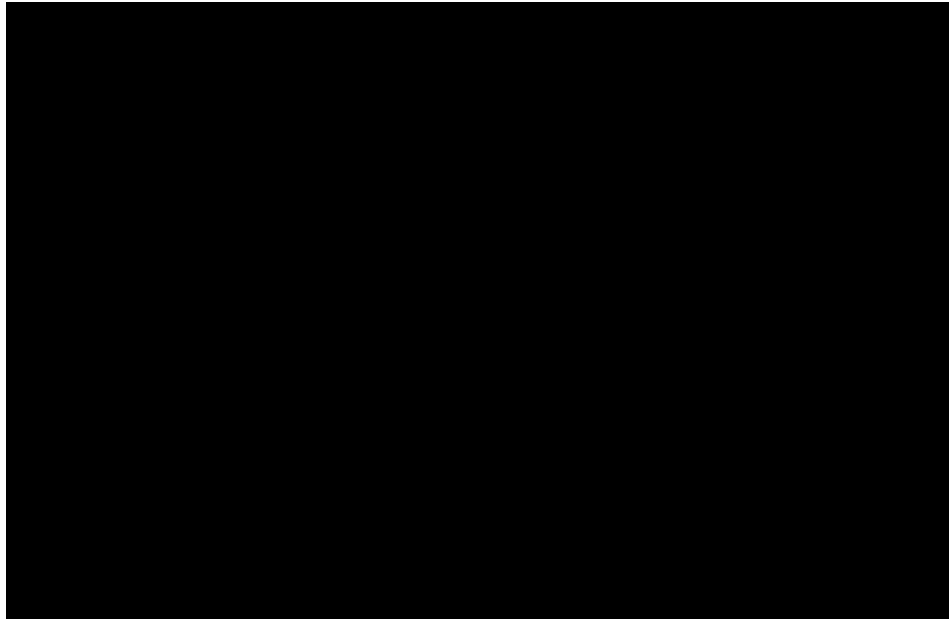


FIGURE 6-13 - J. C. BOURNE, 'PUMPS FOR DRAINING THE KILBY TUNNEL', 1837,  
PUBLISHED IN 'DRAWINGS OF THE LONDON & BIRMINGHAM RAILWAY' 1839  
(KLINGENDER, F. (1947) *ART AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION*. LONDON: NOEL  
CARRINGTON, P. 209)

Keating is quoted by both his sons as being fascinated by machinery, and Michael Keating (who became an engineer himself) recounts bedtime stories about the technical challenges of the project garnered from the engineers on site, as well as the careful depiction of current engineering practice in his work. He is also reported to have been impressed by the work ethic and consideration for technique of the German workers, particularly when compared to his own approach to creative work and contrasted with that of the Irish workers on the Scheme.<sup>70</sup>

It is apparent from the landscape paintings that Keating was struggling to depict his hopes for his country using an unfamiliar visual language, particularly in the hope that engineering could bring a sense of positivity and progress to what he had described as the 'medieval dunghole' of his native city. The composition of the landscape paintings often includes an empty foreground, with the machines in the middle or background, which relates closely to his method of 'staging' allegorical figures against an allegorical background. Justin Keating points out that it is the machines which are seen as heroic in

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<sup>70</sup> KEATING. (1995).

the landscape paintings, rather than the people, which makes sense in the light of Keating's attempts to create a national narrative in his work. Although his visual vocabulary is concerned with 'the machine' in particular, rather than 'technology' in general, Keating clearly saw the transformative power of modern technology, both from a practical point of view, and as a symbol for the modernisation of the nation in the future.<sup>71</sup> Although the details of this future are never really worked out, it is implicit in both his overtly allegorical work, and in his machine landscapes, all of which show Ireland at a point of transformation, in the process of moving from one state to the next.

Bearing in mind Keating's sensitivity towards the political climate of progress, or at least aspiration towards it, in the late 1920s, it should not be surprising that he has been considered by numerous art historians and critics to be a central propagandist for the Cumann na nGaedhail government.<sup>72</sup> This view has been supported by the fact that the majority of his Shannon Scheme pictures have spent the last 70 years in the hands of a semi-state body set up by that government. However, it is only on examination of the historical facts in recent years that it has emerged that the Shannon Scheme work was not a government commission, set up along the lines of work emanating from Soviet Russia during the same period, but an independent project carried out by an artist in his own working time.<sup>73</sup> Considering the implicit desire evident in Keating's allegorical paintings to record and memorialise what the artist considered to be a monumental event in the history of the country, it should be no surprise that the senior staff of the ESB, who certainly held a similar view of their own undertaking, would find the funds to purchase such work during the 1930s, even if they were not able to purchase it on its initial completion. It is only with the passage of time and the passing of the events of the late 1920s into history that Keating's work has become considered to be the 'official' record of the Scheme, an irony that would not have been lost on Keating himself.

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<sup>71</sup> KEATING. (2000) p. 53.

<sup>72</sup> CULLEN. (1997) pp. 168-69; KENNEDY. (1993) p. 34; WHITE. (1963) p. 7; BHREATHNACH-LYNCH. (2008) p. 125; BIELENBERG. (1997) p. 47; CUSACK. (2002) pp. 91-92; DUNNE. (1989).

<sup>73</sup> BIELENBERG. (2002) p. 135.

### **George Atkinson: promoting Irish printmaking**

Despite the notoriety surrounding Keating's paintings of the Shannon Scheme, he was only the best known artist to produce work on the subject of the Shannon Scheme in the late 1920s. George Atkinson (1880-1941), an Irish printmaker who was the Headmaster of the Metropolitan School of Art in Dublin during the 1920s and 1930s, also produced a small series of etchings based on the Scheme. Atkinson came from a very different background, training and politics from Keating, and his work on the Scheme represents an entirely different aspect of the Irish art world of the late 1920s, one which has not been discussed nearly as exhaustively as the more colourful Keating's.

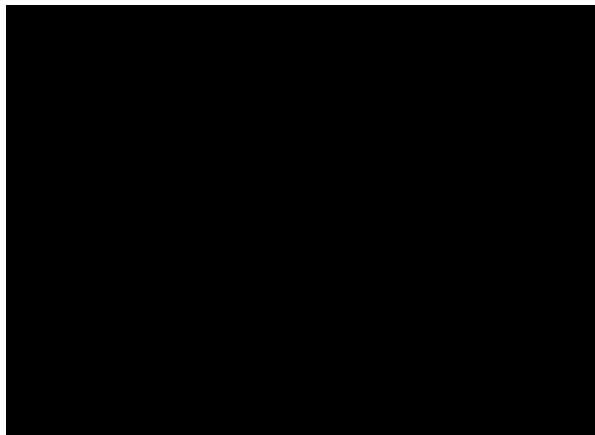


FIGURE 6-14 - GEORGE ATKINSON AND ALBERT POWER, CENOTAPH FOR MICHAEL COLLINS AND ARTHUR GRIFFITHS, LEINSTER LAWN, 1923

(DOLAN, A. (2003) *COMMEMORATING THE IRISH CIVIL WAR: HISTORY AND MEMORY, 1923-2000*. CAMBRIDGE: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, P. 8)

George Atkinson had been born in 1880 in Cobh, outside Cork city, the son of a Protestant timber mill owner. He was educated in the Metropolitan School of Art in Dublin and the Royal College of Art in London, with a focus on etching and mezzotint, as well as typography. He had a long career in art education in Dublin from 1902, progressing to the job of headmaster of the Metropolitan School of Art in 1918. He



remained in this role for the rest of his life, becoming the first Director when the School became the National College of Art in 1936.<sup>74</sup>

Atkinson is probably best known for his role as a central proponent of art education in Ireland in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly promoting the South Kensington system in the Metropolitan School of Art in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>75</sup> He seems to have expended a large amount of effort in keeping the school running, as well as ensuring funding came from the various government departments which controlled it over the decades, and shepherding its students through the World War, the War of Independence and then the Civil War, all of which had profound effects on the artistic and economic climate of Dublin.<sup>76</sup> Art collector, lawyer and critic Thomas Bodkin described him in 1924 as someone who:

has made an extensive study of methods and theories of art training, is an admirable organiser and possesses the rare qualification, eminently desirable in the management of a large school, of being a practitioner of many arts.<sup>77</sup>

He is particularly noted for his encouragement of the early design disciplines in the School of Art, very much informed by his training in the RCA and sought to improve the quality and level of work being carried out in the area of 'cultivated ornament' in an Irish context.<sup>78</sup> This was reinforced by a number of his own projects, which included the commission of an official Cenotaph for Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith on Leinster Lawn, outside the Dáil in 1923 (see Figure 6-14), which took the shape of a Celtic cross on a stepped base and was a good example of an official assertion of Irish Free State identity using Neo-Celtic symbols.<sup>79</sup> He was also heavily involved in the

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<sup>74</sup> TURPIN, J. (1995) *A School of Art in Dublin Since the 18th Century: A History of the National College of Art and Design*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, p. 195; TURPIN, J. (1985) 'The Metropolitan School of Art (Part 2)', *Dublin Historical Record*. Vol. 38, No. 2, pp. 43-44.

<sup>75</sup> The Dublin Metropolitan School of Art had received its certificates from the Science and Art Department in South Kensington since the 1870s, concentrating on drawing from the antique, landscapes and ornament. See TURPIN, J. (1983) 'The South Kensington System and the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art 1877-1900', *Dublin Historical Record*. Vol. 36, No. 2, March.

<sup>76</sup> O'CONNOR. (2009) p. 17.

<sup>77</sup> BODKIN, T. (1924) 'Dublin', *The Studio*, No. 87, p. 46.

<sup>78</sup> TURPIN. (1995) pp. 208-09.

<sup>79</sup> The Cenotaph also bore two decorative panels bearing medallions of Collins and Griffith, carried out by the sculptor Albert Power, who also taught at the Metropolitan School of Art.

organisation of the *Aonach Tailteann* art competition in 1924, which was part of a self-conscious effort to encourage the development of an identifiable Irish style in Irish art, both fine and decorative.<sup>80</sup> The accuracy of the description in his obituary as “an untiring worker in any artistic cause”, who “gave tremendously of his time and energies in these directions” is borne out by his involvement with the Royal Hibernian Academy and several prominent galleries, as well as numerous public lectures in the 1920s on the need for improving Irish artistic standards.<sup>81</sup> In this way, Atkinson can certainly be seen as having a well-developed concern for the arts in Ireland in general, over and above his own personal artistic concerns. He seems to have been forever thinking of the wider civic good, and how he might be able to use his position as Headmaster of the School of Art to develop and promote both the fine and decorative arts in Ireland.<sup>82</sup>

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See BHREATHNACH-LYNCH. (2007) p. 166; DOLAN, A. (2003) *Commemorating the Irish Civil War: History and Memory, 1923-2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 7-9; GORDON BOWE, N. & E. CUMMING. (1998) *The Arts & Crafts Movements in Dublin & Edinburgh, 1880-1930*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, p. 93; TURPIN. (1995) p. 237.

<sup>80</sup> CRONIN, M. (2005) 'The State on Display: The 1924 Tailteann Art Competition', *New Hibernia Review*. Vol. 9, No. 3, Fall, pp. 50-51. BODKIN. (1924) p. 226.

<sup>81</sup> Atkinson had been elected a member of the Royal Hibernian Academy in 1914 and later became its Treasurer; organised the exhibition for Dublin Civic Week in 1927, along with fellow artists Paul Henry and Leo Whelan; was a signatory to Lady Gregory's petition for Hugh Lane's French paintings to be returned to Dublin in 1917; sat on the Art Advisory Committee of the Dublin Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, the Board of Governors of the National Gallery of Ireland and advised the Crawford Gallery in his native Cork on purchases to be made using the Gibson Bequest money of 1919: GREGORY, L. I. A. (1917) *Hugh Lane's French Pictures*.

**O'Brien Papers, NLI: MS 36,888;** (1927) 'Paintings, Drawings and Engravings: the Metropolitan School of Art', *The Irish Times*. September 20. p. 11; (1928) 'Municipal Gallery of Modern Art: Advisory Committee', *The Irish Times*. October 6. p. 8; (1932) 'National Gallery of Ireland: Mrs. William O'Brien's Gift', *The Irish Times*. December 8. p. 4; KENNEDY. (1991) pp. 84-85. Lectures included venues such as the Royal Dublin Society, the Central Catholic Library, the Dublin Literary Society and the Dublin Writers Club: (1924) 'The Art of Etching: Mr. George Atkinson's Lecture', *The Irish Times*. January 19. p. 6; (1924) 'Good Art and Bad Art', *The Irish Times*. March 28. p. 2; (1927) 'Standards in Art: Meaning of their Collapse', *The Irish Times*. March 24. p. 10; (1929) 'Dublin Writers Club: Mr. G. Atkinson's Lecture', *The Irish Times*. November 21. p. 6; (1941) 'Obituary: Mr. George Atkinson, R.H.A.', *The Irish Times*. March 25. p. 8; BODKIN. (1924) p. 46.

<sup>82</sup> GRIFFITH, A. (2010) *A History of Fine Art Printmaking in Ireland during the Twentieth Century*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, History of Art, Trinity College, Dublin.

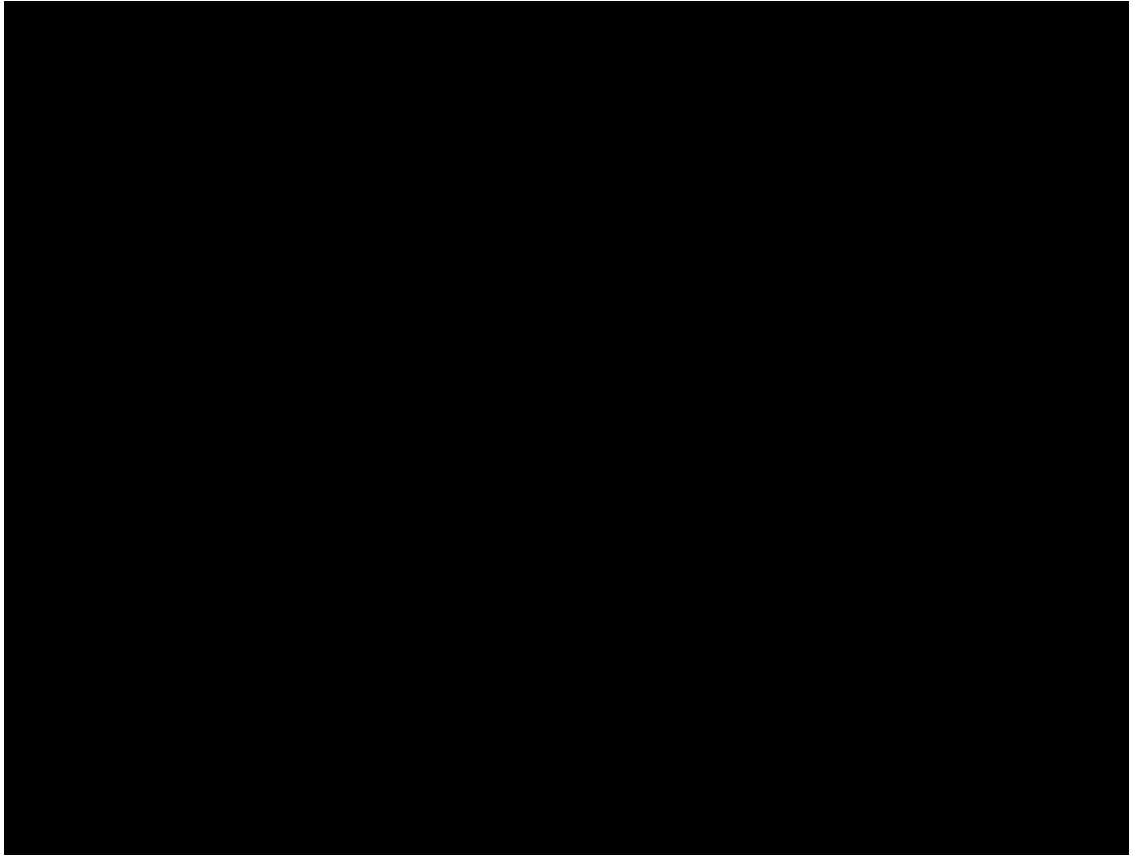


FIGURE 6-15 - GEORGE ATKINSON, 'IL PONTE VECCHIO', FLORENCE, ETCHING, 25.4CM BY 30.5CM, 1914 (DUBLIN CITY GALLERY, THE HUGH LANE: REG. 415)

All this activity in the service of the arts in Ireland seems to have left Atkinson with a decreasing amount of time for his own practice of printmaking. Despite being heralded as “a brilliant engraver” and “accomplished etcher”, as well as hailed for reintroducing the technically difficult form of mezzotint to Ireland, his artistic production dropped off dramatically after his appointment as the headmaster of the School of Art in 1918.<sup>83</sup> By the time the Shannon Scheme was under construction, he had not exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy since 1923. His exhibited works included a small number of painted portraits and etched book-plates, but mainly consisted of etchings and mezzotints of Irish and Italian landscapes, ranging from scenes in the Dublin mountains to the palazzos of Venice.<sup>84</sup> ‘Il Ponte Vecchio, Florence’ from 1914 is a typical example of his work from this period (see Figure 6-15). It is a small etching,

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<sup>83</sup> CRAMPTON WALKER, J. (1926) *Irish Life and Landscape*. Dublin: Talbot Press, p. 96; (1941) p. 8; BODKIN. (1924) p. 46.

<sup>84</sup> STEWART, A. (1985) *Royal Hibernian Academy List of Exhibitors: Vol. 1 A-G*. Dublin: Manton Publishing, p. 23.

which depicts the eponymous bridge in the lower half of the composition, finely delineated in strong sunlight.<sup>85</sup> The composition is notable for having all the detail of the bridge in the lower half of the image, with the top half dedicated to a delicate study of billowing clouds, pierced by rays of sunshine. The tonal effects in the sky and water, as well as the shadowed buildings, are created by the careful patterning of parallel and interlocking lines. The overall effect is of a restrained study of a historic structure, carried out in the academic tradition of topographical representation, particularly using conventions of architectural prospects and atmospheric effects to depict sublime industrial landscapes (see Figure 6-16).<sup>86</sup> The use of etching as a technique particularly emphasises this effect, as it provides much more of a technical challenge than a watercolour or drawing, showcasing the artist's technical skill, something which Atkinson considered to be hugely important.<sup>87</sup> This is entirely consistent with the training which Atkinson would have received in South Kensington, and which was a mainstay of the teaching at the Metropolitan School of Art for the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

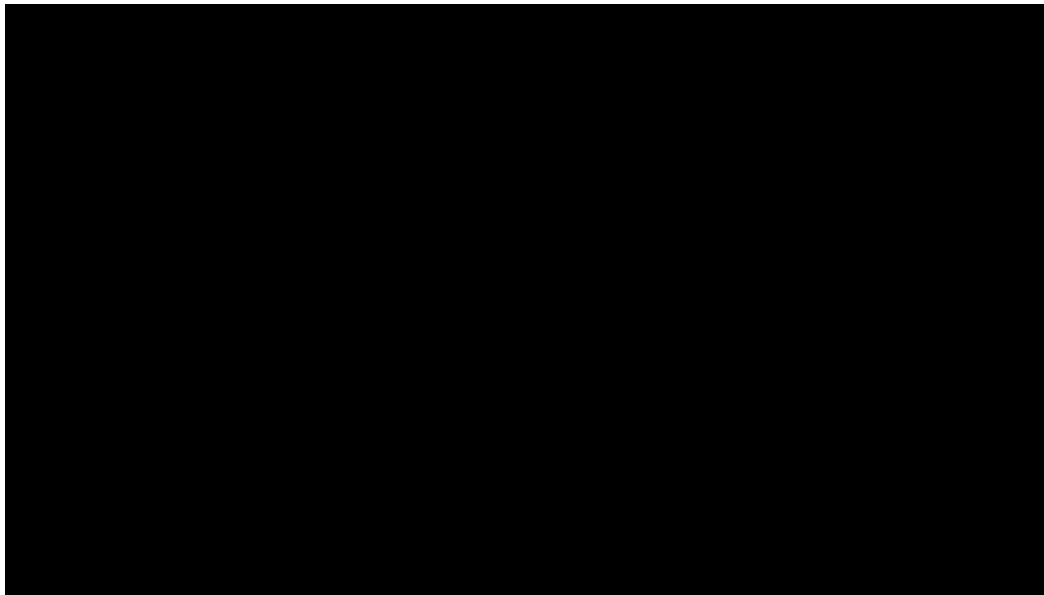


FIGURE 6-16 – J. D. HARDING, 'HETTON COLLIERY', COLOURED LITHOGRAPH, C1825.  
(KLINGENDER, F. (1947) *ART AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION*. LONDON: NOEL CARRINGTON, P. 203)

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<sup>85</sup> (2010) 'Leopold Friedrich I Franz Nikolaus Fürst von Anhalt-Dessau', *The Peerage*.  
<http://thepeerage.com/p11200.htm#i111999> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>86</sup> KLINGENDER. (1947) pp. 65-69.

<sup>87</sup> TURPIN. (1995) p. 245.

Comparing Atkinson's artwork with those of Séan Keating produced during the same period (see Figure 6-6) it becomes immediately obvious that the two men were members of entirely disparate tendencies in Irish society. That the passionate Irish-Irelander painter and the restrained Anglo-Irish printmaker were both working together in the Metropolitan School of Art, from Keating's appointment in 1919 until Atkinson's death in 1941, could have been a notable synergy in Irish art in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly considering the respect that both men held for the acquisition and practice of technical skill, both in artistic and in general terms. However, perhaps the violent climate of the early 1920s was not the most conducive to starting such a dialogue, particularly considering the increasingly beleaguered position of Anglo-Irish culture during this period (see Chapter 1). In addition, by 1927, Atkinson was also professionally beleaguered by a hugely critical report on the School, written by French experts, which had been precipitated by Keating and had recommended the dismissal of Atkinson and a large proportion of his staff, including Keating himself.<sup>88</sup>

Given this antipathy between the two artists and their differences in approach, aesthetic and as regards typical subject matter, the fact that George Atkinson also produced work on the Shannon Scheme in the period from 1926 to 1928 is somewhat unexpected, although its timing in relation to the French Report may not be co-incidence. He produced three etchings of the Shannon Scheme, which were exhibited both together and separately in a number of venues in Dublin and London over a six year period between 1927 and 1933, (see Appendix G), overlapping with the period and locations where Keating's Shannon Scheme paintings were also on display. One print 'Keeper Mountain' is in the collection of the Crawford Art Gallery in Cork, where it was donated after the death of the playwright and fellow Cork Anglo-Irish nationalist Lennox Robinson in 1958, presumably from his private collection. It is unclear where or when Robinson purchased the print, although it could have been from the 1933 exhibition in the Argus Gallery in Dublin, or even directly from the artist himself after

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<sup>88</sup> O'CONNOR. (2009) pp. 15-18; TURPIN. (1995) pp. 261-72.

that date.<sup>89</sup> There does not seem to be any record of 'Excavations' or 'The Culvert' after the 1933 exhibition, and they have remained in the possession of the Atkinson family.<sup>90</sup>

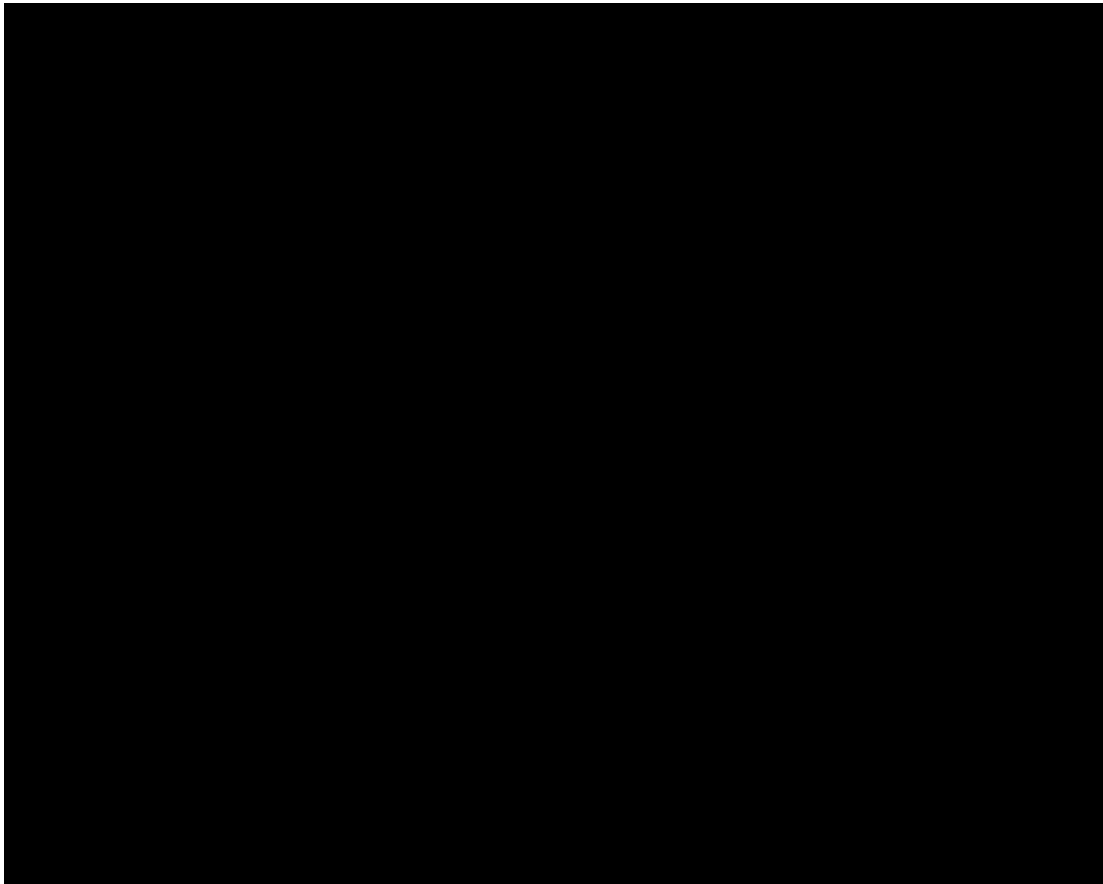


FIGURE 6-17 - GEORGE ATKINSON, 'SHANNON SCHEME KEEPER MOUNTAIN',  
ETCHING, 35CM BY 41.5CM, C.1927 (CRAWFORD ART GALLERY: CAT. NO. 277)

The print in the Crawford Art Gallery focuses on a section of the canal works, rather than a wide scene of the whole works (see Figure 6-17). It depicts one of the banks of the headrace canal under construction, with a small amount of water at the bottom and two pieces of ditch digging machinery on the horizon. The title 'Keeper Mountain'

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<sup>89</sup> Robinson was on the Board of the Abbey Theatre from 1923 onwards, as well as being a prolific playwright and producer and the two men would have at least met professionally around this time, as Atkinson made masks for a production of the W. B. Yeats play 'The King of the Great Clock Tower', which Robinson produced in 1934. ROBINSON, L. (1951) *Ireland's Abbey Theatre - A History 1899-1951*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, p. 163; (2010) 'Lennox Robinson', *Irish Playography*. <http://www.irishplayography.com/search/person.asp?la=en&PersonID=9692> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>90</sup> ATKINSON, W. B. (2010) 'Photos of Etchings' to O'BRIEN, S., August 12.

refers to the hill in the distance, which is located in County Tipperary and can be seen from some sections of the headrace in Figure 6-18.



FIGURE 6-18 - THE VIEW FROM TWO SECTIONS OF THE ARDNACRUSHA HEAD RACE CANAL TOWARDS KEEPER MOUNTAIN (MARKED A) (GOOGLE MAPS)

It is a rather desolate scene, which is devoid of any human inhabitation. Unlike Keating's paintings, the machinery is treated like an element in the landscape, rather than the focus of the image. It is small and unobtrusive, sitting in the middle distance. The left bank of the canal is rendered entirely in Atkinson's careful line work, which details the bumps and lumps of the earthen bank, so that the density of line builds up a picture of light and shade. The image is constructed so that this bank and its delicate line work make up the bottom two thirds of the image, with the right bank with its fringe of trees receding into the vanishing point of the composition, focusing on the eponymous mountain. The sky is rendered in a carefully detailed treatment of line, not dissimilar to that of the Ponte Vecchio in Figure 6-15. Unlike Keating's brash, dynamic compositions, the image is of an empty, still, somewhat oppressive landscape, which carefully finds detail in the unfinished earth removal and is totally consistent with Atkinson's entire approach to making art (see Figure 6-19).

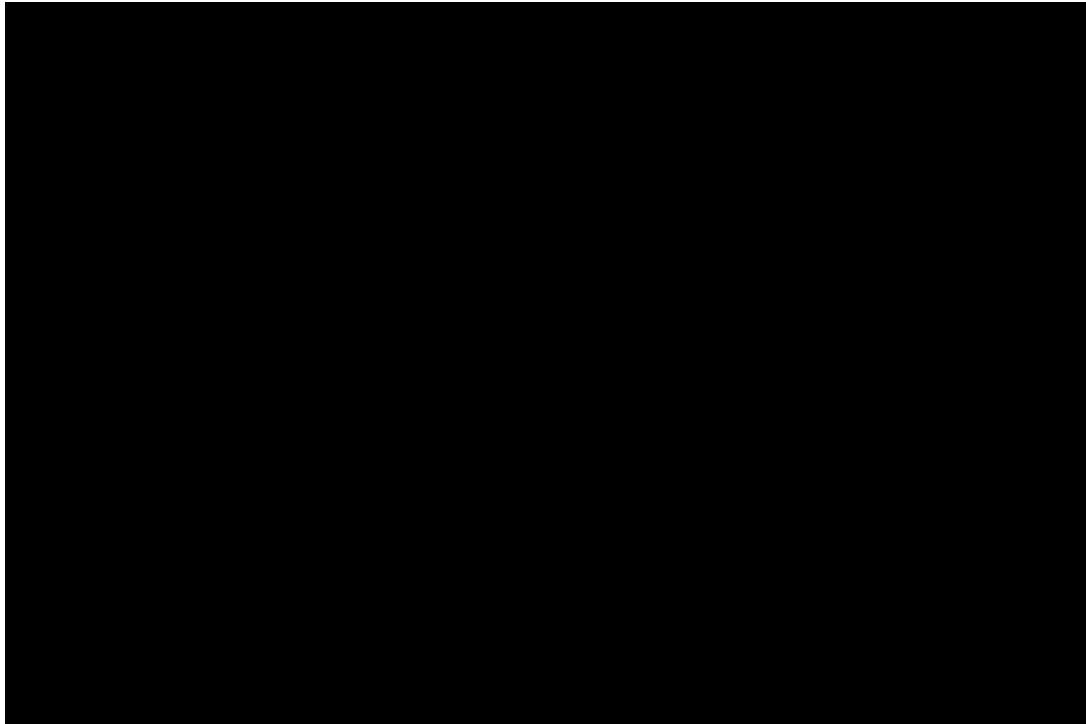


FIGURE 6-19 - GEORGE ATKINSON, 'SHANNON SCHEME KEEPER MOUNTAIN', DETAIL OF ETCHING, C1927 (CRAWFORD ART GALLERY: CAT. NO. 277)

The second print 'Shannon Scheme Excavations' was exhibited in an exhibition of Irish art in Belgium in 1930, which was a concerted effort by the Irish Government to promote Irish art abroad.<sup>91</sup> George Atkinson, in his usual central organisational role, was both Treasurer and Executive Committee member, as well as exhibiting a print of the Rialto Bridge in Venice and his three Shannon Scheme etchings.<sup>92</sup> 'Excavations' also shows a view of earthworks and machinery from a wide angle (see Figure 6-20). It seems to have excited the most interest from the critics, with an *Irish Independent* reviewer describing it as "excellently worked out in detail", "a splendid and

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<sup>91</sup> The committee was headed by President Cosgrave himself, and included Ernest Blythe, the Vice President and Minister for Finance, McGilligan in his dual role as Minister for External Affairs and Minister for Industry and Commerce, as well as Lady Lavery, Sir John Purser Griffith, the Provost of Trinity College and several members of what landed gentry remained in the country after partition.

<sup>92</sup> (1930) *Exposition d'Art Irlandais, 10 Mai - 8 Juin 1930*. Brussels: Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Musée d'Art Ancien, pp. 3-7, 42.



comprehensive view of the scheme” and as giving “a clear idea of the magnitude and nature of the works.”<sup>93</sup>

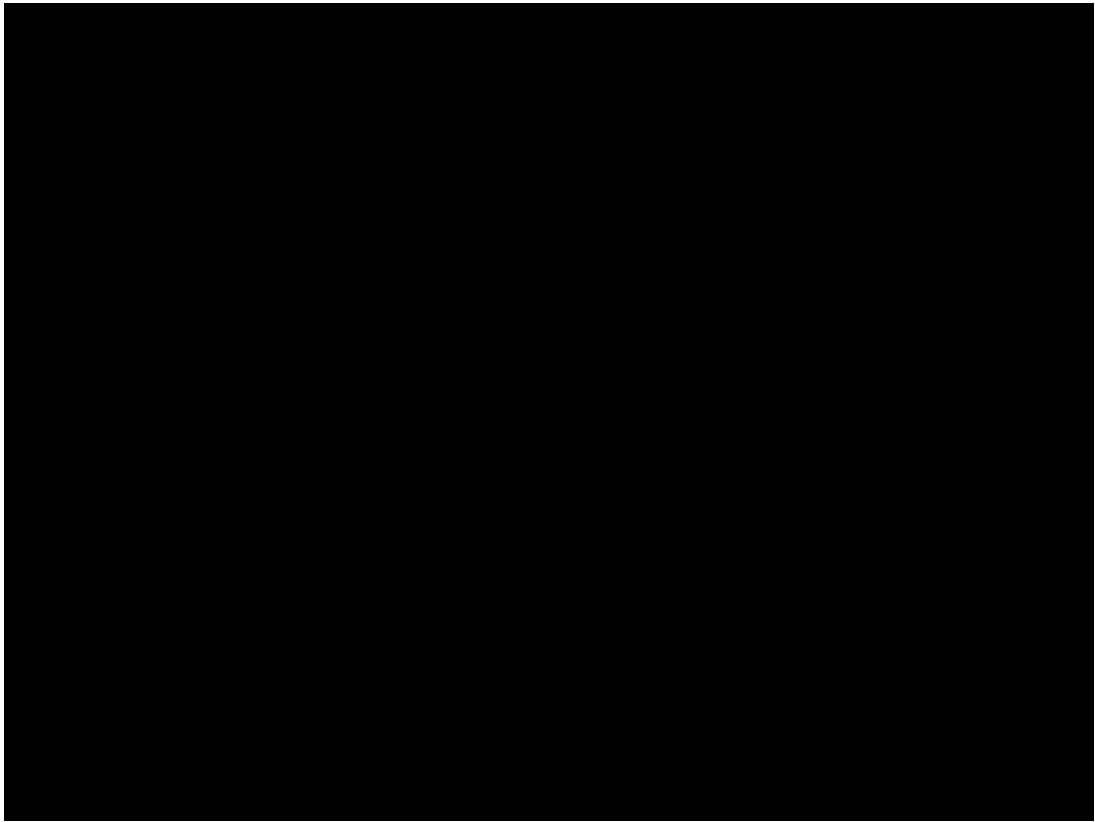


FIGURE 6-20 - GEORGE ATKINSON, 'SHANNON SCHEME EXCAVATIONS', ETCHING, C1928 (PRIVATE COLLECTION)

The print was created in a similar manner to 'Keeper Mountain', with a detailed study of the earthworks in the foreground receding into the distant countryside in the background. The horizon lies below the middle of the frame and the majority of the detail is in the lower half of the print, an approach which echoes the composition of his 'Ponte Vecchio' etching discussed earlier. The steam plumes from the machinery exhausts form an important vertical element, as they are shown spurting up into a heavy sky, all depicted through the skilful use of etched line, again reminiscent of 19<sup>th</sup> century industrial landscapes. The construction looks like the wider site of the power house itself around May 1927, which ties in with an initial exhibition date for this and 'The Culvert' of August 1928, unlike 'Keeper Mountain', which was initially exhibited in

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<sup>93</sup> (1928) 'Clever Artists: Hibernian Academy Pictures', *Irish Independent*. April 3. p. 3; (1929) 'Our London Letter: Saorstát Art', *Irish Independent*. April 4. p. 6.

April 1927.<sup>94</sup> This implies that Atkinson made two visits to the Scheme, one in May 1927 and one substantially earlier. This is reinforced by the third print 'The Culvert', which depicts a scene which is very similar to that depicted in Siemens industrial photographs 287 (July 23 1926), 294 (July 30 1926) and 307 (August 17 1926), as well as some later photographs taken in June 1927 (595, 596 and 597, see Appendix C).

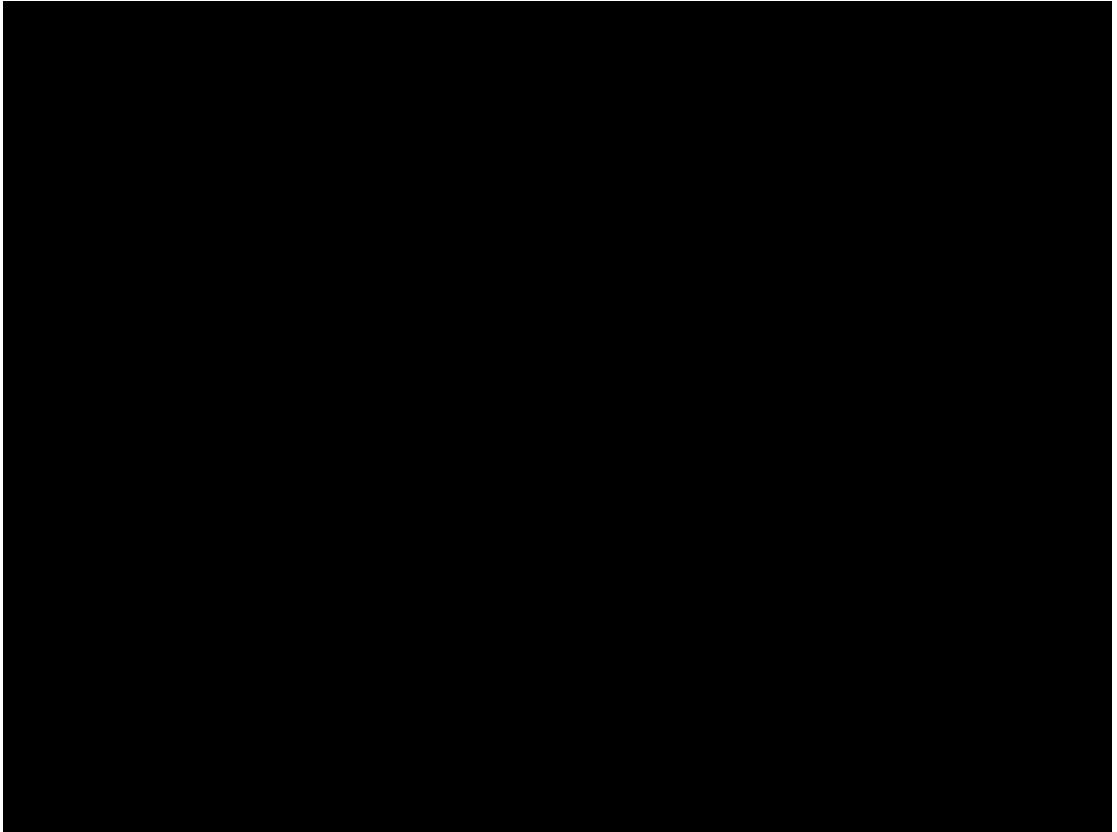


FIGURE 6-21 - GEORGE ATKINSON, 'SHANNON SCHEME: THE CULVERT', ETCHING, C1928 (PRIVATE COLLECTION)

This print has a rather more emphatic composition, with a foreshortened cylinder of a concrete drain dominating the composition. While the foreground is carried out in Atkinson's typically detailed fashion, the background and sky are much more densely rendered than his other work. The sky, particularly, looks more like a creased fabric

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<sup>94</sup> ROYAL HIBERNIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS. (1927) p. 26; (1928) 'Arts and Crafts: Aonach Tailteann Exhibition', *Irish Independent*. August 6. p. 9; STEWART. (1985) p. 23. See Siemens documentary photograph no. 516, 'Power house: Beginning of the concrete work on the water sluices', May 17 1928 (Siemens Archive: A701) for a photograph of a similar scene.

than the airy depictions of his other prints. Both this and the background figures of scaffolding and workmen moving planks are more reminiscent of Keating's work. The treatment of the concrete pipe, though, is very much based on his treatment of architectural structures in previous work, with the workmen reduced to ciphers in the distance.

The very fact that he considered the subject matter important enough to him to return to printmaking from his institutional and organisational duties says something about his commitment to the new Ireland being shaped out of this landscape. The Shannon Scheme prints were also the only works that Atkinson showed in the national forum of the RHA exhibitions, from 1923 to a single mezzotint shown in 1937.<sup>95</sup> These prints represent, in their own quiet understated way, his civic commitment to the creation of a new Ireland in the late 1920s, as well as the place of the artist in this new state. They also provide an alternative interpretation of the industrial sublime to Keating's more robust paintings, one heavily based on the depiction of topological and architectural landscapes.

### **Anton Scheuritzel: printmaker to German industry**

In contrast to the work of the Irish artists Keating and Atkinson on the Shannon Scheme, prints have also survived which were produced by a German artist, Anton Scheuritzel. Although the subject matter of these prints is very similar to the work discussed above (a number of views show the work site on the Shannon) and they were also produced during the period of 1927 to 1928, their context is quite radically different from any of the Irish work. Unlike the unofficial or quasi-official representations of the Irish artists, Scheuritzel was specifically commissioned by Siemens to produce these works in commemoration of the Shannon Scheme project. This section will discuss these images, the German context in which they were produced, and how this influenced the artist's representation of issues about national identity, technology and labour.

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<sup>95</sup> STEWART. (1985) p. 23.

Anton Scheuritzel (1874-1954) was a little-known German artist, who had worked both as a theatre set designer and as a printmaker, and who has left almost no impression on the English-speaking art world. Born in Quettendorf, in the south-eastern German *Land* [State] of Anhalt in 1874, he was apprenticed at age 16 to the court painter R. Wernicke at the Dessau Court Theatre, where he worked before leaving for Berlin some time before 1904.<sup>96</sup> This background of opera production and aristocratic sponsorship seems to have had a formative effect on Scheuritzel's later work, particularly in terms of an appreciation of dramatic scenery, based on meticulously researched historical detail.<sup>97</sup>

In 1908, Scheuritzel seems to have had an epiphany of sorts. Jewish artist Hermann Struck was a master lithographer, quite well-known for his depictions of Israeli landscapes and those of small-town Germany, as well as portraits of notables such as Freud and Einstein (see Figure 6-22). In 1908, Struck published a ground-breaking book on printmaking, *Die Kunst des Radierens [The Art of Etching]*, which coincided with Scheuritzel taking up printmaking as a career and leaving the theatre behind for good.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> NIESSE, G. (1985) 'Erinnerungen an Anton Scheuritzel', *Kreisjahrbuch Bernkastel-Wittlich*, p. 426. The Dessau Court Theatre was an example of a 18<sup>th</sup> century German court theatre still in existence in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It had been sponsored by the Dukes of Anhalt, some of whom took a very active interest in the productions, particularly Friedrich II, who spent a large amount of his time intimately involved in the staging and production of elaborate dramas in from the 1890s to his death in 1918: (1918) 'Music-Loving Duke Dead; Frederick II., Ruler of Duchy of Anhalt, Maintained Court Theatre', *New York Times*. April 23. p. 13; (2010) 'Friedrich II Herzog von Anhalt-Dessau', *The Peerage*. <http://thepeerage.com/p1969.htm#i19681> [Accessed: 31 May 2010]; NORTH, M. (2003) *Material Delight and the Joy of Living: Cultural Consumption in the Age of Enlightenment in Germany*. Hampshire: Ashgate, p. 145; CARLSON, M. (2008) 'The Realistic Theatre and Bourgeois Values, 1750-1900', in WILLIAMS, S. & M. HAMBURGER (eds.) *A History of German Theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 94. Although there is very little detailed information on Scheuritzel's work at the Theatre, or on the training which he would have received from Wernicke, who is an even more elusive figure, it seems that Scheuritzel would have worked as a scenery painter on operas such as Wagner's 'Der Ring des Nibelungen', which was performed in full by the Dessau Court Theatre in 1893: (2010) 'Geschichte des Anhaltischen Theaters Dessau', *Anhaltisch Theater*. [http://www.anhaltisches-theater.de/das\\_theater](http://www.anhaltisches-theater.de/das_theater) [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>97</sup> CARLSON. (2008) pp. 113-14. I have not been able to determine where Scheuritzel worked as a set designer or painter in Berlin from 1904 onwards, although this is likely to have been within the romantic world of opera, rather than on folk or avant-garde productions, given his training and background.

<sup>98</sup> STRUCK, H. (1908) *Die Kunst des Radierens*. Berlin: Paul Cassirer; (2010) 'Artistic Expressions of the Jewish Renaissance: Hermann Struck', *George Washington University*. <http://www.gwu.edu/gelman/spec/kiel/expressions/struck.htm> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

Scheuritzel's printmaking work seems to have followed Struck's influence in a number of ways, particularly in his lithographic depiction of landscapes, as Scheuritzel continued an existing habit of study trips, particularly to Italy, as well as into the German countryside.<sup>99</sup> This work was interrupted by the First World War, where he fought as a soldier, returning to printmaking after the German defeat.<sup>100</sup>



FIGURE 6-22 - HERMANN STRUCK, 'AUS VENEDIG (FROM VENICE)', ETCHING, N.D. (STRUCK, H. (1908) *DIE KUNST DES RADIERENS*. BERLIN: PAUL CASSIRER, P. 221)

Scheuritzel's work at this point was mostly concerned with the depiction of detailed, romantic landscapes, in the tradition of existing German printmakers like Struck. The Romantic tradition in German culture had been finding renewed interest from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, prompted by concerns about German unification and technological development. Various interpretations of 18<sup>th</sup> century Romantic ideas about the self, nature and the divine prompted a fascination with symbolic landscapes. This was taken up by German-speaking artists, who played out ideas about the longing for or loss of Paradise, particularly in the depiction of Italian and Mediterranean landscapes, as well as

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<sup>99</sup> NIESSE. (1985) p. 426.

<sup>100</sup> SINGER, H. W. (1920) *Das Graphische Werk des Maler-Radierers Anton Scheuritzel: Ein Beschreibendes in Chronologisch Geordnetes Verzeichnis mit 81 Abbildungen*. Berlin: August Scherl GMBH, p. 11.

images of the German countryside.<sup>101</sup> Although Scheuritzel's print work is somewhat later and lacks an overtly Symbolic element, work such as 'Markischer Wald' (see Figure 6-23) falls squarely into this tradition of idyllic landscapes.<sup>102</sup>

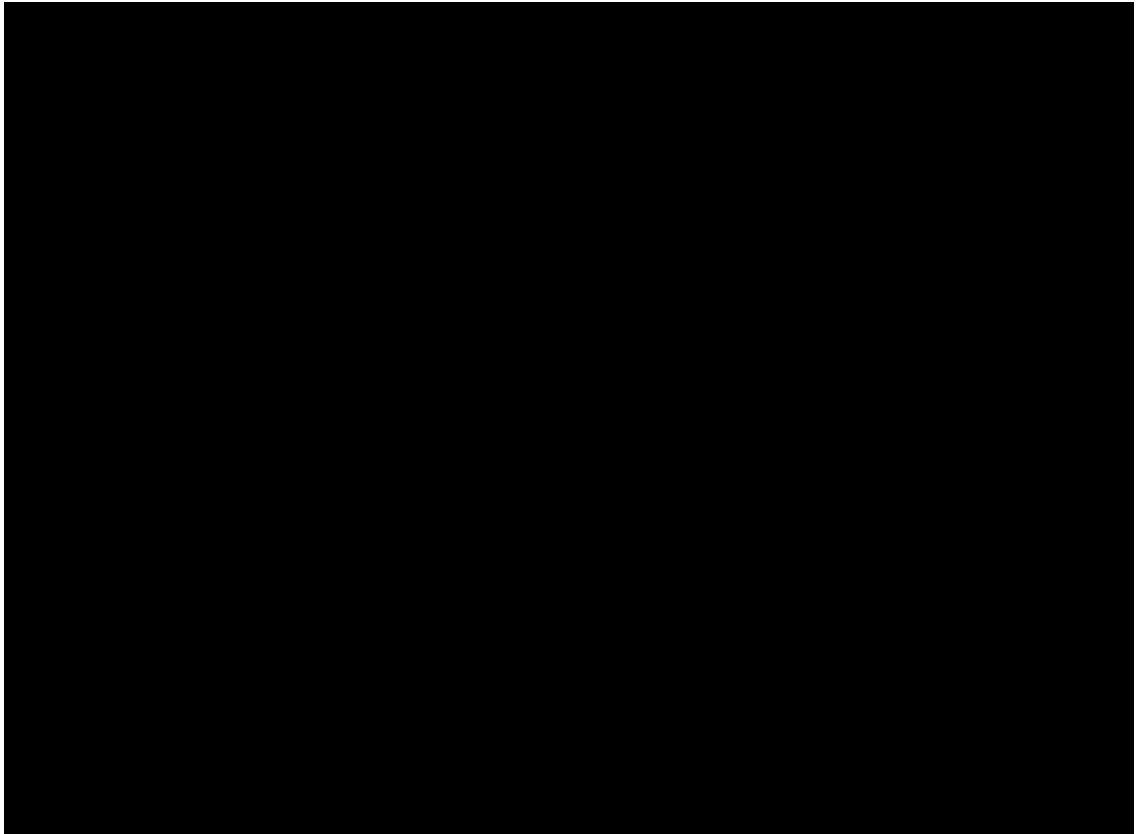


FIGURE 6-23 - ANTON SCHEURITZEL, 'MARKISCHER WALD', ETCHING, N.D.  
(SINGER, H. W. (1920) *DAS GRAPHISCHE WERK DES MALER-RADIERERS ANTON SCHEURITZEL: EIN BESCHREIBENDES IN CHRONOLOGISCH GEORDNETES VERZEICHNIS MIT 81 ABBILDUNGEN*. BERLIN: AUGUST SCHERL GMBH, P. 93)

Scheuritzel's work up to the early 1920s is documented in an exhibition catalogue of his work, which contains a discussion of his work by eminent German art historian Hans Singer, an expert on German printmaking.<sup>103</sup> Singer creates a set of rather tortured

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<sup>101</sup> KEISCH, C. (1995) 'Symbolist Fantasies', in HARTLEY, K., H. MEYRIC HUGHES, P.-K. SCHUSTER & W. VAUGHAN (eds.) *The Romantic Spirit in German Art 1790-1990*. Stuttgart: Oktagon Verlag, pp. 312-13.

<sup>102</sup> HARTLEY, K., H. MEYRIC HUGHES, P.-K. SCHUSTER & W. VAUGHAN. (1995) *The Romantic Spirit in German Art 1790-1990*. Stuttgart: Oktagon Verlag, pp. 13-15; VAUGHAN, W. (1995) 'German Romantic Art Abroad', in HARTLEY, K., H. MEYRIC HUGHES, P.-K. SCHUSTER & W. VAUGHAN (eds.) *The Romantic Spirit in German Art 1790-1990*. Stuttgart: Oktagon Verlag, p. 57.

<sup>103</sup> SINGER. (1920) pp. 9-15.

analogies for Scheuritzel's work, comparing it in artistic terms to a shy woman, who is not interested in self-promotion, but is more worth the effort to get to know than her louder, more glamorous sisters. He feels it to be entirely appropriate that Scheuritzel is not a master himself and not creating anything radically new, but is continuing a tradition of skilful, observant work, based on the economic handling of line and the creation of atmosphere, to bring out the romance and poetics of the landscape.<sup>104</sup> His landscapes are compared to contemporary printmakers such as Ingwer Paulsen and Otto Fischer, as well as the Anglo-Belgian printmaker Frank Brangwyn, all of whom combined an emphasis on the technical skill of printmaking with a concern for the meaningful landscape.<sup>105</sup> Singer also situates these artists as providing an alternative to what he sees as the showy excesses of avant-garde Modernist art production at the time - the "tango-slide, its wilderness, the wild witches dance", which he sees as confusing the German public into accepting any form of art, so long as it was new, rather than considering it for its merits.<sup>106</sup> This adherence to the tradition of the great masters and the respect for careful craftsmanship and attention to detail are significant from a historiographical point of view, as Singer is interested in bolstering these values in German art in the face of experimental work going on in the Bauhaus and the use of photography and photomontage, for example, which could be viewed as a lack of respect for both existing media and the existing canon of realist work. It is also not that dissimilar a position to that of Keating's emphasis on the importance of technical skills, despite the different style in which he worked.

It is not entirely clear why Scheuritzel moved from producing romantic landscapes to the production of industrial landscapes in the 1920s, although his family consider the uncertain economic circumstances of 1920s as the main reason that he moved to the

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<sup>104</sup> Of the 85 prints reproduced in this catalogue, the nearly half of them (38) are of rural German landscapes, mostly of trees, with 6 industrial landscapes and 10 Italian scenes, The remainder of the images reproduced are a mixture of Romantic scenes such as old mills (4), boats (3), old bridges (8), traditional German cottages (12) and ruins or castles (4).

<sup>105</sup> SINGER. (1920); (2010) *Ingwer Paulsen, etcher, 1883-1943*. <http://www.ingwer-paulsen.de/> [Accessed: April 21 2011]; (2010) 'Brangwyn the Man', *Frank Brangwyn*. <http://www.frankbrangwyn.org/Brangwyn%20the%20man.html> [Accessed: April 21 2011]; (2010) 'Otto Fischer, 1870-1947, Waltersdorf', *The Art of the Print*. [http://www.artoftheprint.com/artistpages/fischer\\_otto\\_waltersdorf.htm](http://www.artoftheprint.com/artistpages/fischer_otto_waltersdorf.htm) [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>106</sup> "...ihren Tango-Schlidder, ihren wüsten, wilden Hexentanz..." SINGER. (1920) p. 10.

more secure income of industrial landscape commissions.<sup>107</sup> He carried out a number of commissions for industrial companies, mostly around the Berlin area, documenting the construction of their factories and large engineering projects. These projects were mainly to produce offset lithographic illustrations for *Festschriften* or commemorative publications such as 75 years of the Gebrüder Schoeller carpet factory or 50 years of shipbuilding in Hamburg by Blohm & Voss (see Figure 6-24).<sup>108</sup> These publications emphasised the companies' achievements in the world of heavy industry, and were intended as a method of engaging staff emotionally with their work, particularly in the climate of inter-war Germany, where the emphasis was on the reconstruction of the nation, both literally and figuratively. Possibly encouraged by the devastating experience of fighting in WWI, Scheuritzel was only one of a number of artists who threw their considerable skills into this effort, described in a 1930 issue of German advertising magazine *Gebrauchsgraphik*.

This is the spirit of our age, these are the things which have sprung from the spirit of our generation, and we therefore occupy ourselves more willingly with them than with the played-out romance of past ages.<sup>109</sup>

The industrial landscapes depicted in German artwork between the wars created a vision of technology tamed and controlled in the service of engineering and of the construction of great works, rather than used for the destruction of land and human life, as it had been during the Great War. It is a positive view of technology, which would have been supported by the developing cadre of German engineers, who would have shared the belief that progress and technology could improve the world (see Chapter 1).

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<sup>107</sup> SCHEURITZEL, T. (2011) 'Anton Scheuritzel' to O'BRIEN, S., March 2.

<sup>108</sup> BLOHM & VOSS. (1927) *Blohm & Voss, Hamburg 1877 – 1927*. Hamburg: Blohm & Voss; HASSLER, F. (1929) *75 Jahre Gebrüder Schoeller, Düren, Rheinland : 1854-1929*. Berlin-Schöneberg: Meisenbach, Riffarth & Co.

<sup>109</sup> FRENZEL, H. K. (1930) 'Helmut Krommer', *Gebrauchsgraphik*. Vol. 7, No. 5, May, pp. 60-61.



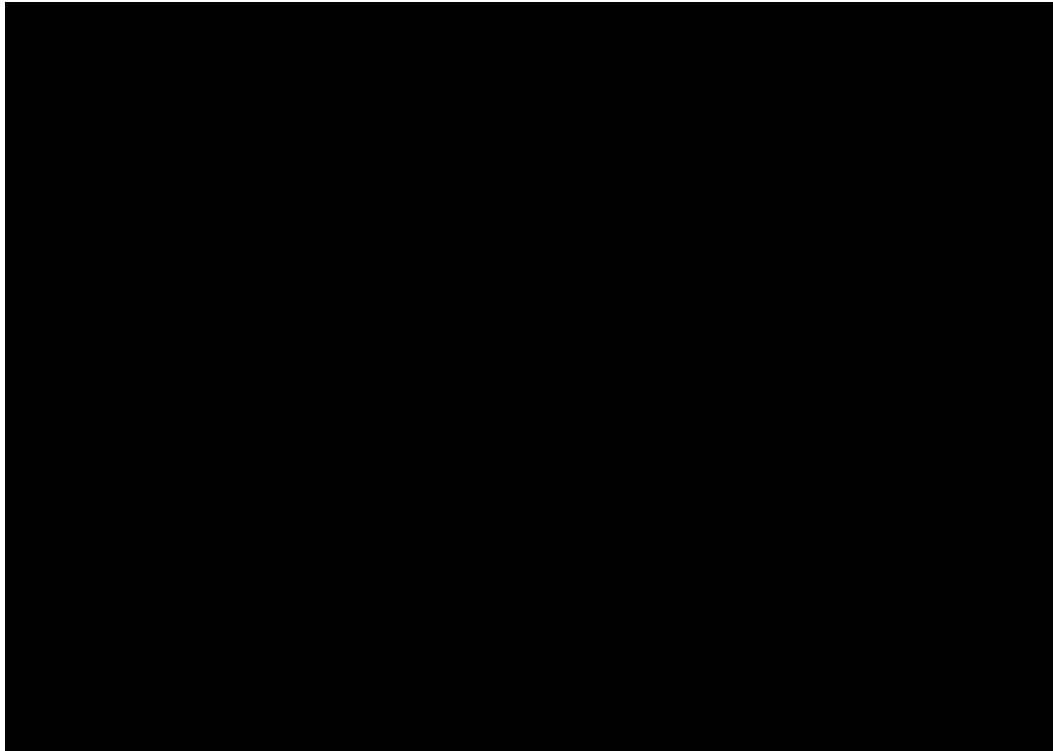


FIGURE 6-24 - ANTON SCHEURITZEL, 'BUNTWASCHEREI [COLOUR LAUNDRY]',  
LITHOGRAPH, C1928

(HASSLER, F. (1929) *75 JAHRE GEBRÜDER SCHOELLER, DÜREN, RHEINLAND : 1854-1929*.  
BERLIN-SCHÖNEBERG: MEISENBACH, RIFFARTH & CO, P. 57)

Scheuritzel's relationship with the Siemens complex of companies is probably the most central of these commissions, as it seems to have lasted for a number of years, at least from the inclusion of his work in an illustrated book on the Siemens companies in Berlin in 1925, along with photographs and maps of the factory complex, to his large painting of Siemensstadt in 1930, which still hangs in the Mosaic Hall of the Headquarters Building in Siemensstadt (see Figure 3-7).<sup>110</sup> This is particularly notable in his 1925 lithographs of the construction of factory buildings in Siemensstadt, where the complex forms of the building are carefully delineated to make up a monolithic construction (see Figure 6-25). The emphasis is on the building itself, rather than the few tiny workers depicted in the foreground, and the fact that it uses the same medium as Scheuritzel's earlier romantic landscapes lends emphasis to the impression that this is a depiction of a monumental, romantic undertaking, in keeping with the German

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<sup>110</sup> SIEMENS. (1925) *Der Siemens-Konzern im Bilde: Siemens & Halske Aktien-Gesellschaft, Siemens-Schuckertwerke Aktien-Gesellschaft*. Berlin: Siemens. SIEMENS ARCHIV. (1939) *Siemens Erinnerungstatten: 20 Zeichnungen von Anton Scheuritzel*. Berlin: Siemens Archiv.

interpretation of the engineer with soul discussed in Chapter 1. It is particularly interesting that Scheuritzel continues to use romantic techniques of representing smoke and sky, but in this case they are used to emphasise the almost mythical dimension of the industrial enterprise, rather than the poetic marvel of nature, the industrial, rather than natural sublime landscape.<sup>111</sup>

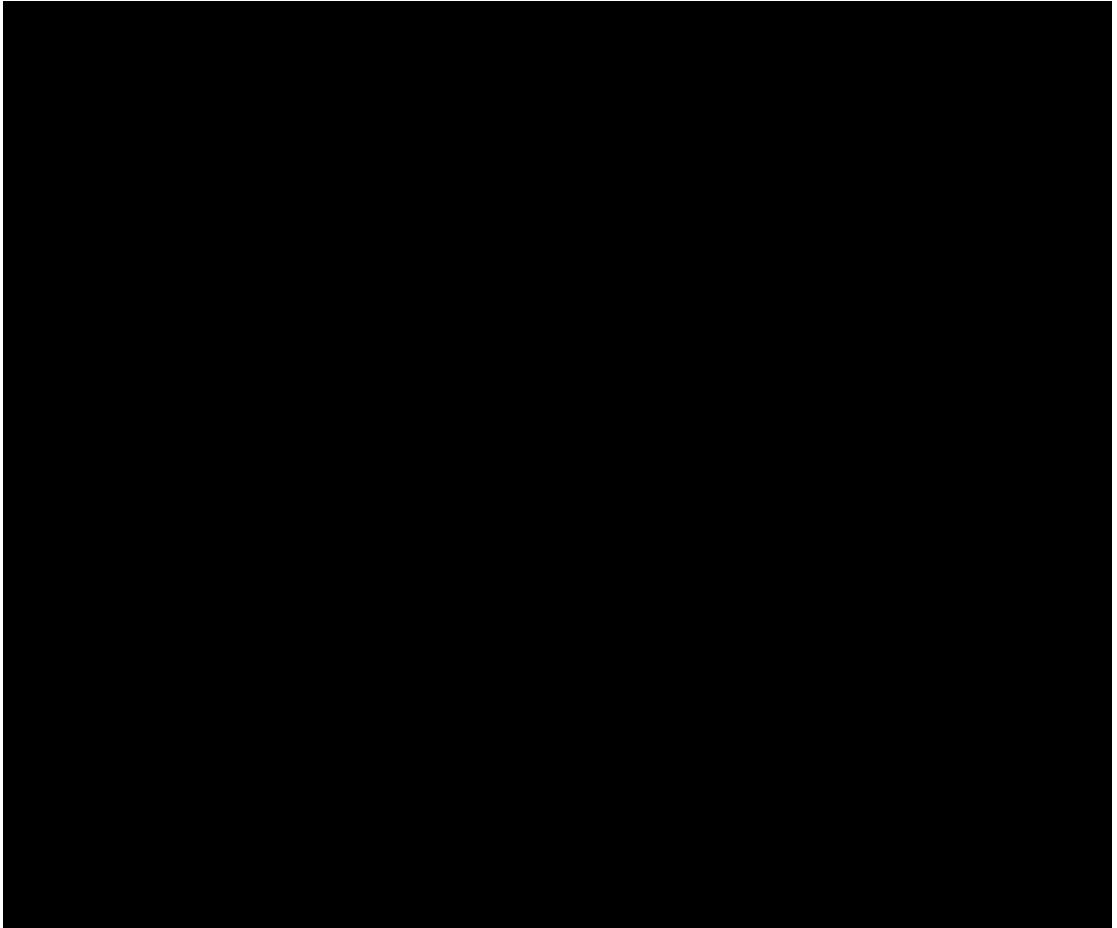


FIGURE 6-25 - ANTON SCHEURITZEL, 'WEST POWER STATION DURING CONSTRUCTION', C1924

(SIEMENS. (1925) *DER SIEMENS-KONZERN IM BILDE: SIEMENS & HALSKE AKTIEN-GESELLSCHAFT*. BERLIN: SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE AKTIEN-GESELLSCHAFT. P. 78)

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<sup>111</sup> HOOZEE, R. (ed.) (2008) *British Vision: Observation and Imagination in British Art 1750-1950*. Ghent: Mercatorfonds, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, pp. 38-39.

It seems that Scheuritzel was sent to Ireland in 1928 in order to carry out a similar task for Siemens' first great overseas project after the War.<sup>112</sup> There is no surviving documentation in the Siemens Archive regarding this commission, but seven of the sixteen prints are dated 1928 and from the internal evidence of these and four of the other images, he must have been on site around July and August 1928. The remaining five images can be dated quite closely to construction milestones in 1929, ranging from the installation of the turbines in April to the removal of the scaffolding on the power house between September and December.<sup>113</sup> This suggests that Scheuritzel in fact made at least two visits to Ireland, in order to record these construction milestones for posterity.

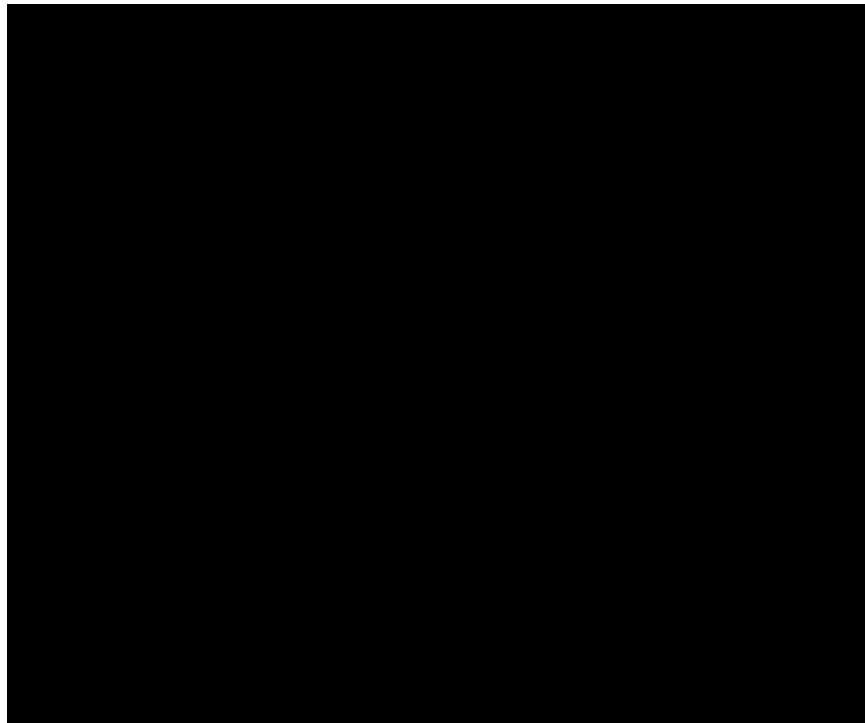


FIGURE 6-26 – COVER OF COMMEMORATIVE FOLDER FOR ANTON SCHEURITZEL PRINTS OF THE SHANNON SCHEME, C1928 (LIMERICK CITY MUSEUM: 1989:0210)

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<sup>112</sup> (2007) 'Monuments in Berlin: Kraftwerk Klingenberg', *Berlin.de: Senate Department for Urban Development*.  
[http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/denkmal/denkmale\\_in\\_berlin/en/industrie\\_und\\_techik/kraftwerk.shtml](http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/denkmal/denkmale_in_berlin/en/industrie_und_techik/kraftwerk.shtml) [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>113</sup> See unnumbered Siemens photographs on pages 44 to 53 of photograph album A704, which date from March and April 1929; photographs no. 1128 (March 1929) and 1208 (6/6/1929); photograph no. 1230 (25/6/1929); photographs no. 1306 (6/9/1929) and 1348 (9/12/1929).

The series of prints consists of 16 individual unnumbered offset lithographs. These would have been based on original drawings by Scheuritzel in crayon or greasy pencil, in order to prepare for the lithographic print process, itself a German print process. Lithography was developed in the last years of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, which became popular for book illustrations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, particularly because it allowed a much softer line and half-tone shading than the cut or scratched lines used in etching.<sup>114</sup> The more industrialised nature of the offset process also allows for larger print runs, and was central in the development of lithographs from fine art prints into areas such as book illustration.<sup>115</sup> The creation of the Shannon Scheme prints as an unnumbered, uneditioned set in a protective folder indicates that these prints were intentionally produced as a large-scale commemoration of the project, possibly for the German engineers and mechanics who worked on the Scheme, a practice which was common within German industry at this time.<sup>116</sup> These folders are not numbered or marked individually, but would have been produced in relatively small numbers, possibly a hundred or more (see Figure 6-26). The only contemporary reproduction of the lithographs that I have been able to find is in an issue of *Gebrauchsgraphik*, which republishes two of the lithographs without comment in an article on advertising methods.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> The lithographic print process is planographic, that is, based on the fact that oil and water don't mix, and uses limestone, originally from Bavaria, as a matrix for the ink. For more detail, see GRIFFITHS, A. (1996) *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 100-04.

<sup>115</sup> The offset process, which was developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, involves transferring the image from the stone to an intermediate rubber 'blanket' from which the final image is printed, giving a sharper, clear image. See BENSON, R. (2008) *The Printed Picture*. New York, NY: Museum of Modern Art, p. 256.

<sup>116</sup> FRENZEL. (1930) p. 61.

<sup>117</sup> FRENZEL, H. K. (1930) 'Advertising Methods of Great Firms', *Gebrauchsgraphik*. Vol. 7, No. 1, January, pp. 8-9.



FIGURE 6-27 - ANTON SCHEURITZEL, EXCAVATION IN THE TAILRACE, LÖFFELBAGGER AND DRILLING MACHINERY, WITH THE WATER SLUICE IN THE BACKGROUND, 1928 (PRIVATE COLLECTION)

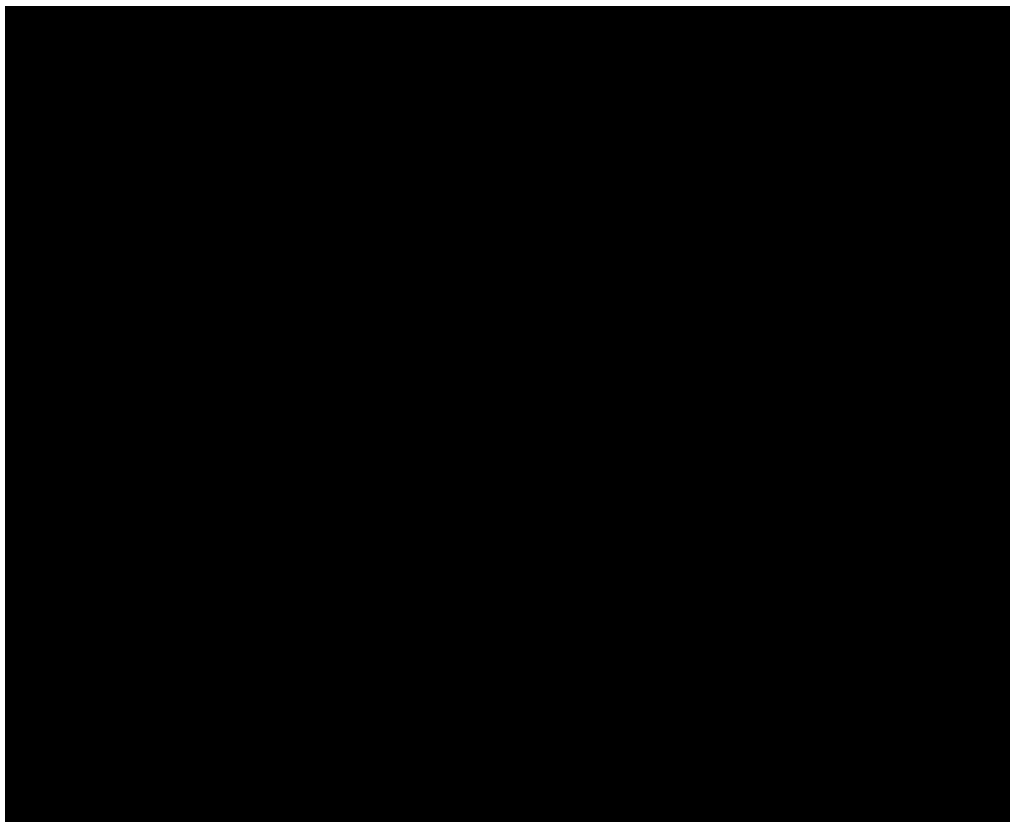


FIGURE 6-28 - ANTON SCHEURITZEL, SHIPLIFT AND EMPTY CHUTE AT THE POWER HOUSE, C1928 (PRIVATE COLLECTION)

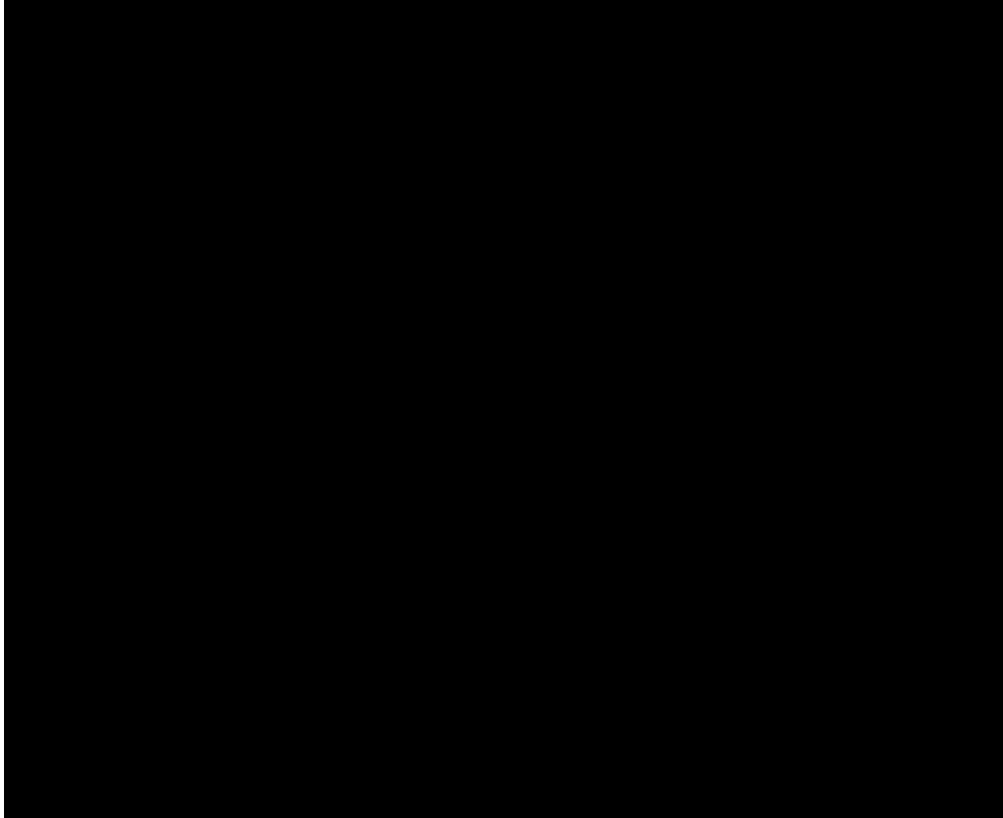


FIGURE 6-29 - ANTON SCHEURITZEL, 110 VOLT DOUBLE LINE TO LIMERICK, C1929  
(PRIVATE COLLECTION)

The lithographs mostly cover the main points of the exterior construction work under way in 1928, along with a view of the first turbine being installed into the turbine hall and one landscape view of the local area in Ardnacrusha. They are very detailed in their execution, with all of the exterior scenes encompassing wide views of the power house construction site, the weir, the canals and bridges. They are similar to both of the Irish artists' landscape views in that they are scarcely populated by human figures, who only appear as tiny ciphers dwarfed by the construction and the machinery, which are the main subject of the lithographs. Similar concerns with the precise delineation of the scene can be seen in the view of the tail race under construction (see Figure 6-27) when compared to Atkinson's work, although this is likely to be a result of their shared background and use of print media, and Scheuritzel's commission to record the project. While this devastated landscape is also somewhat reminiscent of the chaotic trench landscapes of World War I, it is balanced by the positive, ordered construction to be seen in a number of the other prints, including view of the shiplift end of the power station under construction (see Figure 6-28). Figure 6-29 represents an anomaly in the set of lithographs, depicting a picturesque rural scene with stone bridge and rural

cottages, juxtaposed with an electrical pylon. This image depicts a momentary return to Scheuritzel's pre-war romantic landscapes, which is only allowed legitimacy by the inclusion of that symbol of modernity, the electrical pylon, into what is otherwise depicted as a timeless rural idyll. The representation of the Scheme using the same techniques and methods as Scheuritzel's earlier landscapes, as well as his industrial landscapes, firmly puts these images into a continuum of romantic depictions of the inhabited landscape, although in this case, it is the world being reshaped by the forces of engineering, rather than those of nature. It is not a representation of the sublime in nature, but the industrial sublime, with industrial technology naturalised as the motive force of the world. Bearing in mind that Scheuritzel was engaged in a decade-long project of commemorating German industrial progress during the 1920s, these prints position the Shannon Scheme as a great German engineering project, rather than as a great Irish one.

## **Conclusion**

The work of these three artists demonstrates the ability of three contemporary artists to produce very different representations of technology, depending on their interests, skills and background. Despite the fact that all three men spent some time sketching and painting on the Shannon Scheme, they have produced three very different selections of work, which represent their interpretations of the dialectic of a highly technological project being constructed through the destruction of the Irish countryside. While Séan Keating produced highly passionate, personal allegories of the Irish political situation, as well as a series of paintings and drawings echoing the vigorous reconstruction of his native soil, George Atkinson responded in a more measured fashion. Atkinson's use of printmaking as a medium for recording the Scheme is similar to that of the German artist Anton Scheuritzel, but for rather different reasons. Atkinson was a proponent of the printmaker as autonomous artist, emphasising the technical skill involved in not only drawing, but printing single editions of his work, while Scheuritzel was producing commercial runs of offset lithographs on commission from the construction company. The range of work, representing artists of two nationalities, as well as running the gamut from purely personal to commercial work (with Keating sitting uneasily in between), demonstrates the possibility, even within the rarefied world of fine art, of personal, national and commercial interests to influence the representation of the same subject.

That said, there are a number of common themes between all three sets of artwork, as both the technological nature and western site of the project attracted artists to it. The essentialist myth of the west of Ireland and the role of traditional depictions of landscape are influential in the work of both Irish artists, although Keating seems to have been responding more directly to the first, and Atkinson more directly to the second. Scheuritzel, was also working within an essentialist tradition of romantic landscapes, which influenced his composition and construction of images in a similar manner to Atkinson, although Keating's strongest work remains focused on his energetic portrayal of the human figure. Keating's allegorical paintings remain the strongest representation of physical labour on the Shannon Scheme, influenced both by his leftist Limerick position and his allegorical representation of sections of Irish society, building on his earlier political paintings. His landscape paintings are less sure, continuing to use similar methods and techniques, but attempting to transfer his expressive, gestural style to the representation of machinery and equipment. Partly due to his extensive use of oil paint, his Shannon Scheme landscapes lack the precise detailed quality of the other two artists, who were working in different types of print. Both Atkinson and Scheuritzel share the technical ability through their choice of medium to present precise, detailed images of industrial construction, despite their different national backgrounds. Atkinson's interest in the Scheme seems to have come from his sense of civic duty, as well as a challenge to his professional position. Scheuritzel, however, is much more comfortable with the techniques of representation of industrial landscapes, having produced a number in previous years and his prints continue the German modernist trend of celebrating the technological sublime in inter-war Germany, albeit one that used existing, romantic techniques, rather than experimenting with modes of representation. All three artists demonstrate a clear interest in the depiction of machinery, but also particularly in the depiction of industrial skill and technique. This is evident both in the specific subject matter of a construction site, and in their differing approaches to the skill and craft of producing paintings and prints. All three seem to have had an appreciation for technique, or *Technik*, the way in which something can be created out of raw materials and for the use of tools, which is a common theme in all of this work. All of the artists can be considered modern, in the sense that they were engaging with modern machinery and the modern world, but it is



important to note that all three were working from positions which rejected any idea of avant-garde Modernist experiments.

Despite this rejection of aesthetic Modernism, all three artists, in their choice, whether personal or commissioned, to produce work in the late 1920s on the Shannon Scheme, demonstrated a consciousness of the epochal nature of the project and its importance in the modern world. Keating, with his purposefully allegorical paintings, and Scheuritzel, producing his boxed set of lithographs for Siemens, were working with the purpose of commemoration of the enterprise on the Shannon as a landmark for future generations, as well as a milestone of achievement in their own time. Atkinson, too, was concerned enough to return to active printmaking in order to document and commemorate this work of the new Free State. Although given the unavoidable dichotomy of a German engineering project in the Irish countryside, each artist has chosen to interpret it in his own manner, thus the Shannon Scheme can be seen from different angles as both a landmark in the independent development of the Irish Free State, and as a triumph of German engineering.

## Chapter 7 - Commemoration and naturalisation: stamps and other printed ephemera

### Introduction

This chapter will discuss the printed ephemera produced from 1928 to 1932 which related directly to the Shannon Scheme. It forms a later layer of reproduction of images of the Shannon Scheme, one produced when the Irish public had been informed about the development of the Scheme, after power had started being generated in October 1929.<sup>1</sup> They differ from the other forms of representation discussed previously in that the majority of the ephemera considered reproduce large numbers of images which were originally produced as industrial photographs, with the intention of documenting the Scheme for company use. All three areas discussed, those of the commemorative stamp, postcards and cigarette cards, form part of a larger system of reproduction where the general public in the Free State (and to some extent abroad) were familiarised with the image of the Scheme. Certainly, the production of a commemorative stamp acted as an official Governmental endorsement of the Scheme, while the other printed ephemera seem to have fulfilled a desire for collectible images of the Scheme amongst the wider public. As with representations of the Scheme discussed in previous chapters, representations of the Scheme exhibit a variety of approaches to the representation of technology within an Irish context, both with its inclusion in the pantheon of Irish tourist sights, and as regards the representation of labour and machinery. The tension between these two discourses makes the Shannon Scheme ephemera unusually complex, particularly as they tend to present electrical technology and machinery within a long established framework of representation.

### Mapping the Shannon Scheme ephemera

Primary research discovered three different types of ephemera of the Shannon Scheme, which were a commemorative stamp, a set of postcards and a set of cigarette cards. The

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<sup>1</sup> (1929) 'Shannon Scheme: Electric Power Supply From 'To-Night'', *Cork Examiner*. October 10. **ESB Clippings Book 06**.

stamp was commissioned by the Cumann na nGaedheal Government, while the rest of the ephemera were commercially produced, based on the Siemens industrial photographs discussed in Chapter 4. The different ideas behind the representation of the Scheme in these ephemera are diagrammed below (see Figure 7-1), and will be discussed throughout the rest of the chapter.

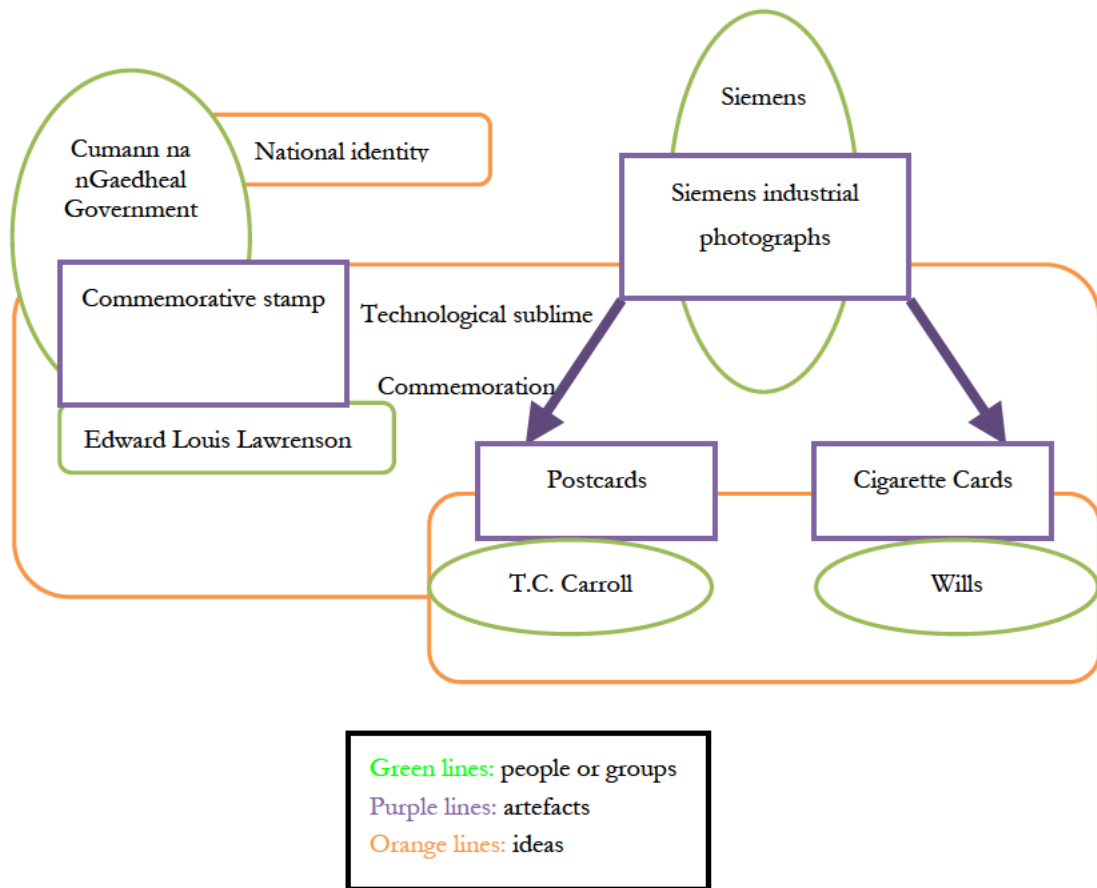


FIGURE 7-1 - DIAGRAM OF IMAGES, IDEAS AND GROUPS INVOLVED WITH THE EPHEMERA OF THE SHANNON SCHEME

### The role of ephemera in cultural expression and ‘nation-building’

Ephemeral objects, by their very nature, may form the least permanent media for the representation of images in modern society. They are intrinsically linked to the explosion of print culture in Europe in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as the development of printing presses moved the written word from the realm of the laborious and the precious, to that of the disposable and the everyday.<sup>2</sup> The use of paper for such short-term functions

<sup>2</sup> MEGGS, P. B. & A. W. PURVIS. (2006) *Meggs' History of Graphic Design*. 4th ed. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 134-35.

as receipts, docketts, and tickets played a part in ensuring the role of printed ephemera in Western society, complementing the use of written communication using printed letter heads, typewriters and postcards. The term ‘ephemera’ comes from the Greek word ‘ephemeron’, meaning something that only lasts a single day, like a mayfly or other insect, and the term is mostly used to describe printed matter which is intended for short-term use.<sup>3</sup> The boundaries of what constitutes a piece of ephemera and what is considered rubbish can be very close, as objects that end up in ephemera collections vary enormously in intended use, from account books and archery scorecards to visiting cards and wine labels, as well as the more expected stamps and postcards, all of which are discussed in Rickards’ *Encyclopaedia of Ephemera* as examples of ephemera.<sup>4</sup>

Definitions can also change over time as in 1988, Rickards considers printed souvenirs meant to be collected to be on the borderline of ephemera,<sup>5</sup> but, by 2000, they are included in the definition of ephemera as:

manuscript and printed matter, records of the past and present (both humble and prestigious), items designed to be thrown away (bus tickets) and to be kept (cigarette cards), and documents of considerable importance (at least to the individual concerned) through to the most trivial.<sup>6</sup>

The value of ephemera seems to lie in this very transience: the fact that ephemera are not really expected to survive gives them an attraction, as collectors feel that they are protecting a fragile piece of the past, saving a vulnerable object from destruction.<sup>7</sup> Because each piece of ephemera relates to a specific time and place, that of its creation and use, it is seen by collectors to provide a direct, if tiny, connection to the past, particularly to the everyday and the mundane texture of life in a historical period.<sup>8</sup> Of course, ephemera also allow a great deal of romanticisation, as each tiny piece makes up the fabric of a lived experience and allows the collector to dream what that specific bus journey in 1910 was like, or what it might have been like to be on that holiday in 1930 and to pick out a postcard to send to a loved one. The very materiality of the object

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<sup>3</sup> RICKARDS, M. & M. TWYMAN. (2000) *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator and Historian*. London: The British Library, p. v.

<sup>4</sup> RICKARDS & TWYMAN. (2000).

<sup>5</sup> RICKARDS, M. (1988) *Collecting Printed Ephemera*. Oxford: Phaidon, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> RICKARDS & TWYMAN. (2000) p. v.

<sup>7</sup> RICKARDS. (1988) pp. 15-16.

<sup>8</sup> RICKARDS & TWYMAN. (2000) p. vi.

allows a consideration of the texture of everyday life in a way which political histories cannot, which is one reason why the study of ephemera is very useful in 'history-from-below' in building up a picture of the unheroic and ordinary past.<sup>9</sup> Ephemeral objects are also particularly useful because they are generally produced without a conscious consideration of their role as historical documents. Although this may be more true of some types of ephemera than others (e.g. archery scorecards are literally intended only to last for a day, whereas cigarette cards have an implicit role as collectibles, regardless of whether specific examples actually do get collected or not) this lack of historical consciousness is obvious when compared to a genre like history painting, which has a definite conscious intent and consideration of how the subject and composition may be considered in the very long term.<sup>10</sup> In this way, ephemera are an important element of the condition of modernity, where tickets, receipts and short notes on postcards form a level of brief, speedy communication as part of the fast pace and anonymous nature of the modern world.

Although this chapter is looking at postcards, cigarette cards and a stamp, all of which are more self-conscious types of ephemera, the particular circumstances in which all three were produced in Ireland in the late 1920s and early 1930s mean that the examples discussed are not as self-conscious in their representation of Irishness as many later examples. The postcards, for example, carry none of the intentional construction of a particular view of Irishness that typified post-war postcards produced by John Hinde.<sup>11</sup> The stamp design, also, is among the earlier issues of the Irish Free State, which were described in the 1960s as "designed purely for postal use, [paying] scant attention to potential philatelic revenue up till now".<sup>12</sup> That is not to say that these examples are devoid of intentional strategies of representation, but that those strategies were much more firmly aimed at a contemporary audience, rather than at the possible collectors of future times.

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<sup>9</sup> BREISACH, E. (1994) *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval & Modern*. 2nd ed. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, pp. 417-19.

<sup>10</sup> RICKARDS. (1988) p. 18.

<sup>11</sup> MCGONAGLE, D. (1993) 'Foreward', in LEE, D. (ed.) *Hindesight: John Hinde Photographs and Postcards by John Hinde 1935-1971*. Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art, p. 12.

<sup>12</sup> MACKAY, J. A. (1968) *Eire: The Story of Ireland and her Stamps*. London: Philatelic Publishers, p. front flap.

The Shannon Scheme ephemera discussed here can be divided into two broad categories, those of official Government production (the ‘Shannon Power Development’ stamp) and of commercial production (postcards and cigarette cards). The stamp, particularly, is part of a set of national symbols which any new nation-state is expected to acquire, in order to bolster its legitimacy in the eyes of both its own citizens and the wider world. While flags and anthems are the focus of much ritualistic behaviour, it is the small, generally unconsidered items like coins and stamps which become part of the everyday lives of the citizens and play an important role in reinforcing the legitimacy of national identity. It is these forms of design which W.B. Yeats famously referred to as “the silent ambassadors of national taste” during a Seanad debate on the design of the new coins in 1926.<sup>13</sup> The images carried on these tokens have very strong emotional associations for the citizens of a state, not least because of their connection to historical continuity.<sup>14</sup> This has been discussed by a number of commentators in relation to the first set of definitive stamps issued by the Free State Government in December 1922, with their purposeful marshalling of symbols of the nation of Ireland, in order to legitimise the new Free State (see Figure 7-2).<sup>15</sup> They combine antiquarian symbols such as neo-Celtic interlace with medieval religious symbols like the Romanesque church doorway, as well as heraldic symbols of undivided island such as the four provinces and the map of the island without the Border, combining them into a mix of signifiers of essentialist Irishness.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> SEANAD ÉIREANN. (1926) 'Coinage Bill, 1926—Second Stage.' 6. p. 501.

<sup>14</sup> MORRIS, E. (2000) *Our Own Devices: National Symbols and Political Conflict in Twentieth-Century Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, pp. 3-8, 70.

<sup>15</sup> MILLER, L. (1986) *The Dolmen Book of Irish Stamps*. Dublin: The Dolmen Press, p. 15; MORRIS. (2000) pp. 76, 78, 80; SCOTT, D. (1995) *European Stamp Design: A Semiotic Approach to Designing Messages*. London: Academy Editions, p. 87; KENNEDY, B. P. (1994) 'The Irish Free State 1922-49: A Visual Perspective', in KENNEDY, B. P. & R. GILLESPIE (eds.) *Ireland: Art into History*. Dublin: Town House & Country House, pp. 134-36.

<sup>16</sup> SWAN, D. C. (2011) 'Vanishing Borders: The Representation of Political Partition in the Free State, 1922-1949', in KING, L. & E. SISSON (eds.) *Ireland, Design and Visual Culture: Negotiating Modernity 1922-1992*. Cork: Cork University Press, pp. 134-36.

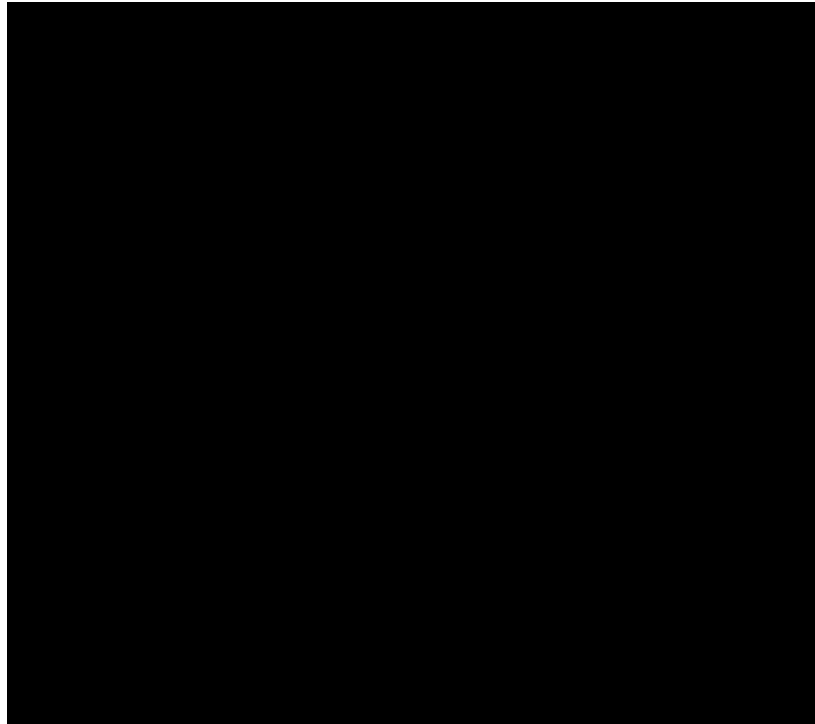


FIGURE 7-2 - VARIOUS ARTISTS, FIRST DEFINITIVE SERIES OF STAMPS, IRISH FREE STATE, 1922

([HTTP://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:IRL\\_1922SET.JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:IRL_1922set.jpg))

While the design of stamps in a new state is quite a self-conscious, if emotive, effort to find appropriate symbols for that state, the production of postcards also constructs a symbolic order, visualising the nation in rather more literal terms. The connection of picture postcards with tourism goes back to the 1870s, particularly in Germany, with very early 'greetings from' (or 'gruss aus') cards being issued in German-speaking countries from the 1890s.<sup>17</sup> As a large proportion of the production of picture postcards is still concerned with place, whether scenic or historic locations, they also function as a less official representation of the nation, reinforcing the landscape element of national identity. Like Schor's postcards of Paris, which show a neat, uncrowded city where only picturesque types of work are carried out, the Ireland of postcards, even in the 1920s, represents a scenic, fertile country full of castles and abbeys (see Figure 7-3).<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> STAFF, F. (1966) *The Picture Postcard & Its Origins*. London: Lutterworth Press, pp. 50-56.

<sup>18</sup> SCHOR, N. (1992) "'Cartes Postales": Representing Paris 1900', *Critical Inquiry*. Vol. 18, No. 2, Winter, p. 222.

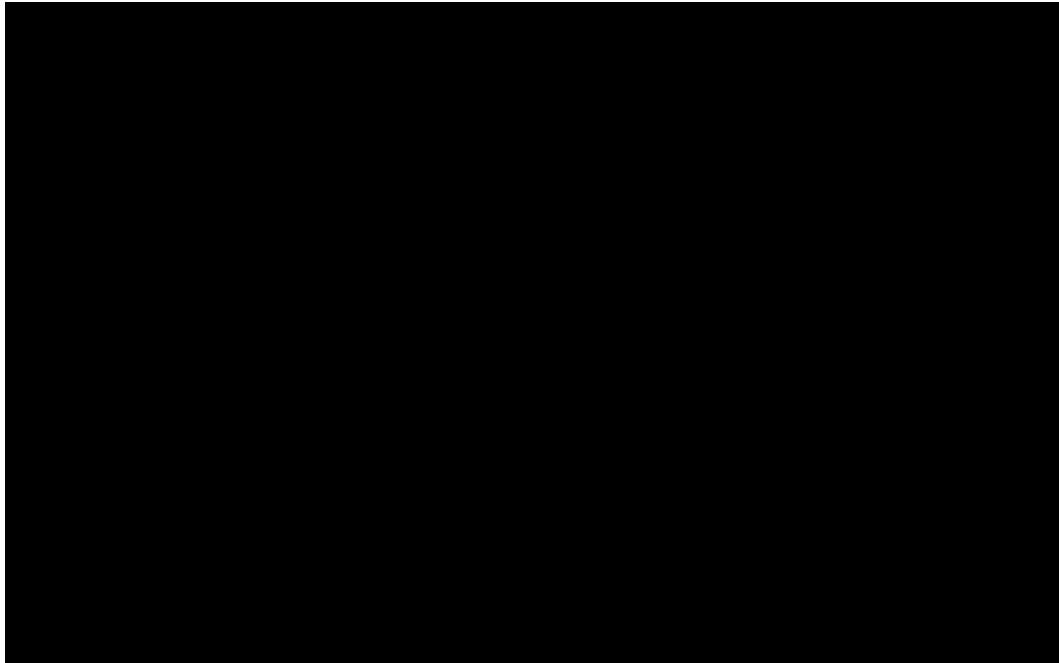


FIGURE 7-3 - VALENTINE POSTCARD, 'ADAIR(SIC) ABBEY & RIVER, LIMERICK', LATE 1920S.

(LIMERICK CITY MUSEUM: 1991.0070)

A postcard from Limerick in the 1920s follows the standard multi-image format of four picture views, surrounding a central image, in this case a small boy in a version of traditional costume, complete with shillelagh, tying in with the jokey reference to 'a small Irish'. The surrounding views depict the Georgian townscape of Limerick, with a heavy focus on the river Shannon, staged for the tourist gaze. Although two of the views depict the city riverside, there is nobody working here, and the focus is on an anachronistic masted sailing ship and the Treaty Stone, a 17<sup>th</sup> century monument (see Figure 7-4). It glosses over the industrial nature of Limerick city, as well as high levels of poverty and unemployment, presenting a resolutely unmodern view of the city, despite the modernity of the medium.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Limerick had not yet acquired its reputation as 'stab city', but had a high level of unemployment and emigration throughout the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. See MASTRIANI, M. (2003) 'From Crubeens to Computer Chips: Limerick's Industrial Development, 1914-2003', in LEE, D. (ed.) *Made in Limerick: History of Industries, Trade and Commerce Vol. I*. Limerick: Limerick Civic Trust, pp. 72-78.



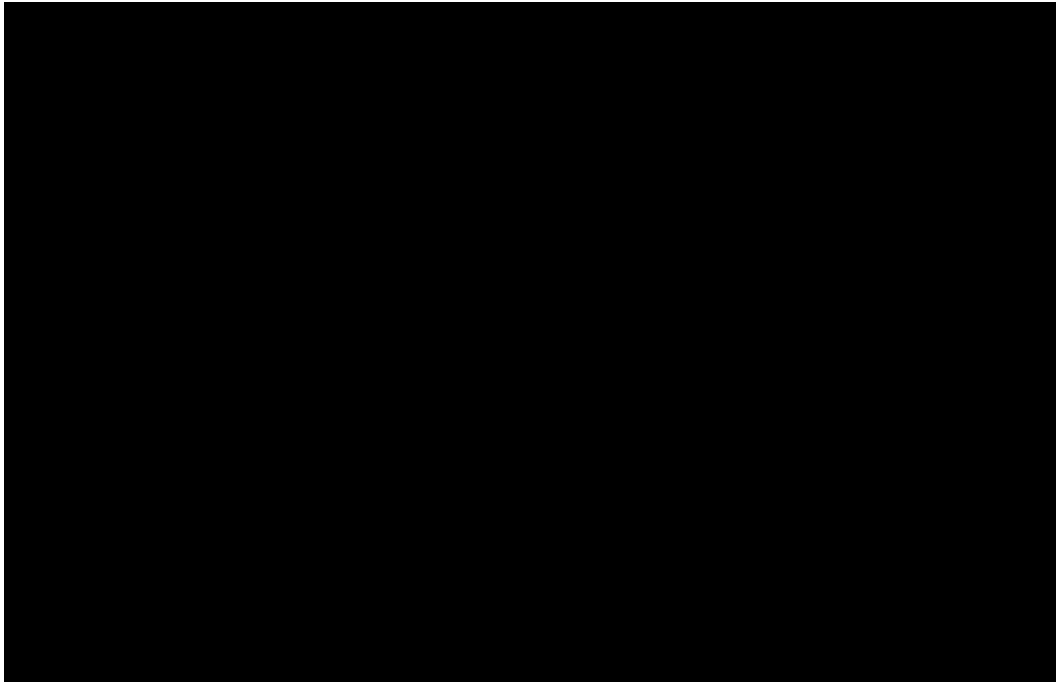


FIGURE 7-4 - VALENTINE POSTCARD, 'A SMALL IRISH FROM LIMERICK', LATE 1920S.  
(LIMERICK CITY MUSEUM: 1991.0315)

### **Souvenirs and collectibles**

The role of ephemera such as stamps and postcards, particularly, continues well after their original purpose has ended. These types of ephemera tend to be kept as souvenirs, or to be collected as part of a set, whether this is connected to the type of object or the place or origin. Pearce discusses how artefacts can become 'set apart' from their original mundane uses, and moved from the everyday world to the almost sacred, special place of the collection, where the sacrifice of their mundane usage allows them to dwell in an object afterlife.

They are wrenched out of their own true contexts and become dead to their living time and space in order that they may be given an immortality within the collection.<sup>20</sup>

In this manner, the collected object is only sustained by the conscious preservation by the collector, with its symbolic role hugely outweighing any physical function. It is this creation of value and meaning which drives different types of collector, allowing them

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<sup>20</sup> PEARCE, S. M. (1995) *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*. London: Routledge, p. 24.

to assign and perpetuate abstract connotations about themselves or the world around them, turning them into “reified thoughts and feelings”.<sup>21</sup> It is largely this ability to assign meaning to collections of objects which is at play in the surviving collections of printed ephemera associated with the Shannon Scheme, as they relate to ideas about patriotism, national identity and the construction of the State, as well as a record of industrial history. They function as a demonstration of the politics of collecting, where what gets collected can be read as indicative of cultural power and ideology among a specific population.<sup>22</sup>

The collected object can be divided into two different types, both of which are represented in the examples discussed in this chapter: the souvenir and the collectible. These are not mutually exclusive categories, as one example of a postcard may be posted from Limerick and act as a souvenir, where another may have been bought as part of a set and put straight into an album. The first of these, the souvenir, is much more personal, as the postcard or letter sent by a friend, or a statue bought at a tourist site, carries with it the memory of the original visit or the absent friend, which can be revisited in the present by the owner. Souvenirs are very personal to the owner and may not have anything like the same significance to another person, as the feelings which they evoke in the present build on the experience with which they were originally connected. Their close association with memory means that they become signifiers of “origin stories”, where beginnings are told and retold in an attempt to create a narrative of self.<sup>23</sup> They are particularly good at creating associations of the ‘authentic’ experience in the human desire for authenticity, a central part of the experience of the modernised world. The role of the souvenir in internalising external experiences and places plays a very important role in the distribution and popularity of Shannon Scheme ephemera, as the stamp or postcard or cigarette card allows the person to internalise the Scheme and assign it personal significance. Moving a place such as the Shannon Scheme from the realm of the nationally important to the personally important was an important step in creating a strong feeling about the Scheme among the population of Ireland and was

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<sup>21</sup> PEARCE. (1995) p. 25.

<sup>22</sup> PEARCE. (1995) p. 33.

<sup>23</sup> PEARCE. (1995) p. 244; STEWART, S. (2007) *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, p. xii.

largely dependent on the ability of that population to visit the site during the late 1920s and early 1930s, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. This is particularly significant in the use of the photographic image as souvenir, particularly in the transformation of mass-produced images into personal possessions and “memory texts”.<sup>24</sup>

The other type of collected object is described by Pearce as part of a system of fetishistic collecting. In contrast to the collection of souvenirs, the fetishistic collection is focused on the creation of meaning through the acquisition of ordered sets, rather than through a connection with a personal life history.<sup>25</sup> This type of collecting is particularly associated with album-based collectors, where the albums provide a ready-made ordering device, which also functions to highlight the blank spaces in the collection, which the collector then feels pressurised to fill. The emphasis here is on two different feelings, neither of which is particularly connected with the origin of the artefact, or the collector, for that matter. One is the thrill of the chase, or hunting for that rare example to fill in the last blank spot, while the other is associated with the longer-term satisfaction of having created a full set, ordered, understood and controlled, in a way which large parts of people’s personal experience is not. It is the symbolic structure of this long-term meaning which can be shared by large numbers of people, and is particularly important to the museum collection, with its associations of definitiveness.<sup>26</sup> It is involved with the recognition of systems of knowledge and with the classification of that knowledge, where the original use value or personal narratives are almost totally lost in favour of meaning created by the location within the collection.<sup>27</sup>

### **Souvenir and collectible: 1930 stamp**

According to the above schema, a postage stamp can be read as potentially both a souvenir and as a collectible at different points of its circulation although an individual

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<sup>24</sup> STEWART. (2007) pp. 135-38; EDWARDS, E. (1999) 'Photographs as Objects of Memory', in AYNLEY, J., C. BREWARD & M. KWINT (eds.) *Material Memories: Design and Evocation*. Oxford: Berg, pp. 232-33.

<sup>25</sup> PEARCE. (1995) p. 32.

<sup>26</sup> PEARCE. (1995) pp. 260, 85.

<sup>27</sup> PEARCE. (1995) p. 301; STEWART. (2007) pp. 151-54.

stamp may not always be both. It is initially produced with a basic semiotic intention, to identify the amount of postage paid on a letter, card or parcel, as well as signifying the state of origin. It is this role which allows it to engage with national symbols, expanding out from a purely typographical message bearing the name of a country, as with the continued use of portraits of the monarch on British stamps (see Figure 7-5) and the symbolic defacement of the same monarch's head in the Irish Free State overprinted provisionals of 1922 (see Figure 7-6).<sup>28</sup>

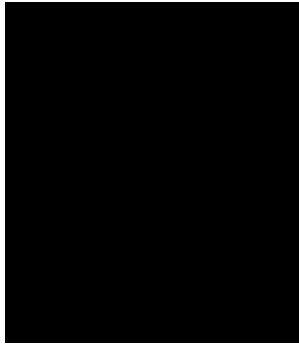


FIGURE 7-5 – BRITISH PENNY BLACK STAMP, 1840

([HTTP://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:PENNY\\_BLACK.JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Penny_black.jpg))

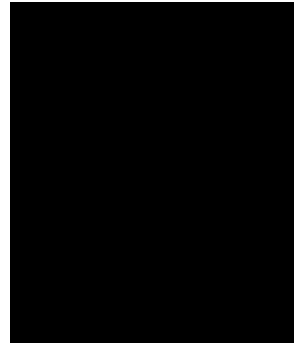


FIGURE 7-6 - BRITISH PENNY STAMP WITH PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND OVERPRINT, 1922

([HTTP://WWW.RAREBOOKS.ND.EDU/DIGITAL/STAMPS/IRISH/SET1T/T2L.JPG](http://www.rarebooks.nd.edu/digital/stamps/irish/set1t/t2l.jpg))

A franked stamp functions as a marker of time and place, of the action of putting a message into the postal system and it is this marking function which allows a stamp to become a souvenir of that particular moment and location. This is particularly true of commemorative stamps, which are only issued for a short period of time, with the intention to act as a reminder to the post-using public of a particular event, idea or organisation. Despite the remarkably fast production of the definitive stamps within a year of independence, during a Civil War, the Cumann na nGaedheal Government only issued three commemorative stamps during the rest of its ten year tenure. Morris notes a tendency on behalf of the Government to consider commemorative stamps as a financial drain, rather than as an opportunity for promotion or for the formation of opinion and a large proportion of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Irish stamps seem to have been the result of requests from outside organisations, rather than from within the

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<sup>28</sup> MILLER. (1986) p. 14; MORRIS. (2000) p. 76; SCOTT. (1995) pp. 6-9, 87; JEFFERY, K. (2006) 'Crown, Communication and the Colonial Post: Stamps, the Monarchy and the British Empire', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. Vol. 34, No. 1, March, p. 49.

Government or the post office. He also points out the tendency to use the colour green for its obvious symbolism, and echoes Scott in noting the predominance of nationalist, Catholic and Gaelic subjects, emphasised by a determined lack of English language text, with the only Roman font used for text written in clerical Latin.<sup>29</sup>

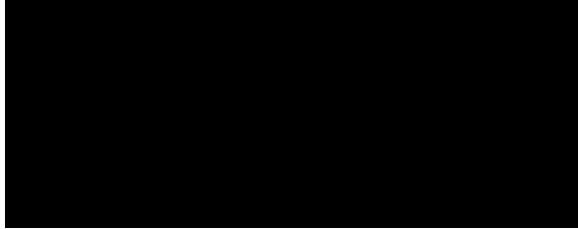


FIGURE 7-7 - LEO WHELAN, 2P, 3P AND 9P STAMPS COMMEMORATING 100 YEARS OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, IRISH FREE STATE, 1929

([HTTP://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:STAMP\\_IRL\\_1929OCONNELLSET.JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Stamp_IRL_1929OConnellset.jpg))



FIGURE 7-8 - GEORGE ATKINSON, 2P STAMP COMMEMORATING 200 YEARS OF THE ROYAL DUBLIN SOCIETY, IRISH FREE STATE, 1931

([HTTP://WWW.IRISHSTAMPS.NET/COMMÉMORATIVE1929-71.HTM](http://www.irishstamps.net/commemorative1929-71.htm))

Apart from the Shannon Scheme stamp, the other two commemoratives issued during the period under consideration were for anniversaries: of the 1929 centennial of Catholic Emancipation and the bicentennial of the Royal Dublin Society in 1931.<sup>30</sup> Both of these stamps were designed by Irish academic artists (including George Atkinson) within these broad criteria, using the head of Daniel O’Connell and the ambiguous ‘Royal’ status of the RDS being represented by a rural ‘Irish’ labourer, rather than by any sort of British urbanised science (see Figure 7-7 and Figure 7-8). The Emancipation stamp, particularly, is quite similar in format to the definitives, which were also typographed using a central image framed above and below by Irish text, in the same standard size.<sup>31</sup> The content of these stamps is indicative of the concerns of the Cumman na nGaedheal government for reinforcing the agrarian, Catholic nature of the country, if not its artistic achievements.<sup>32</sup> An article in *The Star* newspaper comments on the overall design of the stamps current in 1930, complaining that:

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<sup>29</sup> MORRIS. (2000) pp. 78-79; SCOTT. (1995) p. 88.

<sup>30</sup> FELDMAN, D. (1968) *Handbook of Irish Philately*. Dublin: Dolmen Press, pp. 81, 83.

<sup>31</sup> In relation to the printing of stamps, typographing is a type of letterpress printing. This is a relief process where the raised surface of the matrix is inked, as opposed to engraving, also known as intaglio or recess printing. Typographed stamps tend to be completely smooth, unlike recess printed ones, which are slightly embossed.

<sup>32</sup> A similar promotion of an imagined community can be seen in Oltra’s discussion of the use of imperial motifs in the stamps of Franco’s Spain in OLTRA, G. N. (2009) "The Design of the

It is a pity that the Government does not take steps to have special stamp issues at more frequent intervals to commemorate events of national interest and importance... We should like very much to see some definitive steps taken also to improve the designs of the existing postage stamps which compare very unfavourably from an artistic standpoint...<sup>33</sup>

The 1930 stamp commission was carried out by the artist Edward Louis Lawrenson (1868-1940), who came from a Dublin Anglo-Irish family. He appears to have spent the early part of his artistic career working in a rather academic manner, in line with his training in Europe, with his subjects influenced by his countryside residence in Sussex.<sup>34</sup> He was well-known as a skilled printmaker and was a regular exhibitor at both the Royal Academy in London and the Royal Hibernian Academy, exhibiting a range of romantic compositions and landscapes up until the mid 1920s, particularly noted for his experimentation with coloured aquatints.<sup>35</sup> After this point, he seems to have started spending more time in Ireland, with the subject of his prints changing to specifically West of Ireland landscapes in the late 1920s (see Figure 7-9) and he exhibited two paintings and six aquatints in the exhibition of Irish Art in Brussels in 1930.<sup>36</sup>

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Spanish Postage Stamp under Franco: the National Iconographic Scheme', in GLYNNE, J., F. HACKNEY & V. MINTON (eds.) *Networks of Design: Proceedings of the 2008 Annual International Conference of the Design History Society (UK) University College Falmouth 3-6 September*. Boca Raton, FL: Universal Publishers, pp. 340-44.

<sup>33</sup> (1930) 'A Special Shannon Scheme Stamp', *The Star*. June 28. **ESB Clippings Book 15**.

<sup>34</sup> Born in 1868, he spent five months studying at the Metropolitan School of Art in 1881, before he was sent by his family to join the Connaught Rangers. He served in the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion, which was stationed in Bengal, in Aden in the Yemen and in South Africa during the Second Boer War, achieving a rank of 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant by 1893. He left the service in 1900, although he is not on the list of those wounded during the Boer War, so must have left voluntarily. He seems to have left the military life behind, moving to Paris to study painting, first at the Académie Colarossi and then, private lessons with Alphonse Mucha and American artist George Hitchcock in the Netherlands. See (1940) 'Deaths - Lawrenson', *The Times*. December 28. p. 1. METROPOLITAN SCHOOL OF ART. (1881) *Index Register of Payments by Students, School of Art, for the Session 1880-81*. **NIVAL: NCAD College Register 1880-81**; BRITISH WAR OFFICE. (1893) 'The Monthly Army List, for January, 1893'. London: War Office; BRITISH WAR OFFICE. (1902) 'Boer War Casualties 1899-1902'. The Naval and Military Press; CRAMPTON WALKER, J. (1926) *Irish Life and Landscape*. Dublin: Talbot Press, p. 129; SNODDY, T. (2002) *Dictionary of Irish Artists: 20th Century*. Dublin: Merlin Publishing, pp. 342-43.

<sup>35</sup> SALAMAN, M. C. (1914) 'The Colour Prints of E. L. Lawrenson', *The Studio*. Vol. LXII, pp. 88-95.

<sup>36</sup> JARMAN, A. (ed.) (1987) *Royal Academy Exhibitors 1905-1970: Vol. V Lawr-Sher*. Wiltshire: Hilmarton Manor Press, pp. 4-5; STEWART, A. (1985) *Royal Hibernian Academy List of Exhibitors: Vol. 2 H-M*. Dublin: Manton Publishing, pp. 413-14. (1930) 'Irish Watercolour Society: Annual Exhibition in Mills' Hall', *The Irish Times*. May 1. p. 4. (1930) *Exposition d'Art*

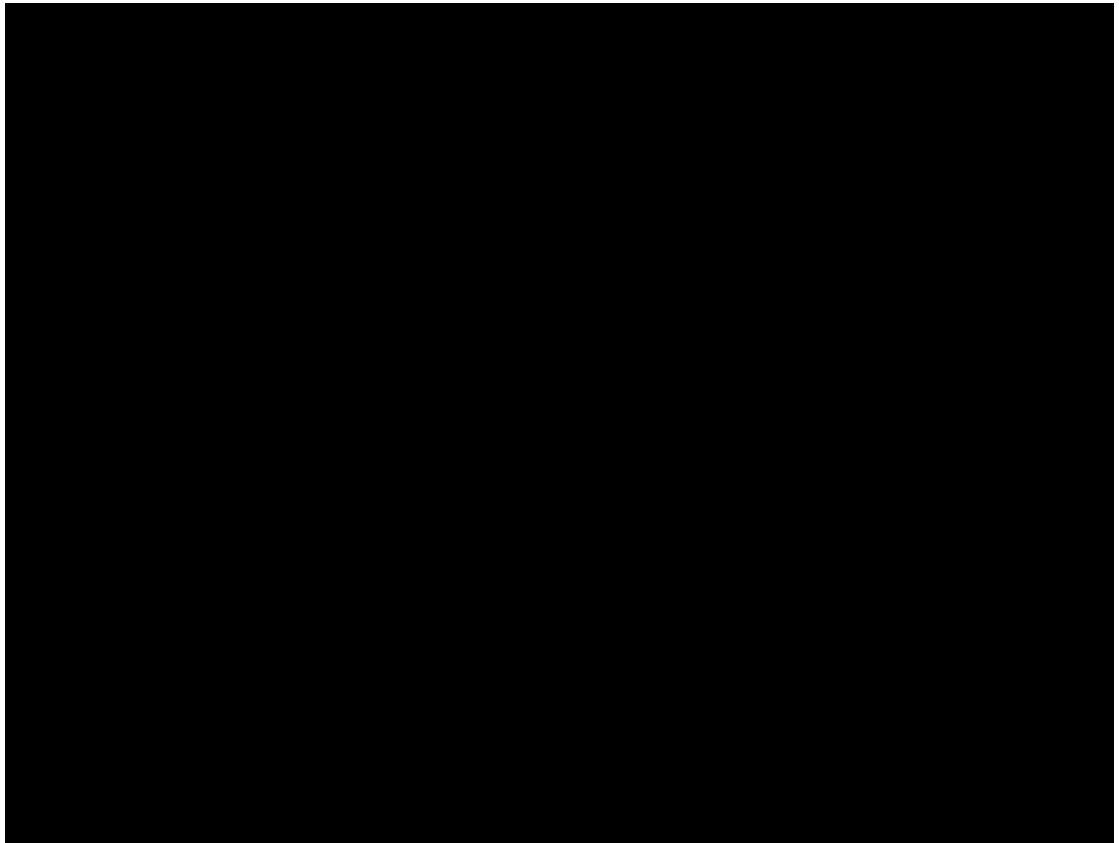


FIGURE 7-9 - EDWARD LOUIS LAWRENSON, 'CARAGH LAKE, COUNTY KERRY', OIL ON BOARD, 1920S

([HTTP://WWW.MUTUALART.COM/ARTWORK/CARAGH-LAKE--COUNTY-KERRY/D06E480295595962](http://www.mutualart.com/artwork/caragh-lake--county-kerry/D06E480295595962))

Very little information about the commissioning process of the Shannon Scheme stamp seems to have survived, but it is entirely possible that the project was initiated by the ESB, rather than by the Department of Posts and Telegraphs, or by the Post Office itself. The system of open competition seems to have been abandoned after the production of the definitive series in 1922, due to the large number and low quality of designs submitted, and subsequent stamp designs were commissioned straight from the artist.<sup>37</sup> As late as 1940, the Department of Posts and Telegraphs was being criticised for not organising “a committee of people of taste and technical knowledge and a competition open to the world”, although they also commented that “it is arguable that stamps should really only be designed by highly-trained engravers”, citing George

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*Irlandais, 10 Mai - 8 Juin 1930*. Brussels: Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Musée d'Art Ancien, pp. 33, 44.

<sup>37</sup> MORRIS. (2000) p. 76.

Atkinson's RDS stamp as a high quality example (see Figure 7-8).<sup>38</sup> Newspaper coverage of the time shows the stamp was announced to the public in late June 1930, in conjunction with a ceremony to celebrate the official handing-over of the Scheme to the ESB.<sup>39</sup> This ceremony was later cancelled, most likely for financial reasons, and the stamp was issued on October 15<sup>th</sup> of the same year, somewhat delayed by the discovery of a defect in the lettering, which required the plate to be remade before production started.<sup>40</sup>

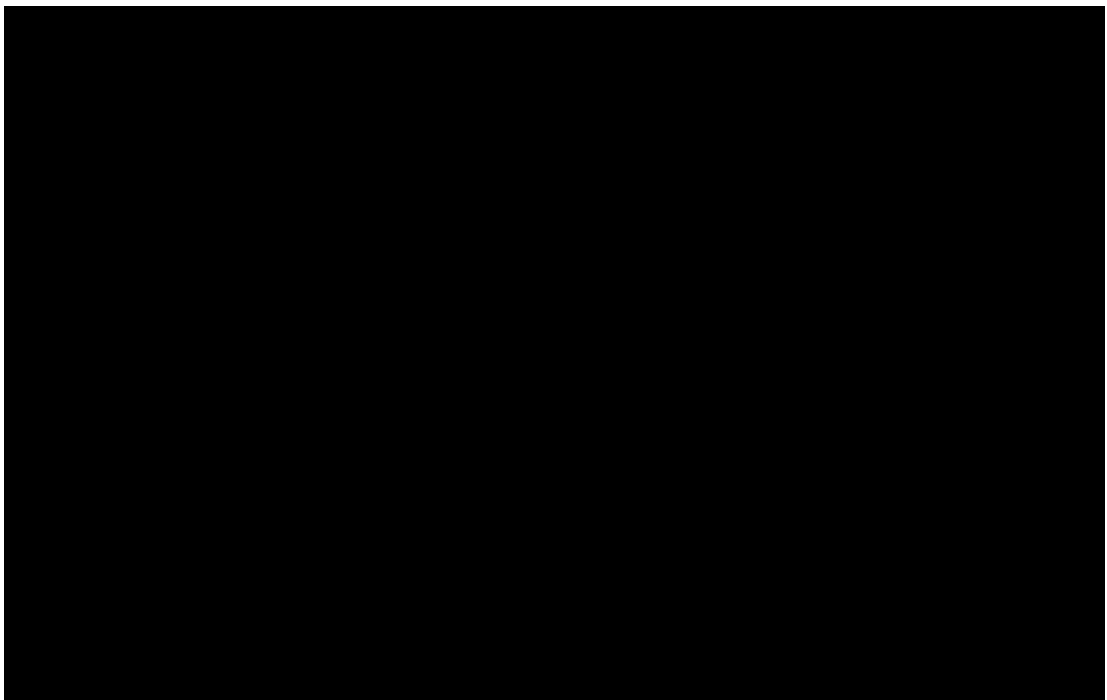


FIGURE 7-10 - E. L. LAWRENSON, 'SHANNON POWER DEVELOPMENT', 2P STAMP COMMEMORATING THE COMPLETION OF THE SHANNON SCHEME, IRISH FREE STATE, OCTOBER 15 1930 (PRIVATE COLLECTION)

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<sup>38</sup> ROBERTSON, W. D. (1942) 'The Postage Stamps of Ireland', *The Bell*. Vol. 4, No. 3, June, p. 187.

<sup>39</sup> (1930) 'New Free State Stamp to Mark Completion of Shannon Scheme', *Meath Chronicle*. June 28. p. 6. **ESB Clippings Book 15**; (1930) 'New Free State Stamp: To Mark Completion of Shannon Scheme', *The Irish Times*. June 24. p. 8. **ESB Clippings Book 15**; (1930) 'New Stamp: To Mark Shannon Scheme Completion', *Limerick Leader*. June 28. **ESB Clippings Book 15**; (1930) 'Shannon Scheme Celebration: Commemorative Postage Stamp Issued', *Limerick Echo*. June 28. **ESB Clippings Book 15**.

<sup>40</sup> DEPARTMENT OF THE TAOISEACH. (1930) *Special Postage Stamp 1930*. **National Archives: S8 317**; (1930) 'New Postage Stamps: Shannon Scheme Issue', *The Times*. October 21. p. 12; (1930) 'Shannon Scheme Stamps', *Limerick Leader*. October 20. p. 3; (1930) 'Shannon Stamp', *Cork Examiner*. October 11. **ESB Clippings Book 16**.



The stamp itself is a departure from previous Free State issues, in that it is a larger size than the stamps previously produced in the Free State, described as using a large traverse rectangular format in agate, a shade of brown.<sup>41</sup> The stamp was also typographed and the choice of Lawrenson as the designer was probably based on his skill with and knowledge of printmaking techniques. This would be particularly pertinent here, as the typograph process is based on the use of rather thick line, rather than any sort of shaded image, which would require a familiarity with the quirks of the medium to provide the best quality image.<sup>42</sup> Like the Free State definitive series beforehand, the stamp was not a purely Irish production, as the printing plate was prepared from Lawrenson's drawing at the Royal Mint in London, and only then printed on English paper in Dublin Castle by an English printer on secondment from the Mint.<sup>43</sup>

The image of the Scheme is rather unusual, as, rather than the usual portrayal of the power house, Lawrenson has depicted the weir building, where the head race is diverted from the Shannon (see Figure 7-10). The range of buildings is shown at an angle, with the repetitive forms of the concrete flanges of the sluice gates marching across the stamp, and the stamp clearly depicts the much-contested flat roofs which were eventually built on the weir complex. The fact that the stamp shows the weir, rather than the better-known power house, seems to have confused a number of commentators, as the stamp is variously described as showing "the great Power House of Ardnacrusha", "a general view of the power station and weir" and "the Shannon power house at Ardnacrusha".<sup>44</sup>

The image itself has been created using some very fine detail, as the enlarged view of the stamp above will demonstrate, particularly in the use of line to depict the texture of the water, the clouds and the bank at the bottom left (see Figure 7-10). While the

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<sup>41</sup> (1930) p. 12; FELDMAN, D. (1974) *Stamps of Ireland: Illustrated Catalogue*. Dublin: David Feldman Ltd., p. 36.

<sup>42</sup> MORRIS. (2000) p. 78.

<sup>43</sup> MACGONIGAL, C. (1991) *Postart: An Exhibition of Postage Stamp Artwork*. Dublin: An Post, p. 14.

<sup>44</sup> (1930) p. 8; (1930) p. 3; PALMER, M. G. (1930) 'Irish Politics Quiet During Recess of Dail: Cosgrave Forces Cold to Fianna Fail Success', *New York Times*. June 29. p. 49.

rhythmical nature of the image itself emphasises the modern technical construction of the weir, it is framed by the textual detail necessary to turn an engraving into a stamp, which tells a very different story. The indexical nature of stamp design means that it almost always includes the name of the country and the value of the stamp, and the iconic nature of this image is bolstered by a caption ‘Forbairt Chomhacht na Sionainne’,<sup>45</sup> which translates into English as ‘Shannon Power Development’. The fact that all of the text, including the country name, was in the Irish language and set in an uncial font, made a very strong statement of Irish cultural nationalism, overlying and laying claim to the more modern visual interpretation of the weir. It also served as a linkage to the other stamps in use in 1930, symbolically drawing the Shannon Scheme into the visual schema of a Gaelic Ireland.

The Shannon Scheme stamp was an important moment in the representation of the Scheme, as it demonstrated an official willingness by the Cumann na nGaedheal Government to include the Scheme in the pantheon of icons of the new state. It was symbolically put on a level of importance to the state with Catholic Emancipation and the agricultural leadership of the Royal Dublin Society. Although the stamp was only circulated from October to December of 1930, the inclusion of this overtly modern Scheme on the everyday correspondence of the citizens of the State served to naturalise it as a legitimate symbol of the state, as well as signalling that Pearse’s aspirational ‘harnessing of the rivers’ was becoming reality.<sup>46</sup> The choice to depict the weir and river, rather than the more distinctively Modernist power house, may have been a conscious decision to provide a more palatable image of the Scheme for mass consumption. By its inclusion of the finished Scheme set into the untroubled river landscape, this stamp could also represent the end of the period of physical and metaphorical upheaval of the 1920s, where the Western landscape of County Clare was disrupted from its normal signification of rural Irishness. It created a route for the inclusion of the Shannon Scheme in this signification of Irishness, albeit one which is more about the perceived

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<sup>45</sup> The dots over some of the consonants in the stamp are lenited ‘h’s, so I have rendered the caption using modern Irish orthography intended for use with Roman fonts.

<sup>46</sup> DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. (1931) *Shannon Scheme stamps, Presentation to H.M. the King*. **National Archives: GR/1181-1**; PEARSE, P. H. (1922) ‘From a Hermitage’, *CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts*. <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E900007-005/text002.html> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

arrival of modernity to the country and its appropriation into the discourse of nationality.

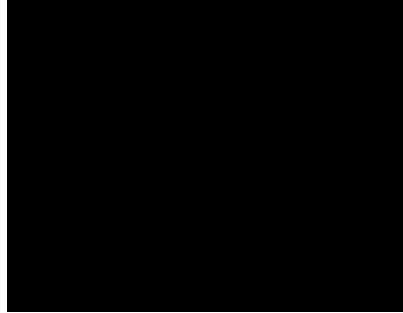


FIGURE 7-11 - FIRST DAY COVER OF SHANNON SCHEME STAMP, OCTOBER 15 1930  
(PRIVATE COLLECTION)

It is also important that the Shannon Scheme stamp was used within the postal system, as it involves the stamp in the system of souvenirs of posted artefacts, where the act of posting pins the object to a specific place and time; 'I was here on this day' (see Figure 7-11). This construction of the stamp as the defining marker of a souvenir means that it becomes meaningful to the individual who uses it to create their own biography, transferring the importance of the message contained in the letter back and forth between the marker and the message itself. That the letter has been posted using a commemorative stamp, rather than a definitive, also serves to mark the posting more precisely, adding another layer of importance to its significance. It also serves to make the letter more important, because the individual can tie their own biography to a larger national event of significance, as well as a connection with the larger imagined nation.<sup>47</sup>

This connection with the imagined nation becomes much clearer when the stamp is considered as a collectible, rather than a souvenir, when the meaning and significance of when it was posted, the relationship sender and receiver decreases in importance; or indeed an unposted 'mint' stamp, which has never acquired those associations in the first place. The collected stamp becomes part of the larger set of stamps and instead gains a new significance as part of a fetishised collection. The Shannon Scheme stamp is

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<sup>47</sup> EDWARDS. (1999) p. 233.

particularly significant in this regard, as stamps are generally collected by country and it is a very early entry in the series of post-colonial Irish state stamps, with reports of first day covers selling for €700 to €760, although unfranked stamps can be bought for €2 to €3 at the time of writing.<sup>48</sup>

### **Souvenir and collectible: commercial picture postcards**

The history of the picture postcard has also been intertwined with the act of marking a particular time and place through the postal system, although in this case it is much more closely related to tourism and the act of visiting a place outside the normal routine. Theories about the development of the picture postcard link it to Victorian illustrated stationery, court cards and German advertising cards, but all agree that by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the European postal system was groaning under the weight of millions of postcards being sent from place to place. The production of the picture postcard as souvenir seems have developed very strongly in the German-speaking world, with German printers and publishers developing the novelty and souvenir aspects of the postcard, rather than its use as a speedy form for communicating short messages.<sup>49</sup> The connection with travel and sightseeing became much more important during this period, linking in with the development of foreign travel as an affordable holiday for the middle-classes.<sup>50</sup> Commercial companies in Germany printed souvenir postcards of tourist sights, famous buildings and special events in an increasingly large geographical area, experimenting with colour printing from the late 1890s. The craze for sending postcards was facilitated by the penny post in Britain and by similarly priced postage in other countries, as well as by the efforts of the Universal Postal Union, a Swiss organisation set up in the 1870s to arrange the validity of stamps across national boundaries.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> ARMSTRONG, J. (1999) 'Irish Stamps Can Make First-Class Prices', *The Irish Times*. July 16. p. C2; (2010) 'Commemoratives 1929-1971', *Irish Stamps*.

<http://www.irishstamps.net/commemorative1929-71.htm> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

<sup>49</sup> RICKARDS & TWYMAN. (2000) p. 248; STAFF. (1966) p. 46.

<sup>50</sup> STAFF. (1966) p. 58.

<sup>51</sup> STAFF. (1966) pp. 64-66.

This wide spread of the picture postcard was responsible for a significant development of the photograph as a common everyday item. This is particularly evident in the use of photographs of particularly scenic or historical places on postcards from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, where the visit of the tourist to the place was often marked by the purchase and possibly the posting of a related postcard. MacCannell discusses the mechanism by which the sight is marked off, framed and enshrined in a photograph, professional or otherwise, but this process is carried further by the mechanical reproduction of the professional photograph into a postcard, which could then be sent out into the world, in order to represent the site.<sup>52</sup> Picture postcards of a sight also work as markers for the sight, but with a more precise visualisation of location embodied in the reproduced photograph.<sup>53</sup> They also act as collectibles, in some cases, although the lack of records kept by postcard manufacturers means that the possibility of completing a set was harder than with stamp collecting, where the issues are carefully recorded by Governmental sanction.

The production of picture postcards in Ireland in the late 1920s was very similar to that in the rest of the British Isles, with a small number of big publishers such as Valentine & Sons of Dundee being balanced by smaller Irish producers like Eason & Son and Mason, as well as large numbers of tiny issues by photographers, stationers, chemists and other local businesses. The Shannon Scheme was an obvious subject for reproduction, particularly considering the large numbers of people visiting the Scheme on organised tours. Postcard manufacturers are notorious for not keeping records of when different images were issued, but it seems that a number of publishers, both British and Irish, were producing postcards of the Scheme in the very late 1920s.<sup>54</sup> A large number of these have been collected by the Limerick City Museum, along with other ephemera relating to the Limerick area, and this section will discuss the postcards produced by commercial companies in the late 1920s and early 1930s, based on the dating estimates made by the curators there (see Appendix H). The majority of these cards seem to have actually been printed in the latter period, given the finished state of

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<sup>52</sup> MACCANNELL, D. (1999) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. 3rd ed. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 44-45.

<sup>53</sup> MACCANNELL. (1999) p. 41.

<sup>54</sup> DIXON, F. E. (1979) *The Printers and Publishers of Irish Postcards*. **NLI Manuscripts: Ms 24,585**.

the Scheme they depict. That said, some of them were posted as late as the 1950s, which may indicate that they were still in production 20 years later, or that collectors had kept them and only posted them at that late date.

These postcards are based on a number of different photographs, mostly exterior and aerial shots of the Scheme, which seem to have been taken by each company's own photographers, rather than reusing the photographs taken by Siemens. The majority of the postcards are printed using the technique of photogravure, which involves transferring the image onto a printing plate, which was then used to create a large number of prints; although six in the Limerick City Museum collection are 'Real Photo' cards, which were direct photographic prints from the negative.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> DIXON. (1979) **NLI Manuscripts: Ms 24,585**, p. 2.

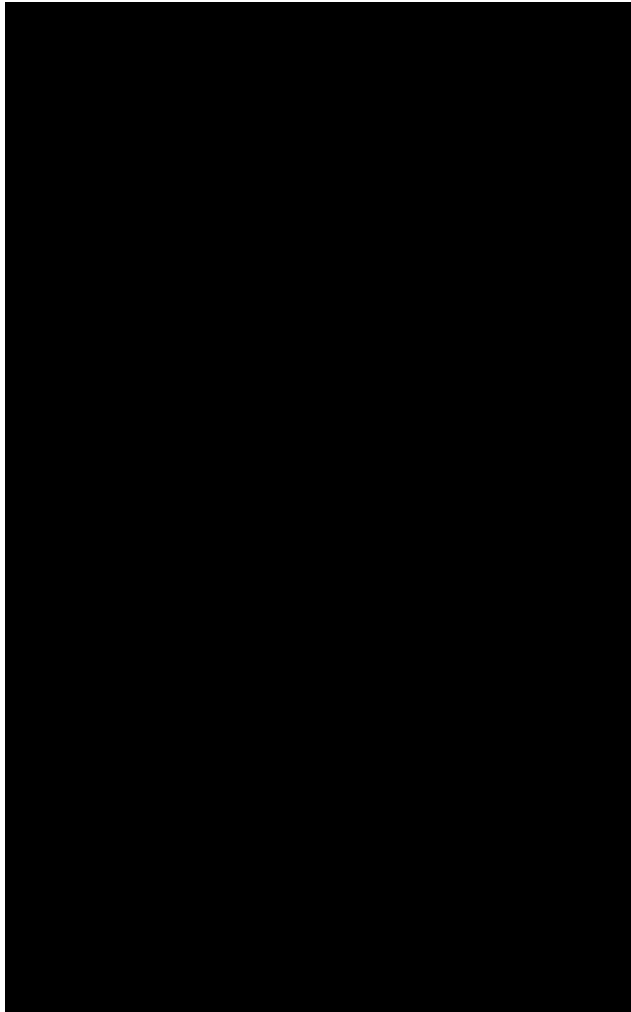


FIGURE 7-12 – MASON POSTCARD, 'INTERIOR OF POWER HOUSE, ARDNACRUSHA, CO. LIMERICK', EARLY 1930S. (LIMERICK CITY MUSEUM: 1994.0061)

The 'Real Photo' postcards were issued by both Mason and Eason & Son in an attempt to create a more directly 'truthful' representation of the Scheme, using the indication of 'real' photographs to emphasise the direct reproduction of the scene through the camera and negative, directly onto the postcards. The Dublin company of Thomas J. Mason had been an opticians and instrument makers since 1779, but branched out into the publication of postcards in 1931 (the company is still in existence as Mason Technology, scientific instrument makers).<sup>56</sup> Many of the photographs were taken by the head of the company at the time, Thomas Mason, who had been amassing

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<sup>56</sup> MASON, S. (2010) 'Re: History of Mason Company' to O'BRIEN, S., July 27; MASON, S. (1980) *The Mason Family Business: A Brief History 1780-1980*. Dublin: Mason Technology, p. 2; DOYLE, R. (2003) 'Saga of a Scientific Family by a Seventh Generation Son', *The Irish Times*. October 22. p. B2.

photographs of Irish historical, archaeological and ornithological interest since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, some of which were later published as a book of photographs of Irish islands.<sup>57</sup> Mason was considered an expert photographer, receiving a membership of the Royal Irish Academy, despite his lack of formal training.<sup>58</sup> The Mason postcards seem to have been taken in the early 1930s, which ties in with the lifespan of the Mason postcard business, in operation from 1931 until silver shortages during World War 2 made it unviable.<sup>59</sup> Unusually for commercial postcards, these include an interior shot of the turbine hall, which emphasises the repeated rhythmic forms of the generators. It depicts an affinity for high technology unsurprising in someone embedded in the production of technological equipment (see Figure 7-12).

The 'Signal' series of postcards was issued by Eason & Son, which had started life as an Irish subsidiary of W. H. Smith in the 1850s. Charles Eason, its Irish manager, took over in 1886 and developed the company into a chain of bookshops, newsagents and stationers which is still in existence at the time of writing.<sup>60</sup> The 'Signal' series was produced from 1905, and Eason also provided a service for the printing of postcards by the 1000 for smaller companies and individuals within 10 or 12 weeks of order.<sup>61</sup> The two Signal postcards in the Limerick City Museum collection both show the same image, a photograph of the power house complex taken from the east bank of the tailrace, one with and one without a white border on the card (see Figure 7-13). It also seems to have been taken in the very early 1930s, judging from the finished state of the complex and the level of vegetation on the bank, and seems to have been composed to show off the turbine hall, with the ship lift and fish pass outside the composition.

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<sup>57</sup> MASON, T. H. (1936) *The Islands of Ireland*. London: B.T. Batsford; MASON. (1980) p. 12; ROUSE, S. (1998) *Into the Light : An Illustrated Guide to the Photographic Collections in the National Library of Ireland*. Dublin: National Library of Ireland, p. 61.

<sup>58</sup> DIXON. (1979) **NLI Manuscripts: Ms 24,585**, p. 37; MASON. (1980) p. 16.

<sup>59</sup> MASON, S. (2010) 'Telephone discussion with Stan Mason, Director of Mason Technology' to O'BRIEN, S., July 29; MASON. (1980) p. 13.

<sup>60</sup> (2010) 'About Us', *eason.ie | Ireland's Largest Book & Stationery Retailer*.

[http://www.eason.ie/about\\_us](http://www.eason.ie/about_us) [Accessed: July 23]

<sup>61</sup> DIXON. (1979) **NLI Manuscripts: Ms 24,585**, p. 18; CULLEN, L. M. (1989) *Eason & Son: A History*. Dublin: Eason & Son, p. 346; KISSANE, N. (1990) *Ex Camera 1860-1960: Photographs from the Collections of the National Library of Ireland*. Dublin: National Library of Ireland, pp. x-xi.



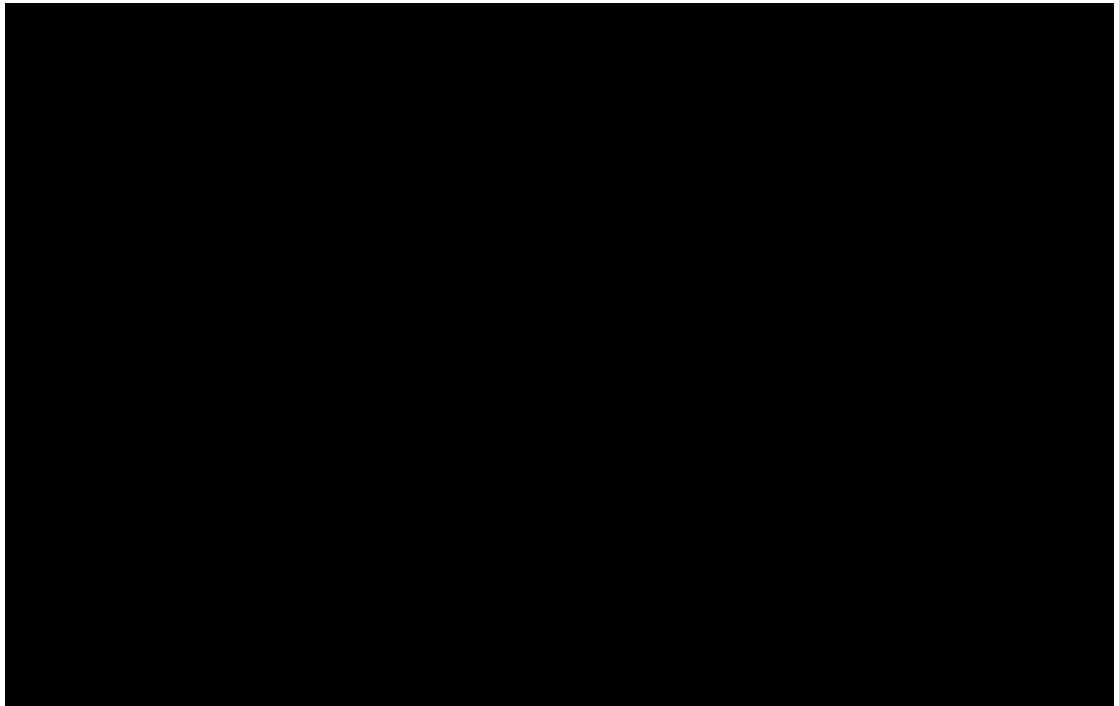


FIGURE 7-13 - EASON & SON, 'SIGNAL' SERIES POSTCARD, 'ELECTRIC POWER STATION, ARDNACRUSHA, LIMERICK', EARLY 1930S. (LIMERICK CITY MUSEUM: 1995.0049)

The largest number of postcards were printed by Valentine & Sons, a Scottish firm specialising in greeting cards and illustrated envelopes, founded in Dundee in the 1840s. Valentine moved into postcard production in 1895 and opened a Dublin office in 1905. By 1914, they had 50 machines printing postcards and had developed a reputation for the high quality of their photographic images, as well as being one of the main publishers of cards for small local concerns.<sup>62</sup> There are six different images reproduced on the eleven Valentine postcards in the collection, with one wide shot of the power house from the tail race being reproduced in black and white, sepia and retouched colour (see Figure 7-14). The colour postcards are described as 'Collo colour' on the back, which refers to the German invention of collotype colour printing which Valentine had been using since 1895.<sup>63</sup> Interestingly, the concrete colour of the power house building and parts of the intake building in Figure 7-14 has been tinted to a strong shade of orange, presumably to look like brickwork, rather than the grey concrete that it actually is. This 'enhancing' of the station buildings is part of a long-

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<sup>62</sup> DIXON. (1979) **NLI Manuscripts: Ms 24,585**, p. 54; COYSH, A. W. (1984) *The Dictionary of Picture Postcards in Britain 1894-1939*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors Club, p. 275; KISSANE. (1990) p. xi; STAFF. (1966) p. 58.

<sup>63</sup> STAFF. (1966) p. 58.

standing postcard tradition of retouching photographs of tourist sights for increased aesthetic effect, a practice which later culminated in the virulent colouring of John Hinde's Irish postcards of the 1950s.<sup>64</sup> It also has the effect of creating a rather luridly coloured vision of the Shannon Scheme in order to make it more attractive as a tourist site, and to emphasise, by inference, its national importance. The retouching of the building to faux brick could also be read as an attempt by Scottish Valentine to naturalise the Scheme into a more familiar British material, despite the lengthy discussions of the architects about the relationship of the grey concrete to traditional Irish stone buildings (see Chapter 3).

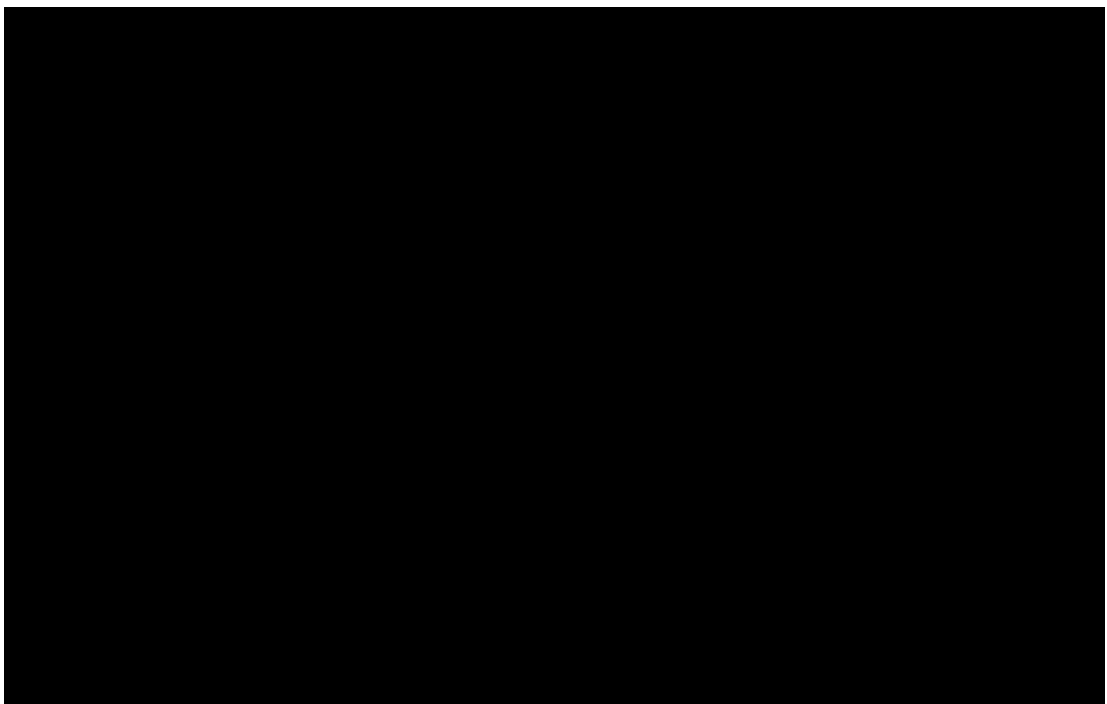


FIGURE 7-14 - VALENTINE POSTCARD, 'SHANNON POWER SCHEME, LIMERICK'. LATE 1920S. (LIMERICK CITY MUSEUM: 2000.0045)

The postcards in the Limerick City Museum form only a sample of the commercial postcards which were in circulation after the completion of the Shannon Scheme. The majority of these postcards have not been posted, but have been kept by collectors as part of a larger collection, with a significant number coming from the collection of Ernest Bennis, Limerick local historian, whose collection was donated to the Museum

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<sup>64</sup> DIXON. (1979) **NLI Manuscripts: Ms 24,585**, p. 54; LEE, D. (1993) *Hindesight: John Hinde Photographs and Postcards by John Hinde 1935-1971*. Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art.

after his death in 1956 and includes his amateur photographs of the Scheme discussed in Chapter 4.<sup>65</sup> This inclusion of postcards depicting the Shannon Scheme in a collection of local historical material clearly sites them in the area of ‘authentic artefacts’ described by Pearce as legitimate for amateur collecting, as well as in a souvenir role in the creation of individual biographies (see Figure 7-15).<sup>66</sup>

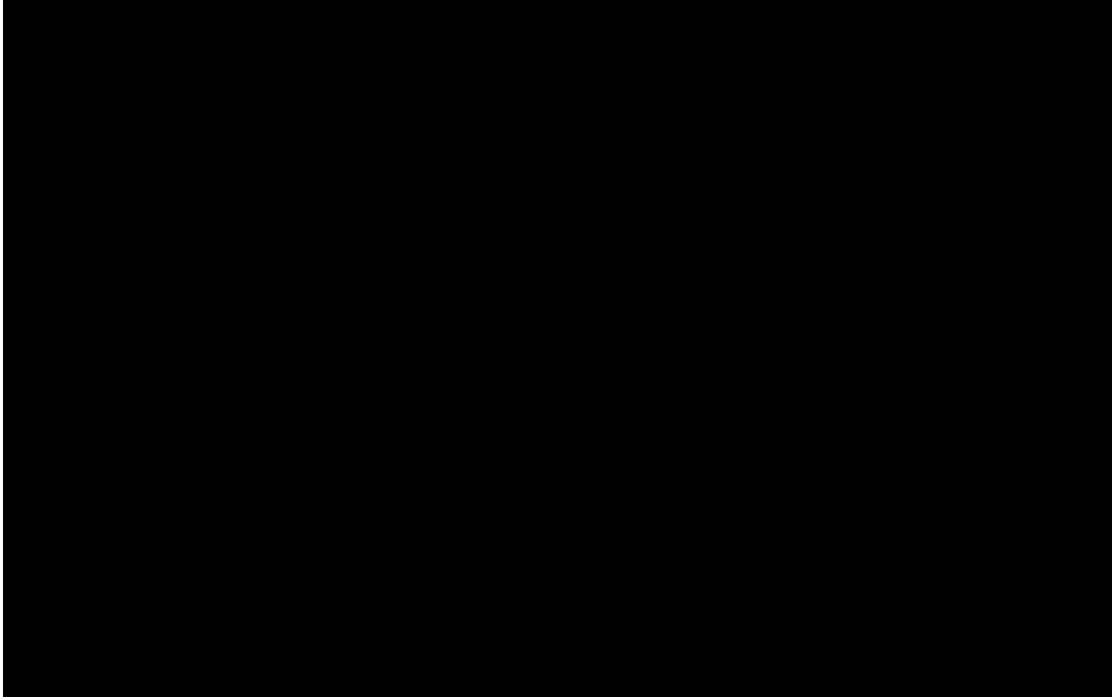


FIGURE 7-15 - REVERSE OF MASON ‘REAL PHOTO’ POSTCARD OF THE SHANNON SCHEME, LATE 1920S. (LIMERICK CITY MUSEUM: 1994.0061)

### **Collectables: T. C. Carroll postcards**

The production of views of the Shannon Scheme for purchase as a set in the late 1920s puts the postcard representation of the Shannon Scheme firmly into the category of the collectable, rather than the souvenir, in this case. The postcards were first produced by Siemens in sets of 12, based on their industrial photographs taken during 1926 and 1927. A small number of these postcards have survived in the ESB archive and the Haselbeck collection (see Appendix I), and it seems that they were issued in two sets of twelve, all labelled ‘Siemens Bauunion G.m.B.H. Komm Ges. Limerick Ireland’. However, it seems that Siemens moved quickly from issuing the postcards themselves,

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<sup>65</sup> BENNIS, E. H. (1999) ‘Reminiscences of Old Limerick’, *Old Limerick Journal*. Vol. 36, pp. 55-60.

<sup>66</sup> PEARCE. (1995) p. 291.

as Limerick stationer T. C. Carroll & Sons began the very successful sale of sets of 18 Shannon Scheme postcards in 1928. These postcard sets reused a small number of the Siemens photographs (seven out of 23 different images) and were sold in two sets priced 1 shilling and sixpence in 1928 and 1929, the latter along with a promotional booklet explaining “this Stupendous Undertaking”, which was available for 1 shilling, or 1 shilling and twopence by post (see Figure 7-16).

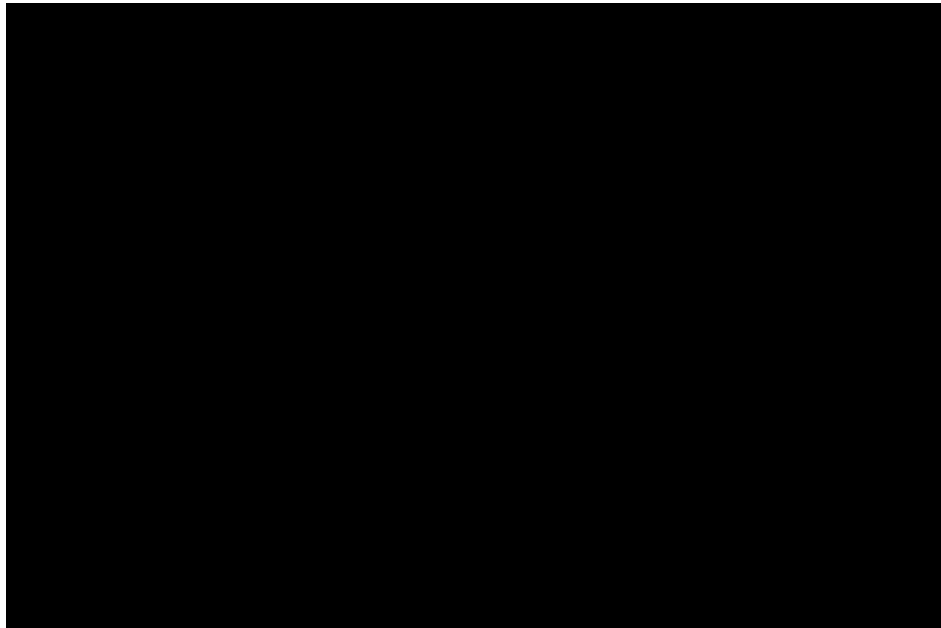


FIGURE 7-16 - T. C. CARROLL & SONS ADVERTISEMENT FOR SHANNON SCHEME BOOKLET AND POSTCARDS  
(*LIMERICK LEADER*, MAY 25-29 1928 AND JUNE 3, 5, 10, 12, 15, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26 1929)

There are 35 different T. C. Carroll postcards in the Limerick City Museum collection, 27 in the ESB archive and a set of 18 in the Irish Architectural Archive, although overlaps between the collections mean that there are 40 different images in total. These can be dated to either 1928 or 1929 from the manufacturer’s numbers printed in the stamp box on the cards, although the numbers indicate that several of the cards were reprinted two or three times, some during both years. The postcards are all photogravure and each collection also holds a different decorative envelope, each of which seems to have held a random collection of cards, suggesting that different selections of postcards may have been issued at different times (see Appendix I). For example, the set of postcards contained in the blue envelope (see Figure 7-18) in Limerick City Museum is identical to the postcards contained in a brown envelope in the Irish Architectural Archive, while another brown envelope in the ESB archive

contains ten of the same cards, but with eight new ones (see Figure 7-17). The layout of the envelopes differ from the postcards inside, as they are designed in a rather conservative, 19<sup>th</sup> century fashion, with six different font faces in use, as well as a decorative border. The organisation of the postcards into randomised sets was obviously intended to function as part of a collection, as the buyer was encouraged to buy more envelopes of postcards, with the intention of creating a full set. Ironically, it is likely that the postcards detailed in the Appendix may not actually represent a full run of the postcards, but it is impossible to know without access to publisher's records.<sup>67</sup>

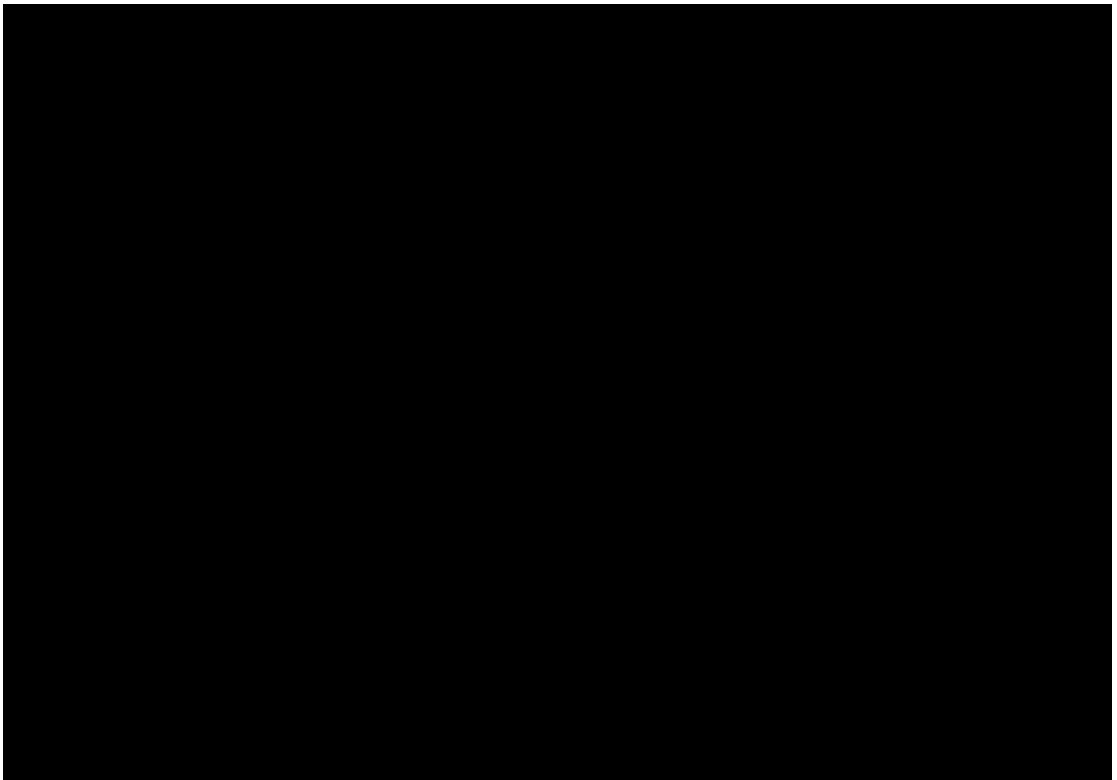


FIGURE 7-17 - T. C. CARROLL, ENVELOPE FOR SHANNON SCHEME POSTCARDS, 1928  
(ESB ARCHIVE)

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<sup>67</sup> T. C. Carroll closed in 1968 and efforts to locate a surviving archive have not been successful. RYAN, L. (2009) 'Limerick Burial Register Online', *Limerick City Council*. <http://www.limerickcity.ie/Press/Pressreleasesarchive/2009/LimerickBurialRegisterOnline/> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

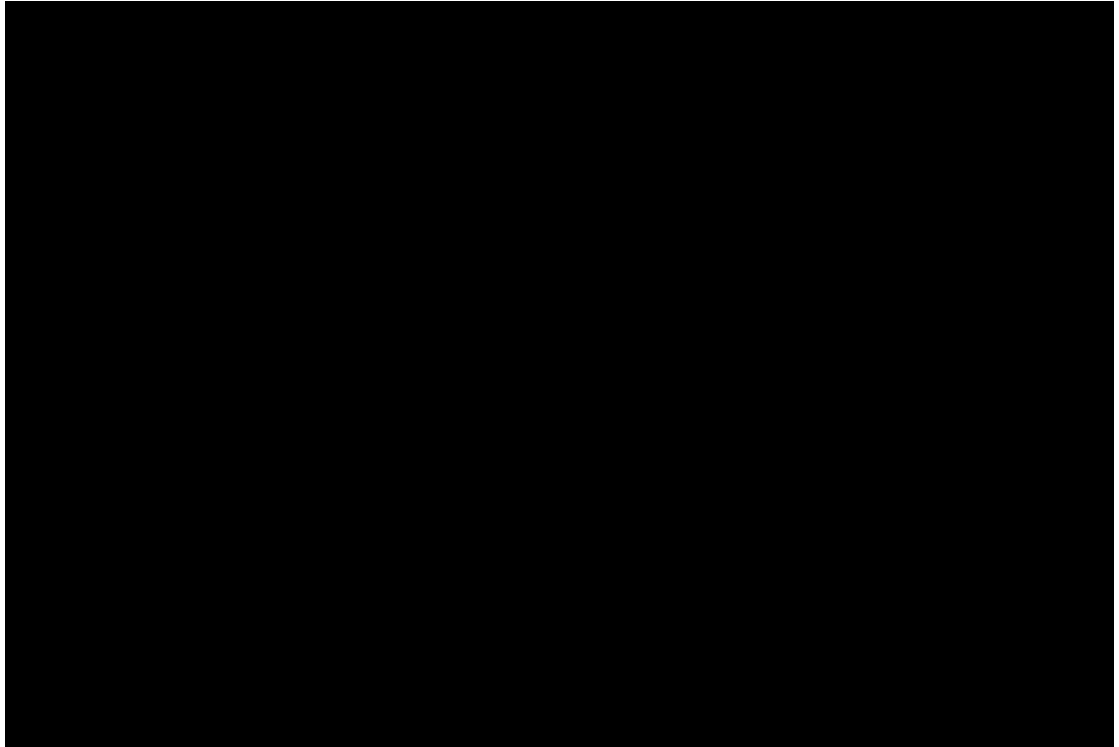


FIGURE 7-18 - T. C. CARROLL & SONS, ENVELOPE FOR POSTCARDS OF SHANNON SCHEME VIEWS, 1929 (LIMERICK CITY MUSEUM: 1987.0362.20)

The images on the postcards are taken from the Siemens industrial photographs, which were presumably endorsed by Siemens Ireland as a promotional device within Ireland.<sup>68</sup> They represent a wide range of photographs of the Scheme, from the early stages of canal construction in 1926 to the works in a state of completion in November 1929 (see Appendix I for details of precise dates). The majority of the photographs used are exterior shots of the works, as well as shots of the various types of canal-building machinery imported by Siemens-Bauunion (see Figure 7-19 for example set of 18).

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<sup>68</sup> Several of the earlier postcards also had 'Siemens-Bauunion G.m.B.H. Komm.Ges. Limerick, Ireland' printed on the reverse.

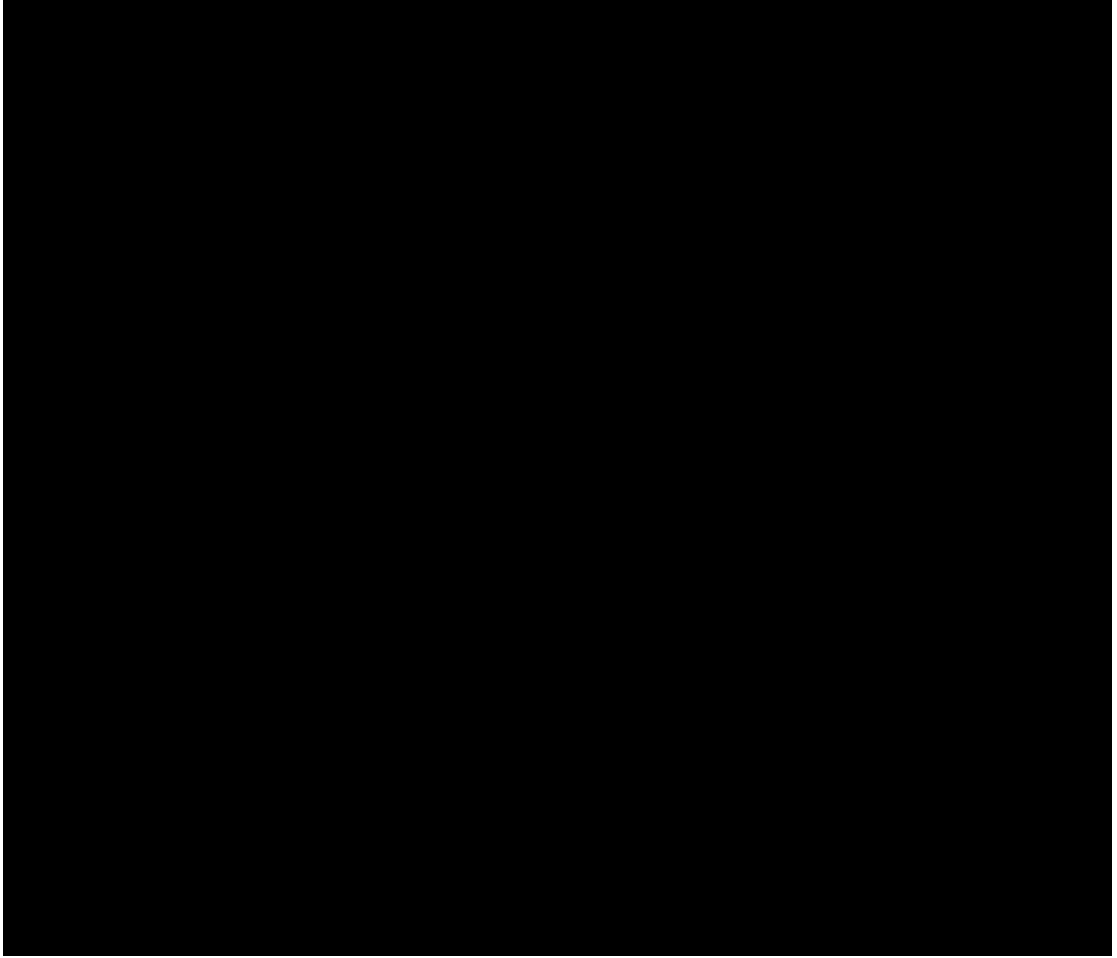


FIGURE 7-19 - T. C. CARROLL, COLLECTION OF 18 SHANNON SCHEME VIEWS, 1928 (ESB ARCHIVE)

From an aesthetic point of view, they do not present a particularly bright or appealing set of images, compared to other postcards of the time, but I would argue that part of their value comes from their inclusion in a collectible set, as well as their commemorative connection to a specific historical moment. They portray a determinedly modern view of the Scheme, not shying away from depicting unglamorous swathes of mud and large pieces of industrial machinery, from bank builders to rock crushers, as well as numerous views of half-built buildings sitting in the middle of what is obviously a building site, which are typical of the broad exterior landscapes of the earlier Siemens photographs. It is possible that these postcards were collected by the more technically-minded population of Ireland, but they seem to have been one of the more popular sets of collectible postcards of the day, based on the numbers still being

donated to the Limerick City Museum, as well as locations such as the Irish Architectural Archive.<sup>69</sup> There are none of the more artistically Modernist composed shots of the interior of the building here, as the emphasis is on the spectacular nature of the construction work. The emphasis on machinery and equipment may seem an unusual subject for collectible postcards, but I would argue that by the time these postcards were on sale, the Irish population (particularly those visiting the Limerick area) would have been already familiarised with the idea of the Shannon Scheme as a national monument and collected the postcards as a way of remembering this project of national importance. The dominance of machinery and sophisticated building forms in these postcards functions as a symbol of the technological sublime, representing the awe and admiration towards the project. This particularly important because these postcards give the impression that the giant forms of the power station and weir were being constructed by this machinery, rather than by the hand of human workers, who only appear as minute figures. This is partly an effect of the scaling down of the Siemens photographs, so that figures which were dominated by the technology in a 10” by 12” photographic print are now reduced to insignificance in a picture postcard.

### **Collectables: cigarette cards**

The history of cigarette cards is even more tied up with the history of collecting than that of postcards, as they were one of the first types of printed ephemera produced specifically to be collected. They originated in the United States in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as cardboard stiffeners for paper packets of cigarettes, which were initially just blank cardboard. By the 1880s, these stiffeners were being printed with advertisements for other tobacco products, which quickly developed into images of educational interest, complete with short edifying essays on the back. They flourished in fits and starts up until the 1960s, with interruptions to production caused by wartime paper shortages. By the heyday of the cards in the 1920s, tobacco companies were employing staffs of artists, writers and printers to produce the cards, which had developed a reputation for providing accurate snippets of general knowledge to the cigarette-buying public.<sup>70</sup> The

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<sup>69</sup> HODKINSON, B. (2006) 'Discussion about Limerick City Museum Postcard Collection' to O'BRIEN, S., October 31.

<sup>70</sup> BAGNALL, D. (1978) *Collecting Cigarette Cards and Other Trade Issues*. 2nd ed. Drayton, Somerset: London Cigarette Card Company, p. 41; HOWSDEN, G. (1995) *Collecting Cigarette* &



production of cigarette cards in Britain was started by an American company Allen & Ginter in 1875, and the expansion of the American Duke company into the British market prompted a short Tobacco War, which ended in the creation of the Imperial Tobacco Company conglomerate in 1905, which controlled cigarette production in Britain, due to the imposition of import tax on foreign (particularly American) brands.<sup>71</sup> By the late 1920s, companies such as Wills and Player had reintroduced the inclusion of cigarette cards in their products and interest in collecting them had prompted collector Colonel Bagnall to start up the London Cigarette Card Company, in order to facilitate trade in these specific ephemera, which became a limited company in 1931.<sup>72</sup> The largest shareholder in the Imperial Tobacco Company, W.D. & H.O. Wills, had set up a manufacturing facility in Dublin in 1922, in order to service the Free State market and produced a number of series of Irish interest (e.g. Irish sportsmen, Irish Holiday Resorts), as well as the general publication of cigarette cards depicting cinema stars, wild flowers, household hints and railway locomotives (see Figure 7-20). The range and breadth of the topics covered was eclectic, to say the least, although it did seem to tend towards topics where a series could be produced, rather than one-off topics.<sup>73</sup> The cards were usually printed using lithography or photogravure, depending on whether a drawn or photographed image was used, with the textual backs printed by letterpress with type set on linotype machines, generally in a single colour. These cards come much more firmly within the category of collectibles, as they have a passive function and were very specifically produced with the intention of their being collected, unlike the more obvious functional role of postcards or stamps, both of which could also be sent through the post and used to communicate a message.

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*Trade Cards*. London: New Cavendish Books, pp. 7, 15; MURRAY, M. (1987) *The Story of Cigarette Cards*. London: Murray Cards, p. 21; RICKARDS & TWYMAN. (2000) p. 96.

<sup>71</sup> BAGNALL. (1978) pp. 42-43; HOWSDEN. (1995) p. 13; MURRAY. (1987) pp. 22-23, 27.

<sup>72</sup> BAGNALL. (1978) pp. 18-19; HOWSDEN. (1995) p. 8.

<sup>73</sup> HOWSDEN. (1995) pp. 44, 102.

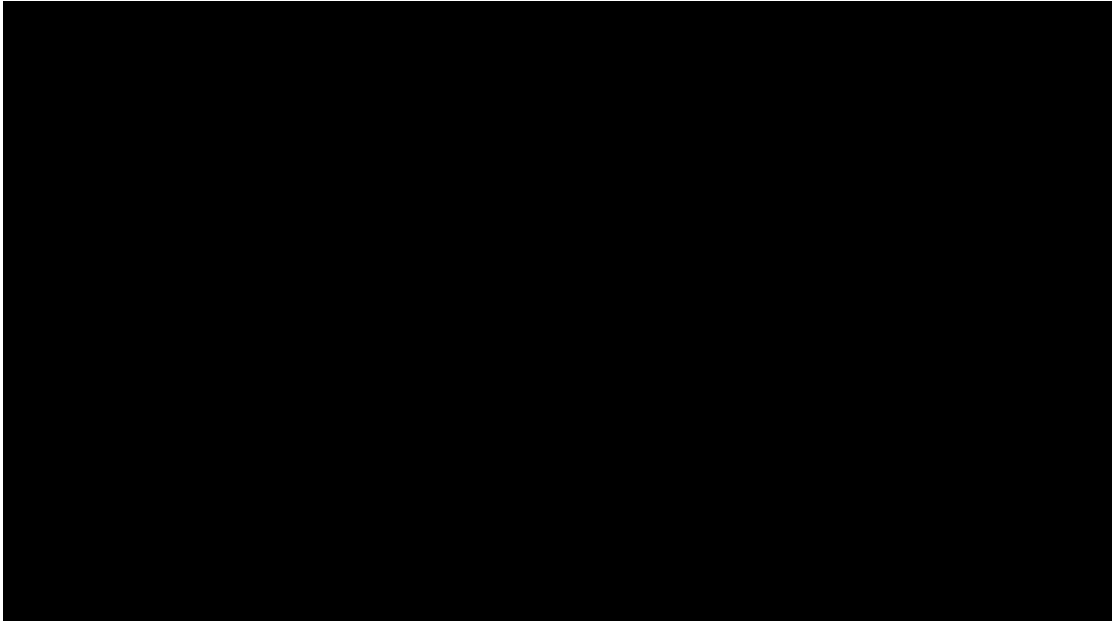


FIGURE 7-20 – W.D. & H.O. WILLS CIGARETTE CARDS, ‘RAILWAY LOCOMOTIVES 1930’ (TOP), ‘STRANGE CRAFT 1931’ (BOTTOM)  
(HOWSDEN, G. (1995) *COLLECTING CIGARETTE & TRADE CARDS*. LONDON: NEW CAVENDISH BOOKS, P. 102)

The Shannon Scheme series of cigarette cards were produced in the early 1930s by the British cigarette company Wills, as part of their commitment to illustrating Irish topics for a local audience. There are 40 monochrome cards in the set, which reproduce at least 18 of the Siemens photographs framed in white, each with a caption describing the image (see Figure 7-21 and Appendix J).

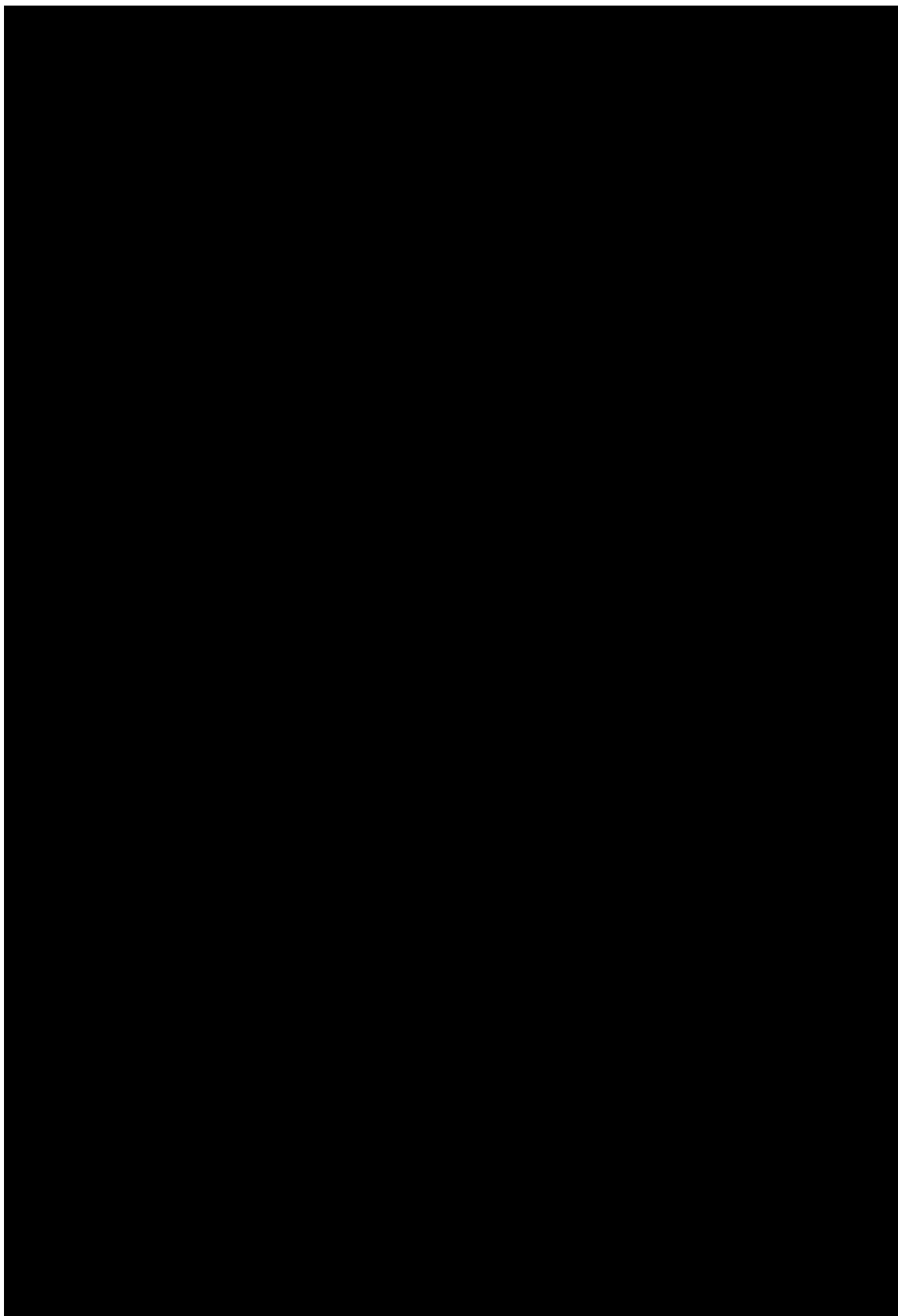


FIGURE 7-21 – W.D. & H.O. WILLS, 'SHANNON ELECTRIC POWER SCHEME' CIGARETTE CARD SET, 1930 (ESB ARCHIVE)

Each of these photographs was chosen to form a definitive set of images, to represent the Shannon Scheme, presumably with the blessing of Siemens, as many of them reproduce Siemens industrial photographs. The reverse of each card carries a plain layout, with the title repeated and a short description of the photograph and its significance to the overall work (see Figure 7-22). The text is laid out centrally, within a linear frame and doesn't contain any of the decorative elements of other cigarette card issues. This is possibly an attempt by Wills' designers to provide a more minimal look, to relate to the mainly photographic images printed on the cards, although what they have achieved is more Art Deco in style than Modernist, in a similar fashion to the 'modern' newspaper advertisements discussed in Chapter 5. Apart from two diagrammatic illustrations and a photograph of a model, the cards are illustrated with a selection of Siemens photographs, with the emphasis again heavily on outdoor scenes of civil engineering construction. However, this selection of images differs from the postcards in that it includes a number of the more high contrast Neue Sachlichkeit influenced images discussed in Chapter 3. For example, cards numbers 20 to 23 present photographs which use the repetitive circular shapes and arcs of the penstock and turbine construction to locate the figure of workers, often posing for effect. The difference between these images and the original photographs, though, is that they are so small that any sense of workers' agency is lost, as they are reduced to ciphers a couple of millimetres high. The emphasis is returned to the shapes and forms of the machinery and the architecture of the power house and weir buildings, which makes the cards into a clearer, unambiguous representation of the technological sublime. The power station is again depicted as being constructed by machinery, without the human involvement.

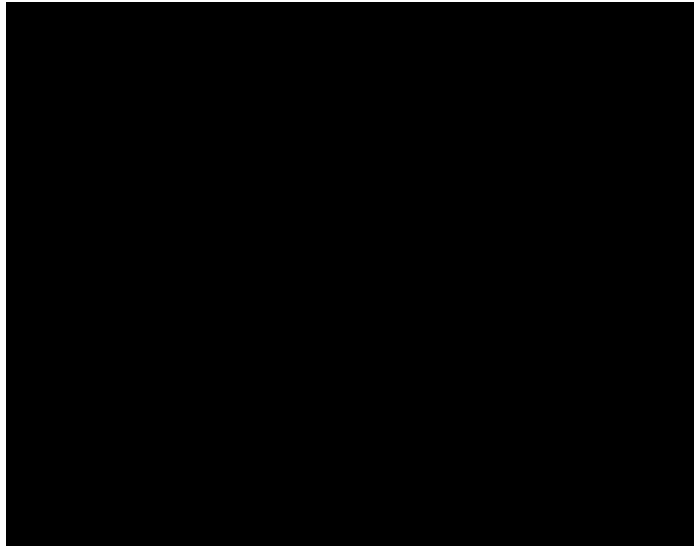


FIGURE 7-22 - REVERSE OF WILLS 'SHANNON ELECTRIC POWER SCHEME' CIGARETTE CARDS, 1930 (ESB ARCHIVE)

For a Scheme that was all about superlatives in size and scale, though, the cigarette cards provide a tiny, pocket sized compendium of authoritative modern technical information. The cigarette cards also position the Shannon Scheme firmly within the pantheon of collectible topics, as they form a finite numbered series, which was much easier to complete than even the T. C. Carroll postcards, with their lack of obvious numbering. They allow the subject of the Scheme to be naturalised as something worth recording, included into the realm of the worthy snippets of educational information associated with 'cigarette card knowledge'. It is then included in the pantheon of Irish collectible card subjects, unquestioningly placed alongside the heroes of Irish sport and places of historical interest.

### **Conclusion**

One commonality between both souvenir and fetishistic collecting, both of which are present in the examples discussed here, is that the object loses its connection with its original moment of creation. In the case of the Shannon Scheme ephemera, this is doubly important, as most of these ephemera are depicting the act of creation of the Scheme itself, of the construction of a national undertaking almost considered as a

national monument.<sup>74</sup> So, the images on the postcards and cigarette cards may represent modern technology and construction methods, and on the stamp of the product of that construction, but by their very inclusion in the world of ephemera, that act of creation is reduced into the world of the everyday. This process is similar to how the labour of creating the ephemera is diminished, as the origins of the ephemera become less and less important, either superseded by the personal memories of the owner or by the place within the collection. The Shannon Scheme becomes naturalised into the order of important things, as its inclusion within these systems of objects assumes that the historical significance of the Scheme is undisputed and secondary in importance to either the personal connection of the souvenir or of its place in the larger collection of Irish-themed cigarette cards.

One of the effects of this naturalisation is to obscure the political dimension of the ephemera, as it is compared to the importance of Catholic Emancipation and views of the Irish countryside, all of which are promoting particular interpretations of Irishness. The agency of the Cumann na nGaedheal government was more involved in the production of the commemorative stamp, as it formed part of an official discourse between citizens, facilitated by the postal service. The postcards and cigarette cards were both produced by private enterprise, but the cigarette cards and a large proportion of the postcards reproduced the imagery of the Scheme originally produced by the contracting company Siemens, with the intention of producing 'propaganda' for the German company, whereas they were used here to present it as an Irish project.<sup>75</sup> It is interesting that no equivalent ephemera have surfaced in Germany during the course of research for this thesis, despite the fact that a proportion of the postcards were labelled as being printed in Germany. It is not entirely clear whether T. C. Carroll and Wills received the photographic images directly from Siemens, or from the ESB, as no records survive in either company archive in reference to the production of ephemera. It seems that any intention of Siemens to use their photographs has been overwhelmed by the voracious desire of the Irish people for images of the Scheme which they could

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<sup>74</sup> The National Monuments Act was passed in 1930 and protected a large number of monuments, including Iron and Bronze Age sites or medieval ecclesiastical settlements.

<sup>75</sup> SIEMENS-SCHUCKERTWERKE. (1927) *Propaganda February-May 1927*. **Siemens Archive: 2086**.

relate to, either as part of their personal biography, or as part of a larger interest in collecting.

These images are resolutely part of the modern world, both the systems of circulation involved in the postal service and in the distribution of packaged cigarettes. The commemorative stamp, however, continues to use essentialist strategies of representation alongside an image of a German Modernist building, albeit a less overtly Modernist one than the power house itself. The tension between the epochal and essentialist can be read in this stamp design, with its combination of Modernist building marking a triumph of modernisation, framed by local uncial lettering in the Irish language. It is also depicting the finished product back in an undisturbed countryside, without the disruption of construction work visible. The postcards and cigarette cards portray these issues in a different manner, partly because they reproduce a selection of the Siemens industrial photographs without any overt gestures towards essential Irishness. However, these photographs have been carefully chosen to give a specific impression of the construction, framing the construction machinery as more important than the workers involved. They present a view of the Scheme as a site of the industrial sublime, which is thoroughly naturalised by its reproduction in miniature, where it can be neatly domesticated and controlled by inclusion into a collection. They represent a recognition that the modern world had come to Ireland, even if aesthetic Modernism had not.

## Conclusion

The representation of electrical technology in Ireland, as the new technology of the epoch was influenced by a number of factors, as the cultural context of the new State, the relationship of technology to nationhood and the approach of specific German and Irish visual practitioners to their media and the subject all influenced the way in which the Shannon Scheme was presented in the 1920s and early 1930s. Different interpretations of Irishness have been associated with different segments of Irish society, but all struggled to represent the Shannon Scheme in a satisfactory manner, to bridge this gap between essential cultural background and epochal technology. These competing definitions of Irish identity are the legacy of a culture which was not as monolithic as political vested interests in subsequent decades would have people think. The Irish nation envisioned in the 1920s and 1930s by the Cumann na nGaedheal government imagined a civil, democratic state; orderly and organised above all. The presentation of the Shannon Scheme as a naturalised Irish project was central to the survival not just of the political party, but of the Free State itself, and the visual representations spiralled out from the official governmental representation on the commemorative stamp, through Siemens, the ESB, commercial companies and private individuals, until the power station took a place in the popular imagination of Ireland. What that place was, however, was nothing if not ambiguous, with the visual depiction of epochal modernisation sitting uncomfortably within a culture orientated towards the archaic and the traditional, emphasising the Geertzian essential. The number and variety of depictions of the Shannon Scheme produced during the short period of the nine years studied is a testament to the strength of the idea of electrical power as the technology of the epoch, even in a cultural context which heavily tended towards inward-looking and historically orientated essentialism. The variety of methods of reproduction, levels of literal representation, the spread of circulation and the wide range of images from governmental and corporate to personal and private is a testament to the hold that this epochal project held on the Irish public imagination. For a short period of time it was possible to imagine what a technological Ireland might have looked like, where technology could have had as close a connection to Irish national identity as religion or Celticism.



The problematic representation of technology in an Irish context was exacerbated by the resolutely German style of the station building itself, which was easily identified as influenced by German industrial architecture, rather than by any local vernacular tradition. That said, the political context of the building meant that the design of the power station was more influenced by the negotiations between the German contractors and the representatives of the Irish government than is generally recognised. I argue that the concept of technique or *Technik* was a central one in resolving the dichotomy between essential and epochal in the representation of such a project, where the acquisition of skill and the handling of various media provided a lens through which to view the epochal size and scale of the project, in a similar manner to the reconciliation of the German engineer of *Kultur* and *Zivilisation*. The use of ideas from the history of technology has been central to the development of the thesis, as it would not have been possible to understand the cultural context of technology without the content of histories of German engineering, and the central ideas of *Technik* and *Kultur*, which allowed the gap between epochal and essential to be bridged in an Irish context.

One issue which links almost all of the images of the Shannon Scheme together is the representation of work and labour. Keating's paintings, both set of prints, the Siemens photographs and both worker and visitor photography show men (and specifically men) at work, sometimes labouring, sometimes with machinery and often (in the case of the later advertisements) completely replaced by machinery, in a representation of the transformation from manual to mechanised labour which was ongoing in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. As well as depicting the humble anonymous working man, some of the images show a distinct heroicisation of the male form, whether it is the central engineer of *Night's Candles are Burnt Out* or the giant male silhouette of the ESB advertisement. All these different depictions demonstrate the gamut of attitudes to the mechanisation of labour present in Ireland in the 1920s, ranging from glorification of technical equipment to the valorisation of manual labour. I argue that the depiction of labour is intimately bound up in issues of skill and technique, as visual practitioners strove to equal the sublime nature of the project with their own efforts. In doing so, there are varying levels of appreciation for the romantic nature of such an epic project, ranging from the

political passion of Sean Keating for the work of the new state, to the depiction of Anton Scheuritzel of the project as an extension of German technological romanticism. The sublime nature of the project in terms of labour, industry and Irish landscape is a constant theme throughout all of the examples considered, whether mass-produced postcard or painting exhibited in the Royal Hibernian Academy. The artistic production, in particular, is supported by a tradition of depicting sublime natural landscapes, which played a central role in how the artists framed the technological sublime of the Scheme without the worker. This reliance on traditional modes of representation can also be seen in the selection of Siemens industrial photographs for publication in the newspapers, as well as for reproduction as ephemera, with the broad landscapes predominating over photographs stylistically influenced by the German Modernist avant-garde, landscape providing much easier to domesticate in an Irish context than any aesthetic experiments. The architecture of the Scheme was also downplayed in most of these images, with only the Siemens industrial photographs paying time and attention to the aesthetic Modernist qualities of the building. In contrast, the Irish representations are not formed from any coherent set of responses to the appearance of a German Modernist building and hordes of labourers and machinery in the Irish countryside, responding to it in a rather confused manner. The literal representation of the building site in the early ESB advertisements is swiftly abandoned in favour of allegorical strategies and both Keating's paintings and Atkinson's prints prefer to focus on the novel machinery and building work, as do the Irish amateur photographers, while the cigarette cards and postcards trivialise the imposing scale of the building, as it is reproduced on a tiny scale. This initial and fragmented response to Modernist architecture is indicative of a culture which is not familiar with the aims and methods of avant-garde Modernist practice and is at a loss of how to incorporate it into existing representation strategies. It is also telling that the worker is lost or downplayed in the majority of official or quasi-official representations, other than in allegorical, heroic form. Otherwise, the many workers, both German and Irish, who contributed to the Scheme are relegated to the realm of ciphers, or to private photographs circulated among family and friends.

On the other hand, the physical space of the project itself became subject to involvement with the national imaginary, self-consciously helped along by the ESB Publicity Department. The public tours of the Scheme allowed it to be exhibited to a

large number of visitors, who could be impressed by the size and scale of the works. Importantly, the labour of men and machines became part of an expression of the technological sublime, where the visual expression of their labour became part of a leisure experience. The experience of the tourist is created by cultural conditions of modern society and it shaped the visual representation of the Shannon Scheme as surely as the labour of building it did. Although the ESB Publicity Department lead the way with the naturalisation of the Scheme as a great Irish project, they were supported by the existence of amateur photographers who included visits to the Scheme in their holiday snaps, and by the commercial companies inside and outside of Ireland who used it as an opportunity to sell postcards and cigarettes. The inclusion of the Siemens photographs of the Shannon Scheme into the everyday circulation of postcards and cigarette cards was legitimised by the production of a commemorative stamp in 1930, which reinforced the tourist's desire to keep a souvenir of their visit, but also to make official the Shannon Scheme's place in the pantheon of images worth collecting.

The role of visual representations in naturalising the Shannon Scheme among Irish people cannot be underestimated and it is particularly notable how images such as Scheuritzel's prints and the Siemens photographs unashamedly depict the Scheme within the context of German visual representation of the 1920s. They represent two different strands of aesthetic practice in 1920s Germany, both attempting to come to terms with the condition of modernity, but in radically different manners. The Siemens photographs take their cue from avant-garde universalist experiments in technique and form, whereas Scheuritzel was part of a group of artists who were depicting German *Technik* using the traditional techniques of German *Kultur*. In the context of Ireland, Keating, Atkinson and the ESB Publicity Department also worked through the conventions and codes of Irish visual representation, which had not yet really begun to engage with the ideas of aesthetic Modernism. Their audience was also much more attuned to essentialist depictions of the Irish landscape, as well as overtly symbolic strategies such as staged allegory or the symbols of the Neo-Celtic. The visual gymnastics which they work through in order not to contravene the usual codes and expectations of the Irish public are notable for their variety of style and symbolic content, as they attempted to reconcile the overtly technological and modernised spectacle with a visual language more concerned with the countryside and rural life. It is also notable that subsequent

official depictions of the Scheme moved towards a more overt accommodation with aesthetic Modernism, but only once the overall artistic dialogue about its merits had advanced much further in the country.<sup>1</sup>

The span of the visual representations from individual to official images is notable, ranging from personal, private holiday photographs to personal public images of professional artists such as Atkinson and Keating, as well as corporate images such as ESB advertisements, Siemens photographs and prints, to an official Governmental stamp. The wide variety of images circulating in Irish society would have reinforced the message of the importance of the Scheme, albeit with different emphases as to *why* it was important. It does demonstrate very clearly, though, that how an artefact is represented in the visual domain can change public perception of it very radically, in this case altering the view from a German engineering works to an Irish national project. The different types of images would also have reached different sections of Irish society, from the Dublin art establishment and the rare industrialist to the working-class smoker and reader of small provincial newspapers. This is most notable in the circulation of the Siemens industrial photographs, where the vast majority of the large number of images did not circulate outside the company and the ESB for decades. The images which did circulate were a carefully chosen subset of the photographs, chosen for their depiction of the size, scale and complexity of the Scheme, but emphasising the place of the technological sublime in Irish culture.

Several of the visual representations of the Shannon Scheme discussed in this thesis were created with the express purpose of memorialising the Scheme for future generations, as well as popularising it at the time. That such an unlikely Scheme was

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<sup>1</sup> For Gabriel Hayes' 1942 realist sculptural reliefs of Irish industry, which include a panel on the Shannon Scheme, see ROLFE, A. & R. RYAN. (1992) *The Department of Industry and Commerce Kildare Street Dublin*. Dublin: The Office of Public Works, pp. 26-35. Seán Keating's 1939 mural of the Shannon Scheme in Michael Scott's Modernist Irish Pavilion at the New York World's Fair is discussed in (1996) *Building on the Edge of Europe*. Dublin: Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland, pp. 48-49; MCMONAGLE, A. (1987) 'Sean Keating: The Man', *Sean Keating and the E.S.B.* Dublin: RHA Gallagher Gallery/ESB Touring Exhibitions Service, p. 10; ROWLEY, E. (2011) 'The Conditions of Architectural Modernism in Ireland, 1900-1970: Between Aspiration and Production', in JUNCOSA, E. & C. KENNEDY (eds.) *The Moderns: The Arts in Ireland from the 1900s to the 1970s*. Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art, pp. 442-43.

even considered, let alone finished in the first ten years of the new Free State, is a testament to the Cumann na nGaedheal government in their desire to develop and improve the country. It is also a testament to the often under-estimated imagination of the people of Ireland that they could find a place within their national mythology for a hydro-electric power station, demonstrating an awareness of the epochal and technological in the early years of the State. It is only in recent years again that this idea of a technological Ireland has become a possibility again, with 'the next industrial revolution' of digital technology being welcomed into Ireland for the most pragmatic of reasons. It is therefore important to challenge the purely teleological narrative of Irish national identity, given the recognition of multiple narratives, subjectivities and particularly modernities implicit in this possibility, as well as possibility of multiple meanings of technology in different national contexts. Rather than positing the Scheme as a natural phenomenon, as Campbell proposes, when taken overall these images propose a much subtler discourse about the possibility of a modernised, but not Modern Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

The use of ideas from the history of technology proved useful in the analysis of the Shannon Scheme and its representations in two ways. The first of these was the material covered by technology and engineering histories, which provided insights into the culture of German engineering and a possible model for an accommodation between the forces of *Technik* and *Kultur* in German culture, which provided an attractive model for the pragmatic Cumann na nGaedheal Government. The second is through use of ideas like interpretative flexibility and the principle of generalised symmetry, which underlie the structure of the thesis and its consideration of the representation of electrical technology in different media. The development of a mapping strategy for the representation of the ideas, objects and people or groups related to the Scheme proved to be very useful in thinking through the relationships which were instrumental in forming the Scheme, as well as its varied representations. This technique of structuring the research has allowed for a mapping of complexity in a manner which is not possible with a linear verbal narrative, which has added greatly to the development of a more nuanced

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<sup>2</sup> CAMPBELL, H. (1997) 'Irish Identity and the Architecture of the New State', in BECKER, A., J. OLLEY & W. WANG (eds.) *20th Century Architecture: Ireland*. Munich: Prestel, p. 85.

understanding of the issues concerned with the representation of the Scheme. The difference between *Technik* and *Technologie* also allowed a more flexible and nuanced understanding of the relationship of technology to Irish culture, particularly important in the consideration of the widespread introduction of a new ‘epochal’ technology into the state. It is also important in providing a broader view of the subject, past individual subject boundaries, which allowed a space for the interdisciplinary consideration of the main theme, that of technology in Irish culture.

The representation of technology in an Irish context is also an issue which could provide much material for further exploration, particularly with the Fianna Fáil domination of the political landscape from 1932 onwards. The cultural emphasis on tradition and rural life became even heavier under their administration, as did the role of the Catholic Church in the moral health of the nation. Both of these developments are particularly relevant to the increasing levels of modernisation in Irish society in the mid-century, especially the wide-spread introduction of labour-saving devices into the Irish home, an area heavily presented in terms of Catholic models of feminine domesticity. This area provides an opportunity for a development of the analysis of electrical technology in Ireland, past the introduction and familiarisation of the Shannon Scheme supply, which would engage debates about industrial design, gender and domesticity which have not been previously considered in an Irish context.

It is these issues of technology and modernisation and their relationship to Irish national identity which underpin this study, however, considering how Geertz’ formulation of essentialist and epochal movements can be balanced in a relationship which is not necessarily antagonistic, but forming a dialogue between two different expressions of tendencies within Irish culture. In some ways, it represents an example of ‘the invention of tradition’, where the epochal, the technological and the modernised were presented to the Irish public largely using existing strategies of representation, downplaying German involvement. The overall effect of the representation of the Shannon Scheme in the 1920s and early 1930s was as a step towards creating Pearse’s vision of a free and productive Ireland, which “...would

drain the bogs, would harness the rivers, would plant the wastes...”<sup>3</sup>, in a pragmatic effort to reimagine electrical technology as harnessing the very landscape to the effort of Irish nation-building.

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<sup>3</sup> PEARSE, P. H. (1922) 'From a Hermitage', *CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts*.  
<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E900007-005/text002.html> [Accessed: April 21 2011]

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## Note on Appendices

The Appendices include catalogues of primary visual material referenced in the text of this thesis, from a variety of sources. It also includes compiled lists of exhibited artwork representing the Shannon Scheme by Sean Keating and George Atkinson, as well as lists of newspaper clippings of advertisements and photographs of the Scheme. It also contains the transcripts of interviews with grand-children of people associated with the Scheme. The Appendices appear in the order in which the material is referenced in the text.

Appendix D includes a catalogue of the Siemens industrial photographs taken at the Shannon Scheme site between March 1926 and January 1930, including photographs from both the ESB Archive in Dublin and the Siemens Archive in Munich. The majority of these photographs are dated and numbered on the bottom right corner, although a small number are lacking either. The catalogue notes whether each photograph is held in the ESB archive by box and folder name, as well as the Siemens album and page number, the German title in the Siemens albums and the English translation, as well as any English label on photographs in the ESB Archive, including original punctuation. Some numbers actually refer to a 2 or 3 photograph panorama and these are noted as such.

## Appendix A - Timeline of Events

Year	Date	Political Event	Shannon Scheme Project Event	Artistic Event
1916	April 24 -30	Easter Rising, Dublin		
1917				Sean Keating paints 'Men of the West'
1918	Summer			George Atkinson becomes headmaster of the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art
	December 14	UK General Election (Sinn Féin take 75 of 105 Irish seats)		
1919	January 21	Declaration of Irish Independence, formation of the 1st Dáil by Sinn Féin and the start of the War of Independence against British rule		
	Autumn			Sean Keating starts teaching at the Dublin Metropolitan School of Art
1921	May 24	UK General Election in Southern Ireland (Sinn Féin take 124 of 128 Irish seats and use the election as the basis for the 2 <sup>nd</sup> Dáil)		
1921	July	War of Independence ends		
1921	December 6	Anglo-Irish Treaty signed in London		
1922	June 16	Irish General Election Pro-Treaty Sinn Féin forms Irish Provisional Government (3 <sup>rd</sup> Dáil)		
	June 28	Civil War starts between pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty forces		

Year	Date	Political Event	Shannon Scheme Project Event	Artistic Event
1922	December 6	Formation of the Oireachtas (parliament) of the Irish Free State, boycotted by anti-Treaty forces (Fianna Fáil)		
	December		Irish engineer Thomas McLaughlin moves to Germany to work for Siemens	
				Sean Keating paints 'An Allegory'
1923	April 23	Cumann na nGaedheal party formed from pro-Treaty Sinn Féin		
	May 24	Civil War ends		
	May			George Atkinson exhibits designs for the Leinster Lawn Cenotaph commemorating Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith in the RHA annual exhibition (last work exhibited until 1927)
	August 27	General Election Cumann na nGaedheal reforms government (4 <sup>th</sup> Dáil)		
	Summer?		Thomas McGilligan works out a proposal for the electrification of the Shannon	
	November		Thomas McGilligan proposes the Shannon Scheme to Patrick McGilligan	
1923-24	December - February		McGilligan and Siemens meet with Cosgrave, Blythe and other Free State Government Ministers	

Year	Date	Political Event	Shannon Scheme Project Event	Artistic Event
1924	April 4	Patrick McGilligan becomes Minister for Industry and Commerce		
	March 7	White Paper on the Shannon Scheme issued		
	August			Tailteann Art Competition in Dublin organised by George Atkinson
	September 1	Deadline for Siemens proposal for the electrification of the Shannon river		
	October-December	Swiss and Scandinavian Experts researching the feasibility of the Siemens proposal for the electrification of the Shannon river		
1925				Anton Scheuritzel starts to produce industrial landscapes for Siemens
	March 18	Findings of the Experts' Report on the Shannon Scheme published		
	May 1	Shannon Electricity Act, 1925 passed by the Oireachtas		
	August 13	Contract between the Irish Government and Siemens signed		
	August	Creation of the Shannon Power Development Board of Control		
	August		Preliminary work begins in Ardnacrusha	
	September		Start of labour strike at Ardnacrusha	
	December		End of labour strike at Ardnacrusha	
1926	March 22			First Siemens industrial photograph taken
	Summer			Sean Keating spends two weeks painting on the Scheme
	Summer?			George Atkinson visits the Shannon Scheme
1927	April			George Atkinson exhibits <i>Shannon Scheme - Keeper Mountain</i>
	May			George Atkinson visits the Shannon Scheme
	May 28	Electricity (Supply) Act, 1927 passed by the Oireachtas		

Year	Date	Political Event	Shannon Scheme Project Event	Artistic Event
1927	Late May			Sean Keating exhibits 3 paintings and 3 drawings of the Shannon Scheme in the RHA annual exhibition
	June 9	General election Cumann na nGaedheal reforms government (5 <sup>th</sup> Dáil)		
	Summer			Sean Keating returns for a second visit to the Shannon Scheme
	July 10	Minister for Justice, Kevin O'Higgins, assassinated by the IRA		
	August 11		Formation of the Electricity Supply Board from the Shannon Power Development Board of Control Thomas McLaughlin leaves Siemens to join the ESB Board	
	August	Fianna Fáil enter the Dáil		
	September		Appointment of Edward Lawler as Publicity Relations Officer of the ESB and creation of the ESB Publicity Department	
	September 15	General election Cumann na nGaedheal reforms the government (6 <sup>th</sup> Dáil)		
1928	March 19	Conference between Siemens and the Irish Government to discuss delays and a six-month extension of the construction timetable for the Shannon Scheme		
	May			T.C. Carroll produce the first set of Shannon Scheme postcards, based on Siemens photographs

Year	Date	Political Event	Shannon Scheme Project Event	Artistic Event
1928	Late May			Sean Keating exhibits three drawings of the Shannon Scheme in the RHA annual exhibition
	June		ESB Guide Bureau set up to facilitate tours of the Shannon works	Initial ESB newspaper advertisements published in <i>The Irish Times</i> and other Irish national and provincial newspapers
	July-August			Anton Scheuritzel working on lithographs of the Shannon Scheme for Siemens
	August			Tailteann Art Competition
	September 1			Start of ESB newspaper advertising campaign proper
1929	April		Installation of turbines in the Shannon Scheme	Anton Scheuritzel working on lithographs of the Shannon Scheme for Siemens
	June			T.C. Carroll produce their second series of Shannon Scheme postcards, based on Siemens photographs
	July 29		Official opening of Ardnacrusha Power Station	
	September-December			Anton Scheuritzel working on lithographs of the Shannon Scheme for Siemens
	October 21	The Shannon Works Transfer (No. 5) Order, 1929, hands over the Shannon Scheme to the Electricity Supply Board		
1930	January 31		Last Siemens industrial photograph taken	
	October 15			Shannon Scheme commemorative stamp issued



Year	Date	Political Event	Shannon Scheme Project Event	Artistic Event
1930				Commercial companies such as Valentine of Dundee; Eason & Sons and Mason of Dublin start to produce picture postcards of the Shannon Scheme
				Cigarette cards based on Siemens photographs produced by W.D. & H.O. Wills
	May 14		Thomas McLaughlin resigns from the ESB over the ESB accounting system	
1932	February 16	General election Fianna Fáil forms government (7 <sup>th</sup> Dáil)		
1933	September 3	Formation of Fine Gael party from Cumann na nGaedhael, National Centre Party and the National Guard		

## Appendix B - Newspaper photographs from Siemens Archive File 4068: German Newspapers

Photo Number	Date printed	Newspaper	Article Title	Article or Photo	Siemens Photo No.	Date Taken
A	March 14 1929	<i>Rheinische-Westfälische Zeitung</i> [ <i>Rhine Westfalung Newspaper</i> ]	'Gesamtansicht des Shannon-Kraftwerkes, Irland' [Overall View of the Shannon Power Station, Ireland]	Article	1108	November 6 1928
A	March 14 1929	<i>Spandauer Zeitung</i> [ <i>Spandau Newspaper</i> ]	'Ein Werk deutscher Tatkraft' [A Work of German Energy]	Article		
A	March 6 1929	<i>Hamburger Fremdenblatt</i>	'Ein Großwerk deutscher Technik im Ausland' [A Large German Technical Work Abroad]	Photo		
A	March 17 1929	<i>Die Woche im Bild</i> [ <i>The Week in Pictures</i> ]	'Das Shannon-Kraftwerk' [The Shannon Power Station]	Photo		
A	March 14 1929	<i>Berliner Morgenpost</i> [ <i>Berlin Morning Post</i> ]	'Deutsche Arbeit in Irland' [German Work in Ireland]	Photo		
A	n.d.	<i>Die Woche im Bild</i> [ <i>The Week in Pictures</i> ]	'Das Shannon-Kraftwerk' [The Shannon Power Station]	Photo		
B	March 24 1929	<i>Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung</i> [ <i>German General Newspaper</i> ]	'Das deutsche Ingenieurwerk in Irland' [The German Engineering Work in Ireland]	Photo	1010	November 7 1928
A	1929	<i>Das Leben im Bild</i> [ <i>Life in Pictures</i> ]	'Das Shannon-Kraftwerk' [The Shannon Power Station]	Photo		
A	March 26 1929	<i>Deutsche Illustrierte</i> [ <i>German Illustrated</i> ]	'Eine Großtat deutscher Technik' [A Great German Technical Act]	Photo		
A	March 24 1929	<i>Fortschritte der Technik</i> [ <i>Progress of Technology</i> ]	'Gesamtansicht des Shannon-Kraftwerkes, Irland' [Overall View of the Shannon Power Station, Ireland]	Article		

Photo Number	Date printed	Newspaper	Article Title	Article or Photo	Siemens Photo No.	Date Taken
C	March 1929	<i>Magazin für Mode, Heim und Welt [Fashion, Home and World Magazine]</i>	'John Bull's andere Insel' [John Bull's Other Island]	article	1009	November 7 1928
D	March 23 1929	<i>Hallescher Kurier [Halle Courier]</i>	'Das Riesenwerk deutscher Technik in Irland vor der Bollendung' [The Giant Work of German Technology in Ireland before Completion]	Photo	1059	December 12 1928
E	March 16 1929	<i>Steglitzer Anzeiger [Steglitz Gazette]</i>	'Deutsche Techniker bauen irishes Großkraftwerk' [German Technology builds Irish Power Station]	Photo	1046	November 27 1928
B	March 24 1929	<i>H. A. Illustrierte Zeitung [H. A. Illustrated Newspaper]</i>	'Deutsche Arbeit in Irland' [German Work in Ireland]	Photo		
B	April 13 1929	<i>Danziger Neueste Nachrichten [Danzig's Newest News]</i>	'Deutsche Technik in Irland' [German Technology in Ireland]	Photo		
E	March 21 1929	<i>Stuttgarter Neues Tageblatt [Stuttgart's Newest Daily]</i>	'Deutsche Arbeit in Irland' [German Work in Ireland]	Photo		
G	March 1929	<i>Berliner Tageblatt [Berlin Daily]</i>	'Das Shannon-Wasserkraftwerk in Irland im Bau' [The Shannon Hydro Power Station Under Construction In Ireland]	Photo	1122	March 11 1929
B	April 13 1929	<i>12 Uhr Mittagsblatt [12 O'Clock Midday News]</i>	(no caption)	Photo		
H	May 15 1929	<i>Volksblatt [People's Paper]</i>	'Das Shannon-Kraftwerk in Irland' [The Shannon Power Station in Ireland]	Photo	1151	March 13 1929
B	May 8 1929	<i>Münsterische Zeitung [Munster Newspaper]</i>	'Deutsche Technik in Irland' [German Technology in Ireland]	Photo		

## Appendix C- Siemens Industrial Photographs

From ESB Archive Ardnacrusha boxes 2, 4, 6, 7 and Siemens Archive photograph albums A700, A701, A702, A703, A704 and A705

### A-series photographs

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A1	1.12.28	-	(part of turbine on truck passing through Limerick at night)	2, 4	Loose	-	-	-
A2	19.12.28	-	(part of turbine on truck passing through Limerick)	2, 4	Loose	-	-	-
A4	19.1.29	-	(assembling turbine centres)	5	Turbine	-	-	-
A5	7.2.29	-	(assembling turbine centres)	-	-	-	-	-
CA5	23.7.29	Verteilerrohre für die Ölkühleranlage eines 30000 kVA-Transformators	Distribution pipes for the oil cooler system of a 30000 kVA transformer	-	-	-	A704	102
CA6	no date	Kabelverbindungen für die Sicherungsanlagen der Turbinen.	Cable connections for safety systems of the turbines.	-	-	-	A704	105
A8	8.2.29	-	(turbine hall without turbines)	5	Turbine	-	-	-
A9	no date	-	(man standing beside turbine wheel)	5	Turbine	-	-	-
A10	8.2.29	-	(bus-bar room)	5	Control	-	-	-
A11	11.2.29	-	(man in on turbine base)	5	Turbine	-	-	-
A12	11.2.29	-	(partitions)	5	Control	-	-	-
A13	11.2.29	-	(switching gear?)	5	Control	-	-	-
A14	14.2.29	-	(big vertical tanks)	5	Turbine	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A16	14.2.29	-	(dark corridor with control wheels)	5	Control	1113 (SSW)	A704	58
A17	14.2.29	-	(men in workshop with wrapped up pedastel drill)	5	Turbine	1114 (SSW)	A704	58
A20	no date	-	(men standing in turbine pit and looking up at camera)	5	Turbine	-	-	-
A22	13.3.29	-	(working on control room)	5	Control	-	-	-
A23	13.3.29	-	(man in among racks)	2	Loose	-	-	-
A24	13.3.29	-	(man grinning among pylons and big outdoor cabinet)	5	110/38	-	A704	55
A25	13.3.29	-	(three men down in turbine pit)	5	Turbine	no number	A704	47
A27	13.3.29	-	(two men standing inside turbine)	5	Turbine	-	-	-
A31	24.7.29	-	(men both inside and outside of circular enclosure)	5	Turbine	-	A704	50
A32	19.3.29	-	(corridor being built)	5	Control	-	-	-
A33	19.3.29	-	(high hall being built)	5	Control	-	-	-
A35	19.3.29	-	(long hall under construction)	5	Turbine	-	-	-
A37	19.3.29	-	(wooden scaffolding with man)	5	Civil	-	-	-
A38	19.3.29	-	(side of building being built)	1	MMC	-	-	-
A41	9.4.29	-	(man sitting on top of turbine legs)	5	Turbine	-	A704	53
A44	9.4.29	-	(more equipment embedded in bays)	5	Control	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A45	9.4.29	-	(switching gear?)	5	Control	-	-	-
A46	9.4.29	-	(engine in long hall)	5	Turbine	-	-	-
A47	9.4.29	-	(engine in end of long hall)	5	Turbine	-	-	-
A48	9.4.29	-	(lift moving two drums up slope)	5	Civil	-	-	-
A49	9.4.29	-	(lift moving two drums up slope)	5	Civil	-	-	-
A50	9.4.29	-	(man standing under metal cross-structure)	5	Civil	-	A704	56
A51	10.4.29	-	(view of rear of station from right bank)	5	Civil	-	-	-
A52	10.4.29	-	(concrete shuttering at rear of station)	5	Civil	-	-	-
A53	10.4.29	-	(concrete shuttering at rear of station)	5	Civil	1114	-	-
A55	1.12.29	-	(part of turbine on truck passing through Limerick)	2	Loose	1051	-	-
A56	31.12.29	-	(outdoor frameworks)	4	110/38	1071	-	-
A57	9.1.29	-	(construction of control rom with glass ceiling?)	5	Control	1079	-	-
A60	18.4.29	-	(early construction of power house)	1	MMC	-	-	-
A63	7.5.29	-	Navigation Lock-view from Head Race	5,6	Civil, Album #2	-	-	-
A64	7.5.29	-	Intake building with navigation lock, painting screen and clearing rubbish before filling head race	5,6	Civil, Album #2	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A65	7.5.29		Navigation lock with waste channel and openings for turbines IV-VI, as seen from island in the tail race	6	Album #2	-	-	-
A66	7.5.29	-	Outlet from the waste channel	1,6	MMC, Album #2	-	-	-
A67	8.5.29	-	Hoisting machines 3-1 for main sluice gates in the Intake Building	5,6	Turbine, Album #2	1181	-	-
A68	8.5.29	-	View of Intake Building with penstocks I-III and pipe-line for auxiliary turbine, seen from main entrance to the Power Station	1,6	MMC, Album #2	-	-	-
A69	8.5.29	-	Spiral casing of a 36000 turbine	5,6	Album #2	-	-	-
A70	8.5.29	-	Speed ring of spiral casing and guide vanes of Turbine II	5,6	Civil, Album #2	-	-	-
A71	8.5.29	-	Guide vanes and runner of Turbine II seen from spiral casing	5,6	Civil, Turbine, Album #2	-	-	-
A72	8.5.29	-	Busbars in the 10-kV Switch Plant	5,6	Control, Album #2	-	-	-
A73	9.5.29	-	View of Generator hall from the staircase	5,6	Turbine, Album #2	-	-	-
A74	9.5.29	-	Coarse screen for waste channel	5,6	Civil, Album #2	1184	-	-
A75	9.5.29	-	Sector sluice gate for emergency lock in Intake opening	6	Album #2	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A76	20.5.29	-	Intake building ready for filling of the head race	6	Album #2	-	-	-
A77	20.5.29	-	Intake building with screens erected ready for filling of head race	6	Album #2	-	-	-
A78	21.5.29	-	Main control room during erection	5,6	Control, Album #2	-	-	-
A79	20.5.29	-	Intake building with screens erected ready for filling of head race	5,6	Civil, Album #2	1188	-	-
A80	21.5.29	-	Draught tubes of turbine II seen from the Tail Race	5,6	Civil, Album #2	-	-	-
A81	21.5.29	-	Draught tubes with streamlines walls	5,6	Civil, Album #2	-	-	-
A82	21.5.29	-	Draught tubes with streamlines walls	6	Album #2	-	-	-
A83	21.5.29	-	Beginning to fill the headrace	6	Album #2	-	-	-
A84	23.5.29	-	Preparing to bring completed Rotor into Stator	5,6	Turbine, Album #2	1196	-	-
A85	23.5.29	-	Transporting Rotor II from erection site to Generator Pit	6	Album #2	-	-	-
A86	23.5.29	-	Moving Rotor II into Stator by means of two 100-ton cranes connected	6	Album #2	-	-	-
A87	23.5.29	-	Stator and Rotor II	5,6	Turbine, Album #2	-	-	-



Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A88	23.5.29	-	View of the building site at Ardnacrusha, seen from the Tail Race	6,7	Album #2, Black	-	-	-
A89	14.5.29	Limerick Ambria Nabenstern für 30000 kV 36 Tonnen (Neg. SSW)	Rotor section on board S. S. Ambria on arrival at the Limerick docks	2, 4,6	Loose, Loose, Album #2	-	A700	20
A90	14.5.29	-	Unloading the 35 to. Rotor section from the Ambria on to trailer by means of the 100 h.p. Daimler winch	6	Album #2	-	-	-
A91	1.10.28	-	Investigating at Mathew Bridge to calculate the carrying capacity	2, 4,6	Loose, Loose, Album #2	-	-	-
A92	1.10.28	-	Measurements at Thomond Bridge in connection with the transport of heavy parts	2, 4,6	Loose, Loose, Album #2	-	-	-
A93	15.10.28	-	Measurements at Ballsbridge, Limerick in connection with the transport of the heavy parts	2, 4,6	Loose, Loose, Album #2	-	-	-
A94	6.6.29	-	Canal Intake Building near O'Brien's Bridge, as seen from Head Race. All sluice gates ready in position	6	Album #2	-	-	-
A95	6.6.29	-	Sluice Gate for navigation opening at Canal lock	5,6	Civil, Album #2	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A96	6.6.29	-	Bottom Outlets V und VI at Weir with upper buildings for hoisting machinery, seen from downstream side	1,6	MMC, Album #2	-	-	-
A97	6.6.29	-	Painting the 8000 kVA Transformer for the 38 kV - Station	6	Album #2	-	-	-
A98	15.6.29	-	Transporting Rotor III in order to tilt it into the vertical position	5,6	Turbine, Album #2	-	-	-
A99	15.6.29	-	Wooden pile erection to support one edge of the Rotor	6	Album #2	-	-	-
A100	15.6.29	-	Tilting the Rotor after having supported one edge by means of the wooden pile on the ground floor	5,6	Turbine, Album #2	-	-	-
A101	15.6.29	-	Rotor having been tilted into the vertical position	5,6	Turbine, Album #2	-	-	-
A102	22.6.29	Herstellen von Betonplatten zum Abdecken der Kabelkanäle (im ganzen mussten 4500 Platten hergestellt werden.)	Switch desk in main control room with drives for tension regulation (Manufacture of concrete slabs for covering the cable channels (in all 4500 boards had to be made.)	6	Album #2	-	A704	104
A103	23.6.29	-	Penstock III gets the last coat of Bitumastic and is ready for use	6	Album #2	-	-	-
A104	29.6.29	-	Generator I completely erected	6	Album #2	-	A704	96
A105	25.6.29	-	Intake building at Ardnacrusha after the head race has been filled with 3 m of water	5,6	Civil, Album #2	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A106	4.7.29	-	Cable floor in power station - cables being secured	5,6	Control, Album #2	-	A704	95
A107	4.7.29	-	380 V Plant for own demand - erection complete	5,6	Control, Album #2	-	A704	94
A108	4.7.29	-	Switch boards for own demand, painting the iron construction behind the panels	5,6	Control, Album #2	-	A704	95
A109	4.7.29	-	Switch plant for 220V direct current	5,6	Control, Album #2	-	A704	93
A110	4.7.29	-	10 kV-Switch house, main gangway at the magnet drives	5,6	Control, Album #2	-	A704	92
A111	4.7.29	-	10 kV-Oil Switch and switch gear during erection	5,6	Control, Album #2	-	A704	91
A112	4.7.29	-	Bus-bar room in 38kV House - erection complete	5,6,7	Control, Album #2, Black	-	A704	91
A113	4.7.29	-	Gangway in the 38kV-House; solenoid magnet drives for oil switches, hand drives for disconnecting links, cable ceiling, boxes and terminals	5,6	Control, Album #2	-	A704	92
A114	11.7.29	Transport eines 38kV-Transformators durch den Schrägaufzug.	Transport of 38.5 kV transformer by means of elevator (Transport of a 38kV transformer by the inclined elevator)	5,6	110/38, Album #3	-	A704	103

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A115	11.7.29	Transport eines 100kV-Transformators mit den Schrägaufzug.	Inclined elevator loaded with the 8000 KVA Transformer (Transport of a 100kV transformer with the inclined elevator)	5, 6	Civil, Album #3	-	A704	103
A116	16.7.29	Tor des Schleusensenerhauptes von der oberen Schleusenkammer aus gesehen	Erection of upper gate of navigation lock (Upper sluice gate seen from the upper lock chamber)	6	Album #3	-	A704	101
A117	16.7.29	Tor des Schleusenoberhauptes und Dammbalken von Oberwasser gesehen	Front of sluice gate of upper navigation lock, showing the dam beam (Upper sluice gate and dam beam seen from the head race)	5,6	Turbine, Album #3	-	A704	102
A118	11.7.29	Kabelkanal für Steuer- und Signalkabel zur 110kV Freiluftstation	Cable channel for control and signal cables for the 110kV outdoor station	5,6	Civil, Album #3	-	A704	107
A119	23.7.29	Abdeckung der Kabel zur Freiluftstation mit Sand- und Betonplatten.	Covering the cable channel to the outdoor station with sand and concrete slabs	2, 6	loose, Album #3	-	A704	108
A120	23.7.29	Aufstellen des letztes Mastes für die 38kV-Freileitung mit Hilfe des Kabelkranes.	Setting up of the last pylon for the 38 kV transmission line using the cable crane.	6	Album #3	-	A704	109
A121	23.7.29	Der letzte Mast der 38kV-Freileitung nach Waterford und Tralee wurde mithilfe des Kabelkranes aufgestellt.	The last pylon of 38kV transmission line to Waterford and Tralee which was prepared using the cable crane.	6	Album #3	-	A704	110

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A122	24.7.29	Der fertige Stator Nr.III vor den Einbringen des Ankers	Stator of Gen III ready to receive the runner (The completed stator Nr.III before the introduction of the armature)	5,6	Turbine, Album #3	-	A704	105
A123	24.7.29	-	Moving in Rotor III into Stator	5,6	Negative, Album #3	-	A704	108
A124	24.7.29	Montage des Generators Nr. III, Einsetzen des Ankers	Moving in Rotor III into Stator (Installation of generator No. III, insertion of the armature)	6	Album #3	-	A704	106
A125	24.7.29	Montage des Generators Nr. III, Einsetzen des Ankers	Moving in Rotor III into Stator (Installation of generator No. III, insertion of the armature)	6	Album #3	-	A704	106
A126	24.7.29	Montage des Generators Nr. III, Einsetzen des Ankers	Moving in Rotor III into Stator (Installation of generator No. III, insertion of the armature)	5,6	Turbine, Album #3	-	A704	107
A127	2.8.29	-	View of the intake building near Parteen Villa, after the filling of the head race had begun	6	Album #3	-	-	-
A128	24.7.29	Montage des Generators Nr. III, Einsetzen des Ankers	Moving in Rotor III into Stator (Installation of generator No. III, insertion of the armature)			-	A704	108
A128	2.8.29	-	Intake building seen from the right bank of the Shannon	5, 5, 6,6	Negative, Civil, Red, Album #3	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A129	2.8.29	-	Bottom outlets V and VI at weir after damming of the Shannon had begun	5, 6	Civil, Album #3	-	-	-
A130	2.8.29	-	Hoisting machinery for gates of bottom outlets V and VI at Weir	5,6	Turbine, Album #3	-	-	-
A131	24.7.29	Welle des Ankers Nr. III an dem Querträger der 200 to-Kräne aufgehängt.	Shaft of the rotor No. III suspended on the crossbeam of the 200 tonne crane	5,5	Turbine, Album #3	-	A704	104
A132	9.8.29	-	View from Intake Building on to Tailrace showing drilling machines for Cofferdam foundation for Full Development	6	Album #3	-	-	-
A133	15.8.29	-	Weir and Intake Building, as seen from the Shannon	2, 4, 6	Loose, Loose, Album #3	-	-	-
A134	15.8.29	-	Weir at Parteen Villa, downstream side while erecting Weir opening II	6	Album #3	-	-	-
A135	21.8.29	Windenhäuser am Wehr über Grundablass 5 und 6	Winch house on the weir over the bottom outlets 5 and 6	5	Turbine	-	A702	144
A135	21.8.29	-	Middle head of Navigation Lock during erection of Sluice Gate	6	Album #3	-	-	-
A136	26.8.29	-	Waste Channel at Ardnacrusha, partly opened for filling of Tailrace	6	Album #3	-	-	-
A137	26.8.29	-	Waste Channel at Ardnacrusha	5,6	Civil, Album #3	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A138	26.8.29	-	Draught tubes of the Power Station before the filling of the Tailrace	6	Album #3	-	-	-
A139	2.9.29	-	View of the Generator Hall with generator I, II and III completed	6	Album #3	-	-	-
A140	7.9.29	-	Channels for low tension cables with clips for 4 low tension cables in the office walls	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	A705	3
A141	7.9.29	-	Cable floor in the Power House underneath the Control room.	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	A705	8
A142	7.9.29	-	Branches of steering cables for the Generators	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	A705	4
A143	7.9.29	-	Cable channel in the wall of the 10 KV-House for high tension cables leading to the 38 KV-Station.	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	A705	5
A144	7.9.29	-	Cable sealing boxes coming from house transformers into own demand plant	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	A705	2
A145	9.9.29	-	19 KV-cables and sealing boxes of Gen. II in the 10 KV-House.	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	A705	7
A146	9.9.29	-	Low tension cables for disturbance protection of Gen. II in the Power House.	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	A705	6

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A147	9.9.29	-	Low tension cables for Gen. I (on the left side) and steering cables for Gen. I, II and III (on the right side).	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	A705	4
A148	11.9.29	-	Inclined elevator lifting 110 kV-Oil-switch	5,6	110/38, Album #3	-	-	-
A149	3.10.29	-	110 KV-Outdoor station, as seen from the transmission lines	6	Album #3	-	A705	6
A150	4.10.29	-	Propellers for water measuring in Penstock II	5,6	Intakes, Album #3	-	A704	112
A151	4.10.29	-	View of complete Power Station Ardnacrusha tailrace side	5,6	Civil, Album #3	-	-	-
A152	4.10.29	-	110 kV-Outdoor Station Ardnacrusha, facing the main entrance	5,6	110/38, Album #3	-	-	-
A153	4.10.29	-	110 KV-Disconnecting links during operation	6	Album #3	-	A705	8
A154	4.10.29	-	110 kV-Cell for overhead line to Cork	6	Album #3	-	-	-
A155	4.10.29	-	110 kV Oil switches with Solenoid Magnet drives at Ardnacrusha	4, 6	loose, Album #3	-	-	-
A156	4.10.29	-	Extinguishing transformers with regulating coils for 110 kV transformer	5, 6, 6, 7	Control, Album #3, Red, Black	-	-	-
A157	5.10.29	-	Switch house and extinguishing device at Ardnacrusha	5,6	110/38, Album #3	-	-	-



Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A158	4.10.29	-	110 KV-Outdoor station Ardnacrusha as seen from the cable crane.	5,6,7	110/38, Album #3, Black	-	A705	7
A159	4.10.29	-	10 KV-Cell of Gen. II with current transformers, oil switch and disconnecting links	6	Album #3	-	A705	2
A160	4.10.29	-	10 KV-Cell of 800 KVA House tranformer I	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	A705	3
A161	8.11.29	-	Cable box and fuse arrangement for heating and lighting in the stair case (partly temporary connections)	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	-	-
A162	5.10.29	-	38 kV-Switch house with 8000 KVA Transformers at Ardnacrusha	6	Album #3	-	-	-
A163	5.10.29	(Photo missing)	Navigation Lock and waste channel complete, as seen from tailrace	5,6	Civil, Album #3	-	A705	15
A164	5.10.29	-	Navigation Lock at Ardnacrusha. Complete View	6	Album #3	-	-	-
A165	5.10.29	-	Intake Building with upper head of navigation lock, front view of headrace	5,6	Civil, Album #3	-	-	-
A166	5.10.29	-	Voith Turbine II. View from governor gangway	5,6	Turbine, Album #3	-	-	-
A167	6.10.29	-	10 kV-Busbars	6	Album #3	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A168	6.10.29	-	Operating floor in 10 kV-House with magnet drives for oil switches	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	-	-
A169	6.10.29	-	Steering and driving device of 30000 KVA Transformer I	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	-	-
A170	6.10.29	-	Gangway at the 10 kV-potential transformers	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	-	-
A171	15.10.29	-	Earthing arrangement for testing the 110 kV-extinguishing transformer. Short circuit over high tension insulators by means of 0,2mm wire	5,6	110/38, Album #3	-	-	-
A172	15.10.29	-	Earthing wire burned off & immediately extinguished by the transformer	5,6	110/38, Album #3	-	-	-
A173	15.10.29	-	Earthing test with 60 Amp. without extinguishing transformer, operating with one overhead line to Dublin	6,7	Album #3, Black	-	-	-
A174	15.10.29	-	Earthing test with 60 Amp. current without extinguishing transformer	5,6,7	110/38, Album #3, Black	-	-	-
A175	4.11.29	-	Staircase and lift of Power Station, Ardnacrusha as seen from the Generator Room	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	-	-
A176	4.11.29	-	Ground station of lift, level 8	5,6	Turbine, Album #3	-	A705	11

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A177	4.11.29	-	Top station of lift, level 27,75 - Main Control Room	5,6	Turbine, Album #3	-	A705	16
A178	4.11.29	-	3 ton lift at power Station, ardnacrusha carrying 32 persons	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	-	-
A179	8.11.29	-	Switch Board for telephone batteries and charging converters	5,6	Control, Album #3	-	-	-
A180	8.11.29	-	Erection of the last pol of 38-kV line Ennis and Nenagh	5,6	110/38, Album #3	-	-	-
A181	7.11.29	-	Front of 38 kV-House with 8000 KVA and Extinguishing Transformers	6	Album #3	-	-	-
A182	7.11.29	-	Main control room of Power Station Ard. during the operation	6	Album #3	-	-	-
A183	15.11.29	-	Alarm switch desk and 380 V switch board in the Control Room of Power Station	6	Album #3	-	-	-
A184	11.12.29	-	Power Station at Ardnacrusha, as seen from Tail Race side	2, 5	Album #4, 110/38	-	-	-
A185	11.12.29	-	Power House, Waste Channel and Navigation Lock, as seen from 110 kV Outdoor Station	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A186	11.12.29	-	Lower head of Navigation Lock	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A187	11.12.29	-	Waste Channel and Navigation Lock as seen from island in the Tail Race	2, 5	Album #4, Civil	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A188	19.12.29	-	Turbine runner Nr. 1 during road transport from Limerick to Long-pavement	2, 4	Album #4, Loose	-	-	-
A189	22.11.29	-	Front of 38 kV Station at Ardnacrusha	2, 5	Album #4, Turbine	-	-	-
A190	14.12.29	-	Engine House at Ardnacrusha, as seen from Control Room	2, 5, 5	Album #4, Negative, Turbine	-	-	-
A191	14.12.29	-	Generator room, as seen from Superintendent's office	2, 5,7	Album #4, Turbine, Black	-	-	-
A192	14.12.29	-	30000 KVA Generators, as seen from engine house entrance	2, 5	Album #4, Turbine	-	-	-
A193	14.12.29	-	View of generators from gable wall near Generator 111	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A194	14.12.29	-	View of generators facing windows	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A195	16.12.30	-	View of complete Power House from Tail Race Channel of Navigation Lock	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A196i	16.12.30	-	Complete View of Power Station - Tail Race side (2-piece panorama)	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A197	16.12.30	-	Complete View of Power Station - Tail Race side (2-piece panorama)	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A198	16.12.30	-	Ardnacrusha Building Site (3-piece panorama)	2, 5	Album #4, Civil	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A199	16.12.30	-	Ardnacrusha Building Site (3-piece panorama)	2, 5	Album #4, Civil	-	-	-
A200	16.12.30	-	Ardnacrusha Building Site (3-piece panorama)	2, 5	Album #4, Civil	-	-	-
A201	18.12.29	-	Dam beams at lower head of Navigation Lock	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A202	18.12.29	-	Lower head of navigation lock before putting into operation	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A203	18.12.29	-	ditto during cleaning up of lock. View of the middle head	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A204	18.12.29	-	Middle head seen from the upper head	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A205	18.12.29	-	Last plastering work on upper head before putting into operation	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A206	18.12.29	-	First motor boat passing navigation lock	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A207	22.12.29	-	Hoisting machinery for the upper gate	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A208	19.12.29	-	Hoisting machinery for the lower gate	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A209	22.12.29	-	Front view of upper head/Upper head of navigation lock	2, 6	Album #4, Red	-	-	-
A210	22.12.29	-	Bottom outlet and navigation lock, as seen from the tail race, during operation of lower lock	2	Album #4	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A211	20.12.29	-	Canal intake building, as seen from head race	2, 5, 6	Album #4, Civil, Red	-	-	-
A212	20.12.29	-	Complete weir at Parteen Villa, downstream side	1?, 2	Negative, Album #4	-	-	-
A213	20.12.29	-	Operation bridge and gate of the canal intake	2, 6	Album #4, Red	-	-	-
A214	20.12.29	-	Sluice gate I of the weir in upper position	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A215	20.12.29	-	Projection of bottom outlet gates	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A216	20.12.29	-	Weir gate I in operation	2, 5, 6	Album #4, Civil, Red	-	-	-
A217	20.12.29	-	View from canal platrom of weir onto storage place for dam beams	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A218i	22.12.29	-	Total view of Power House, Intake Building, Head Race and Tail Race at Ardnacrusha (seen from the cable crane) (2-part panorama)	2, 5	Album #4, Civil	-	-	-
A219ii	22.12.29	-	Total view of Power House, Intake Building, Head Race and Tail Race at Ardnacrusha (seen from the cable crane) (2-part panorama)	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A220	22.12.29	-	Navigation lock and intake building, as seen from the head race	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A221	22.12.29	-	Barracks and huts at Ardnacrusha (as seen from the upper head navigation lock)	2	Album #4	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A222	22.12.29	-	Intake building and navigation lock (as seen from left bank)	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A223	22.12.29	-	View of intake building with penstocks and complete navigation lock, from the left bank	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A224	23.12.29	-	Power station with 10 kV house and penstocks (as seen from middle head of navigation locks)	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A225	23.12.29	-	View from upper head, navigation lock over roof of intake building on to power house and building site	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A226	23.12.29	-	Head race with intake building and navigation lock, as seen from the right bank	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A227	24.12.29	-	ditto from left bank	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A228	15.11.29	-	Head race with new bridge near O'Brien's Bridge	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A229	15.11.29	-	Clonlara bridge with rock cut for canal	2, 6	Album #4, Red	-	-	-
A230	26.12.29	-	Head race with Blackwater bridge	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A231	26.12.29	-	The head race	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A232	26.12.29	-	Another part of head race	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A233	26.12.29	-	Total View of Intake Building and Weir	2	Album #4	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A234	30.12.29	-	Power House and Intake Building as seen from the island in the Tail race	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A235	30.12.29	-	Front of Power House, Tail race side	2,7	Album #4, Black	-	-	-
A236	31.12.29	-	Power Station Ardnacrusha as seen from the approaching road	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A237	31.12.29	-	View of penstocks and 10 kV-Switch House from main entrance of Power Station	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A238	30.12.29	-	Head race ending at Intake Building	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A239	30.12.29	-	Head race with Blackwater Bridge	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A240	6.1.30	-	110 kV line near Naas	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A241	6.1.30	-	Crossing Intermediate Pole at Killoe 110 kV line	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A242	6.1.30	-	110 kV Transposition Pole, near Naas	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A243	6.1.30	-	110 kV Transposition Pole, near Naas	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A244	6.1.30	-	110 kV Transposition Pole, near Naas	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A245	9.1.30	-	Trafo Station at Maryborough	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A246	9.1.30	-	Trafo Station at Maryborough	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A247	9.1.30	-	Trafo Station at Maryborough	2	Album #4	-	-	-



Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A248	6.1.30	-	Strain Structure for the 38 kV Line at outdoor Station, Inchicore	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A249	3.1.30	-	General View of 100/38 kV Outdoor Station Inchicore	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A250	3.1.30	-	General View of 100/38 kV Outdoor Station, Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A251	8.1.30	-	View of 110 kV Outdoor Station, Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A252	8.1.30	-	General View from above of 38 kV busbars, Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A253	8.1.30	-	General view of 38/100 kV Transformer Station, Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A254	4.1.30	-	38-kV Outdoor plant 110-kV Transformer Station Inchicore Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A255	6.1.30	-	38-kV Outdoor plant 110-kV Transformer Station Inchicore Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A256	4.1.30	-	100-kV Oil Switches and sham structure, 110 kV Transformer Station, Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A257	5.1.30	-	View of 100 kV/15000 kVA Transformers 110 kV Transformer Station, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A258	3.1.30	-	View of Cooling Plant for 100 kV/15000 kVA Transformer and Choking Coil for 100 kV Neutral Busbars, Transformer Station, Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A259	5.1.30	-	Cooling Plant for 15000 kVA Transformer 110 kV Transformer Station, Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A260	3.1.30	-	Arrangement of Condensors for High Frequency on 110 kV Line transformer Station, Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A261	3.1.30	-	Cable and sealing Boxes (Deutsche Kabelwerke) for 40 kVA Cable 110 kV Transformer Station, Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A262	8.1.30	-	100 kV Disconnecting Link 110 kV Transformer Stn. Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A263	4.1.30	-	Operating Room. Switchboards 110 kV Transformer Station, Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A264	7.1.30	-	Relay Boards 110 kV Transformer Station, Inchicore Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A265	7.1.30	-	Cell-switch 110 kV Transformer Station, Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A266	7.1.30	-	View of Main Battery 110 kV Transformer Station Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A267	7.1.30	-	Main Battery 110 Kv Transformer Station, Inchicore, Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A268	5.1.30	-	Lay-out of measuring and Signal Cables 110 kV Transformer Station, Inchicore, Dublin.	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A269	7.1.30	-	Choking coils 110 kV Transformer Station Inchicore Dublin	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A270	10.1.30	-	View of 10 kV Switch House during erection 110 kV Transformer Station, Kilbarry, Cork	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A271	10.1.30	-	View of 110/38 kV Outdoor Station and 10 kV Switch House, cork, during erection	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A272	10.1.30	-	Service gangway for the 10kV Oil Switches during erection 110 kV Transformer Station Kilbarry Cork	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A273	10.1.30	-	Cable Channels, running to the Operating room 110 kV Transformer Station, Kilbarry, Cork	2	Album #4	-	-	-
A274	14.1.30	-	110 kV-Line to Dublin	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A275	16.1.30	-	Battery regulating switch	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A276	16.1.30	-	Battery charging set for main and auxillary batteries	6	Album #5	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A277	16.1.30	-	View of interior of battery room	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A278	16.1.30	-	View of interior of battery room	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A279	20.1.30	-	View of interior of battery room	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A280	20.1.30	-	Pump set for E W C turbine in governors gangway	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A281	20.1.30	-	Cable connectors for 30 kVA Transformer	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A282	20.1.30	-	110-Kv Outdoor Station Ardna-crusha	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A283	20.1.30	-	View of power House and Intake Building, seen from the tailrace	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A284	20.1.30	-	Governor gangway	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A285	20.1.30	(corridor with big tanks)	View of interior of oil stove	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A286	20.1.30	-	Power House from Tailrace	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A287	28.1.30	-	Arrangement of Thoma regulator	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A288	28.1.30	-	Back view of switchboard	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A289	28.1.30	-	High frequency set enclosed	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A290	28.1.30	-	High frequency set open	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A291	28.1.30	-	Detailed view of Thoma regulator with cover removed	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A292	28.1.30	-	Panels with protection arrangement for Gen. I and II and 38 kV-Lines	6	Album #5	-	-	-
A293	28.1.30	-	30 MVA Transformer on level 8,0	6	Album #5	-	-	-

Number	Date	German label	English label /translation	ESB Box No.	ESB Folder Details	Siemens number	Siemens Archive Book	Siemens Archive Page No
A294	28.1.30	-	Cooling set for 30 MVA Transformer on level 8,00	6	Album #5	-	-	-

## Numbered series photographs

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
no date	1	Strand Barracks	Strand Barracks	-	-	A700	1	-
no date	2	Shannonfälle oberfalle der Kinmündung des Abbey-River, Blick von rechten Ufer	Situation of the Shannon falls above the mouth of the Abbey River, view from right bank	-	-	A700	1	-
no date	3	Shannonfälle mit King John's Castle Thomond Bridge, Blick vom rechten Ufer	Shannon falls with King John's Castle, Thomond Bridge, view from the right bank	-	-	A700	1	-
no date	4	Shannonfälle oberfalle der Kinmündung des Abbey-River, Blick von rechten Ufer	Shannon falls with King John's Castle, Thomond Bridge, right bank visible	-	-	A700	1	-
no date	4a	(no label)	(no label)	-	-	A700	2	-
no date	4b	(no label)	(no label)	-	-	A700	2	-
no date	5	Shannonfälle mit King John's Castle Thomond Bridge	Shannon falls with King John's Castle, Thomond Bridge	-	-	A700	2	-
no date	90	Montage der Eimerleiter mit elektrischen Eimerkettenbagger Krupp am Blackwater mithilfe eines M. & H. O. 8 cbm Löffelbaggers.	Assembly of the bucket with electrical Krupps bucket dredgers on the Blackwater using M & HO 8 cbm shovels.	-	-	A703	3	-
no date	91	Montage der Eimerleiter mit elektrischen Eimerkettenbagger Krupp am Blackwater mithilfe eines M. & H. O. 8 cbm löffelbaggers.	Assembly of the bucket with electrical Krupps bucket dredgers on the Blackwater using M & HO 8 cbm shovels.	-	-	A703	3	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
22.3.26	95	Ardna. Krafthaus: Dieselmotor Nr. 1 in Betrieb. Nr. 2 im Aufbau. Oben Laufkran	Ardna. Power House: Diesel Engine No. 1 in operation. No. 2 under construction. Top running crane	-	-	A701	7	-
22.3.26	96	Ardnacrusha. Krafthaus im Bau, gesehen vom Magazin.	Ardnacrusha. Power house under construction, seen from the depot.	-	-	A701	8	-
22.3.26	97	Provisorische Schaltanlage. Maximalölschalter mit Überstromrelais u. Stromwandler.	Temporary substation. High oil switch with overload relay u. transformer.	-	-	A701	8	-
22.3.26	98	Provisorische Schaltanlage. Maximalölschalter mit Überstromrelais und Stromwandler.	Temporary substation. High oil switch with overload relay and transformer.	-	-	A701	9	-
22.3.26	99	Provisorische Schaltanlage. Links: Maximalölschalter mit Überstromrelais. Rechts: O-Leiter Transformator.	Temporary substation. Links: High oil switch with overcurrent relays. Right: O-wire transformer.	-	-	A701	9	-
22.3.26	100	Parteen: M. & H. Raupendampfbagger im Aufbau.	Parteen: M. & H. Tracked excavator under construction.	-	-	A701	11	-
22.3.26	101	Ard. Krafthaus: Fundamente zur Schaltanlage.	Ard. power house: foundations for substation.	-	-	A701	10	-
22.3.26	102	Aufbau des Wasserturms auf der Krafthausbaustelle.	Construction of the water tower at the power house site.	-	-	A701	10	-
24.3.26	103	Parteen: Aufbau eines Raupendampfbagger.	Parteen: Construction of a tracked excavator.	-	-	A701	12	-
24.3.26	104	Untergraben: M. & H. Raupenbagger im Sumpfgelände.	Tail Race: M. & H. tracked excavator in the swamp.	-	-	A701	13	-
24.3.26	105	Untergraben: M. & H. Raupenbagger im Sumpfgelände.	Tail Race: M. & H. tracked excavator in the swamp.	-	-	A701	13	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
24.3.26	106	Ardna. Krafthaus: Blick auf die Fundamente der Krupp Diesel und Generatoren und Hallenbau.	Ardna. Power house: View of the foundations of the Krupps diesel and generators and hall construction.	-	-	A701	15	-
24.3.26	107	Ardnacruscha: Krafthaus im Aufbau.	Ardnacruscha: Power station under construction.	-	-	A701	15	-
24.3.26	108	Ard. Krafthaus: Aufstellen der Diesel No. 1 in Betrieb, No. 2 und 3 im Aufbau.	Ard. Power house: setting up the operation of diesel no. 1, no. 2 and 3 under construction.	-	-	A701	16	-
25.3.26	109	Ardnacruscha: Diesel im Aufbau. Nr. 1 im Betrieb Nr. 2 im Aufbau gesehen vom Laufkran.	Ardnacruscha: Diesels under construction. No. 1 in operation, Nr. 2 under construction seen from the crane.	-	-	A701	17	-
25.3.26	110	Ardna. Krafthaus: Aufbringen eines Kolbens auf Pleuelstange fuer Krupp Dieselmotor.	Ardna. Power house: application of a piston onto connecting rod for Krupps diesel engine.	-	-	A701	17	-
25.3.26	111	Ardna. Krafthaus: Blick vom Laufkran auf Fundamente der Krupp Diesel und Generatoren und Hallenbau.	Ardna. Power house: View from the crane of foundations of Krupps diesel generators and hall construction.	-	-	A701	16	-
25.3.26	112	Ardnacruscha: von links nach rechts Magazin. Davor Eisenkonstruktion der Werkstätten Krafthaus. Werkstattwagen.	Ardnacruscha: from left to right depot. Before that iron structure of the workshops. Powerhouse. Trolleys.	-	-	A701	19	-
25.3.26	113	Eimerkettenbagger der L.M.G. als Grabbenbagger arbeitend.	L.M.G. bucket chain excavator working as backhoe.	-	-	A703	8	-
no date	114	(illegible label - Eimerkettenbagger)	(illegible label - bucket excavator)	-	-	A703	7	-



Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
27.3.26	116	Entladen von 220 PS Dampflokomotiven aus dem Dampfer mit 20 to-Derrickkran	Unloading of 220 HP steam locomotives from the steamer with 20 tonne derrick	-	-	A700	10	-
27.3.26	118	Entladen von 220 PS Dampflokomotiven aus dem Dampfer mit 20 to-Derrickkran	Unloading of 220 HP steam locomotives from the steamer with 20 tonne derrick	-	-	A700	11	-
27.3.26	119	Entladen von 220 PS Dampflokomotiven aus dem Dampfer mit 20 to-Derrickkran	Unloading of 220 HP steam locomotives from the steamer with 20 tonne derrick	-	-	A700	11	-
29.3.26	120	Aufsetzen einer 220 PS Dampflokomotiven aus Spezialtransportanhänger mit Hilfe des 20 to-Derrickkrans	Setting up a 220 HP steam locomotives on the special transport car trailer with the help of the 20 tonne derrick	-	-	A700	12	-
29.3.26	121	Aufsetzen einer 220 PS Dampflokomotiven aus Spezialtransportanhänger mit Hilfe des 20 to-Derrickkrans	Setting up a 220 TP steam locomotives on the special transport car trailer with the help of the 20 tonne derrick	-	-	A700	12	-
29.3.26	122	Aufsetzen einer 220 PS Dampflokomotiven aus Spezialtransportanhänger mit Hilfe des 20 to-Derrickkrans	Setting up a 220 HP steam locomotives on the special transport car trailer with the help of the 20 tonne derrick	-	-	A700	13	-
29.3.26	123	Transport von 220 PS Locomotiven auf Spezialwagen mit Hilfe einer 100 PS Daimler Kraftzugmaschine	Transport of 220 HP locomotives on special wagons with a 100 HP Daimler motor tractor	1	MMC	A700	13	-
29.3.29	124	Untergraben. Raupenräderdampfbagger M. & H. beim Beladen eines Zuges.	Tail race. M. & H. tracked excavator loading a train.	-	-	A701	6	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
3?.7?.26	125	Untergraben: M. & H. Raupenbagger. Bild zeigt die vorgefundenen Felsblöcke.	Tail Race: M. & H. tracked excavator. Picture shows the found stone blocks.	-	-	A701	14	-
29.3.26	126	Untergraben. Genommene Steigung einen M. & H. Raupenbaggers vom untern zu oberen Mann 12-14m Entfernung.	Tail race. Gradient from lower to upper made by a M. & H. tracked excavator. Man 12-14m away.	-	-	A700	34	-
29.3.26	127	Blackwater I. Lübecker Dampfbagger im Betrieb.	Blackwater I. Lübeck steam dredger in operation.	-	-	A703	7	-
29.3.26	128	Elektr. Eimerkettenbagger Friedr. Krupp. A.G.	Friedrich Krupp A.G. electric bucket dredger	-	-	A703	6	-
29.3.26	129	Parteen: M. & H. Raupendampfbagger im Aufbau.	Parteen: M. & H. Tracked excavator under construction.	-	-	A701	12	-
no date	130	Menck & Hambrock Raupenlöffelbagger Gr. IV 8001 Inhalt beim Mutterbodenumsetzen.	Menck & Hambrock tracked shovel excavator Gr. IV 8001 capacity to move topsoil.	1	MMC	A703	8	-
6.4.26	131	(illegible)	(view of the temporary power station under construction)	-	-	A701	18	-
6.4.26	132	Diesel- u. Generatormontage im Baukraftwerk.	Diesel and generator assembly in power station construction.	-	-	A701	19	-
no date	133	2 cbm Raupenloeffelbagger von Menck & Hambrock beim Aushub des Obergrabens	2 cbm crawler excavator from Menck & Hambrock at the head race excavation	-	-	A701	5	-
7.4.26	134	Blackwater. Absetzer im Aufbau, links: Eimerkettenbagger im Betrieb.	Blackwater. Spreader under construction. Left: Bucket chain excavator in operation.	-	-	A703	9	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
7.4.26	135	2 Raupeneimerkettenbagger der Lübecker Maschinenbau-Ges. Bei Mutterbodenabdecken. Im Hintergrund der Krupp'sche Elektroeimerkettenbagger Ba III 5003.	2 tracked bucket excavator of the Lübeck mechanical Ges.(?) for topsoil cover. In background, the Krupp electric bucket excavator Ba III 5003	-	-	A703	22	-
7.4.26	136	Montage des Lübecker Raupeneimerkettenbaggers Ba III 2008 und Einsetzen des Mittelstückes mit Gegangzwicht(?) durch den Raupenrohölkran.	Assembly of Lübeck tracked excavator bucket excavator Ba III 2008 and replacing the middle piece with Gegangzwicht(?) through the crude oil tracked crane.	-	-	A703	24	-
8.4.26	137	Aufbau der Schaltanlage in Baukraftwerk.	Building the substation in the power station construction.	-	-	A701	18	-
8.4.26	138	Provisorische Schaltanlage im Baukraftwerk.	Provisional substation in power station construction.	-	-	A701	21	-
8.4.26	139	Schaltheus, Hochspannungsseite.	Switch house, high voltage side.	-	-	A701	20	-
8.4.26	140	Provisorische Schaltanlage im Baukraftwerk.	Provisional substation in power station construction.	-	-	A701	21	-
8.4.26	141	Provisorische Schaltanlage im Baukraftwerk.	Provisional substation in power station construction.	-	-	A701	20	-
8.4.26	142	Ardnacrusha, Uebersicht Krafthaus & Magazine	Ardnacrusha, Survey of power station and depot	-	-	A701	22	-
8.4.26	143	Ausreden von Hecken mithilfe eines M.& H. Loffelbaggers 0,8 cbm. In der Mitte: Lübecker Eimerkettenraupenbagger. Links: elektrischer Eimerkettenbagger Krupp.	Removal of hedges using an M & H. Loffelbaggers 0,8 cbm. In the middle: Lübecker bucket excavator tracked excavator. Left: Krupps electric bucket chain excavator.	-	-	A703	23	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
8.4.26	144	Aushubarbeiten am Blackwater-Düker. Oben rechts: elektrischer Eimerkettenbagger Krupp Ba. III 5002 Bau 34.	Excavation work on the Blackwater culvert. Top right: electric bucket chain excavator Krupp Ba. III 5002. Building 34	-	-	A703	23	-
8.4.26	145	2 Raupeneimerkettenbagger beim Mutterbodenumsetzen am Blackwaterdüker. Im Hintergrund Raupenrohölkran beim Stubbenroden.	2 tracked bucket excavator during topsoil removal on the Blackwater culvert. In the background, crude oil tracked crane during stump grubbing.	-	-	A703	22	-
12.4.26	146	Lübecker Dampfimerkettenbagger beim Aushub der Krafthausbaugrube.	Lübeck steam bucket dredger at the excavation of the powerhouse excavation pit.	-	-	A701	22	-
12.4.26	147	Blackwater. Absetzer im Aufbau.	Blackwater. Spreader under construction.	-	-	A703	9	-
12.4.26	148	Montage des Lübecker Raupeneimerkettenbaggers Ba III 2008 unter Zuhilfenahme des Raupenrohölkranes von Menck & Hambrock.	Assembly of Lübeck tracked excavator bucket excavator Ba III 2008 with the help of crude oil tracked crane from Menck & Hambidge.	-	-	A703	24	-
12.4.26	149	Baggerstrasse für Ba III 6001 vor Betriebsaufnahme. Einbau des Scheilfleitungments, rechte Montage der Gleisruschmaschine.	road track for Ba III 6001 before production starts. Installation of Scheilfleitungments(?), to the right assembly of Rusch track machine.	-	-	A703	25	-
12.4.26	150	Diesel- u. Generatormontage im Baukraftwerk.	Diesel and generator assembly in power station construction.	-	-	A701	23	-
12.4.26	151	Diesel- u. Generatormontage im Baukraftwerk.	Diesel and generator assembly in power station construction.	-	-	A701	23	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
12.4.26	152	Diesel- u. Generatormontage im Baukraftwerk.	Diesel and generator assembly in power station construction.	-	-	A701	24	-
17.4.26	153	Bruch und Verstärkung am Knickpunkt der Eimerleiter des Lübecker Dampfeimerkettenbaggers	Fracture and reinforcement at the bend of the head of the bucket Lübeck steam bucket dredger.	-	-	A700	33	-
17.4.26	154	Bruch und Verstärkung am Knickpunkt der Eimerleiter des Lübecker Dampfeimerkettenbaggers	Fracture and reinforcement at the bend of the head of the bucket Lübeck steam bucket dredger.	-	-	A700	33	-
17.4.26	155	Blick auf durch den Lubecker Dampfeimerkettenbagger ausgehobenen Gelände am Krafthaus.	View of ground excavated by the Lubecker steam bucket dredger at the power house.	-	-	A700	34	-
17.4.26	156	Aufbau der Duroplattenwände für die Schaltanlage im Baukraftwerk	Building of the Duro slab walls for the switchboard in the power station construction	-	-	A701	24	-
13.4.26	157	Die beiden Buckauer Bagger Ba III 5003 und 5004 in der Montage.	The two Buckauer excavators Ba III 5003 and 5004 under assembly.	-	-	A702	3	-
18.4.26	158	Lübecker Raupeneimerkettenbagger Ba III 2009 bei der Montage in O'Briensbridge. Im Hintergrund der Buckauer Bagger Ba III 5003 nach Fertigstellung der mechanische Montage, deselg. Der Bagger Ba III 5004 in der Montage.	Lübeck crawler excavators bucket Ba III 2009 in assembly in O'Briensbridge. In background Buckauer excavators Ba III 5003 after completion the mechanical assembly, deselg. The excavator Ba III 5004 under assembly.	-	-	A702	3	-
19.4.26	159	Die Buckauer Elektroeimerkettenbagger Ba III 5003 und 5004 kurz vor Beendigung der Montage	The Buckauer electric bucket dredgers Ba III 5003 and 5004 before finishing the assembly	-	-	A702	4	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
23.4.26	160	Limerick Strand Barracks, Thomons(sic) Bridge, King John's Castle	Limerick Strand Barracks, Thomond Bridge, King John's Castle	-	-	A700	4	-
19.4.26	161	Buckauer Elektroeimerkettenbagger Ba III 5004 in der Montage. Hochziehen des Auslegers.	Buckauer electric bucket dredger Ba III 5004 under assembly. Raising of the boom.	-	-	A702	4	-
19.4.26	162	Blackwater. Absetzer im Aufbau.	Blackwater. Spreader under construction.			A703	10	-
16.4.26	163	Hafenderrick beim Ausheben eines Pollers	Harbour derrick lifting a bollard	1	MMC	A700	14	-
16.4.26	164	Abheben des schnellen Verkehrsmotorbootes vom Dampfer 'Sudsee'	Lifting of the fast transport motor boat from the steamer 'Sudsee'	-	-	A700	14	-
13.4.26	165	8001 Loeffelbagger Type IV von Menck & Hambrock beim Baggern eines Einschnittes fuer die Transportbahn in sehr nassem Boden.	8001 shovel excavator Type IV from Menck & Hambrock dredging an incision for the transport track in very wet ground.	-	-	A703	44	-
23.4.26	166	Limerick, Thomond Bridge, King John's Castle	Limerick, Thomond Bridge, King John's Castle	-	-	A700	7	-
23.4.26	167	Limerick, Blick von Sarsfield Bridge nach dem Hafen	Limerick, view from Sarsfield Bridge to the docks	-	-	A700	7	-
22.4.26	168	Limerick, gesehen von Sarsfield Bridge, v.links n.rechts: Strand Barracks, Thomond Bridge, King John's Castle	Limerick, seen from Sarsfield Bridge, from left to right: Strand Barracks, Thomond Bridge, King John's Castle	-	-	A700	5	-
23.4.26	170	Limerick, Treaty Stone, Thomond Bridge, King John's Castle	Limerick, Treaty Stone, Thomond Bridge, King John's Castle	-	-	A700	2	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
no date	172	Blackwater. Absetzer im Aufbau.	Blackwater. Spreader under construction.	-	-	A703	10	-
23.4.26	173	Aufbau der Schaltanlage in Baukraftwerk.	Building the substation in the power station construction.	-	-	A701	26	-
no date	174	Gleisruecken beim Krupp-Elektroemerkettenbagger Ba III 5001. Im Hintergrund Lübecker Dampfemerkettenbagger Ba III 5006 beim Aushub der Krafthausbaugrube. Links ein Raupenloeffel und Raupeneimerkettenbagger beim Mutterbodenumsetzen.	Railway back at the Krupp-electric bucket chain excavator Ba III 5,001. In background, Lübeck steam bucket chain excavator Ba III 5006 during excavation of the power house excavation pit. Left bucket and a tracked tracked bucket excavator during topsoil removal.	-	-	A703	25	-
23.4.26	175	Montage der Deutz-Dieselmotoren im Baukraftwerk.	Assembly of the Deutz diesel engines in power station construction.	-	-	A701	25	-
23.4.26	176	Gleisrückmaschine, System ???? ???? ???? (manufacturer's name?)	Railway return engine, system ???? ???? (manufacturer's name?)	-	-	A703	26	unclear
23.4.26	177	Im Vordergrund links ein Lübecker Raupeneimerkettenbagger beim Baugrubenaushub für den Blackwaterdunker, in der Mitte ein Lübecker Raupeneimerkettenbagger beim Mutterbodenabsetzen, rechts ein 560 I Löffelbagger beim Stubbenroden, im Hintergrund Montage des Kruppabsetzapparates und Aufbau einer 750 I Betonmaschine.	In the foreground left Lübeck tracked bucket excavator at the excavation pit Excavation for the Blackwater culvert in the middle of a Lübecker tracked bucket excavator at the topsoil removal, right a 560 I shovel excavator at the stump grubbing, in background assembly of Krupp sedimentation apparatus and construction of a 750 I engine.	-	-	A703	26	-

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23.4.26	178	Blick in das Baukraftwerk. Im Hintergrund 3 fertige 520/530 Krupp-Diesel mit SSW-Generatoren. Montage des 4.u.5.Aggregaten.	View of the temporary power station. In the background, three finished 520/530 Krupp diesels with SSW generators. Assembly of the 4th and 5 Generators.	-	-	A701	26	-
27.4.26	179	Ardnacrusha, Krafthaus, Magazine & Werkstaetten im Bau	Ardnacrusha, power house, depot & repair shops under construction	-	-	A701	27	-
27.4.26	180	Schaltzellen, Niederspannungsseite im Baukraftwerk.	Switching cells, low-voltage side in temporary power station.	-	-	A701	27	-
27.4.26	181	Diesel- und Generatormontage im Baukraftwerk	Diesel and generator assembly in the temporary power station	-	-	A701	28	-
27.4.26	182	Ardnacrusha, Angestellten-Holz-Wohnhaeuser	Ardnacrusha, employee wooden apartment houses.	-	-	A700	37	-
27.4.26	183	Krafthausbaustelle, Blick auf das Hauptlager und den Umladeplatz	Power house site, view of the main camp and the transfer point	-	-	A701	28	-
27.4.26	184	Lübecker Raupeneimerkettenbagger nach beendeten Baugrubenaushub der Blackwaterdükers. (rest unclear)	Lübeck tracked bucket excavator for completed excavation of the excavation pit Blackwater culvert. (rest unclear)	-	-	A703	27	-
27.4.26	185	Kruppscher Elektroeimerkettenbagger Ba III 5001 beim Aushub des Obergrabens kurz nach dem Mutterboden-abdecken.	Krupps electric bucket chain excavator Ba III 5001 at the excavation of head race bank shortly after the topsoil removal.	-	-	A703	27	-
27.4.26	186	Blackwater. Absetzer im Aufbau.	Blackwater. Spreader under construction.	-	-	A703	11	-
26.4.26	187	Limerick, Thomond Bridge, King John's Castle	Limerick, Thomond Bridge, King John's Castle	-	-	A700	3	-



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26.4.26	188	Limerick, Thomond Bridge, King John's Castle	Limerick, Thomond Bridge, King John's Castle	-	-	A700	3	-
26.4.26	189	Limerick, Panorama von Strand Barracks aus gesehen	Limerick, panorama seen from Strand Barracks	-	-	A700	6	-
3.5.26	190	Wehrbau, vor Beginn der Bauarbeiten.	Weir building works, before the start of the building work.	-	-	A702	27	2 photo panorama
3.5.26	191	Die Buckauer Elektroeimerkettenbagger Ba III 5003 und 5004 kurz vor Beendigung der Montage. Einbau der Elektromotoren in den letzten Bagger.	The Buckauer electric bucket dredgers Ba III 5003 and 5004 before finishing the installation. Installation of the electric motors in the last excavators.	-	-	A702	5	-
6.5.26	192	Diesel- u. Generatormontage im Baukraftwerk.	Diesel and generator assembly in temporary power station.	-	-	A701	29	-
6.5.26	193	Diesel- u. Generatormontage im Baukraftwerk.	Diesel and generator assembly in temporary power station.	-	-	A701	29	-
6.5.26	194	Diesel- u. Generatormontage im Baukraftwerk.	Diesel and generator assembly in temporary power station.	-	-	A701	31	-
6.5.26	195	Lübecker Dampfeimerkettenbagger beim Aushub der Krafthausbaugrube	Lübeck steam bucket dredger at the excavation of the powerhouse excavation pit	-	-	A701	30	-
6.5.26	196	Montage des 1.Krupp-Absetzapparates.	Assembly of the 1st Krupp settling apparatus.	-	-	A703	11	-
11.5.26	197	Eisenkonstruktion der Hauptwerkstatt und Gerätehalle	Iron structure of the main workshop and equipment hall	-	-	A701	31	-
11.5.26	198	Blick vom Baukraftwerk in die Hauptwerkstatt	View from power station construction into the main workshop	-	-	A701	30	-

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11.5.26	199	Blick auf die ersten 5 Krupp-Dieselmotoren im Baukraftwerk	View of the first 5 Krupp diesel engines in the temporary power station	-	-	A701	32	-
11.5.26	200	2 cbm Raupenlöffelbagger von Merck & Hambrock beim Aushub des Untergrabens. Im Hintergrund rechts Montage des 2 cbm Raupenlöffelbaggers Ba I 6011, links Lübecker Dampfmerkettensbagger Ba III 5006 beim Aushub der Krafthausbaugrube.	2 cbm tracked excavator from Merck & Hambrock at the tail race excavation. In the right background assembly of 2 cbm crawler shovel Ba I 6011, left Lübeck steam bucket dredger Ba III 5006 during the digging of the powerhouse excavation pit.	-	-	A701	14	-
no date	201	Montage des 1.Krupp-Absetzapparates.	Assembly of the 1st Krupp settling apparatus.	-	-	A703	12	-
11.5.26	202	Montage des 1.Krupp-Absetzapparates.	Assembly of the 1st Krupp settling apparatus.	-	-	A703	12	-
11.5.26	203	Haus Stolberg	Stolberg house (house for german workers)	1	MMC	A700	38	-
11.5.26	204	Derrickkran bei Montage eines Kruppabsetzapparates.	Derrick for assembly with Krupp overburden spreader apparatus.	-	-	A700	24	-
11.5.26	205	Derrickkran bei Montage eines Kruppabsetzapparates.	Derrick for assembly with Krupp overburden spreader apparatus.	-	-	A700	24	-
18.5.26	206	Transport der Teile zum Bleichertkabelkran fuer die Krafthausbaustelle	Transportation of parts for Bleichert cable crane for the power house site	-	-	A700	15	-

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18.5.26	207	Raupeneimerkettenbagger der Lübecker Maschinenbau-Ges. bei der Kiesbaggerung um Blackwaterdüker.	Tracked bucket excavator of the Lübeck mechanical Ges.(?) at the gravel excavation of Blackwater culvert.	-	-	A703	28	-
18.5.26	208	Montage des 1.Krupp-Absetzapparates.	Assembly of the 1st Krupp settling apparatus.	-	-	A703	12	-
18.5.26	209	Baukraftwerk. Blick auf die Montagestelle des 6. Kruppdieselmotors. Aufbringen der Kurbelwanne auf die Fundamente.	Temporary power station. View of the installation site of the 6th Krupp diesel engine. Application of the crank chamber onto the foundations.	-	-	A701	33	-
no date	210	Baukraftwerk. Montagestand am 18. Mai 26 mit 5 Krupp'schen Dieselmotoren je 560 KVA und einem Deutzer Maschinensatz 300 KVA betriebsfertig. 1 Krupps'scher Dieselmotor und 1 Deutzer Maschinensatz in Montage. Im Hintergrund ein Blick gegen das Gesamtschiff der Werkstatt.	Temporary power station. State of assembly on 18 May 26 with 5 Krupp diesel engines each 560 KVA and a 300 KVA Deutz machine unit ready for operation. 1 Krupps diesel engine and a Deutz machine unit under assembly. In the background a view of the total capacity of the workshop.	-	-	A701	32	-
25.5.26	211	Transport des Verkehrsbootes nach Longpavement	Transport of the transport boat to Longpavement	-	-	A700	16	-
25.5.26	212	Begin des Obergrabenaushubs oberhalb Blackwater.	Beginning of the excavation of the head race bank above the Blackwater.	-	-	A703	28	-

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26.5.26	213	Aushub der Baugrubes für den Blackwater-Düker mit R.L.B. Links: Betonmischmaschine i.d.Mitte: Kieswaschmaschine.	Excavation for the culvert with Blackwater RLB Left: concrete mixing engine. in the middle: gravel washing machine.	-	-	A703	29	-
25.5.26	214	Transformatorwagen und Hochspannungsleitung an der Blackwaterstrasse	Transformer cars and high-voltage line on Blackwater road	-	-	A700	26	-
25.5.26	215	Montage des Absetzers.	Assembly of the spreader.	1	MMC	A703	13	-
21.6.26	216	Absetzer auf der Blackwaterstrasse im Betrieb.	Spreader in operation at the Blackwater Road.	-	-	A703	19	-
no date	217	Montage des Absetzers.	Assembly of the spreader.	-	-	A703	13	-
27.5.26	218	Montage des Absetzers.	Assembly of the spreader.	-	-	A703	14	-
27.5.26	219	Montage des Absetzers.	Assembly of the spreader.	-	-	A703	14	-
21.6.26	220	Zufuhr und Kippen von Erdmaterial zum Absetzer	Supply and tipping of earth material for the Spreader	-	-	A703	43	-
27.5.26	221	Montage des Absetzers.	Assembly of the spreader.	-	-	A703	15	-
no date	222	Montage des Absetzers.	Assembly of the spreader.	-	-	A703	15	-
27.5.26	223	Montage des Absetzers.	Assembly of the spreader.	-	-	A703	16	-
no date	224	Montage des Absetzers.	Assembly of the spreader.	-	-	A703	17	-
no date	225	Montage des Absetzers.	Assembly of the spreader.	-	-	A703	16	-
27.5.26	220	Blackwater, ??? der Ausgleibleiter?	Blackwater, ?????	-	-	A703	17	unclear
27.5.26	227	Hauptwerkstatt: Teilweise eingerichtet.	Main Workshop: Partially furnished.	-	-	A701	34	-
27.5.26	228	Baukraftwerk.	Temporary power station.	-	-	A701	34	-

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29.5.26	229	Aushub der Krafthausbaugrube mit Lubecker D. E-Baggern. Im Hintergrund und ein elektrisch betriebener Krupp-E.-Bagger	Excavation for powerhouse excavation pit with Lubecker steam bucket dredgers. In the background, an electrically operated Krupp bucket excavator	-	-	A701	25	-
29.5.26	230	Motorwagen mit Anhänger beim Transport von Leitungsmasten	Motor vehicle with trailer for transporting poles	-	-	A700	16	-
4.6.26	231	Risse an den Nocken der Turascheibe von Menck & Hambrock'schen 2 cbm Loffelbaggern	Cracks at the toe of the tumbler disc from Menck & Hambrock'schen 2 cbm bucket excavators	-	-	A700	25	-
4.6.26	232	Risse an den Nocken der Turascheibe von Menck & Hambrock'schen 2 cbm Loffelbaggern	Cracks at the toe of the tumbler disc from Menck & Hambrock'schen 2 cbm bucket excavators	-	-	A700	25	-
4.6.26	233	Bau der Fundamente und der Holzkonstruktion der Brewa Clonlara.	Construction of the foundation and of the wooden structure of the Brewa Clonlara.	-	-	A703	103	-
4.6.26	234	Obergrabenaushub am oberen Ende der Felsstrecke bei Clonlara. (1 Loffelbagger 2 cbm und 1 L.B. 0,8 cbm). Links oben Kippen des Dammes.	Head race excavation at the top of the rock section at Clonlara. (1 Loffelbagger 2 cbm and 1 L.B. 0,8 cbm). Top left dump of the dam.	-	-	A703	102	-
no date	235	Einrichtung der Kompressorenstation Clonlara.	Establishment of the Clonlara compressor station.	-	-	A703	102	-
4.6.26	236	17000 Voltleitung oberhalb Clonlara	17 000 Volt power line above Clonlara	-	-	A700	27	-

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4.6.26	237	Hochspannungsleitung oberhalb An-negrove	High voltage power line above An-negrove	-	-	A700	27	-
4.6.26	238	Hochspannungsleitung von Blackwater nach Clonlara	High-voltage power line from Blackwater to Clonlara	-	-	A700	26	-
10.6.26	239	Aufbau der Hauptwerkstatt.	Construction of the main workshop.	-	-	A701	35	-
10.6.26	240	Öltankanlage, Schaltheus, Kühlturm im Bau.	Oil tank system, switching station, cooling tower under construction.	-	-	A701	37	-
10.6.26	241	Baukraftwerk: Dieselmotoren Deutz.	Temporary power station: Deutz diesel engines.	-	-	A701	36	-
10.6.26	242	Baukraftwerk. Im Vordergrund: 2 Deutzmotoren, Im Hintergrunde: 6 Kruppmotoren, 2 Fundamente für Kruppmotoren frei.	Temporary power station: In the foreground: 2 Deutz engines, In the background: 6 Krupps engines, 2 foundations free for Krupps engines.	-	-	A701	36	-
10.6.26	243	Ardn. Holzbearbeitungswerkstätte.	Ardn. Woodworking workshop	-	-	A701	38	-
10.6.26	244	Holzbearbeitungswerkstätte.	Woodworking workshop	-	-	A701	37	-
10.6.26	245	Holzbearbeitungswerkstätte. (Schleiferei)	Woodworking workshop (grinding)	-	-	A701	38	-
10.6.26	246	Ardn. Abwasser-Kläranlage.	Ardn. Wastewater treatment plant.	-	-	A701	39	-
15.6.26	247	Ardn. Abwasser-Kläranlage.	Ardn. Wastewater treatment plant.	-	-	A701	39	-

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15.6.26	248	Blick auf den Hauptwerkplatz Ardnacrusha: Im Vordergrund: ein Teil des deutschen Barackenlagers, Im Hintergrund (von links nach rechts): Zementschuppen, Magazin, davor: Holzbearbeitungswerkstätte, Ersatzteillager, Gerätehalle im Bau, dahinter: Baukraftwerk, Hauptwerkstatt im Bau.	View of the main Ardnacrusha work space: In the foreground: part of the German barracks, In the background (from left to right): cement shed, depot, Before: Woodworking workshop, spare parts inventory, equipment hangar under construction, Behind: temporary power station, main workshop under construction.	-	-	A701	40	-
17.6.26	249	Werkplatz Ardnacrusha. Rechte: Holzbearbeitungswerkstatt Links: Ersatzteillager Im Hintergrund Barackenlager und Wasserturm	Worksite Ardnacrusha. Right: woodworking shop Left: spare parts inventory In the background barracks and water tower	-	-	A701	40	-
21.6.26	250	Betonieren des Blackwater-Dükers.	Concreting the Blackwater culvert.	-	-	A703	31	-
21.6.26	251	Blackwater-Düker. Betonieren einer Schlenplatte.	Blackwater culvert. Concreting a plate.	-	-	A703	30	-
21.6.26	252	Blackwater-Düker. Rechts Blackwater.	Blackwater culvert. Blackwater on right.	-	-	A703	29	-
no date	253	Offengelegte Wicklung an der Schaltseite der Generatoren Fw 600g - 214 im Baukraftwerk Ardnacrusha. Lieferung vom Dynamowerk.	Exposed winding on the switching side of the generators Fw 600g - 214 Ardnacrusha power plant under construction. Delivery from the dynamo factory.	-	-	A700	41	-

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29.6.26	254	Offengelegte Wicklung an der Schaltseite der Generatoren Fw 600g - 214 im Baukraftwerk Ardnacrusha. Lieferung vom Nurnberger Werk	Exposed winding on the switching side of the generators Fw 600g - 214 Ardnacrusha power plant under construction. Delivery from the Nurnburg factory	-	-	A700	30	-
26.6.26	255	Mannesmann Mulag Lastwagen mit Anhaenger, Transport der Siebtremmel fuer Brewa Clonlara	Mannesmann Mulag truck with trailer, for transport of the Siebtremmel to Brewa Clonlara	-	-	A700	15	-
29.6.26	256	Ardnacrusha. Berieseln der Kippe.	Ardnacrusha. Sprinkling of the gravel.	-	-	A703	35	-
29.6.26	257	Baukraftwerk. Montage.	Temporary power station. Assembly.	-	-	A701	41	-
29.6.26	258	Krafthausbaustelle. Aushub des Luebecker Dampfbaggers.	Power house site. Excavation by the Lübeck steam excavator.	-	-	A703	47	-
29.6.26	259	Obergraben. Blackwater-Abschnitt. Absetzapparat im Testigkeit.	Head race. Blackwater section. Sedimentation apparatus in testing.	-	-	A703	18	-
29.6.26	260	Obergraben. Blackwater-Abschnitt. Absetzapparat im Testigkeit.	Head race. Blackwater section. Sedimentation apparatus in testing.	-	-	A703	18	-
29.6.26	261	Obergraben. Betonieren des Blackwater Duekers. Im Hintergrund ein Krupp'scher Eimerkettenbagger im Testigkeit.	Head race. Concreting of the Blackwater culvert. In the background a Krupp bucket excavator in testing.	-	-	A703	30	-
29.6.26	262	Obergraben. Herstellen der Schalung für des Blackwater-Düker. Im Hintergrund der Krupp'sche Eimerkettenbagger im Testigkeit.	Head race. Manufacture of the shuttering for the Blackwater culvert. In background, the Krupps bucket excavator in testing.	-	-	A703	31	-



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27.6.26	263	Obergraben. Blackwater-Abschnitt. Absetzer arbeitend.	Head race. Blackwater section. Spreader working.	-	-	A703	42	-
2.7.26	264	Ardnacrusha. Montage des Bleichert Kranes, rechts Stuetze	Ardnacrusha. Assembly of the Bleichert crane, right support	-	-	A701	42	-
2.7.26	265	Baukraftwerk. Montage des 7. Krupp Diesel-Motors.	Temporary power station. Assembly of the 7th Krupps diesel engine.	-	-	A701	42	-
14.7.26	266	Clonlara. Brewa im Aufbau, Waschtrommel eingesetzt.	Clonlara. Brewa under construction, washing drum set.	-	-	A703	103	-
14.7.26	267	Clonlara. Blick in die Baugrube.	Clonlara. View of the excavation pit.	-	-	A703	104	-
14.7.26	268	Clonlara. Loeffelbagger auf Raupensodern(?) beim Stubbenreden.	Clonlara. Loeffelbagger at Raupensodern(?) at the stump clearing.	-	-	A703	110	-
15.7.26	269	Krupp 4cbm Selbstkipper, geschlossen	Krupp 4cbm self dumper, closed	-	-	A700	28	-
15.7.26	270	Krupp 4cbm Selbstkipper, halboffen	Krupp 4cbm self dumper, half open	-	-	A700	28	-
15.7.26	271	Krupp 4cbm Selbstkipper, offen	Krupp 4cbm self dumper, open	-	-	A700	29	-
15.7.26	272	Ardnacrusha, Baugrube fuer Krafthaus.	Ardnacrusha, excavation for the powerhouse.	-	-	A701	50, 145	-
no date	273	Ardnacrusha, v. Links nach rechts: (unclear)	Ardnacrusha, from left to right: (unclear)	-	-	A703	44	unclear
15.7.26	274	Ardnacrusha, Krafthaus, Schaltanlage	Ardnacrusha, powerhouse, substation	-	-	A701	43	-
15.7.26	275	Blackwater-Düker. Betonrohr ausgeschalt, im Schalung & fertige Schalung	Blackwater culvert. Stripped concrete pipe, in shuttering & finished shuttering	-	-	A703	32	-

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15.7.26	276	Blackwater-Düker. Übersicht über Betonrohr.	Blackwater culvert. Overview over concrete pipe.	-	-	A703	32	-
21.7.26	277	Modell des Shannon Scheme	Model of the Shannon Scheme	-	-	A701	0	-
30.7.26	278	Krupp 4cbm Selbstkipper, nach der Entleerung	Krupp 4cbm self dumper, after emptying	-	-	A700	29	-
28.7.26	279	Innensicht des Baukraftwerkes. Blick auf die Krupp Diesel-Motoren.	Interior view of the temporary power station. View of the Krupp diesel engines.	-	-	A701	43	-
28.7.26	280	Baukraftwerk. Inneneinrichtung. Blick in Richtung auf die Hauptwerkstatt	Temporary power station. Interior. View in the direction of the main workshop	-	-	A701	44	-
28.7.26	281	Gesamtinnenansicht des Baukraftwerkes aus der Richtung der Hauptwerkstatt, Im Vordergrund die beiden Deutzer Motoren. Im Hintergrund die 7 Krupp Diesel-Motoren.	Overall interior of the temporary power station from the direction of the main workshop. In the foreground, both Deutz engines. In the background, the 7 Krupp diesel engines.	-	-	A701	44	-
28.7.26	282	Hochdruckkompressor der Sauerstoffanlage.	High-pressure compressor of the oxygen system.	-	-	A701	45	-
28.7.26	283	Sauerstoffanlage.	Oxygen system.	-	-	A701	45	-
28.7.26	284	Ardnacrusha. Betonierung der Fundamente und Aufbau des Gebäuden und der Zufahrtsrampe für die Brewa.	Ardnacrusha. Concreting of the foundations and structure of the buildings and the access ramp for the Brewa.	-	-	A701	46, 144	-
28.7.26	285	Krafthaus, Montage des Kabelkrans, links Steutze.	Power house, installation of the cable crane, left support.	-	-	A701	50, 145	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
28.7.26	286	Blackwater. Bau des Auslaufs des Dükers. Im Hintergrund Dammschüttung durch den Blackwater.	Blackwater. Construction of the outlet of the culvert. In the background embankment through the Blackwater.	1	MMC	A703	33	-
29.7.26	287	Bau des Blackwaters-Duekers. Im Vordergrund links Dammschuetting ueber dem fertigen Teil des Duekers und durch des Blackwater.	Construction of the Blackwater culvert. In the foreground left embankment above the finished part of the culvert and of the Blackwater.	-	-	A703	34	-
28.7.26	288	Blackwater. Elektrischer Krupp Eimerkettenbagger 5002. Im unteren Teil des (rest unreadable)	Blackwater. Electrical Krupp bucket excavator 5002. In the lower part of the (rest unreadable)	-	-	A703	37	-
29.7.26	289	Blackwater. Auswaschung des unteren Teiles der Einschnitts-Waschung durch Grundwasser.	Blackwater. Washing of the lower part of the washing-incision with groundwater.	-	-	A703	37	-
29.7.26	290	Blackwater, Luebecker Raupen Eimerketten Bagger.	Blackwater, Luebeck tracked bucket chain excavator.	-	-	A700	30	-
29.7.26	291	Blackwater. Planieren der mit dem Absetzer geschütteten Dämme. Im Hintergrund links Krupp'scher Eimerkettenbagger 5002 und Montage des Lübecker Absetzapparat.	Blackwater. Leveling the dam rubble with the spreader. In the background left Krupps bucket excavator and assembly of Lübeck 5002 settling apparatus.	-	-	A703	19	-
30.7.26	292	Blackwater. Dammschuetting durch Absetzapparat.	Blackwater. Embankment filling with sedimentation apparatus.	-	-	A703	42	-
30.7.26	293	Blackwater. Betonieren den Dükers. Im Hintergrund Schüttung des Dammes über den fertigen Teil des Dükers und durch den Blackwater.	Blackwater. The concreting of the culvert. In the background filling the dam across the finished part of the culvert and the Blackwater.	-	-	A703	33	-

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30.7.26	294	Blackwater. Betonieren den Dükers. Im Hintergrund Schüttung des Dammes über den fertigen Teil des Dükers und durch den Blackwater.	Blackwater. The concreting of the culvert. In the background filling the dam across the finished part of the culvert and the Blackwater.	-	-	A703	34	-
9.8.26	295	Pendelstütze des Kruppbaggers.	Hinged support of the Krupp excavator.	-	-	A700	31	-
9.8.26	296	Pendelstütze des Kruppbaggers.	Hinged support of the Krupp excavator.	-	-	A700	32	-
9.8.26	297	Pendelstütze des Kruppbaggers.	Hinged support of the Krupp excavator.	-	-	A700	32	-
12.8.26	298	Arnd. Hauptwerkstatt, Lokomotiv- und Wagenreparatur.	Arnd. Main workshop, locomotive and wagon repair.	-	-	A701	47	-
12.8.26	299	Arnd. Hauptwerkstatt, Eimerreparatur.	Arnd. Main workshop, bucket repair.	-	-	A701	47	-
12.8.26	300	Ardnacrusha. Im Vordergrund: Krafthausbaugrube. Im Hintergrund: Hauptwerkplatz.	Ardnacrusha. In the foreground: the powerhouse excavation. In the background: the main work space.	5	Civil	A701	49	-
12.8.26	301	Ardnacrusha. Blick von der Krafthausbaustelle zum Untergraben. Links: Baugrube für das Krafthaus.	Ardnacrusha. View from the powerhouse site to tail race. Left: Excavation for the powerhouse.	-	-	A701	49	-
16.8.26	302	Einbeulung des Flammrohrs am Dampfkessel des Lubecker Dampfbaggers Ba.III.5006.	Dent in the blast tube on the steam boiler of the steam shovel Lubecker Ba.III.5006.	-	-	A700	35	-
16.8.26	303	Ardnacrusha. Bau der Brewa.	Ardnacrusha. Construction of the Brewa.	-	-	A701	46, 144	-

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no date	304	Blackwater. Schütten des Dämmes über den Düker und alten Bachlauf. Im Hintergrund links ein Krupp'scher Eimerkettenbagger und Montage des Lübecker Absetzers Ba.IV 6003	Blackwater. Pouring of insulation over the culvert and old stream. In the background left Krupp bucket excavator and the assembly of Lübeck spreader Ba.IV 6003	-	-	A702	20	-
17.8.26	305	Blackwater. Absetzer auf dem Damm über dem alten Flusslauf.	Blackwater. Spreader at the dam across the old river course.	-	-	A703	38	-
17.8.26	306	Blackwater. Der Absetzer kreuzt den durch den alten Bachlauf und über den Düker geschütteten Damm.	Blackwater. The spreader crosses by the old stream and over the rubble of the culvert	-	-	A703	20	-
17.8.26	307	Blackwaterdüker. Vorläufige Umleitung des Blackwaters durch den fertiggestellten Teil des Dükers.	Blackwater culvert. Temporary diversion of the Blackwater through the finished part of the culvert.	5	Civil	A703	35	-
17.8.26	308	Annegrove Culvert, Fundamente ausgeschalt & fertig Schalung	Annegrove Culvert, foundations, stripped & ready for shuttering	-	-	A703	36	-
17.8.26	309	Obergraben Annegrove. Bau des kleinen Dükers.	Annegrove headrace. Building of the small culvert.	-	-	A703	36	-
no date	310	Annegrovestalskippe. Im Hintergrund Mutterbodenkippe.	Annegrove valley dump. In the background topsoil dump.	-	-	A703	38	-
19.8.26	311	Wehrbaustelle. Von Links nach rechts: Einrammen eines Spundwand für den Anschluss des Fangedammes an das Ufer. In der Mitte des Flusses: Aushub von Geroll zur Schaffung einer neuen Fahrrinne. Rechts: Herstellen der Fundamente für den Kabelkran.	Weir construction. From Left to right: ramming a bulkhead for the connection of the cofferdam to the shore. In of the middle of the river, excavation of pebbles to create a new channel. Right: Making the foundations for the cable crane.	-	-	A702	30	2 part panorama

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19.8.26	312	Wehrbaustelle. Bohrung für den Fangedamm des ersten Abschnittes (Bohrmaschine) Im Fluss Aushub einer neuen Zufahrzrinne.	Weir construction. Drilling for the cofferdam of the first section (drill) In the river excavation a new access channel.	-	-	A702	29	-
19.8.26	313	Baustelle Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk. Links Fundamente für die feste Stütze des Kabelkrans.	Weir and intake structure site. Left foundations for the fixed support of the cable crane.	-	-	A702	28	-
19.8.26	314	Wehrbaustelle. Aushub der Baugrube für das Einlaufbauwerk.	Weir construction. Excavation for the intake structure.	-	-	A702	28	-
19.8.26	315	Staustrecke, linkes Ufer. Montage des Lübecker Eimerkettenbaggers mit Transportband.	Buffer area, left bank. Assembly of the Lübeck bucket excavator with conveyor belt.	-	-	A702	29	-
24.8.26	316	Materialschüttung mit dem Unterband des Absetzers.	Filling material with the lower belt of the spreader.	-	-	A703	21	-
24.8.26	317	Unter- und Oberband des Absetzers	Lower and upper belts of the spreader.	-	-	A703	21	-
22.8.26	318	Ardnacrusha. Blick auf das irische Lager. Rechts: Arbeiterunterkünfte. Kleine Baracke i.d. Mitte Badeanstalt. Links: Kantine und Aufenthaltsraum	Ardnacrusha. Views of the Irish camp. Right: Workers' accommodation. Small hut i.d. Center bath-house. Links: canteen and recreation room.	-	-	A700	42	-
22.8.26	319	Ardns. Irische Lager. Blick in die Lagerstrasse	Ardns. Irish camp. View of the camp road.	-	-	A700	41	-
22.8.26	320	Ardn. Deutsches Lager.	Ardn. German camp.	1	MMC	A700	37	-
22.8.26	321	Ardn. Hauptwerkplatz.	Ardn. Main work area.	-	-	A701	48	-

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no date	322	Ardn. Hauptwerkplatz. Im Hintergrund und von links nach rechts: Brewa im Bau, BauKraftwerk mit Kühlturm, Hauptwerkstatt. Im Vordergrund von links nach rechts: Materialprüfungsanstalt, Zementschuppen, Geräteschuppen und Ersatzteillager. Rechts: Holzbearbeitungswerkstatt und Sägewerk.	Ardn. Main work area. In the background from left to right: Brewa under construction, temporary power station with cooling tower, main workshop. In the foreground from left to right: material testing laboratory, cement shed, tool shed and spare parts. Right: woodworking workshop and sawmill.	-	-	A701	48	-
26.8.26	323	Umladestelle Longpavement. Abladen einer elektrischen Lokomotive.	Longpavement transfer station. Unloading an electric locomotive.	-	-	A701	52	-
4.9.26	324	Staustraße. Einzelheiten zum Transport eines Raupeneimerkettenbaggers über den Shannon zur Staustraße.	Buffer area. Details of the transport of a crawler excavator bucket on the Shannon to the buffer area.	-	-	A702	6	-
4.9.26	325	Staustraße. Transport eines Raupeneimerkettenbaggers über den Shannon zur Staustraße.	Buffer area. Transport of a crawler excavator bucket on the Shannon to the buffer area.	-	-	A702	6	-
no date	326	Modellzeichnung der fertigen Power Station	Model drawing of the finished power station	-	-	A701	51	-
no date	327	Modellzeichnung der fertigen Power Station	Model drawing of the finished power station	-	-	A701	51	-
13.9.26	328	Ardnacrusha. Irisches Barackenlager, Inneres einer Westfälischen Halle (Irish Workmen's Huts. Interior of a Westphalian Vestibule)	Ardnacrusha. Irish barracks, interior of a Westphalian vestibule. (interior of barracks)	1	MMC	A700	41	-
13.9.26	329	Ardnacrusha. Deutsches Barackenlager, Holzhäuser für Angestellte	Ardnacrusha. German workmen's huts, wooden houses for employees.	-	-	A700	39	-

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13.9.26	330	Ardnacrusha. Deutsches Barackenlager. Im Vordergrund Westfälische Hallen für Wohnungen, für deutsche Schachtmeister und Angestellte eingerichtet, im Hintergrund eine Vierfamilienholshaus.	Ardnacrusha. German workmens huts. In the foreground Westphalian vestibules set up for German foremen and employees, in the background a wooden four family house.	-	-	A700	38	-
13.9.26	331	Ardnacrusha. Irisches Barackenlager	Ardnacrusha. Irish barracks.	-	-	A700	40	-
15.9.26	332	Ardnacrusha. Irisches Barackenlager	Ardnacrusha. Irish barracks.	-	-	A700	42	-
13.9.26	333	Ardnacrusha. Irisches Barackenlager	Ardnacrusha. Irish barracks.	-	-	A700	40	-
13.9.26	334	Ardnacrusha, Arbeiter Wohnbaracken Irisches Lager	Ardnacrusha, workers' barracks in the Irish camp	-	-	A700	39	-
20.9.26	335	Obergraben. Abschnitt O'Briensbridge. Bagger 5003 und 5004.	Head race. Section O'Briensbridge. Excavators 5003 and 5004	-	-	A702	7	-
20.9.26	336	Wehrbau, am 10 September 1928.	Weir construction, on 10th September 1928.	-	-	A702	31	-
20.9.26	337	Obergraben. Abschnitt O'Briensbridge. Arbeitsbeginn des Buckauer Absetzers. Im Hintergrunde Montage des Kabelkranes für das Wehr.	Head race. Section O'Briensbridge. Beginning of the work of the Buckauer spreader. In background, installation of the cable crane for the weir.	-	-	A702	32	-
20.9.26	338	Wehrbaustelle. Montage des festen Turmes des Kabelkranes.	Weir construction. Installation of the fixed tower of the cable crane.	-	-	A702	31	-
21.9.26	339	Obergraben. Abschnitt Blackwater. Aufbringen von Mutterboden durch Absetzer.	Head race. Blackwater section. Application of topsoil through spreader.	-	-	A703	39	-



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21.9.26	340	Obergraben. Blackwaterdüker. Einlaufbauwerk, Einfüllen der Dükerbaugrube.	Head race. Blackwater culvert. Intake structure, filling of the culvert excavation.	-	-	A703	39	-
21.9.26	341		(concrete bridge with steam train crossing over)	5	Civil			-
21.9.26	342	Obergraben. Blackwater Abschnitt. Arbeitsbeginn des Lübecker Absetzers.	Head race. Blackwater section. Start of work by the Lübeck spreader.	-	-	A703	40	-
21.9.26	343	Obergraben. Blackwater Abschnitt. Dammschüttung durch den Buckauer Absetzapparat, Kanalaushub durch den Krupp'schen Eimerkettenbagger 5002.	Head race. Blackwater section. Apparat embankment with the Buckauer sedimentation, canal excavation with the Krupp bucket excavator 5002	-	-	A703	40	-
21.9.26	344	Krafthausbaustelle. Blick auf die Baustelleeinrichtung von Westen. Von Links nach rechts: Hauptwerkstatt, Baukraftwerk mit Kühlturm, Brewa, Kabelkran.	Power house site. View of the building site from the west. From left to right: the main workshop, power station with cooling tower, Brewa, cable crane.	-	-	A701	53	2 part panorama
21.9.26	345	Untergraben. Felsaushub.	Tail race. Rock excavation.	-	-	A701	54	-
7.10.26	346	Belgische Bohrmaschine.	Belgian drill.	-	-	A700	44	-
7.10.26	347	Belgische Bohrmaschine.	Belgian drill.	-	-	A700	45	-
?10.26	348	Untergraben. Felsaushub. Auf dem Gelände 3 belgische Bohrmaschinen.	Tail Race. Rock excavation. 3 Belgian drills on site.	-	-	A701	5	-
11.10.26	349	Belgische Bohrmaschine.	Belgian drill.	-	-	A700	46	-
11.10.26	350	Belgische Bohrmaschine.	Belgian drill.	-	-	A700	45	-
11.10.26	351	Belgische Bohrmaschine.	Belgian drill.	-	-	A700	46	-

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14.10.26	353	Hauptwerkplatz und Lager Ardnacrusha. Wasserturm für 60 cbm.	Main Ardnacrusha work space and storage. Water tower for 60 cubic meters.	-	-	A701	54	-
14.10.26	354	Hauptwerkplatz und Lager Ardnacrusha. Baukraftwerk, Schaltheus und Öltankanlage und Kühlturm.	Main Ardnacrusha work space and storage. Power station, switch house and oil tank system and cooling tower.	-	-	A701	55	-
14.10.26	355	Ardnacrusha. Oeltank-Anlage mit Ab- & Zufahrt	Ardnacrusha. Oil tank system with access and departure	-	-	A701	55	-
19.10.26	356	Ardnacrusha. Verkaufsstelle der deutschen Kantine.	Ardnacrusha. Sales outlet of the German canteen. (barracks shop)	-	-	A700	43	-
19.10.26	357	Ardnacrusha. Barackenanlager	Ardnacrusha. Barracks. (barracks with women and children)	1	MMC	A700	43	-
19.10.26	358	Obergraben. Abschnitt Blackwater. Kanalaushub mit einen Krupp'scher Eimerkettenbagger an der Broadford Road. Im Hintergrunde: 1. Absetzer und ein weiterer Krupp'scher Eimerkettenbagger.	Head race. Blackwater section. Canal excavation with a Krupps bucket excavator at the Broadford Road. In background: 1 Krupps spreader and another bucket chain excavator.	2	Loose	A703	41	-
19.10.26	359	Obergraben. Abschnitt Blackwater. Dammschüttung durch 2 Absetzer. Im Hintergrund: 1 Krupp'scher Eimerkettenbagger beim Kanalsauhob. Im Vordergrund rechts: Ein fertigen Dammsstück mit Mutterboden abgedeckt.	Head race. Blackwater section. Embankment with 2 spreader. In the background: 1 Krupp bucket excavator at the canal excavation. In the foreground right: A final piece of embankment covered with topsoil.	-	-	A703	41	-
22.10.26	360	Wehrbaustelle. Barackenlager.	Weir construction site. Barracks.	-	-	A700	44	-

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22.10.26	361	Wehrbaustelle. Bauen des Fangedamm. Aushub von Geröll aus dem Shannon durch 2 Greifer.	Weir construction site. Construction of the cofferdam. Excavation of gravel from the River Shannon through 2 grippers.	-	-	A702	32	-
22.10.26	362	Staustrücke. Linkes Ufer. Lübecker Eimerkettenbagger, mit Gurtförderer.	Buffer area. Left bank. Lübeck bucket chain excavators, with belt conveyors.	-	-	A702	33	-
no date	363	Staustrücke. Linkes Ufer. Lübecker Eimerkettenbagger, mit Gurtförderer. Im Hintergrund: 1 Raupeneimerkettenbagger beim Mutterbodenabhub.	Buffer area. Left Bank. Lübeck bucket chain excavators, with belt conveyors. In the background: a crawler excavators bucket at the topsoil earth.	-	-	A702	33	-
23.10.26	364	Staustrücke. Linkes Ufer. Heraussehen eines im Ton abgerutschten Raupenlöffelbaggers.	Buffer area. Left bank. Here can be seen a tracked bucket excavator slipped in the clay.	-	-	A702	34	-
1.11.26	365	Ardnacrusha, Bruchstellen vom Transport herrührend.	Ardnacrusha, fractures from transport.	-	-	A700	35	-
2.11.26	366	Krafthausbaustelle. Baukraftwerk.	Power house site. Temporary power station.	-	-	A701	56	-
2.11.26	367	Alte Eimerleiter des Lübecker Dampfbaggers vor dem elektrischen Umbau.	Old bucket head in the Lübeck steam shovel before electrical conversion.	-	-	A700	36	-
2.11.26	368	Alte Eimerleiter des Lübecker Dampfbaggers vor dem elektrischen Umbau.	Old bucket head in the Lübeck steam shovel before electrical conversion.	-	-	A700	36	-
2.11.26	369	Krafthausbaustelle. Kabelkran. Entleeren eines Steinförderkorbes.	Power house site. Cable crane. Emptying a stone basket feed.	-	-	A701	56	-

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11.11.26	370	Clonlara. Brewa Windenhaus, Innensicht.	Clonlara. Brewa winding house, interior view.	-	-	A703	106	-
11.11.26	371	Brewa Clonlara. Siebtrommel.	Brewa Clonlara. Rotary screen.	-	-	A703	105	-
11.11.26	372	Brewa Clonlara. Nachbrecher.	Brewa Clonlara. Secondary crusher.	-	-	A703	104	-
11.11.26	373	Brewa Clonlara. Brecherwerk und Siebtrommel.	Brewa Clonlara. Crusher and rotary screen.	-	-	A703	105	-
11.11.26	374	Obergraben. Abschnitt Clonlara. Als Schlepplöffel umgebauter Raupenbagger beim Aushub der Baugrube für den Monaskehe-Düker.	Head race. Clonlara section. As a drag bucket converted tracked excavator during excavation of the pit for the Monaskehe-culvert.	-	-	A703	106	-
11.11.26	375	Obergraben. Abschnitt Clonlara. Als Schlepplöffel umgebauter Raupenbagger beim Aushub der Baugrube für den Monaskehe-Düker.	Head race. Clonlara section. As a drag bucket converted tracked excavator during excavation of the pit for the Monaskehe-culvert.	-	-	A703	107	-
11.11.26	376	Obergraben. Abschnitt Clonlara. Als Schlepplöffel umgebauter Raupenbagger beim Aushub der Baugrube für den Monaskehe-Düker.	Head race. Clonlara section. As a drag bucket converted tracked excavator during excavation of the pit for the Monaskehe-culvert.	-	-	A703	107	-
22.11.26	377	Ardnacrusha. Baugrube vom linken Damm gesehen	Ardnacrusha. Excavation seen from the left embankment	-	-	A701	58	-
22.11.26	378	Krafthaus. Schleifleitung zum Fahrwerk des Kabelkrans.	Powerhouse. Conductor rail to the chassis of the cable crane.	-	-	A701	57	-
22.11.26	379	Krafthaus. Kabelkran.	Power house. Cable crane.	-	-	A701	57	-
22.11.26	380	Obergraben. Abschnitt Blackwater. Transportzug mit Henschel-Lokomotive.	Head race. Blackwater section. Henschel locomotive with freight train.	-	-	A703	45	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
no date	381	Obergraben. Abschnitt Blackwater. Transportzug mit Henschel-Lokomotive.	Head race. Blackwater section. Henschel locomotive with freight train.	-	-	A703	45	-
27.11.26	382	Obergraben. Abschnitt Blackwater. Kruppbagger beim Kanalaushub.	Head race. Blackwater section. Krupp excavation at the canal.	-	-	A703	47	-
no date	383	Obergraben. Blackwaterabschnitt. Kruppscher Eimerkettenbagger und Buckauer Absetzer beim Kanalaushub und Dammbau.	Head race. Blackwater section. Krupp bucket chain excavator and spreader Buckauer at the canal excavation and dam construction.	-	-	A703	48	-
no date	384	Verschiedenes Lageplan der Baustrecke Limerick-Killaloe.	Various site maps of the construction route Limerick-Killaloe.	-	-	A700	50	-
29.11.26	386	Krafthaus mit anschliessendem Untergraben.	Powerhouse with following tail race.	-	-	A701	66	-
29.11.26	387	Krafthaus. Aushub der Baugrube. Im Hintergrund Hauptwerkplatz und Barackenlager.	Powerhouse. Excavation of the foundation pit. In the background, the main work space and barracks.	-	-	A701	58	-
29.11.26	388	Krafthaus mit Kabelkran. Im Hintergrund: Hauptwerkplatz und Barackenlager.	Powerhouse with cable crane. In the background: the main work space and barracks.	-	-	A701	68	3 photo panorama
29.11.26	389	Untergraben. Blackwater Abschnitt. Damm zwischen Krafthaus und Broadford Road.	Tail race. Blackwater section. Embankment between power house and Broadford Road.	1	MMC	A703	43	-
29.11.26	390	Ardnacrusha. Baustelleneinrichtung Brewa. Im Hintergrund Baukraftwerk mit Kühlturm.	Ardnacrusha. Building site, Brewa. In the background power station with cooling tower.	-	-	A701	59	-
no date	391	Obergraben. Normalquerschnitt.	Head race. Normal cross-section.	-	-	A700	52	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
30.11.26	392	Obergraben. Blackwaterabschnitt. Krupp'scher Eimerkettenbagger und Lübecker Absetzer beim Kanalaushub und Dammbau. Im Hintergrund ein weiterer Kruppbagger und 1. Krupp'scher Absetzer.	Head race. Blackwater section. Krupp bucket chain excavator and Lübeck spreader at the canal excavation and dam construction. In the background another Krupp excavator and 1 Krupp Spreader.	1	MMC	A703	46	2 part panorama
no date	393	Lageplan der Krafthausbaustelle.	Location of the power house site.	-	-	A700	62	-
16.11.26	394	Ardnacrusha. Elektrowerkstatt im Krafthaus	Ardnacrusha. Electrical workshop in the the powerhouse	-	-			-
4.12.26	395	Ardnacrusha. Baustelleneinrichtung. Kantine als Kirche eingerichtet.	Ardnacrusha. Site equipment. Canteen set up as a church.	-	-	A700	54	-
7.12.26	396	Ardnacrusha. Baustelleneinrichtung. Meisterwohnbaracken.	Ardnacrusha. Site equipment. Foreman barracks.	-	-	A700	55	-
10.12.26	397	Obengraben. O'Briensbridge. Innere der alten Mühle.	Head race. O'Briensbridge. Inside the old mill.	-	-	A700	53	-
10.12.26	398	Stau Strecke. Winterbild. Im Hintergrund und Lübecker Eimerkettenbagger mit Transportband.	Buffer area. Winter picture. In background, Lübeck bucket dredgers with conveyor belt.	-	-	A702	37	-
10.12.26	399	Clonlara Brewa. Abdichtung des Stangenrostes ein Grossbrecher.	Clonlara Brewa. Sealing the bar grating on a large breaker.	-	-	A700	55	-
10.12.26	400	Wehrbaustelle. Fangedamm. 1. Abschnitt im Bau.	Weir construction. Cofferdam. 1st section under construction.	-	-	A702	37	-
10.12.26	401	Clonlara. Grossbrechanlage.	Clonlara. Large crushing plant.	-	-	A703	111	-
10.12.26	402	Ardnacrusha. Kohlesbunker mit Wasserkran.	Ardnacrusha. Coal bunker with water crane.	-	-	A701	65	-
10.12.26	403	Wehrbaustelle. 70 PS fahrbare Kraftstation.	Weir construction. 70 hp mobile power station.	-	-	A702	35	-

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10.12.26	404	Ardnacrusha. Saegewerk.	Ardnacrusha. Sawmill.	-	-	A701	61	-
no date	405	Wehrbaustelle. Werkstatt.	Weir construction site. Workshop.	-	-	A702	34	-
no date	406	Wehrbaustelle. Blick in die Werkstatt.	Weir construction site. View of the workshop.	-	-	A702	35	-
10.12.26	407	Blackwater. Bagger 5002 Niederspannungsverteilungsanlage.	Blackwater. Backhoe 5002 low-voltage distribution system.	-	-	A700	48	-
10.12.26	408	Blackwater. Bagger 5002 Blick auf den Führerstand.	Blackwater. Backhoe 5002 view of the cab.	-	-	A700	48	-
11.12.26	409	Krafthausbaustelle. Blick in die Hauptwerkstatt.	Power house site. View of the main workshop.	-	-	A701	60	-
11.12.26	410	Krafthausbaustelle. Blick in die Hauptwerkstatt.	Power house site. View of the main workshop.	-	-	A701	59	-
11.12.26	411	Krafthausbaustelle. Blick in die Hauptwerkstatt.	Power house site. View of the main workshop.	-	-	A701	60	-
no date	412	Ardnacrusha. Erster Stock des Hauptmagazins.	Ardnacrusha. First floor of the main depot.	-	-	A701	64	-
no date	413	Ardnacrusha. Erdgeschoss des Hauptmagazins.	Ardnacrusha. Ground floor of the main depot.	-	-	A701	64	-
no date	414	Ardnacrusha. Blick auf die abgehenden Leitungen.	Ardnacrusha. View of the outgoing lines.	-	-	A701	62	-
date cut off	415	Ardnacrusha. Telefonstation.	Ardnacrusha. Telephone station.	-	-	A701	62	-
11.12.26	416	Untergraben. Blick in eine Kompressorstation mit Flottmann-Kompressor.	Tail race. View of a compressor station with Flottmann compressor.	-	-	A701	6	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
no date	417	Untergraben. Kompressorenstation mit rotierenden Demagkompressoren.	Tail race. Compressor station with rotating Demag compressors.	-	-	A701	71	-
date cut off	418	Ardnacrusha. Oelabfuell-Anlage getrennt nach Zapfstellen und Lagerstellen	Ardnacrusha. Oil filling system isolated by taps and bearings	-	-	A701	63	-
11.12.26	419	Ardnacrusha. Oelabfuell-Anlage getrennt nach Zapfstellen und Lagerstellen	Ardnacrusha. Oil filling system isolated by taps and bearings	-	-	A701	63	-
no date	420	Blackwater. Transformatorenwagen mit geöffneter Tür. Blick auf den Transformator.	Blackwater. Transformer car with open doors. View of the transformer.	-	-	A700	49	-
11.12.26	421	Ardnacrusha. Blick in den Hochspannungshaltraum Bedienungsgang.	Ardnacrusha. View of the high voltage switch room service passage.	-	-	A701	67	-
11.12.26	422	Ardnacrusha. Blick in den Hochspannungshaltraum Bedienungsgang.	Ardnacrusha. View of the high voltage switch room service passage.	-	-	A701	66	-
11.12.26	423	Ardnacrusha. Schiebebühne in beladenem Zustand.	Ardnacrusha. Sliding platform in the loaded state.	-	-	A701	65	-
11.12.26	424	Ardnacrusha. Gerachteschuppen	Ardnacrusha. Equipment(?) shed.	1	MMC	A701	41	-
11.12.26	425	Ardnacrusha. Ersatzteilleger.	Ardnacrusha. Spare parts warehouse.	-	-	A701	61	-
16.12.26	426	Motorschlepper an Deck der "Ambria" nach dem Eintreffen. (Die Diagonale der Weige zeigt starke verbiegungen.)	Motor tug on the deck of the "Ambria" after arrival. (The diagonal of the strut shows severe warping.)	-	-	A700	17	-



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16.12.26	427	Langholzwagen (Für Zollzwecke aufgenommen)	Long wooden car (taken for customs purposes)	-	-	A700	47	-
17.12.26	428	Tiefladewagen (Für Zollzwecke aufgenommen)	Low floor wagon (taken for customs purposes)	-	-	A700	47	-
no date	429	Verschiedenes Lageplan der Bauarbeiten oberhalb Lough Derg	General site map of the construction work above Lough Derg	-	-	A700	51	-
no date	430	Verschiedenes Lageplan des Lough Derg	General site map of Lough Derg	-	-	A700	53	-
19.12.26	431	Motorschlepper nach dem 1. Versuch Anzuheben. Der vordere Rahmen ist auf der rechten Seite nach vorn Weggedrückt.	Motor tug after 1st lifting attempt. The front frame is pushed forward on the right side.	-	-	A700	17	-
19.12.26	432	Motorschlepper an beiden Kranen hangend nach dem Frei-hieven der "Ambria".	Motor tug hanging from both cranes and the free hoist of the Ambria.	-	-	A700	18	-
19.12.26	433	Allgemeines. Hafen, Motorschlepper an beiden Kranen hangend nach dem Frei-hieven der "Ambria".	General. Harbour, motor tug hanging from both cranes and the free hoist of the Ambria.	-	-	A700	18	-
19.12.26	434	Motorschlepper beim Zuwasserlassen	Motor tug at the launch	-	-	A700	19	-
24.12.26	435	Obergraben. O'Briensbridge Dammausbruch am 22.12.1926 zwischen O'Briensbridge und Wehr. Gesamtausbruchmasse etwa 1800 cbm.	Head race. O'Briensbridge embankment broke on the 12.22.1926 between O'Briensbridge and weir. Total mass of eruption about 1800 cubic meters.	-	-	A702	36	-

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24.12.26	436	Obergraben. O'Briensbridge Dammausbruch am 22.12.1926 zwischen O'Briensbridge und Wehr. Gesamtausbruchmasse etwa 1800 cbm.	Head race. O'Briensbridge embankment broke on the 12.22.1926 between O'Briensbridge and weir. Total mass of eruption about 1800 cubic meters.	-	-	A702	36	-
24.12.26	437	Wehrbaustelle von Obergraben aus gesehen. Im Vordergrund Mutterbodenabhub für den Obergraben.	Weir construction site viewed from head race. In the foreground topsoil earth for the head race.	-	-	A702	38	-
no date	438	Situationsplan von der Krafthausbaustelle	Location map of the power house site	-	-	A700	52	-
no date	439	Längenschnitt des Obergrabens.	Average length of the upper canal.	-	-	A700	49	-
no date	439	Wasserkraftwerk am Shannonfluss in Irland, Übersichtsplan.	Hydropower plant on the River Shannon in Ireland, general map	-	-	A700	63	-
6.1.27	440	Clonlara. 6 Bohrlöcher a 11 m 550 kg Ammonit-Gelatine.	Clonlara. 6 boreholes with 11 m 550 kg ammonite gelatin.	-	-	A703	109	-
6.1.27	441	Clonlara. 6 Bohrlöcher a 11 m 550 kg Ammonit-Gelatine.	Clonlara. 6 boreholes with 11 m 550 kg ammonite gelatin.	-	-	A703	109	-
6.1.27	442	Clonlara, Loeffelbagger im Fels.	Clonlara, Loeffelbagger in the rock.	-	-	A703	110	-
6.1.27	443	Brewa. Materialabfuhr.	Brewa. Material removal.	-	-	A703	108	-
6.1.27	444	Brewa. Materialabfuhr.	Brewa. Material removal.	-	-	A703	108	-
-	446	Reproduktion vom Inn-Kraftwerk. (photo missing)	Reproduction of Inn power plant. (photo missing)	-	-	A700	58	-
-	447	Reproduktion vom Inn-Kraftwerk. (photo missing)	Reproduction of Inn power plant. (photo missing)	-	-	A700	59	-
-	448	Reproduktion vom Inn-Kraftwerk. (photo missing)	Reproduction of Inn power plant. (photo missing)	-	-	A700	58	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
23.1.27	449	Verschiedenes. Teilansicht vom neuen Unterwagen des Raupeneimerkettenbaggern.	Miscellaneous. Partial view of the new carrier of the caterpillar bucket-chain excavators.	-	-	A700	57	-
21.1.27	450	Verschiedenes. Versuche der Entladung von Steinmaterial für die Abdeckung des Obergrabens mit Transportkästen.	Miscellaneous. Attempts to unload stone material for the cover of the upper canal with transport boxes.	-	-	A700	56	-
21.1.27	451	Verschiedenes. Versuche der Entladung von Steinmaterial für die Abdeckung des Obergrabens mit Transportkästen.	Miscellaneous. Attempts to unload stone material for the cover of the upper canal with transport boxes.	-	-	A700	56	-
no date	452	Krafthaus. Baukraftwerk.	Power house. Temporary power station.	-	-	A701	67	-
no date	453	Krafthaus. Versetzen einer belg. Bohrmaschine durch von Kabelkran.	Power house. Moving a Belgian drill with the cable crane.	-	-	A701	90	-
28.1.27	454	Verschiedenes. Teilansicht vom neuen Unterwagen des Raupeneimerkettenbaggern.	Miscellaneous. Partial view of the new carrier of the caterpillar bucket-chain excavators.	-	-	A700	57	-
no date	455	Krafthaus. Brewa.	Power house. Brewa.	-	-	A700		-
4.2.27	456	Krafthaus. Brewa. Ardnacrusha. Schrägaufzugseite.	Power house. Brewa. Ardnacrusha. Inclined lift side.	-	-	A701	69	-
no date	457	Krafthaus. Kabelkran.	Power house. Cable crane.	-	-	A701	70	-
2.2.27	458	Obergraben. Blackwaterbrücke. Fundamentaushub und Betonierung der Pfeiler und Widerlager.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge. Foundation excavation and concreting of the pillar and buttress.	-	-	A703	52	-

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2.2.27	459	Obergraben. Blackwaterbrücke. Fundamentaushub und Betonierung der Pfeiler und Widerlager.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge. Foundation excavation and concreting of the pillar and buttress.	-	-	A703	52	-
4.2.27	460	Obergraben. Blackwaterabschnitt. Umbau des Lübecker Dampfbaggers zur Hochbaggerung und für elektrischen Betrieb.- Kanalaushub mit Löffelbagger.	Head race. Blackwater section. Reconstruction of the Lübeck steam shovel for high shovelling and electrical operating.- Canal excavation with shovel excavator.	-	-	A701	70	-
?.2.27	461	Blackwater. Blackwaterbrücke. Lübecker electr. Absetzer.	Blackwater. Blackwater Bridge. Lübeck electric spreader.	-	-	A703	48	-
16.2.27	462	Obergraben, O'Briensbridge, Dammrutsch, linker Damm Landseite.	Head race. O'Briensbridge, embankment slide, dam left land side.	-	-	A702	9	-
16.2.27	463	Obergraben. O'Briensbridge Dammrutsch linker Damm Landseite.	Head race. O'Briensbridge dam slip left embankment land side.	1	MMC	A702	8	-
16.2.27	464	Obergraben. O'Briensbridge, Lübecker Absetzer.	Head race. O'Briensbridge, Lübeck spreader.	-	-	A702	8	-
23.2.27	465	Obergraben. O'Briensbridge, Bagger Ba.I.6003	Head race. O'Briensbridge, excavator Ba.I.6003.	-	-	A702	7	-
23.2.27	466	Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk. Bau des Fangedammes Abschnitt 1 Aushub der Baugrube des Einlaufbauwerkes.	Weir and intake structure. Construction of the cofferdam. Section 1 Excavation of the foundation pit of the inlet structure.	-	-	A702	41	-
23.2.27	467	Wehrbaustelle. Im Vordergrund 2 fahrbare Kabelkrantürme, über dem Shannon feste Stütze. Arbeiten am Fangedamm I. Abschnitt.	Weir construction. In the foreground two mobile cable crane towers, fixed support over the River Shannon. Concrete work on the coffer dam Section 1.	-	-	A702	39	-

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23.2.27	468	Wehrbaustelle. Im Vordergrund 2 fahrbare Kabelkrantürme, über dem Shannon feste Stütze. Arbeiten am Fangedamm I. Abschnitt.	Weir construction. In the foreground two mobile cable crane towers, fixed support over the River Shannon. Concrete work on the coffer dam Section 1.	-	-	A702	38	-
23.2.27	469	Wehrbaustelle. Blick vom fahrbaren Kabelkranturm flussabwärts nach O'Briensbridge. Überschwemmtes Gebiet.	Weir construction. View from mobile tower crane cable downstream to O'Briensbridge. Flooded area.	-	-	A702	40	-
23.2.27	470	Wehrbaustelle. Greifbagger auf dem Shannon.	Weir construction. Grab dredger on the Shannon.	-	-	A702	39	-
7.3.27	471	Ardnacrusha. Materialprüfanstalt.	Ardnacrusha. Material Testing.	-	-	A700	64	-
14.3.27	472	Untergraben. Felsaushub mit Löffelbagger.	Tail race. Rock excavation with shovel excavator.	-	-	A701	71	-
7.3.27	473	Krafthausbaustelle. Zementsilo im Bau.	Power house site. Cement silo under construction.	-	-	A701	74	-
no date	475	Obergraben Blackwaterabschnitt. Lübecker Eimerkettenbagger oberhalb des Krafthauses als Hochbagger arbeitend.	Head race. Blackwater section. Lübeck bucket chain excavator above by the power house, working as a high dredger.	-	-	A703	49	-
14.3.27	476	Obergraben: Blackwaterbrücke: Aufstellen des leergerüstes für linke Seitenöffnung.	Head race: Blackwater Bridge: Setting up the empty frame for left side opening.	-	-	A703	53	-
14.3.27	477	Obergraben: Blackwaterbrücke: Aufstellen des leergerüstes für linke Seitenöffnung.	Head race: Blackwater Bridge: Setting up the empty frame for left side opening.	-	-	A703	53	-

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22.3.27	478	Obergraben: Blackwater-Abschnitt. Einsturz des Turmdrehkranes.	Head race: Blackwater section. Collapse of the tower crane.	-	-	A700	61	-
22.3.27	479	Obergraben: Blackwater-Abschnitt. Einsturz des Turmdrehkranes.	Head race: Blackwater section. Collapse of the tower crane.	-	-	A700	61	-
22.3.27	480	Obergraben: Blackwater-Abschnitt. Einsturz des Turmdrehkranes.	Head race: Blackwater section. Collapse of the tower crane.	-	-	A700	62	-
30.3.27	481	Brecher Ardnacrusha. Materialaufgabe auf dem Zuführungsrost zum Grossbrecher.	Ardnacrusha crusher. Material feed to the supply grate for large breakers.	-	-	A701	75	-
date cut off	482	Brewa Ardnacrusha. Krupp-grossbrecher.	Brewa Ardnacrusha. Large Krupps breakers.	-	-	A701	77	-
date cut off	483	Brewa Ardnacrusha. Grossbrecher.	Brewa Ardnacrusha. Large breakers.	-	-	A701	78	-
30.3.27	484	Brewa Ardnacrusha. Grossbrecher.	Brewa Ardnacrusha. Large breakers.	-	-	A701	74	-
30.3.27	485	2 Krupp-Nachbrecher mit Verteilungsrutsche.	2 Krupps secondary crushers with distribution chute.	-	-	A701	75	-
30.3.27	486	Becherwerke. Waschmaschine und Siebtrommeln. Rechts: Becherwerk für Walzenmühle, nachträglich eingebaut.	Bucket elevators. Washing machine and rotary screens. Right: bucket elevator for rolling mill, retrofitted.	-	-	A701	76	-
30.3.27	487	Becherwerke. Waschmaschinen und Siebtrommeln. Rechts: Becherwerk für Walzenmühle, nachträglich eingebaut.	Bucket elevators. Washing machines and rotary screens. Right: bucket elevator for rolling mill, retrofitted.	-	-	A701	77	-
11.4.27	488	Krafthaus. Aushub der Krafthausbaugrube.	Power house. Excavation of the power house foundation pit.	-	-	A701	73	-

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11.4.27	489	Krafthaus. Aushub und Krafthausbaugrube.	Power house. Excavation and power house foundation pit.	-	-	A701	73	-
11.4.27	490	Obergraben. Blackwater Bridge, Aufstellen der Leerbögen.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge, installation of the empty arches.	-	-	A703	54	-
13.4.27	491	Untergraben. Felsaushub.	Tail race. Rock excavation.	-	-	A701	72	-
13.4.27	492	Untergraben. Felsaushub.	Tail race. Rock excavation.	-	-	A701	72	-
no date	493	Doonasshouse. Sittingroom	Doonass House. Sittingroom	-	-	A700	59	-
no date	494	Doonasshouse. Diningroom	Doonass House. Diningroom	1	MMC	A700	60	-
18.5.27	495	Untergraben. Blick in die Baugrube des Untergrabens anschliessend an den Krafthaus.	Tail race. View of the foundation pit of the tail race adjoining the power house.	-	-	A701	79	-
14.4.27	496	Doonasshouse Grosser Speisesaal	Doonass House. Large dining room.	1	MMC	A700	60	-
no date	497	Schematische Ansicht.	Schematic View.	-	-	A700	63	-
no date	498	Grundriß	Plan.	-	-	A700	64	-
no date	499	Leistung einer Brech-und Waschanlage [Brewa] bei Verarbeitung von Kalkstein (Shannon Irland)	Performance of a crushing and washing plant [Brewa] for processing of limestone (Shannon Ireland)	-	-	A700	65	-
no date	500	Leistung einer Brech-und Waschanlage [Brewa] bei Verarbeitung von Granite (Schwartzbach)	Performance of a crushing and washing plant [Brewa] for processing of granite (Schwartzbach)	-	-	A700	65	-
no date	501	Schematische Ansicht.	Schematic View.	-	-	A700	63	-
21.4.27	502	Brewa Ardnacrusha. Zubringerrost zum Kruppbrecher. Maulweite 900 x 1200.	Brewa Ardnacrusha. Zubringerrost to Krupp crusher. Opening width 900 x 1200.	-	-	A701	78	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
no date	503	Brewa Ardnacrusha. Kruppbrecher Maulweite 900 x 1200 mit Zubringerost.	Brewa Ardnacrusha. Krupp crusher opening width 900 x 1200 with Zubringerost.	-	-	A701	76	-
date cut off	504	Brewa Ardnacrusha. Zubringerost zum Kruppbrecher. Im Hintergrund Becherwerk, Waschmaschinen mit Siebtrommel	Brewa Ardnacrusha. Zubringerost to the Krupp crusher. In the background, bucket elevator, washing machines with rotary screens	-	-	A701	79	-
21.4.27	505	Blackwater-Brücke. Aufstellung des Leergerüstes und Betonierung des rechten Widerlagern.	Blackwater Bridge. Establishment of the empty framework and concreting of the right abutments.	-	-	A703	54	-
27.4.27	506	Staustrücke. Linkes Ufer. Aushub des Felseinschnittes bei Parteen Villa.	Buffer area. Left Bank. Excavation of the rock cuts at Parteen Villa.	-	-	A702	43	-
27.4.27	507	Staustrücke. Linkes Ufer. Aushub des Felseinschnittes bei Parteen Villa.	Buffer area. Left Bank. Excavation of the rock cuts at Parteen Villa.	-	-	A702	43	-
no date	508	Wehr u. anschliessender Obergraben. Gesamtbild.	Weir and subsequent head race. Overall picture.	-	-	A702	42	2 photo panorama
27.4.27	509	Wehr u. anschliessender Obergraben.	Weir and subsequent head race.	-	-	A702	41	-
27.4.27	510	Wehr. Düker unter dem Einlaufbauwerk. Eisenbetonbahn des Dükers unter dem rechten Anschlussdamm.	Weir. Culvert under the intake structure. Reinforced concrete railway of the culvert under the right embankment.	-	-	A702	40	-
27.4.27	511	Obergraben Clonlara. Felsaushub.	Head race Clonlara. Rock excavation.	-	-	A703	111	-



Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
date cut off	512	Krafthaus. Baugrube für Wasserschloss und Rohrbahn. Reinigung eines Teiles der Felssohle des Wasserschlosses zum Betonieren. Im Hintergrund: Fertigstellung der Bohrlöcher durch belg. Bohrmasch. Zum Einpressen von Zementmilch zur Dichtung des Wasserschlosses.	Power house. Foundation pit for surge tank and the tubular track. Purification of a portion of the rock bottom of the surge tank for the concreting. In the background: completion of drilling holes through Belgian drilling machines to the forcing of cement slurry for sealing the surge tank.	-	-	A701	80	-
13.5.27	513	Krafthaus. Blick vom Wasserschloss in die Baugrube des Krafthauses.	Power house. View from water tower into the foundation pit of the powerhouse.	-	-	A701	80	-
no date	514	Krafthaus. Reinigen der Fundamentsohle für das Wasserschloss. Bohrungen für die Dichtung des Felsuntergrundes.	Power house. Cleaning the base of the foundation for the surge. Holes for the sealing of the bedrock.	-	-	A701	81	-
??5.27	515	Blackwaterbrücke. Aufbau des Leergerüsts.	Blackwater Bridge. Construction of the empty scaffolding.	-	-	A703	55	-
17.5.27	516	Krafthaus. Beginn der Betonarbeiten am Wasserschloss. Rechts sind die Aufsatzrohre auf den Bohrlochern für die Zementmilch-Einpressung zu sehen.	Power house. Start of concrete work on the surge tank. Right, the top tubes in the boreholes to see the cement slurry pressing-in.	-	-	A701	81	-
18.5.27	517	Krafthaus. Betonmischanlage im Kabelkran.	Power house. Concrete mixing plant on the cable crane.	-	-	A701	86	-
30.5.27	518	Obergraben, O'Briensbridge. Haus McNamara. Baubehinderung.	Head race, O'Briensbridge. McNamara house. Impediment to the works.	-	-	A700	71	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
30.5.27	519	Obergraben, O'Briensbridge. Baubehinderung. Hauser McNamara und Ryan in O'Briensbridge, durch deren Nichtraumung der Dammbau gehindert wird.	Head race, O'Briensbridge. Impediment to the works. McNamara and Ryan houses in O'Briensbridge hindering the dam construction by their failure to evacuate.	-	-	A700	70	-
30.5.27	520	Obergraben, O'Briensbridge. Baubehinderung. Haus des Mr. McNamara.	Head race, O'Briensbridge. Impediment to the works. House of Mr. McNamara.	-	-	A700	70	-
27.5.27	521	Obergraben. Blackwaterbrücke. Leegerüst und Schalung.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge. Empty scaffolding and shuttering.	-	-	A703	55	-
2.6.27	522	Obergraben, O'Briensbridge. Baubehinderung. Hauser McNamara und Ryan in O'Briensbridge, durch deren Nichtraumung der Dammbau gehindert wird.	Head race, O'Briensbridge. Impediment to the works. McNamara and Ryan houses in O'Briensbridge hindering the dam construction by their failure to evacuate.	-	-	A700	69	-
30.5.27	523	Obergraben, O'Briensbridge. Haus Corbett, Baubehinderung.	Head race, O'Briensbridge. Corbett house, impediment to the works.	-	-	A700	68	-
3.6.27	524	Bruch der unteren Turnswelle Lübecker Bagger Ba III 5006	Fracture of the lower turn shaft Lübecker excavator Ba III 5006	-	-	A700	66	-
no date	525	Antriebsturas mit angefertigten Nocken.	Drive sprocket wheel with custom-made cams.	-	-	A700	66	-
7.6.27	526	Fahrwerkskuppelung, G. 20	Suspension coupler. G 20	-	-	A700	68	-
8.6.27	527	Krafthausbaustelle. Betonieren des Wasserschlosses 1. Block, im Vordergr. Reinigen für Sohle für Block 2 und 3.	Power house site. Concreting of the surge tank 1st Block, in the foreground. Cleaning the bottom for Block 2 and 3	-	-	A701	82	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
no date	528	Krafthausbaustelle. Betonieren des Wasserschlosses 1. Block	Power house site. Concreting of the surge tank 1st Block	-	-	A701	82	-
no date	529	Obergraben. Blackwaterbrücke.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge.	-	-	A703	56	-
no date	530	Krafthausbaustelle. Zementsilo.	Power house site. Cement silo.	-	-	A701	90	-
no date	531	Krafthausbaustelle. Zementsilo.	Power house site. Cement silo.	-	-	A701	89	-
9.6.27	532	Krafthausbaustelle. Zementsilo.	Power house site. Cement silo.	-	-	A701	88	-
13.6.27	533	Krafthausbaustelle. Kabelkran mit eingebauter Mischanlage.	Power house site. Cable crane with built-in mixer.	-	-	A701	87	-
no date	534	Krafthausbaustelle. Kabelkran mit eingebauter Mischanlage.	Power house site. Cable crane with built-in mixer.	-	-	A701	88	-
13.6.27	535	Krafthausbaustelle. Kabelkran mit eingebauter Mischanlage.	Power house site. Cable crane with built-in mixer.	-	-	A701	89	-
13.6.27	536	Krafthausbaustelle. Kabelkran mit eingebauter Mischanlage.	Power house site. Cable crane with built-in mixer.	-	-	A701	86	-
13.6.27	537	Krafthausbaustelle. Kabelkran mit eingebauter Mischanlage.	Power house site. Cable crane with built-in mixer.	-	-	A701	87	-
13.6.27	538	Obergraben - Blackwaterbrücke. Verlegung der Eisenarmierung für den Kragträger über die linke Öffnung.	Head race - Blackwater Bridge. Relocation of the steel reinforcement for cantilever over the left opening.	1	MMC	A703	56	-
17.6.27	539	Obergraben.- Blackwaterbrücke. Einbringen der Eiseneinlagen für den Träger über der linken Öffnung.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge. Introduction of the iron inserts for the support over the left opening.	-	-	A703	57	-
22.6.27	540	Obergraben - Blackwaterbrücke. Betonieren des Trägers über der linken Öffnung.	Head race - Blackwater Bridge. Concreting of the support over the left opening.	-	-	A703	57	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
23.6.27	541	Limerick. Für die Hafenerweiterung vorgesehene des Gelände.	Limerick. Site provided for the port expansion.	-	-	A700	72	-
23.6.27	542	Limerick. Für die Hafenerweiterung vorgesehene des Gelände.	Limerick. Site provided for the port expansion.	-	-	A700	72	-
23.6.27	543	Limerick. Für die Hafenerweiterung vorgesehene des Gelände.	Limerick. Site provided for the port expansion.	-	-	A700	71	-
24.6.27	544	Wehrbaustelle. Fangedamm 1. Bauabschnitt fertiggestellt.	Weir construction. Cofferdam 1st Phase of construction completed.	-	-	A702	44	-
24.6.27	545	Wehrbaustelle. Betonieren der Sohle und der Pfeiler des Schiffsdurchlasses im Einlaufbauwerk.	Weir construction. Concreting of base and pier of the ship's passage on the intake structure.	-	-	A702	47	-
24.6.27	546	Wehrbaustelle. Betonieren der Sohle und der Pfeiler des Schiffsdurchlasses.	Weir construction. Concreting of base and pier of the ship's passage.	-	-	A702	46	-
24.6.27	547	Wehrbaustelle. Einlauf des Dükers unter dem Einlaufbauwerk.	Weir construction. Inlet of the culvert under the intake structure.	-	-	A702	45	-
28.6.27	548	Bruch eines Laufrades des Kabelkranes Ardnacrusha infolge eines Lunkers.	Breakage of a wheel of the Ardnacrusha cable crane as a result of voids.	-	-	A700	67	-
28.6.27	549	Bruch eines Laufrades des Kabelkranes Ardnacrusha infolge eines Lunkers.	Breakage of a wheel of the Ardnacrusha cable crane as a result of voids.	-	-	A700	67	-
no date	550	Obergraben. Blackwaterbrücke. Turmdrehkran beim Aufbringen der Steinschüttung und bei der Herstellung der Betonplatten auf den Kanalböschungen.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge. Tower crane during application of the rock fill and the making of the concrete slabs of the canal embankments.	-	-	A703	51	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
no date	551	Obergraben. Blackwaterbrücke. Turmdrehkran beim Aufbringen der Steinschüttung und bei der Herstellung der Betonplatten auf den Kanalböschungen.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge. Tower crane during application of the rock fill and the making of the concrete slabs of the canal embankments.	-	-	A703	50	-
7.7.27	552	Obergraben. Blackwaterbrücke. Turmdrehkran beim Aufbringen der Steinschüttung und bei der Herstellung der Betonplatten auf den Kanalböschungen.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge. Tower crane during application of the rock fill and the making of the concrete slabs of the canal embankments.	-	-	A703	49	-
no date	553	Wehrbaustelle. Fangedamm 1. Bauabschnitt nach dem Abspülen.	Weir construction. Cofferdam 1st Phase of construction after the pumping.	-	-	A702	44	-
no date	554	Wehrbaustelle. Fangedamm 1. Bauabschnitt nach dem Abspülen.	Weir construction. Cofferdam 1st Phase of construction after the pumping.	-	-	A702	45	-
9.7.27	555	Wehrbaustelle. Fangedamm 1. Bauabschnitt Oberstromseite nach dem Abspülen.	Weir construction. Cofferdam 1st Construction phase. Above water side after pumping.	-	-	A702	47	-
9.7.27	556	Wehrbaustelle. Fangedamm 1. Bauabschn. Unterstromseite nach dem Abspülen.	Weir construction. Cofferdam 1st Construction phase. under water side after pumping.	-	-	A702	46	-
12.7.27	557	Obergraben. Blackwater Ausbreiten der Steinschüttung auf der Dammböschung mit Hilfe des Turmdrehkrans.	Head race. Blackwater spreading of the rock fill at the dam embankment by means of the tower crane.	-	-	A703	51	-
14.7.27	558	Krafthaus. Baugrubenaushub am rechten Hang unterhalb des Krafthauses.	Power house. Excavation foundation pit on the right slope below the powerhouse.	-	-	A701	85	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
no date	559	Krafthaus. Betonieren des Wasserschlosses.	Power house. Concreting of the surge tanks.	-	-	A701	83	-
14.7.27	560	Krafthaus. Betonieren des Wasserschlosses.	Power house. Concreting of the surge tanks.	-	-	A701	83	-
14.7.27	561	Krafthaus. Betonieren des Wasserschlosses und Herstellen der Bohrlocher für die Zementeinpressungen.	Power house. Concreting of the surge tank and making the holes for the cement grouting.	-	-	A701	84	-
14.7.27	562	Krafthaus. Aushub der Baugrube für den Krafthaustiefbau. Im Hintergrund rechts: Betonieren des Wasserschlosses.- Im Hintergrundlinks: Aushubarbeiten für die rechte Anschlussmauer mit Hilfe eines kleinen Raupenloffbagger.	Power house. Excavation of the foundation pit for the underground power house. In the right background: concreting of the surge tank. In the left background: Excavation works for the right connection wall using a small tracked excavator bucket.	-	-	A701	84	-
14.7.27	563	Krafthaus. Aushub der Baugrube für den Krafthaustiefbau. Im Hintergrund rechts: Betonieren des Wasserschlosses.	Power house. Excavation of the foundation pit for the underground power house. In the right background: concreting of the surge tank.	-	-	A701	85	-
18.7.27	564	Verladen eines Raupeneimerkettenbagger zum Transport über den Lough Derg.	Loading of a tracked bucket excavator for transport over Lough Derg.	-	-	A702	48	-
18.7.27	565	Verladen eines Raupeneimerkettenbagger zum Transport über den Lough Derg.	Loading of a tracked bucket excavator for transport over Lough Derg.	-	-	A702	49	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
18.7.27	566	Verladen eines Raupeneimerkettenbaggers zum Transport über den Lough Derg.	Loading of a tracked bucket excavator for transport over Lough Derg.	-	-	A702	49	-
19.7.27	567	Transport eines Raupeneimerkettenbaggers über den Lough Derg,	Tracked bucket excavator transported over Lough Derg.	-	-	A702	50	-
19.7.27	568	Transport eines Raupeneimerkettenbaggers über den Lough Derg,	Tracked bucket excavator transported over Lough Derg.	-	-	A702	50	-
19.7.27	569	Transport eines Raupeneimerkettenbaggers über den Lough Derg,	Tracked bucket excavator transported over Lough Derg.	-	-	A702	51	-
20.7.27	570	Absetzer 6001 und 6003 im Eingang zum Annegrovetal.	Spreaders 6001 and 6003 at the entrance to the Annegrove valley.	-	-	A703	59	-
20.7.27	571	Absetzer 6001 und 6003 im Eingang zum Annegrovetal.	Spreaders 6001 and 6003 at the entrance to the Annegrove valley.	-	-	A703	60	-
20.7.27	572	Absetzer 6002 . Im Eingang zum Annegrove-Tal.	Spreader 6002 at the entrance to the Annegrove valley.	-	-	A703	60	-
no date	573	Absetzer. Gurtförderband.	Spreader. Conveyor belt.	-	-	A703	61	-
20.7.27	574	Absetzer. Blick auf das Becherwerk. 6003.	Spreader. View of the elevator. 6003.	-	-	A703	64	-
22.7.27	575	Absetzer. Blick auf das Becherwerk. 6003.	Spreader. View of the elevator. 6003.	-	-	A703	61	-
22.7.27	576	Obergraben-Blackwaterabschnitt. Absetzer 6001 und 6003 am Eingang zum Annegrovetal.	Head race - Blackwater section. Absetzer 6001 and 6003 on the the entrance for the Anne Grove valley.	-	-	A703	58	-
22.7.27	577	Auf der Baustelle konstruierte Wagen zum Verziehen des Schotters und der Kanalböschung.	On-site wagon designed for the distortion of the gravel and the canal embankment.	-	-	A703	62	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
22.7.27	578	Auf der Baustelle konstruierte Wagen zum Verziehen des Schotters und der Kanalböschung.	On-site wagon designed for the distortion of the gravel and the canal embankment.	-	-	A703	63	-
22.7.27	579	Obergraben.- Blackwaterabschnitt. Aufbringen der Beschotterung und Betonabdeckung auf den Obergraben. Verziehen des Schotters mittels eines besonders konstruierten Wagens.	Head race Blackwater section. Application of the ballasting and concrete cover at the head race. Distortion of the gravel by means of a specially constructed vehicle.	-	-	A703	64	-
no date	580	Auf der Baustelle konstruierte Wagen zum Verziehen des Schotters und der Kanalböschung.	On-site wagon designed for the distortion of the gravel and the canal embankment.	-	-	A703	65	-
22.7.27	581	Turmdrehkran von Wolff. Schlechte Verzahnung des Fahrwerkes.	Tower crane by Wolff. Weak links in the suspension.	-	-	A700	69	-
26.7.27	582	Lübecker Absetzer. Rückansicht des Aufgabebandes.	Lübeck spreader. Rear view of the receiving belt.	-	-	A703	62	-
26.7.27	583	Lübecker Absetzer. Ansicht des Aufgabebandes.	Lübeck spreader. View of the receiving belt.	-	-	A703	63	-
27.7.27	584	Absetzer 6001 und 6003 im Eingang zum Annegrovetal.	Spreaders 6001 and 6003 at the entrance to the Annegrove valley.	-	-	A703	59	-
27.7.27	585	Absetzer 6001 und 6003 im Eingang zum Annegrovetal.	Spreaders 6001 and 6003 at the entrance to the Annegrove valley.	-	-	A703	58	-
27.7.27	586	Blackwater, Bruch der ausgebaggerte Dammböschung.	Blackwater, breach of the excavated embankment.	-	-	A703	71	-
2.8.27	587	Hafen Limerick. Dampfer "Ambria" mit hoher Decksladung.	Limerick Port. Steamer "Ambria" with a heavily loaded deck.	-	-	A700	73	-
2.8.27	588	Hafen Limerick. Dampfer "Ambria" mit hoher Decksladung.	Limerick Port. Steamer "Ambria" with a heavily loaded deck.	-	-	A700	75	-



Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
2.8.27	589	Hafen Limerick. Dampfer "Ambria" mit hoher Decksladung.	Limerick Port. Steamer "Ambria" with a heavily loaded deck.	-	-	A700	74	-
no date	590	Vorschlag von Krupp. Absetzer mit schwenkbarem ausleger (ohne Unterband)	Proposal by Krupp. Stacker with swivel boom (without belt)	-	-	A700	78	-
6.9.27	591	Obergraben. Newton. Elektrischer Eimerkettenbagger 5001. Absacken des Baggers infolge Schwimmsandschicht.	Head race. Newton. Electric bucket dredger 5,001. Subsidence of excavator due to floating sand layer.	-	-	A700	75	-
no date	591	Schematische Darstellung des Absetzers.	Schematic representation of the spreader.	-	-	A700	78	-
6.9.27	592	Obergraben. Newton. Elektrischer Eimerkettenbagger 5001. Absacken des Baggers infolge Schwimmsandschicht.	Head race. Newton. Electric bucket dredger 5,001. Subsidence of excavator due to floating sand layer.	-	-	A700	74	-
19.7.27	594	Raupeneimerkettenbagger auf dem Marsch.	Tracked bucket excavator on the march.	-	-	A702	48	-
15.8.27	595	Obergraben, Snipe Culvert, Feststelllaufnahme an Spundwand.	Head race. Snipe culvert, locking intake of sheet piling.	-	-	A700	76	-
no date	596	Obergraben, Snipe Culvert, Feststelllaufnahme an Spundwand.	Head race. Snipe culvert, locking intake of sheet piling.	-	-	A700	76	-
15.8.27	597	Obergraben, Snipe Culvert, Feststelllaufnahme an Spundwand.	Head race. Snipe culvert, locking intake of sheet piling.	-	-	A700	77	-
no date	598	Obergraben, Snipe Culvert, Feststelllaufnahme an Spundwand.	Head race. Snipe culvert, locking intake of sheet piling.	-	-	A700	77	-
17.8.27	599	Obergraben, Snipe Culvert, Feststelllaufnahme an Spundwand.	Head race. Snipe culvert, locking intake of sheet piling.	-	-	A700	79	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
17.8.27	600	Obergraben, Snipe Culvert, Feststellaufnahme an Spundwand.	Head race. Snipe culvert, locking intake of sheet piling.	-	-	A700	79	-
17.8.27	601	Obergraben, Snipe Culvert, Feststellaufnahme an Spundwand.	Head race. Snipe culvert, locking intake of sheet piling.	-	-	A700	80	-
17.8.27	602	Obergraben, Snipe Culvert, Feststellaufnahme an Spundwand.	Head race. Snipe culvert, locking intake of sheet piling.	-	-	A700	80	-
no date	603	Krafthaus. Felsaushub der Baugrube Anfang August vor Beginn des Aushubs vor den Vollausbau.	Power house. Rock excavation of the foundation pit in early August before the start of the excavation for the full development.	-	-	A701	91, 146	-
17.8.27	604	Ardnacrusha. Felsschle und -wand vor der Sprengung.	Ardnacrusha. Rock bottom and wall prior to demolition.	-	-	A701	101	-
no date	605	Ardnacrusha. Krafthausaushub für die rechts Flügelmauer am Wasserschloss.	Ardnacrusha. Power house excavation for the right wing wall at the surge tank.	-	-	A701	101	-
19.8.27	606	Krafthaus. Aushub für die rechte Flügelmauer am Wasserschloss. Die Photographie zeigt in der ankreuzten Linie die gute Verbindung zwischen Damm und gewachsenem Boden.	Power house. Excavation for the right wing wall at the surge tank. The photograph shows the ticked line marking the good bond between the dam and natural ground.	-	-	A701	102	-
28.8.27	607	Hauptwerkplatz und Lager (Ardnacrusha). Zement- und Betonprüfungsanstalt.	Main work space and storage (Ardnacrusha). Cement and Concrete Testing Laboratory.	-	-	A701	91, 146	-
6.9.27	608	Hauptwerkplatz und Lager (Ardnacrusha). Brand des Hauptmagazinen des Öllagers und des Zementschuppens.	Main work space and storage (Ardnacrusha). Fire in the main magazines of the oil storage and cement shed.	-	-	A700	84	-

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6.9.27	609	[no title, but same scene as 608]	[no title, but same scene as 608]	-	-	A700	84	-
6.9.27	610	[no title, but same scene as 608]	[no title, but same scene as 608]	-	-	A700	85	-
6.9.27	611	[no title, but same scene as 608]	[no title, but same scene as 608]	-	-	A700	85	-
7.9.27	612	[no title, but aftermath of fire in 608]	[no title, but aftermath of fire in 608]	-	-	A700	87	-
7.9.27	613	[no title, but aftermath of fire in 608]	[no title, but aftermath of fire in 608]	-	-	A700	86	-
7.9.27	614	[no title, but aftermath of fire in 608]	[no title, but aftermath of fire in 608]	-	-	A700	86	-
no date	615	Wehrbaustelle. Betonieren eines Pfeilers des Einlaufbauwerkes.	Weir construction. Concreting of a pillar of the inlet structure.	-	-	A702	51	-
12.9.27	616	Wehrbaustelle. Betonieren des Einlaufbauwerkes.	Weir construction. Concreting of the inlet structure.	-	-	A702	52	-
16.9.27	617	Wehrbaustelle. Felsaushub am Fangedamm für den 1. Bauabschnitt.	Weir construction. Rock excavation at the cofferdam for construction stage 1.	-	-	A702	52	-
no date	618	Wehrbaustelle. Blick auf die Betonarbeiten des Einlaufbauwerkes und die Aushubarbeiten am Fangedamm für dem 1. Bauabschnitt des Wehres.	Weir construction. View of the concrete work of the inlet structure and the excavation concrete work at the coffer dam for the 1st Phase of construction of the weir.	-	-	A702	53	-
16.9.27	619	Wehrbaustelle. Felsaushub des Fangedammes für den 1. Abschnitt. Im Hintergrunde betonieren des Einlaufbauwerkes. Links Aufstellen des Träger u. Freilegen der Felssohle für den Fangedamm 2. Abschnitt.	Weir construction. Rock excavation of the cofferdam for the first section. In the background, concreting the inlet structure. Left, the support and exposure rock bottom for the second cofferdam section.	-	-	A702	53	-

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16.9.27	620	Staustrecke. Linkes Ufer. Aushub des Felseinschnittes bei Parteen Villa.	Buffer area. Left Bank. Excavation of the rock cuts at Parteen Villa.	-	-	A702	54	-
16.9.27	621	Wehrbaustelle. Betonieren eines Pfeilers des Einlaufbauwerkes.	Weir construction. Concreting of a pillar of the inlet structure.	-	-	A702	54	-
16.9.27	622	Wehrbaustelle. Blick auf die Fangedämme vom linken Ufer Oberstrom.	Weir construction. View of the cofferdams from the left bank upstream.	-	-	A702	55	-
no date	623	Wehrbaustelle. Blick auf die Fangedämme vom linken Ufer Oberstrom.	Weir construction. View of the cofferdams from the left bank upstream.	-	-	A702	55	-
no date	624	Obergraben. Blackwaterabschnitt. Aufbringen vom Mutterboden am Turmdrehkran.	Head race. Blackwater section. Application of topsoil at the tower crane.	-	-	A703	66	-
21.9.27	625	Obergraben. Blackwaterabschnitt. Herstellen der Betonplatten.	Head race. Blackwater section. Manufacture of the concrete slabs.	-	-	A703	67	-
no date	626	Obergraben. Blackwaterabschnitt. Planieren der Steinschüttung mit Spezialwagen.	Head race. Blackwater section. Leveling rock fill with special wagon.	-	-	A703	68	-
22.9.27	627	Obergraben. Blackwaterabschnitt. Planieren der vom Absetzer geschütteten Dämme.	Head race. Blackwater section. Leveling of the rubble from spreader dams.	-	-	A703	65	-
24.9.27	628	Obergraben. Blackwaterabschnitt. Einwalzen der Lehmdichtung.	Head race. Blackwater section. Rolling in of the clay seal.	-	-	A703	67	-
24.9.27	629	Obergraben. Blackwaterabschnitt. Füllen der Transportkästen des Turmdrehkrans.	Head race. Blackwater section. Filling of the transport boxes of the tower crane.	-	-	A703	66	-

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24.9.27	630	Obergraben. Blackwaterabschnitt. Aufbringen der Steinschüttung mit Turmdrehkran.	Head race. Blackwater section. Application of the rock fill with tower crane.	-	-	A703	68	-
29.9.27	631	Krafthausbaustelle. Wasserschloss und Flügelmauer rechts.	Power house site. Surge tank and wing wall on right.	-	-	A701	92	-
29.9.27	632	Krafthausbaustelle. Wasserschloss. Schalung für Rohreinlauf	Power house site. Surge tank. Formwork for inlet pipe	-	-	A701	93	-
29.9.27	633	Krafthausbaustelle. Blick von links auf Krafthausbaugrube.	Power house site. View from left of power house foundation pit.	-	-	A701	97	-
29.9.27	634	Krafthausbaustelle. Erdaushub für 38 KV Schalhaus.	Power house site. Excavation for 38 KV switching station.	-	-	A701	92	-
no date	635	Krafthausbaustelle. Einschalung der Pfeiler und Druckrohreinläufe V+VI am Wasserschloss.	Power house site. Encapsulation of the piers and pressure pipe inlets V + VI at the surge tank.	-	-	A701	96	-
29.9.27	636	Krafthausbaustelle. Betonierung der Flügelmauer rechts am Wasserschloss.	Power house site. Concreting of the right wing wall at the surge tank.	-	-	A701	97	-
3.10.27	637	Krafthausbaustelle. Blick von rechts auf Wasserschloss und Ende des Oberwasserkanals.	Power house site. View from right of surge tank and end of the upstream channel.	-	-	A701	96	-
3.10.27	638	Krafthausbaustelle. Oberwasserkanal. Blick von Krafthausbaustelle auf Blackwaterbrücke.	Power house site. Upstream channel. View of power house construction site from Blackwater Bridge.	-	-	A703	50	-
29.9.27	639	Krafthausbaustelle. Wasserschloss und Baugrubenaushub für Krafthaus. Ansicht von Unterwasser.	Power house site. surge tank and foundation pit excavation for power house. View from underwater.	-	-	A701	98	-

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5.10.27	640	Krafthausbaustelle. Wasserschloss und Baugrubenaushub für Krafthaus. Ansicht von Unterwasser.	Power house site. surge tank and foundation pit excavation for power house. View from underwater.	-	-	A701	99	-
no date	641	Krafthausbaustelle. Einschaltung für Pfeiler und Druckrohreinläufe V+VI, Blick von rechts, am Wasserschloss.	Power house site. Encapsulation for piers and pressure pipe inlets V & VI, View from the right, near the surge tank.	-	-	A701	98	-
7.10.27	642	Krafthausbaustelle. Einschaltung für Pfeiler und Druckrohreinläufe V+VI, Blick von links, am Wasserschloss.	Power house site. Encapsulation for piers and pressure pipe inlets V & VI, View from the left, near the surge tank.	-	-	A701	99	-
7.10.27	643	Krafthausbaustelle. Wasserschloss. Schalung und Bewehrung für 1 Druckrohreinlauf.	Power house site. surge tank. Formwork and reinforcement for 1st pressure tube inlet.	-	-	A701	93	-
10.10.27	644	O'Briensbridge. Lübecker Absetzer in O'Briensbridge beim Abbau. Abnehmen der Eimerleiter.	O'Brien's Bridge. Dismantling Lübeck spreaders at O'Brien's Bridge. Removing of the bucket ladder.	-	-	A702	10	-
10.10.27	645	O'Briensbridge. Lübecker Absetzer in O'Briensbridge beim Abbau. Abnehmen der Eimerleiter.	O'Brien's Bridge. Dismantling Lübeck spreaders at O'Brien's Bridge. Removing of the bucket ladder.	-	-	A702	10	-
no date	646	Wehrbaustelle. Felsaushub im 1. Bauabschnitt.	Weir construction. Rock excavation on the 1st Construction phase.	-	-	A702	56	-
10.10.27	647	Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk. Dükereinlauf.	Weir and intake structure. Culvert inlet.	-	-	A702	56	-

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10.10.27	648	Einlaufbauwerk. Betonieren der Pfeiler.	Intake structure. Concreting of pier.	-	-	A702	57	-
no date	649	Blackwaterabschnitt. Längs- und Querschnitt der Blackwaterbrücke.	Blackwater section. Longitudinal and cross-section of the Blackwater Bridge.	-	-	A700	87	-
19.10.27	650	Untergraben. Abrutschung des Baggerplanums des O.-& K. Baggers Ba III 3002.	Tail race. Slippage of the excavated foundation soil by O. & K. Excavator Ba III 3002	-	-	A701	117	-
19.10.27	651	Krafthausbaustelle. Blick von rechts auf Wasserschloss und Krafthausbaugrube, Einschalung der Pfeiler und Einlauföffnungen.	Power house site. View from right surge tank and power house foundation pit, encapsulation of the piers and inlet openings.	-	-	A701	100	-
19.10.27	652	Krafthausbaustelle. Blick von rechts auf Wasserschloss und Krafthausbaugrube.	Power house site. View from right surge tank and power house foundation pit.	-	-	A701	100	-
19.10.27	653	Krafthausbaustelle. Betonprüfungsanstalt Ardnacrusha: grosse Betonpresse.	Power house site. Concrete testing laboratory Ardnacrusha: large concrete press.	-	-	A700	83	-
21.10.27	654	Tiefladewagen.	Low-bed truck.	-	-	A700	83	-
20.10.27	654	Obergraben. Blackwaterbrücke. Entfernen des Lehrgerüsts.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge. Removal of the scaffolding.	-	-	A703	69	-
20.10.27	655	Obergraben. Blackwaterbrücke. Entfernen des Lehrgerüsts.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge. Removal of the scaffolding.	-	-	A703	69	-
27.10.27	656	Krafthaus. Schalung der Turbinenrohr-Einläufe.	Power house. The shuttering of the turbine pipe inlets.	-	-	A701	94	-

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27.10.27	658	Krafthaus. Blick von der linken Seite auf das Wasserschloss und die Baugrube. Im Hintergrund Baustelleneinrichtung und Lager.	Power house. View from the left side of the surge tank and the excavation. In background, site equipment and storage.	-	-	A701	94	-
27.10.27	659	Krafthaus. Blick von der linken Seite auf das Wasserschloss und die Baugrube. Im Hintergrund Baustelleneinrichtung und Lager.	Power house. View from the left side of the surge tank and the excavation. In background, site equipment and storage.	-	-	A701	95	-
?.?.27	660	Krafthaus. Gesamtbild von linken Obergrabendamms aus.	Power house. Overall picture from the left head race bank.	-	-	A701	104	3 photo panorama
no date	661	Krafthaus. Baugrube mit Wasserschloss.	Power house. Foundation pit with surge tank.	-	-	A701	103	2 photo panorama
29.10.27	663	Obergraben. Hauptpumpstation am Blackwater, Beschädigung infolge des Sturmes am 28.10.27	Head race. Main pumping station at Blackwater, damage caused by the storm on 28.10.27	-	-	A700	81	-
29.10.27	664	Obergraben. Hauptpumpstation am Blackwater, Beschädigung infolge des Sturmes am 28.10.27	Head race. Main pumping station at Blackwater, damage caused by the storm on 28.10.27	1	MMC	A700	81	-
29.10.27	665	Wehrbaustelle. Beschädigung von Schalungen durch den Sturm am 28.10.27 Überflutung der Fangedammgrube infolge Störung der Hochspannungsleitung.	Weir construction. Damage of formwork through the storm on the 28.10.27 flooding the cofferdam pit due to disruption of the high voltage line.	-	-	A702	61	-
29.10.27	666	Wehrbaustelle. Beschädigung von Schalungen durch den Sturm am 28.10.27 Überflutung der Fangedammgrube infolge Störung der Hochspannungsleitung.	Weir construction. Damage of formwork through the storm on the 28.10.27 flooding the cofferdam pit due to disruption of the high voltage line.	-	-	A702	59	-



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29.10.27	668	Wehrbaustelle. Einsturz eines Teils der Schalungen und Überbrückungen der Baugrube infolge Zerstörung der Hochspannungsleitung durch den Sturm am 28.10.27.	Weir construction. Collapse of part of the formwork and bridging of the foundation pit due to destruction of power line by the storm on the 28.10.27.	-	-	A702	59	-
29.10.27	667	Wehrbaustelle. Beschädigung von Schalungen durch den Sturm am 28.10.27 Überflutung der Fangedammgrube infolge Störung der Hochspannungsleitung.	Weir construction. Damage of formwork through the storm on the 28.10.27 flooding the cofferdam pit due to disruption of the high voltage line.	-	-	A702	60	-
29.10.27	669	Wehrbaustelle. Einsturz eines Teils der Schalungen und Überbrückungen der Baugrube infolge Zerstörung der Hochspannungsleitung durch den Sturm am 28.10.27.	Weir construction. Collapse of part of the formwork and bridging of the foundation pit due to destruction of power line by the storm on the 28.10.27.	-	-	A702	58	-
29.10.27	670	Wehrbaustelle. Beschädigung von Schalungen durch den Sturm am 28.10.27 Überflutung der Fangedammgrube infolge Störung der Hochspannungsleitung.	Weir construction. Damage of formwork through the storm on the 28.10.27 flooding the cofferdam pit due to disruption of the high voltage line.	-	-	A702	60	-
7.9.27	674	-	(metal frame for building)	1	MMC	-	-	-
11.11.27	684	Wehr. Wasserandrang innerhalb des Fangedamm, 1.Bauabschnitt.	Weir. Water leaking inside the cofferdam, 1.Bauabschnitt.	-	-	A702	58	-
11.11.27	685	Wehr und Staustrecke. Hochwasser am 8.11.27. 6 Trägerpaare des Fangedammsabschnittes 2 sind durch Treibholz eingerissen.	Weir and Buffer area. Floods on the 8:11:27. 6 carrier pairs of the cofferdam section 2 are torn by driftwood.	-	-	A702	64	2 photo panorama

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12.11.27	686	Wehr. 1. Bauabschnitt, Hochwasser im Shannon.	Weir. 1st Construction phase, flooding in the Shannon.	1	MMC	A702	57	-
12.11.27	687	Staustrücke. Dammbau im Hochwasser bei Fort Henry.	Buffer area. Dam construction in the flood at Fort Henry.	-	-	A702	61	-
12.11.27	688	Verschiedenes. Sprengschaden am Kessel des Baggers Ba.I.6012.	Miscellaneous. Explosive damage to the boiler of the excavator Ba.I.6012.	-	-	A700	82	-
22.11.27	689	Allgemeines. Schweißstellen in der Feuerbuchse an der Lokomotive.	General. Welds in the firebox of the locomotive.	-	-	A700	88	-
22.11.27	690	Allgemeines. Schweißstellen in der Feuerbuchse an der Lokomotive.	General. Welds in the firebox of the locomotive.	-	-	A700	89	-
24.11.27	691	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss, Rohrbahn und rechte Flügelmauer.	Power house. Surge tank, tubular track and right wing wall.	-	-	A701	105	-
24.11.27	693	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss mit Rohrbahn.	Power house. Surge tank with tubular track.	-	-	A701	102	-
24.11.27	694	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss, Rohrbahn und rechte Flügelmauer.	Power house. Surge tank, tubular track and right wing wall.	-	-	A701	105	-
24.11.27	685	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss, Rohrbahn u. rechte Flügelmauer.	Power house. Surge tank, tubular track and right wing wall.	-	-	A701	106	-
24.11.27	692	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss vom Obergraben aus gesehen.	Power house. Surge tank as seen from the head race.	-	-	A701	107	-
24.11.27	695	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss, Rohrbahn u. rechte Flügelmauer.	Power house. Surge tank, tubular track and right wing wall.	-	-	A701	106	-
25.11.27	696	Krafthaus. Blick auf Wasserschloss, Rohrbahn und Baugrube des Krafthauses von der Schleuse aus gesehen.	Power house. View of Surge tank, tubular track and foundation pit of the powerhouse viewed from the lock.	-	-	A701	107	-

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25.11.27	697	Krafthaus. Blick auf Wasserschloss, Rohrbahn und Flügelmauer, von der Seite den Schalthauses aus gesehen.	Power house. View of Surge tank, tubular track and wing wall seen from the side of the circuit house.	-	-	A701	106	-
no date	698	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss, Eisenarmierung über dem Einlauf zu den Druckrohren.	Power house. Water resources, iron reinforcement over the inlet to the pressure tubes.	-	-	A701	108	-
6.12.27	699	Wehrbaustelle. Wasserandrang auf der Oberstromseite der Baugrube, innerhalb Fangedamm 1.	Weir construction. Flood water on the upstream side of the excavation within cofferdam 1.	-	-	A702	62	-
6.12.27	701	Wehrbaustelle. Betonarbeiten im Fangedammabschnitt 1 von Unterstrom gesehen. Im Vordergrund rechts: Verankerungseisen für die Granitsteine der Schwelle der Absturzbeckens.	Weir construction. Concrete work on cofferdam section 1, seen from downstream. In the foreground on the right: iron anchorage for the granite stone level of the falling basin.	-	-	A702	62	-
6.12.27	702	Wehrbaustelle. Betonierung der Sohle und des Zwischenpfeilers im Fangedamm-Abschnitt 1.	Weir construction. Concreting of the base and the intermediate pillar in the cofferdam section 1.	-	-	A702	63	-
6.12.27	703	Wehr. Betonierung der Sohle und des Zwischenpfeilers von Oberstrom gesehen.	Weir. Concreting of the bottom and the intermediate pillar seen from upstream.	-	-	A702	63	-
7.12.27	704	Baustelleneinrichtung. Bavaria-Waschmaschinenanlage.	Site equipment. Bavaria concrete washing plant.	-	-	A702	65	-
7.12.27	705	Baustelleneinrichtung. Bavaria-Waschmaschinenanlage.	Site equipment. Bavaria concrete washing plant.	-	-	A702	65	-

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7.12.27	706	Baustelleneinrichtung, Bavaria-Waschmaschinenanlage. Aufgabe des zu waschenden Materials von den Bändern unter den Silos auf das Zubringerband zu den Waschmaschinen.	Site equipment. Bavaria -washing plant. Task of the laundering of material from the belts in the silos at the feeder belt to the washing machines.	-	-	A702	67	-
7.12.27	707	Obergraben, Bau der O'Briensbridge-Brücke.	Head race. Construction of the O'Briensbridge bridge.	-	-	A702	11	-
7.12.27	708	Obergraben, Bau der O'Briensbridge-Brücke.	Head race. Construction of the O'Briensbridge bridge.	-	-	A702	11	-
7.12.27	709	Obergraben, Bau der O'Briensbridge-Brücke. Betonanlage und Schüttgerüst für das rechts Widerlager.	Head race. Construction of the O'Briensbridge bridge. Concrete plant and bulk structure for the right buttress.	-	-	A702	9	-
8.12.27	710	Brücke in Killaloe, vom linkenunterstromseitigen Ufer aus gesehen.	Bridge in Killaloe, seen from the left side of the river downstream.	-	-	A702	71	-
8.12.27	711	Brücke Killaloe, rechter Teil der Brücke von Unterstrom gesehen. Im Hintergrund das abzubrechende Wehr.	Killaloe Bridge, right part of the bridge seen from downstream. In the background to the ground-breaking weir.	-	-	A702	72	-
8.12.27	712	Brücke Killaloe. Blick auf die Fahrbahn von rechten Ufer aus gesehen.	Killaloe Bridge. View of the roadway, seen from the right bank.	-	-	A702	72	-
no date	713	Krafthausbaustelle. Wasserschloss, Schalung der Pfeiler und Einläufe der Druckrohre, vom linken Ufer Oberstrom aus gesehen.	Power house site. Surge tank, shuttering of the piers and inlets of the pressure tubes, as seen from the left bank of head race.	-	-	A701	108	-

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20.12.27	714	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss. Schalung der Pfeiler und Einläufe der Druckrohre, vom rechten Ufer Oberstrom aus gesehen.	Power house. Surge tank. Formwork for the piers and inlets of the pressure tubes, as seen from the right bank of head race.	-	-	A701	109	-
20.12.27	715	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss. Schalung der Pfeiler und Einläufe der Druckrohre, vom rechten Ufer Oberstrom aus gesehen.	Power house. Surge tank. Formwork for the piers and inlets of the pressure tubes, as seen from the right bank of head race.	-	-	A701	109	-
20.12.27	716	Krafthausbaustelle. Wasserschloss, Schalung der Pfeiler und Einläufe der Druckrohre, vom linken Ufer Oberstrom aus gesehen.	Power house site. Surge tank, shuttering of the piers and inlets of the pressure tubes, as seen from the left bank of head race.	-	-	A701	110	-
20.12.27	717	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss und Krafthausbaugrube vom Untergraben aus gesehen.	Power house. Surge tank and power house foundation pit seen from tail race.	-	-	A701	110	-

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2.1.28	718	Krafthaus. Stand der Betonarbeiten fuer den eigentlichen Krafthausbau am 1.1.28. Im Hintergrund von links nach rechts Stuetzmauer um Untergraben des Krafthauses. Betonierung eines Teiles der C-Mauer der 38KV-Station.- Betonarbeitung des Wasserwiderstandes und der Rohrbahn fuer die Rohrleitung der Hilfsturbine. - Im Vordergrund Betonierung des Krafthhaustiefbaues ueber der Fundamenthoehe + 1.5 - Untersuchung der Gruendungssohle fuer die Turbinenlaeuft mittels belg. Bohrmaschinen.	Power house. State of the concrete work for the actual power house building on the 1.1.28. In the background from left to right retaining wall to tail race the power house. Concreting of a portion of the C-wall of the 38kV station elaboration of the resistance and the metal supports for the pipeline of the auxiliary turbine. - In the foreground the concreting over of the power house underground construction foundation height + 1.5 - Analysis of the bottom foundation for the turbine overflows using Belgian drills.	-	-	A701	113	-
22.12.27	719	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss. Schalung der Pfeiler und Einlaeuft der Druckrohre vom linken Ufer Unterstrom aus gesehen.	Power house, Surge tank. Formwork for the piers and inlets of the pressure tubes seen from the left bank of the tail race.	-	-	A701	111	-
22.12.27	720	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss. Schalung der Pfeiler und Einlaeuft der Druckrohre, vom linken Ufer Oberstrom aus gesehen.	Power house. Surge tank. Formwork for the piers and inlets of the pressure tubes, as seen from the left bank of head race.	-	-	A701	112	-
22.12.27	721	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss. Schalung der Pfeiler und Einlaeuft der Druckrohre vom linken Ufer Unterstrom aus gesehen.	Power house, Surge tank. Formwork for the piers and inlets of the pressure tubes seen from the left bank of the tail race.	-	-	A701	113	-

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22.12.27	722	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss und Krafthausbaugrube vom Untergraben aus gesehen.	Power house, surge tank and power house as seen from the foundation pit of tail race.	-	-	A701	112	-
no date	723	Baustelleneinrichtung. Kieswaschanlage (Bavaria). Entnahme der gereinigten Materialien unter den Silos.	Site equipment. Gravel washing plant (Bavaria). Removal of the purified material in the silos.	-	-	A702	66	-
no date	724	Baustelleneinrichtung. Kieswaschanlage (Bavaria). Blick auf das Zubringerbahn zu den Waschmaschinen.	Site equipment. Gravel washing plant (Bavaria). View the feeder belt to the washing machines.	-	-	A702	68	-
28.12.27	725	Wehr, Fangedammabschnitt I, Betonarbeiten und Granitpflaster.	Weir, cofferdam, Section I, concrete work and granite paving.	-	-	A702	69	-
28.12.27	726	Wehr. Betonierung des Zwischenpfeilers zwischen Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk. Granitpflasterung im Fangedamm-Abschnitt 1.	Weir. Concreting of intermediate pillar between the weir and intake structure. Granite paving in the cofferdam section 1	-	-	A702	70	-
29.12.27	727	Baustelleneinrichtung. Kieswaschanlage (Bavaria). Gesamtansicht.	Site equipment. Gravel washing plant (Bavaria). General View.	-	-	A702	66	-
29.12.27	728	Baustelleneinrichtung. Kieswaschanlage (Bavaria). Gesamtansicht.	Site equipment. Gravel washing plant (Bavaria). General View.	-	-	A702	67	-
29.12.27	729	Baustelleneinrichtung. Kieswaschanlage (Bavaria). Gesamtansicht.	Site equipment. Gravel washing plant (Bavaria). General View.	-	-	A702	68	-
29.12.27	730	Einlaufbauwerk und Wehr. Stand der Betonarbeiten am Einlaufbauwerk. Beginn der Aufstellung des Lehrgerüsts für die Tauchwand.	Intake structure and Weir. State of the concrete concrete work on the intake structure. Commencement of the installation of scaffolding for the scum wall.	-	-	A702	69	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
29.12.27	731	Obergraben. Lehrgerüst der O'Briensbridge-Brücke am 1.1.28.	Head race. Scaffolding for the O'Briensbridge bridge on the 1.1.28.	-	-	A702	12	-
no date	732	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss; Einläufe der Druckrohre 5 und 6.	Power house. Surge tank; inlets of the pressure tubes 5 and 6	-	-	A701	111	-
no date	733	Obergraben. Blackwaterbrücke, vom Unterstrom aus gesehen.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge, seen from downstream.	-	-	A703	70	-
no date	734	Obergraben. Blackwaterbrücke, vom Unterstrom aus gesehen.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge, seen from downstream.	-	-	A703	70	-
?.1.28	735	Obergraben. Dammbau bei Profil.112, rechte Seite.	Head race. Dam construction at profile 112, right side.	-	-	A703	71	-
3.1.28	736	Obergraben. Profil 105, linker Damm wasserseitig.	Head race. Profile 105, left embankment water side.	-	-	A703	72	-
3.1.28	737	Obergraben. Profil 105, rechter Damm wasserseitig.	Head race. Profile 105, right embankment water side.	-	-	A703	72	-
3.1.28	738	Obergraben. Profil 100-1, linker Damm wasserseitig.	Head race. Profile 100-1, left embankment water side.	-	-	A703	73	-
3.1.28	739	Obergraben. Profil 102, rechter Damm wasserseitig.	Head race. Profile 102, right embankment water side.	-	-	A703	73	-
3.1.28	740	Obergraben. Profil 102, rechter Damm wasserseitig.	Head race. Profile 102, right embankment water side.	-	-	A703	74	-
3.1.28	741	Obergraben. Profil 92, linker Damm wasserseitig.	Head race. Profile 92, left embankment water side.	-	-	A703	74	-
3.1.28	742	Obergraben. Profil 94, linker Damm landseitig.	Head race. Profile 94, left embankment land side.	-	-	A703	75	-



Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
3.1.28	743	Obergraben. Baggergut vom Ba.I.6004 (Profil 521-528)	Head race. Dredged material from Ba.I.6004 (profile 521-528)	-	-	A703	75	-
7.1.28	744	Untergraben. Aushub durch Ba. 6011. Der Fels ist stark mit Erde ueberlagert.	Tail race. Excavation through Ba. 6011. The rock is heavily overlaid with soil.	-	-	A701	118	-
7.1.28	745	Krafthaus. Aushub des Schiffahrtskanals durch Ba.6011. Der Felsen ist hier auf eine Strecke von 37 m vollstandig verschwunden; an seine Stelle ist die auch unterhalb des Krafthauses vorgefundene schwarze Erde getreten.	Power house. Excavation of the shipping channel through Ba.6011. The rock has disappeared completely at a distance of 37 m, in its place black earth was also found below the powerhouse.	-	-	A701	117	-
9.1.28	746	Obergraben. Dammrutsch auf den Aussenseite des linken Obergrabendamms bei Profil 103. Dieser Damnteil ist neuerdings geschuttet worden.	Head race. Embankment slippage at the outside of the left upper head race embankment near 103rd Profile. This embankment part has been recently poured.	-	-	A703	76	-
11.1.28	747	Krafthaus. Stand der Bauarbeiten am 11.1.28.	Power house. State of the building works on 11.1.28.	-	-	A701	114	3 photo panorama
13.1.28	748	Obergraben. Dammrutsch auf der Landseite des rechten Obergrabendamms bei Profil 89 am 12.1.28. Die Schuttung dieses Damnteiles erfolgte im Oktober 1927.	Head race. Embankment slippage on the land side of the right head race embankment in profile 89 on 12.1.28. The filling of this section took place in October, 1927.	-	-	A703	76	-
no date	749	Wehr. 1. Bauabschnitt, Granitpflasterung.	Weir. 1st Phase of construction, granite paving.	-	-	A702	70	-
13.1.28	750	Wehr. 1. Bauabschnitt, Granitpflasterung.	Weir. 1st Phase of construction, granite paving.	-	-	A702	71	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
23.1.28	751	Obergraben. O'Briensbridge. Durch Austritt von Wasser nach ausserhalb des Kanals in der bereits geschüteteten Kanalsohle bei Prof. 445 entstandene Senkungen.	Head race. O'Briensbridge. By withdrawal of water through to outside of the canal in of the already soaked channel bed profile at 445 resulting subsidences.	-	-	A702	14	-
16.1.28	752	Obergraben. Aushub Felsstrecke. Fertiggestellter Teil zw. Prof.	Head race. excavation rock area. Finished part between profiles	-	-	A703	112	-
16.1.28	753	Clonlara. Fertiggestellter Teil der Felsstrecke.	Clonlara. Finished part of the rock area.	-	-	A703	112	-
16.1.28	754	Obergraben. Aushub für Clonlara Culvert.	Head race. Excavation for Culvert Clonlara.	-	-	A703	113	-
no date	755	Obergraben. Blackwaterbrücke. Ansicht der Fahrbahntafel von unten in Mittelöffnung.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge. View of the bridge deck from below at the center opening.	-	-	A703	79	-
16.1.28	756	Obergraben. Blackwaterbrücke. Ansicht der Fahrbahntafel in der rechten Seitenöffnung, von unten nach rechtem Widerlager II. Oben: Druckplatte am Mittelpfeiler.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge. View of the bridge deck at the right side opening, from bottom to right buttress II. Top: pressure plate at the center pier.	-	-	A703	79	-
23.2.28	757	Krafthaus. Betonieren der Seitenmauer der oberen Schleuse.	Power house. Concreting of the side wall of the upper lock.	-	-	A704	140	-
20.1.28	759	Allgemeines. Kolben eines Krupp-Dieselmotors (gefressen)	General. Piston (eaten) of a Krupp diesel engine	-	-	A700	88	-

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20.1.28	760	Krafthaus. Betonierung des Krafthaus-Tiefbaues für Turbine III über Höhe +25. Im Hintergrund Löffelbagger beim Aushub der Erdtasche unter dem Auslauf der Turbinen I und II.	Power house. Concreting the powerhouse underground construction for turbine III over level +25. In background, Löffelbagger during excavation of earth pocket under the outlet of the turbines I and II.	-	-	A701	116	-
25.1.28	761	Krafthaus. Aushub des Erdloche unter den Ausläufen der Turbinen I und II.	Power house. Excavation of the hole in the ground at the outlets of the turbine I and II	-	-	A704	136	-
23.1.28	762	Obergraben. O'Briensbridge Brücke.	Head race, O'Briensbridge bridge.	-	-	A702	12	-
27.1.28	763	Allgemeines. Sprengstofflager auf dem Gelände des Doonasshouse.	General. Explosives storage in the grounds of Doonass House.	-	-	A700	90	-
27.1.28	764	Allgemeines. Sprengstofflager und Militärbaracke auf dem Gelände des Doonasshouse.	General. Explosives storage and military barracks in the grounds of Doonass House.	-	-	A700	90	-
7.2.28	765	Untergraben. Bohrarbeiten mit Pressluft.	Tail race. Drilling with compressed air.	1	MMC	A701	120	-
7.2.28	766	Untergraben. Bohrarbeiten mit Pressluft.	Tail race. Drilling with compressed air.	-	-	A701	119	-
27.1.28	767	Untergraben. Stützarbeiten bei der Auffahrtsrampe aus dem Felsschacht.	Tail race. Support operations as part of the ramp from the rock shaft.	-	-	A701	121	-
27.1.28	768	Untergraben. Stützarbeiten bei der Auffahrtsrampe aus dem Felsschacht.	Tail race. Support operations as part of the ramp from the rock shaft.	-	-	A701	122	-

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30.1.28	769	Obergraben. Blackwater-Abschnitt, Rutschungen auf der Landseite des rechten Obergrabendamms bei Profil 46.	Head race. Blackwater section, landslides on the land side of the right head race embankment at 46th profile.	-	-	A703	77	-
no date	770	Obergraben. Blackwater-Abschnitt, Rutschungen auf der Landseite des rechten Obergrabendamms bei Profil 46.	Head race. Blackwater section, landslides on the land side of the right head race embankment at 46th profile.	-	-	A703	77	-
30.1.28	771	Obergraben. Blackwater-Abschnitt, Rutschungen auf der Landseite des rechten Obergrabendamms bei Profil 46.	Head race. Blackwater section, landslides on the land side of the right head race embankment at 46th profile.	-	-	A703	78	-
7.2.28	772	Untergraben. Bohrarbeiten mit Pressluft. Im Hintergrund belgische Bohrmaschinen.	Tail race. Drilling with compressed air. In the background Belgian drills.	-	-	A701	119	-
7.2.28	773	Untergraben. Bohrarbeiten mit Pressluft.	Tail race. Drilling with compressed air.	1	MMC	A701	118	-
7.2.28	774	Untergraben. Bohrung mit belgische Bohrmaschinen.	Tail race. Drilling with Belgian drills.	-	-	A701	120	-
15.2.28	775	Clonlara. Sprengung am 15.1.28. Bohrlöcher 12 m Tiefe.	Clonlara. Blasting on 15.1.28. Boreholes 12 m depth	1	MMC	A703	117	-
3.3.28	776	Obergraben. Laden und Stampfen der Munition für Felsprengungen.	Head race. Loading and tamping the ammunition for rock blasting.	-	-	A703	115	-
no date	777	Allgemeines. Sprengungen. Laden eines grossen Bohrloches.	General. Blasting. Loading a large borehole.	1	MMC	A703	115	-
1.2.28	778	Obergraben. Clonlara, Felseinschnitt. Felswand vor der Sprengung.	Head race. Clonlara, rock cut. Rock wall before detonation.	-	-	A703	116	-

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1.2.28	779	Clonlara. Sprengung am 1.1.28. Bohrlocher 12 m Tiefe. 900 kg Ammonit-Gelatine.	Clonlara. Blasting on 1.1.28. Borehole 12 m deep. 900 kg ammonite gelatin.	-	-	A703	116	-
no date	780	Obergraben. Clonlara. Felseinschnitt. Felswand nach der Sprengung. (4 Bohrlocher mit belg. Bohrmaschine, 12 m tief; 900 kg Ammon Gelatine; anfallendes Gut 2300 cbm)	Head race. Clonlara. Rock cut. Rock face after the blast. (4 borehole with Belgian drilling machine, 12 m deep, 900 kg ammonium gelatin; accumulating a good 2300 cbm)	-	-	A703	117	-
3.2.28	781	Obergraben. O'Briensbridge. Bau der O'Briensbridge-Brücke. Einbringen der Kanalabdeckung, Lehm, Schotter und Betonplatten auf dem linken Obergrabendam.	Head race. O'Briensbridge. O'Briensbridge construction of the bridge. Introduction of the canal cover, clay, gravel and slabs at the left head race dam.	-	-	A702	13	-
no date	782	Wehr. Lager der Granitsteine für die Verblendung der Absturzbecken.	Weir. Storage of the granite stones for the facing of the falling basin.	-	-	A702	73	-
3.2.28	783	Wehr. Lager der Granitsteine für die Verblendung der Absturzbecken.	Weir. Storage of the granite stones for the facing of the falling basin.	-	-	A702	73	-
3.2.28	784	Wehr. Transport des Betons zum Kübel des Kabelkrans mittels Gummiförderband.	Weir. Transportation of concrete to the bucket of the cable crane by means of rubber conveyor belt.	-	-	A702	75	-
3.2.28	785	Wehr. Granitpflasterung des Absturzbeckens der 1. Wehröffnung.	Weir. Granite paving of falling basin of the 1st Weir opening.	-	-	A702	75	-
3.2.28	786	Wehr. Granitpflasterung des Absturzbeckens der 1. Wehröffnung.	Weir. Granite paving of falling basin of the 1st Weir opening.	-	-	A702	74	-
22.2.28	787	Obergraben. O'Briensbridge-Brücke, Betonierung der Fahrbahnträger.	Head race. O'Briensbridge Bridge, concreting of the road carrier.	-	-	A702	13	-

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3.2.28	788	Wehr. Granitpflasterung des Absturzbeckens der 1. und 2. Wehröffnung.- Rechts: Aufstellen der Eisenkonstruktion für den Fangedamm Nr. 4.	Weir. Granite paving of the falling basins of the 1st and 2nd weir openings. Right: Setting up of the iron structure for the cofferdam No. 4	-	-	A702	74	-
3.2.28	789	Wehrbaustelle. Blick von Wasserturm auf die Wehrbaustelle.	Weir construction. View from water tower at the Weir site.	-	-	A702	83	3 photo panorama
2.2.28	790	Krafthaus. Aufstellen der Armierung für die Eisenbetonplatte unter den Läufen der Turbinen I und II.	Power house. Setting up of the reinforcement for the reinforced concrete slab under the outlets of turbines I and II	-	-	A704	136	-
no date	791	Krafthaus. Aufstellen der Armierung für die Eisenbetonplatte unter den Läufen der Turbinen I und II.	Power house. Setting up of the reinforcement for the reinforced concrete slab under the outlets of turbines I and II	-	-	A704	137	-
8.2.28	792	Krafthaus. Betonieren der Eisenbetonplatte unter den Ausläufen der Turbinen I und II.	Power house. Concreting of the reinforced concrete slab under the outlets of turbines I and II	-	-	A704	137	-
8.2.28	793	Limerick. Park Bridge. Transport ein Klappschuten.	Limerick. Park Bridge. Transporting a hopper barge.	-	-	A700	20	-
8.2.28	794	Allgemeines. Transport ein Klappschuten.	General. Transporting a hopper barge.	-	-	A700	19	-
8.2.28	795	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss, Blick durch eine Einlauföffnung der Druckrohre nach dem Untergraben.	Power house. Surge tank, view through an inlet opening of the water pipes to the tail race.	-	-	A701	116	-

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22.2.28	796	Wehrbaustelle. Hochwasser, Blick vom linken Ufer auf Wehrbaustelle.	Weir construction. High water, view from left bank at weir construction.	-	-	A702	78	-
22.2.28	797	Wehrbaustelle. Blick vom rechten Anschlussdamm vom Einlaufbauwerk auf Wehrbaustelle (Shannon links).	Weir construction. View from right embankment from intake structure at weir construction (Shannon on left).	-	-	A702	76	3 photo panorama
22.2.28	798	Staustricke. Shannonüberschwemmung. Blick vom rechten Dammanchluss Einlaufbauwerk nach Staustricke.	Buffer area. Shannon flooding. View from right intake structure embankment to buffer area.	-	-	A702	77	2 photo panorama
22.2.28	799	Staustricke. Shannonüberschwemmung, Blick flussabwärts nach der alten O'Briensbridge-Brücke.	Buffer area. Shannon Flood, View downstream after the old O'Briensbridge Bridge.	-	-	A703	113	-
22.2.28	800	Staustricke. Shannonüberschwemmung, Blick von O'Briensbridge-Brücke flussabwärts.	Buffer area. Shannon Flood, View downstream from O'Briensbridge Bridge.	-	-	A703	113	-
20.2.28	801	Krafthaus. Lehrgerüst, Schalung und Eisenflechte für Turbinensaugschlauch I und II.	Power house. Scaffolding, shuttering and steel fixers for turbines suction tube I and II	-	-	A704	138	-
20.2.28	802	Krafthaus. Lehrgerüst, Schalung und Eisenflechte für Turbinensaugschlauch I und II.	Power house. Scaffolding, shuttering and steel fixers for turbines suction tube I and II	-	-	A704	138	-
23.2.28	803	Allgemeines. Infolge Wassermangel ausgegluhter Kessel vom Bagger Ba.1 3001.	General. Annealed boiler as a result of lack of water Ba.1 3,001	-	-	A700	89	-

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27.2.28	804	Obergraben. Blick vom Einlaufbauwerk, stromabwärts.	Head race. View from intake structure, downstream.	-	-	A702	82	-
27.2.28	805	Staustricke. Felseinschnitt bei Parteen Villa. Baggeraushub.	Buffer area. Rock cut at Parteen Villa. Excavator excavating.	-	-	A702	78	-
27.2.28	806	Staustricke. Felseinschnitt bei Parteen Villa. Handschacht.	Buffer area. Rock cut at Parteen Villa. Hand shaft.	-	-	A702	79	-
27.2.28	807	Staustricke. Felseinschnitt bei Parteen Villa. Baggeraushub.	Buffer area. Rock cut at Parteen Villa. Excavator excavating.	-	-	A702	79	-
28.2.29	808	Ardnacrusha, Wasserschloss von Untergraben gesehen.	Ardnacrusha, Surge tank seen from the tail race.	-	-	A704	139	-
6.3.28	808	Untergraben. Felsüberlagerung durch sehr grosse Findlinge.	Tail race. Rock overlay through very large boulders.	-	-	A701	122	-
28.2.28	809	Krafthaus. Betonarbeiten am Wasserschloss und Krafthaustiefbau.	Power house. Concrete work on the surge tank and power house basement works.	-	-	A701	115	2 photo panorama
28.2.28	810	Krafthaustiefbau. Aufstellen der Schalung für den Auslauf der Turbinen I und II.	Power house civil engineering. Setting up of the shuttering for the outlet of turbines I and II	-	-	A704	139	-
29.2.28	811	Wehrbaustelle. 1.Wehrbauabschnitt vor der Abnahme.	Weir construction. 1st constructed weir section before acceptance.	-	-	A702	80	-
29.2.28	812	Wehrbaustelle. 1.Wehrbauabschnitt vor der Abnahme.	Weir construction. 1st constructed weir section before acceptance.	-	-	A702	81	-
29.2.28	813	Wehrbaustelle. 1.Wehrbauabschnitt vor der Abnahme.	Weir construction. 1st constructed weir section before acceptance.	-	-	A702	81	-
29.2.28	814	Wehrbaustelle. 1.Wehrbauabschnitt vor der Abnahme.	Weir construction. 1st constructed weir section before acceptance.	-	-	A702	80	-



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3.3.28	815	Krafthausbaustelle. Bohren mit belgische Bohrmaschinen.	Power house site. Drilling with Belgian drills.	-	-	A701	121	-
6.3.28	816	Krafthaus. Betonieren des Auslaufs der Turbine I, Aufstellen der Schalung für Turbine II.	Power house. Concreting of the outlet of the turbine I, setting up of the shuttering for turbine II	-	-	A704	140	-
8.3.28	817	Krafthaus. Aufstellen der Schalung für den Auslauf der Turbine II.	Power house. Setting up the shuttering for the outlet of turbine II	-	-	A704	141	-
8.3.28	818	Krafthaus. Aufstellen der Schalung für den Auslauf der Turbine II.	Power house. Setting up the shuttering for the outlet of turbine II	-	-	A704	141	-
8.3.28	819	Krafthaus. Schalung, Auslauf der Turbinen I und II.	Power house. Shuttering, outlet of turbines I and II	-	-	A704	142	-
16.3.28	820	Krafthaus. Aufstellen der Schalung für den Auslauf der Turbine II.	Power house. Setting up the shuttering for the outlet of turbine II	-	-	A704	142	-
16.3.28	821	Krafthhaustiefbau. Betonieren des Aufbaus der Turbine II.	Power house civil engineering. Concreting the outlet of turbine II	-	-	A704	143	-
18.4.28	822	Obergraben. Absetzer auf der Felskippe, linker Damm Profil , Querschnitt.	Head race. Spreader at the rock dump, left embankment profile, cross-section.	-	-	A703	121	-
??3.28	823	Obergraben. Blackwaterabschnitt. Ausfüllen der Sand Auswaschungen in unteren Teil der Kanalböschungen mit Lehm.	Head race. Blackwater section. Filling in the eroded sand in the bottom of the canal embankments with clay.	-	-	A703	78	-
23.3.28	824	Baggern von rotem Lehm am Snipeberg zwischen den Profilen 274-280 am 23.3.28, Material in den Wagen vor dem Transport.	Dredging of red clay at Snipe Mountain between sections 274-280 on the 23.3.28, material in the wagon prior to transport.	-	-	A703	82	-

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22.3.28	825	Roter Lehm vom Bagger 5002 (Snipe Berg, Profil 274-280) nach dem Transport zum Absetzer am 22.3.28	Red clay from 5002 (Snipe Mountain, profile 274-280) after the transfer to spreader on 22.3.28	-	-	A703	80	-
22.3.28	826	Roter Lehm vom Bagger 5002 (Snipe Berg, Profil 274-280) nach dem Kippen in den Absetzergraben.	Red clay from 5002 (Snipe Mountain, profile 274-280) after the tipping in the spreader excavation.	-	-	A703	81	-
22.3.28	827	Roter Lehm vom Bagger 5002 (Snipe Berg, Profil 274-280) nach dem Aufbringen auf den Damm.	Red clay from 5002 (Snipe Mountain, profile 274-280) after being applied to the dam.	-	-	A703	81	-
22.3.28	828	Baggern von rotem Lehm am Snipeberg zwischen den Profilen 274-280 am 23.3.28, Material in den Wagen vor dem Transport.	Dredging of red clay at Snipe Mountain between sections 274-280 on the 23.3.28, material in the wagon prior to transport.	-	-	A703	80	-
23.3.28	829	Roter Lehm vom Bagger 5002 (Snipe Berg, Profil 274-280) am 22.3.28 nach dem Transport zum Absetzer	Red clay from 5002 (Snipe Mountain, profile 274-280) on 22.3.28 after the transfer to spreader	-	-	A703	82	-
23.3.28	830	Roter Lehm vom Bagger 5002 (Snipe Berg, Profil 274-280) nach dem Kippen in den Absetzergraben.	Red clay from 5002 (Snipe Mountain, profile 274-280) after the tipping in the spreader excavation.	-	-	A703	83	-
23.3.28	831	Roter Lehm vom Bagger 5002 (Snipe Berg, Profil 274-280) nach dem Aufbringen auf den Damm.	Red clay from 5002 (Snipe Mountain, profile 274-280) after being applied to the dam.	-	-	A703	83	-
22.3.28	832	Wehr u. Einlaufbauwerk. Aufbau des Lehrgerüsts und der Schalung für die Tauchwand. Wehr 1. Bauabschnitt nach teilweiser Entfernung des Fangedammes.	Weir and intake structure. Construction of the scaffolding and shuttering for the scum wall. Weir 1st Phase partial removal of cofferdam.	-	-	A702	84	3 photo panorama

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19.4.28	833	Obergraben. Löffelbagger in der Flies-sandstrecke bei Newtown zwischen Profil 130-133 auf der Wasserseite des rechten Dammes.	Head race. Shovel excavator in the flowing sand area at Newtown between profile 130-133, on the water side of the right embankment.	-	-	A703	85	-
27.3.28	833	Reproduktion	Reproduction.	-	-	A700	93	-
19.4.28	834	Obergraben, linker Damm wasser-seitig, Aufräumungsarbeiten der alten Rutschung Nr. 6 zw. Profil 93 u.95 (Zu beachten sind mehrmalige Kleine Nachrutsche)	Head race, left embankment water side, clean-up of the old landslide No. 6 between profiles 93 and 95 (Note multiple small landslides)	-	-	A703	85	-
27.3.28	834	Reproduktion	Reproduction.	-	-	A700	94	-
2.4.2	835	Allgemeines. 2 cbm Löffelvorderwand Ba.I.6006-11. Poröse Stellen und eingerissen.	General. Front wall of 2 cbm bucket excavator Ba.I.6006-11. Porous and torn points.	-	-	A700	91	-
30.3.28	836	Allgemeines. Umsturz des Turm-drehkranes Nr. He.II.3005 am rechten Obergrabendamm unterhalb der Blackwaterbruecke am 30.3.28.	General. Toppled over tower crane No. He.II.3005 on the right head race embankment below the Black-water bridge on 30.3.28.	-	-	A700	92	-
2.4.28	837	Allgemeines. Umsturz des Turm-drehkranes Nr. He.II.3005 am rechten Obergrabendamm unterhalb der Blackwaterbruecke am 30.3.28.	General. Toppled over tower crane No. He.II.3005 on the right head race embankment below the Black-water bridge on 30.3.28.	-	-	A700	91	-
30.3.28	838	Allgemeines. Umsturz des Turm-drehkranes Nr. He.II.3005 am rechten Obergrabendamm unterhalb der Blackwaterbruecke am 30.3.28. (Aufnahme des Gleislage)	General. Toppled over tower crane No. He.II.3005 on the right head race embankment below the Black-water bridge on 30.3.28. (Record of track).	-	-	A700	93	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
30.3.28	839	Allgemeines. Umsturz des Turm-drehkranes Nr. He.II.3005 am rechten Obergrabendamm unterhalb der Blackwaterbruecke am 30.3.28. (Aufnahme des Gleislage)	General. Topped over tower crane No. He.II.3005 on the right head race embankment below the Blackwater bridge on 30.3.28. (Record of track).	-	-	A700	92	-
2.4.28	840	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss, Schleuse von Unterstrom.	Power house. Surge tank, lock from downstream.	-	-	A704	149	-
2.4.28	841	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbine I (Escher-Wyss).	Power house. Assembly of turbine I (Escher-Wyss).	-	-	A704	143	-
2.4.28	842	Krafthaus. Eisenarmierung des Auslaufs der Turbine III.	Power house. Iron reinforcement of the outlet of turbine III.	-	-	A704	144	-
30.3.28	843	Krafthaus. Tiefbau beim Beginn der Montage der Spiralgeläuse der Turbinen.	Power house. Civil engineering at the beginning of the assembly of the spiral casings of the turbines.	-	-	A704	147	-
30.3.28	844	Krafthaus. Rohrbahn, Wasserschloss und Schleuse, Gesamtbild von Unterstrom.	Powerhouse. Pipe track, surge tank and lock, overall picture from downstream.	-	-	A704	118	-
4.4.28	845	Krafthaus. Schalungen für die Ausparungen zum Kabelkanal, rechte Flügelmauer, Wasserschloss.	Power house. Shuttering for the slots for the cable channel, right wing wall, surge tank.	-	-	A704	146	-
4.4.28	846	Krafthaus. Verbindung der Hochbaupfeiler mit dem Unterbau des Einlaufbauwerkes.	Power house. Connection of building pillars to the substructure of the intake structure.	-	-	A704	146	-
4.4.28	847	Krafthaus. Aufstellen der Schalung für die Turbinenausläufe. Montage der Turbine Nr. I (Escher-Wyss).	Power house. Setting up the shuttering for the turbine discharges. Assembling turbine No. I (Escher-Wyss).	-	-	A704	144	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
5.4.28	848	Untergraben. Abrutschung des Baggergleises zwischen Profil 92-93 am 3./4.April 1928.	Tail race. Slipping of the excavator track between 92-93 profile on the 3./4.April 1928	-	-	A701	123/147	-
5.4.28	849	Obergraben. Dammrutsch bei Profil 104-105, rechter damm, wasserseitung, am 4.4.1928	Head race. Embankment slippage at Profil 104-105, right dam, water-side, on the 04/04/1928	-	-	A703	84	-
5.4.28	850	Obergraben. Dammrutsch bei Profil 104-105, rechter damm, wasserseitung, am 4.4.1928	Head race. Embankment slippage at Profil 104-105, right dam, water-side, on the 04/04/1928	-	-	A703	84	-
no date	851	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbine I (Escher-Wyss) und der Turbine II (Voith). Aufstellung der Schalung der Turbinenauslaufe.	Power house. Assembling turbine I (Escher-Wyss) and turbine II (Voith). Mounting of the shuttering of the turbine discharges.	-	-	A704	147	-
17.4.28	852	Krafthaus. Montage der Spiralen der Turbinen I, u.II. Transportgerüst für die Leitringe der Turbinen II u.III (Voith).	Power house. Assembly of the spirals of turbines I and II Transport framework for the guide rings of turbines II and III (Voith).	6	Album #1	A704	148	-
6.4.28	853	Krafthaus. Transport der Eisenaarmierung mit dem Kabelkran für die Decke über den Saugschläuchen (s.Zehg.659b)	Power house. Transport of iron reinforcement with the cable crane for the ceilings above the suction tubes (s.Zehg.659b)	-	-	A704	145	-
6.4.28	854	Krafthaus. Einsetzen der Eisenaarmierung für die Decke über den Saugschläuchen (s.Zehg.659b)	Power house. Insertion of iron reinforcement for the ceiling over the suction tubes (s.Zehg.659b)	-	-	A704	145	-
17.4.28	855	Krafthaus. Montage der Spiralen der Turbinen I, u.II. Transportgerüst für die Leitringe der Turbinen II u.III (Voith).	Power house. Assembly of the spirals of turbines I and II Transport framework for the guide rings of turbines II and III (Voith).	6	Album #1	A704	148	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
10.4.28	856	Einlaufbauwerk. Verlegen der Eisenarmierung der Tauchwand.	Intake structure. Laying of the steel reinforcement of the scum board.	-	-	A702	85	-
11.4.28	857	Einlaufbauwerk. Tauchwand einbringen der Armierung.	Intake structure. Scum board being reinforced.	-	-	A702	85	-
??4.28	858	Obergraben. Clonlara-Brücke, betonieren der Widerlager der Bogenbrücke, Aufstellen der Lehrgerüsts.	Head race. Clonlara concrete bridge, the supports for the arch bridge, installation of the scaffolding.	-	-	A703	118	-
17.4.28	859	Krafthaus. Turbinenmontage, Transport der Leitringe der Turbinen II u.III (Voith)	Powerhouse. Turbine assembly, transportation of the turbine guide rings II and III (Voith)	2,6	Loose, Album #1	A704	119	-
17.4.28	860	Krafthaus. Turbinenmontage, Transport der Leitringe der Turbinen II u.III (Voith)	Powerhouse. Turbine assembly, transportation of the turbine guide rings II and III (Voith)	6	Album #1	A704	119	-
?4.28	861	Obergraben. Abwurfkippe O'Briensbridge linker Damm zwischen Profil 355 und 375	Head race. Dropping dump O'Briensbridge left profile embankment between 355 and 375	-	-	A702	14	-
25.4.28	862	Krafthaus. Montage der Spiralgehäuse der Turbinen I, II u.III. Schalung und Betonierung der Turbinenausläufe.	Power house. Installation of the turbine spiral casings I, II and III. Shuttering and concreting of the turbine outlets.	6	Album #1	A704	130	-
25.4.28	863	Krafthaus. Montage der Spiralen der Turbinen I, II u.III.	Power house. Assembly of the spirals of the turbines I, II and III.	6	Album #1	A704	130	-
25.4.28	864	Krafthaus. Montage der Spiralgehäuse der Turbinen II u.III Schalung und Betonierung der Turbinenausläufe.	Power house. Installation of the turbine spiral casings II and III shuttering and concreting of the turbine outlets.	6	Album #1	A704	120	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
25.4.28	865	Krafthaus. Montage der Spiralgehäuse der Turbine I (SSW).	Power house. Installation of the turbine spiral casing 1 (SSW).	6	Album #1	A704	131	-
18.6.28	866	Krafthaus, Montage der Spirale der Turbine II.	Power house, installation of the turbine spiral II	6	Album #1	A704	114	-
30.4.28	867	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen I, II u.III. Verlegen der Eisenarmierung für die Decke der Turbinenausläufe.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals I, II and III. Laying the iron reinforcement for the ceiling of the turbine discharges.	5,6	Intakes, Album #1	A704	131	-
30.4.28	868	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals.	6	Album #1	A704	128	-
30.4.28	869	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals.	6	Album #1	A704	128	-
30.4.28	870	Krafthaus. Eisenarmierung über den Turbinenausläufen.	Power house. Iron reinforcement of the turbine outlets.	-	-	A704	120	-
1.5.28	871	Obergraben. Abwurfkippe O'Briensbridge linker Damm Dammrutsch, umgestürzte Wagen	Head race. O'Briens Bridge dropping dump left embankment embankment skid, overturned wagon	1	MMC	A702	15	-
7.5.28	872	Krafthaus. Gesamtbild der Baustelle und der Baustelleneinrichtung von der linken Kabelkranstütze aus.	Power house. Overall picture of the building site and the site facilities from the left cable crane support.	2	Loose	A704	134	3 photo panorama
4.5.28	873	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen. Betonierung der Decke und der Pfeiler der Turbinenausläufe.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals. Concreting of the roof and pillars of turbine discharges.	6	Album #1	A704	129	-
4.5.28	874	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen. Betonierung der Decke und der Pfeiler der Turbinenausläufe.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals. Concreting of the roof and pillars of turbine discharges.	6	Album #1	A704	129	-

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4.5.28	875	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen I (Escher-Wyss) und II (Voith)	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals I (Escher-Wyss) and II (Voith).	6	Album #1	A704	126	-
4.5.28	876	(photo missing from Siemens album) Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen I, II und III.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals I, II and III.	6	Album #1	A704	126	-
4.5.28	877	Krafthaus. Betonierung der Turbinenausläufe.	Power house. Concreting of turbine discharges.	6	Album #1	A704	127	-
4.5.28	878	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss, Aufstellen der Schalung für die Rechenböcke und Wasserführungswand.	Power house. Water resources, setting up of the shuttering for the screen blocks and water guidance panels.	-	-	A704	135	-
7.5.28	879	Krafthaus. Wasserschloss und Schleuse. Gesamtbild von Unterstrom links gesehen.	Power house. Surge tank and lock. Overall picture seen from left downstream.	-	-	A704	121	2 photo panorama
9.5.28	880	Allgemeines. Umschlag- und Lagerplatz Longpavement nach dem Brand des Ollagers am 9.5.28.	General. Longpavement handling and storage space after the fire at the oil storage facility on 9.5.28.	-	-	A700	95	-
12.5.28	881	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals.	6	Album #1	A704	127	-
12.5.28	882	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals.	6	Album #1	A704	124	-
12.2.28	883	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals.	2,6	Loose, Album #1	A704	124	-



Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
12.2.28	884	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen, Aufstellen der Schalung für den Abstellraum zwischen Höhe +8 und +13,90.	Power house. Installation of the turbine spiral, setting up the shuttering for the storage room between levels +8m and +13.9m.	6	Album #1	A704	125	-
8.5.28	885	Obergraben. Clonlara-Abschnitt. Clonlara-Brücke, Widerlager fertiggestellt. Aufstellen der Schalung für die betonierung des Bogens.	Head race. Clonlara section. Clonlara bridge buttress completed. Setting up of the shuttering for the concreting of the arch.	-	-	A703	118	-
30.5.28	885		(three penstocks from open end)	6	Album #1			-
21.5.28	886	Obergraben. Clonlara-Abschnitt. Clonlara-Brücke, Widerlager betoniert, Gesamtbild des Leergerüsts.	Head race. Clonlara section. Clonlara bridge buttress concrete, overall picture of the empty scaffolding.	-	-	A703	119	-
21.5.28	887	Obergraben. Abschnitt Clonlara-Brücke. Gesamtbild des Leergerüsts.	Head race. Clonlara Bridge section. Overall picture of the empty scaffolding.	-	-	A703	119	-
21.5.28	888	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen, insbesondere II und III.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals, in particular II and III.	6	Album #1	A704	125	-
21.5.28	889	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen, insbesondere II und III.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals, in particular II and III.	6	Album #1	A704	122	-
21.5.28	890	Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk, Einlage der Eisenarmierung für den obersten Teil der Tauchwand.	Weir and intake structure, insertion of the steel reinforcement for the top part of the scum board.	-	-	A702	86	-
no date	891	Wehr, Arbeiten am Fangedamm des Abschnittes III. Blick auf die fertiggestellten Teile des Wehres und des Einlaufbauwerkes.	Weir, concrete work on the cofferdam of the section III. View the completed parts of the weir and intake structure.	-	-	A702	82	-

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30.5.28	892	Obergraben. Clonlara-Brücke, Blick auf die Armierung in Anschluss an ein Kämpfergelenk.	Head race. Clonlara Bridge, view of the reinforcement in the joint connected to an abutment hinge.	-	-	A703	120	-
30.5.28	893	Obergraben. Clonlara-Brücke, Blick auf die Armierung in Anschluss an das Scheitelgelenk.	Head race. Clonlara Bridge, view of the reinforcement in the connected to the apex joint.	-	-	A703	120	-
30.5.28	894	Obergraben. Clonlara-Brücke, Einbringung der Eisenarmierung des Dreigelenkbogens.	Head race. Clonlara bridge, transfer of the steel reinforcement of the three-hinged arch.	-	-	A703	121	-
30.5.28	895	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen, fertiggestellt.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals, completed.	-	-	A704	122	-
31.5.28	896	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen und Betonierung des Mittelbaues und des 38kV'Schalthauses.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals and concreting of the central building and the 38kV switchgear building.	6	Album #1	A704	123	-
31.5.28	897	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen und Betonierung des Mittelbaues u.des 38kV-Schalhaus sowie des Krafthauses an den Turbinenausläufen.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals and concreting of the middle building and the 38kV switchgear building as well as the powerhouse at the turbine discharges.	6	Album #1	A704	123	-
no date	898	Obergraben. Moorstrecke und Ardnataggle-Berg. Obergrabenaushub durch Eimerkettenbagger Ba.III 5003 u.4. Im Vordergrund Ablagerung von unter dem Dammen ausgehobenem Moorboden.	Head race. peat area and Ardnataggle Mountain. head race excavation with bucket chain excavator Ba.III u.4 5003. In the foreground deposition of excavated peat soil under the dam.	-	-	A703	86	-

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6.6.28	899	Obergraben. Snipe-Berg Eimerkettenbagger Ba.III 5002	Head race. Snipe Mountain bucket chain excavator Ba.III 5002	-	-	A703	89	-
6.6.28	900	Obergraben. Snipe-Berg Eimerkettenbagger Ba.III 5001 u.2	Head race. Snipe Mountain bucket chain excavator Ba.III 5001 and 5002	-	-	A703	89	-
13.6.28	901	Krafthaus. Schalungs- und Betonarbeiten für den Mittelbau und 38kV-Schalhaus.	Power house. Shuttering and concrete work for the central building and 38kV switchgear building.	-	-	A704	115	-
13.6.28	902	Krafthaus. Montage der Turbinenspiralen, Schalungs- u. Betonarbeiten für den Mittelbau u. 38kV-Schalhaus.	Power house. Assembling the turbine spirals, shuttering and concrete work for the central building and 38kV switchgear building.	-	-	A704	115	-
13.6.28	903	Krafthaus. Eisenarmierung und Betonierung der Wasserführungswand über den Turbinenausläufen 5 und 6.	Power house. Steel reinforcement and concreting of the water guide panel over the turbine discharges 5 and 6	-	-	A704	135	-
19.8.28	904	Obergraben. Clonlara-Brücke, schematische Schnitte für die Zeitschrift "Shannon-Progress"	Tail race. Clonlara Bridge, schematic sections for the magazine, "Shannon-Progress"	-	-	A700	97	-
18.6.28	905	Krafthaus. Betonieren der Rechenböcke und der Wasserführungswand für die Turbinenausläufe V und VI.	Power house. Concreting of the screen supports and water conduit wall for the turbine outlets V and VI.	-	-	A704	4	-
18.6.28	906	Krafthaus. Blick auf Teile der Schleuse und das Wasserschloss vom Obergraben.	Power house. View of parts of the lock and the water reservoir from the head race.	-	-	A704	2	-

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18.6.28	907	Krafthaus, Schalen und Eisen verlegen für Mittelbau und 38kV-Schaltheus.	Power house, dishes and iron installed for central building and 38kV switchgear building.	-	-	A701	137	-
20.6.28	908	Obergraben. Rutsch im Baggerschacht Ba.III 5001 zwischen Profil 282-283 (Snipe Hill) am 19./20.6.28	Head race. Embankment slippage in excavator pit Ba.III 5001 between 282-283 Profile (Sniper Hill) on the 19./20.6.28	-	-	A703	87	-
20.6.28	909	Obergraben. Spülkippe O'Briensbridge, linker Damm zwischen Profil 339 und 347.	Head race. Irrigation dump O'Briensbridge left profile embankment between 339 and 347th	-	-	A703	86	-
20.6.28	910	Wehr. Beginn der Arbeiten nach des Leerpumpen des Fangedammabschnittes 2.	Weir. Commencement of works on the emptying of cofferdam section 2	1	MMC	A702	87	-
20.6.28	911	Wehr. Flügelmauer Einlaufbauwerk, entlang dem wasserseitigen Fuss des linken Obergrabendamms.	Weir. Wing wall intake structure along the water-side base of the left head race dam.	-	-	A702	88	-
17.7.28	912	Krafthaus. Armierung des Rechenpodiums.	Powerhouse. Reinforcement of podium screen.	-	-	A704	3	-
20.6.28	913	Obergraben. O'Briensbridge, alte Shannonbrücke und neue Brücke über den Obergraben.	Head race. O'Briensbridge old Shannon bridge and new bridge across the head race.	-	-	A702	15	-
22.6.28	914	Untergraben. Abrutschen des Eimerkettenbaggers Ba.III 3002 in dem Moorboden am Auslauf des Untergrabens.	Tail race. Slippage of the bucket chain excavator Ba.III 3002 on the peat soil on the outlet of the tail race.	-	-	A701	124	-

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28.6.28	915	Untergraben. Abrutschen des Eimerkettenbaggers Ba.III 3002 in dem Moorboden am Auslauf des Untergrabens.	Tail race. Slippage of the bucket chain excavator Ba.III 3002 on the peat soil on the outlet of the tail race.	-	-	A701	124	-
29.6.28	916	Krafthause, Schleuse, Herstellung der Schalung für die Umläufe im Oberhaupt der oberen Schleuse.	Power house, lock, preparing the shuttering for the circulation in the head of the upper lock.	-	-	A704	117	2 photo panorama
2.7.28	917	Obergraben. Blackwater-Brücke.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge.	-	-	A703	90	-
2.7.28	918	Obergraben. Blackwater-Brücke mit fertigen Kanalstück.	Head race. Blackwater Bridge with finished channel section.	-	-	A703	90	-
2.7.28	919	Krafthaus, Betonierung des 38kV-Schaltheus und des Krafthauses über den Turbinenausläufen.	Power house, concreting of the 38kV switchgear building and the power house over the turbine discharges.	-	-	A704	132	-
2.7.28	920	Krafthaus, Gesamtaufnahme von linke Ufer, unterstrom.	Power house, complete recording from left bank, downstream.	-	-	A704	116	2 photo panorama
2.7.28	921	Krafthaus, Gesamtaufnahme von linke Ufer unterstrom.	Power house, complete recording from left bank downstream.	-	-	A704	133	2 photo panorama
17.7.28	922	2 cbm Löffelbagger auf Schienen (betr. Geräteverkauf)	2 cbm backhoe on rails (regarding equipment sales)	-	-	A700	105	-
11.7.28	923	Unfall des Loeffelbaggers Nr. 6010 am 11. Juli 28.	Accident of bucket excavator No. 6010 on 11th July 1928	-	-	A700	96	-
11.7.28	924	Unfall des Loeffelbaggers Nr. 6010 am 11. Juli 28.	Accident of bucket excavator No. 6010 on 11th July 1928	-	-	A700	96	-
11.7.28	925	Krafthaus, Aussteifung der Turbinenspiral und Einbetonierung	Power house, reinforcement of the turbine spiral and mounting in concrete	2, 5	Loose, Negative	A704	114	-

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no date	926	Newtown. Dammrutsch Prof. 108-111 linker Damm landseite.	Newtown. Embankment slippage profile 108-111 left land side.	-	-	A703	88	-
17.7.28	926	-	(shot of three penstocks from high up, at an angle)	6	Album #1	-	-	-
9.7.28	927	Obergraben Newtown Dammrutsch Prof. 108-111 linker Damm landseite.	Head race. Newtown. Embankment slippage profile 108-111 left land side.	-	-	A703	88	-
17.7.28	928	Krafthaus, Rohrmontage, Vorbereitung der Montage für die eisernen Hallenbinder. Betonarbeiten am Transformatorenpodium und in den Nebengebäuden.	Power house, pipe fitting, preparation of the assembly hall for the iron framework. Concrete work on the transformer platform and in the outbuildings.	-	-	A701	137	-
17.7.28	929	Krafthaus, Vorbereitungen der Montage der eisernen Hallenbindern (Eilers). Schalungsarbeit für die 38kV-station.	Power house, preparations for the assembly hall of the iron binders (Eilers). Shuttering work for the 38kV station.	-	-	A701	138	-
18.7.28	930	Krafthaus. Schleusen, Betonieren den unteren Teiles des Oberhauptes der oberen Schleuse.	Powerhouse. Locks, concreting the lower part of the head of the upper lock.	-	-	A704	3	-
18.7.28	931	Krafthaus. Schleusen, Betonieren der Oberhauptes der oberen Schleuse. Durchblick auf den Aushub des Schifffahrtskanals.	Powerhouse. Locks, pouring of the head of the upper lock head. View through to the excavation of the shipping channel.	-	-	A704	2	-
24.7.28	932	Staustricke, linkes Ufer, Erdaushub bei Fort Henry.	Buffer area, left bank, excavation at Fort Henry.	-	-	A702	86	-

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24.7.28	933	Staustrücke, linkes Ufer, Erdarbeiten bei Fort Henry. Auflockerung der Erde durch Sprengungen.	Buffer area, left bank, earthworks at Fort Henry. Loosening of the earth by blasting.	-	-	A702	87	-
24.7.28	934	Staustrücke, linkes Ufer, rammen einer Spundwand unter dem Damm in der Moorstrücke zwischen Profil 33 und 40	Buffer area, left bank, ramming a sheet pile wall under the embankment in the peat area between profile 33 and 40	-	-	A702	88	-
24.7.28	935	Staustrücke, rechtes Ufer, rammen einer Spundwand unter dem Damm in der Moorstrücke zwischen Profil 40 und 45	Buffer area, right bank, ramming a sheet pile wall under the embankment in the peat area between profile 40 and 45	-	-	A702	89	-
24.7.28	936	Wehr, Fangedamm II, Pumpensumpf Stromseite rechts zeigt oben Fels, Geröllzwischen-schicht und unten Fels.	Weir, cofferdam II, sump side on the right shows the top rock, scree and intermediate layer below the rock.	-	-	A702	91	-
25.7.28	937	Wehr, Fangedamm Landseite links zeigt Geröll.	Weir, cofferdam land side on the left shows scree.	-	-	A702	90	-
25.7.28	938	Staustrücke, rechtes Ufer, rammen einer Spundwand zwischen dem Einlaufbauwerk und den bereits geschütteten Dammteilen oberhalb des Blackrivers.	Buffer area, right bank, ramming a sheet pile wall between the intake structure and the already poured dike parts above the Black River.	-	-	A702	89	-
25.7.28	939	Wehr, Aushubarbeiten im Fangedammabschnitt II.	Weir, concrete excavation work in the cofferdam section II	-	-	A702	90	-
25.7.28	940	Wehr, Arbeiten im Fangedamm, 2.Abschnitt. Zu beachten sind die Massnahmen zur Abdichtung des Fangedammabschnittes 7 (Spundwand und Sandsackwände).	Weir, concrete work in the cofferdam, 2nd section. Note the measures to seal the cofferdam section 7 (sheet pile wall and sandbag walls).	-	-	A702	91/94	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
25.7.28	941	Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk von Unterstrom gesehen.	Weir and intake structure seen from downstream.	-	-	A702	93	2 photo panorama
no date	942	Wehrbaustelle von Unterstrom gesehen.	Weir construction seen from upstream.	-	-	A702	94	-
no date	943	Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk von Oberstrom gesehen.	Weir and intake structure seen from upstream.	-	-	A702	92	2 photo panorama
26.7.28	944	Obergraben. Abschnitt Newtown aufbringen der Beschotterung und der Betonplatten auf die Böschung. Im Hintergrunde 2 Absetzer bei der Arbeit.	Head race. section Newtown raising of the ballasting and the concrete slabs at the slope. In background, two spreaders at work.	-	-	A703	91	-
no date	945	Obergraben. Abschnitt Newtown aufbringen der Betonabdeckung. (Betonmischmaschine mit Materialaufzug von der Kanalschle aus gesehen.)	Head race. Newtown section. Application of the concrete cover. (concrete mixing machine with material elevator from the canal)	-	-	A703	92	-
26.7.28	946	Obergraben. Newtown Abschnitt. Aufbringen der Beschotterung, und Aufbringen der Betonplatten auf die Obergrabenböschung.	Head race. Newtown section. Application of the ballasting, and application of the concrete slabs at the head race bank.	-	-	A703	91	-
30.7.28	947	Obergraben. Dammrutsch Profil 145-147 rechter Damm wasserseitig.	Head race. Embankment slippage profile 145-147 right embankment water side.	-	-	A703	87	-
30.7.28	948	Ardnacrusha. Ansicht vom linken Damm.	Ardnacrusha. View from the left embankment.	-	-	A704	4	-
30.7.28	949	Wasserschloss vom rechten Damm obergraben gesehen.	Surge tank seen from the right bank of the head race.	-	-	A704	7	-



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2.8.28	950	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss vom linke Ufer aus gesehen.	Power house, surge tank seen from the left bank.	-	-	A704	5	2 photo panorama
30.7.28	951	Wasserschloss mit Krafthaus, Turbinen.	Surge tank with power house, turbines.	-	-	A704	6	2 photo panorama
30.7.28	952	Krafthaus, Montage der eisernen Hallenbinder durch die Fa.Eilers.	Power house, assembly of the iron hall framework through the Fa.Eilers.	6	Album #1	A704	132	-
2.8.28	953	Krafthaus, Montage der Rohrbahn und der eisern Hallenbinder.	Power house, installation of the pipe rail and iron hall framework.	6	Album #1	A701	138	-
28.7.28	954	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss und Schleuse vom linken Ufer aus gesehen.	Power house, surge tank and lock seen from the left bank.	-	-	A704	8	-
16.8.28	955	Obergraben. Clonlara-Brücke, Fertigbetonieren vor Absenkung.	Head race. Clonlara Bridge, finished concreting before sinking.	-	-	A703	122	-
17.8.28	956	Obergraben. Clonlara, Hilfsbrücke über den Felseinschnitt.	Head race. Clonlara, temporary bridge over the rock cut.	-	-	A703	122	-
25.8.28	957	Clonlara, Turmdrehkran Spitze gebrochen.	Clonlara, broken tower crane tip.	-	-	A700	73	-
17.8.28	958	Untergraben. Bachbrücke bei Parteen. Im Hintergrund Betonierung des linken Widerlagers der Parteen Brücke.	Tail race. River bridge at Parteen. Concrete work in the background of the the left buttress of the bridge Parteen.	-	-	A701	123147	-
17.8.28	959	Untergraben. Erdrutsch am Auslauf des Untergrabens am 17.8.1928	Tail race. Landslide on the outlet of the tail race on the 17/08/1928	-	-	A701	125	-
17.8.28	960	Untergraben. Erdrutsch am Auslauf des Untergrabens am 17.8.1928	Tail race. Landslide on the outlet of the tail race on the 17/08/1928	-	-	A701	125	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
20.8.28	961	Obergraben. Löffelbagger Ba.I 6013 im Schwimmsand oberhalb der Felsstrecke Clonlara (Profil 225-230)	Head race. Shovel excavator Ba.I 6013 in the swimming sand above at the rock area Clonlara (profile 225-230)	-	-	A703	125	-
28.7.28	962	Gesamtansicht, Krafthaus und Wasserschloss von Unterstrom gesehen.	Overview, power house and surge tank seen from downstream.	-	-	A704	12	-
20.8.28	963	Krafthaus, Montage der eisernen Hallenbinder und der Druckrohre, Betonierung der Kühlhäuser.	Power house, assembly of the iron hall framework and penstocks, concreting of the cold stores.	-	-	A704	9	-
20.8.28	964	Krafthaus, Montage der Druckrohre.	Power house, installation of the penstocks.	-	-	A704	9	-
20.8.28	965	Krafthaus, Betonierung der Spiralgehäuse der Turbinen.	Power house, concreting of the spiral casing of the turbines.	-	-	A704	10	-
20.8.28	966	Krafthaus, Montage der Binder I und III der Krafthaushalle.	Power house, installation of frames I and III of the power house hall.	-	-	A704	10	-
28.8.28	967	Gesamtansicht, Krafthaus und Wasserschloss von Unterstrom gesehen.	Overview, power house and surge tank seen from downstream.	-	-	A704	13	-
5.9.28	968	Krafthaus, Einbetonierung der Frischluftkanäle.	Power house, concreting of the fresh air channels.	-	-	A704	11	-
6.9.28	969	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss und Schleuse vom Obergraben aus gesehen.	Power house, surge tank and lock as seen from the head race.	-	-	A704	11	-
no date	970	Obergraben. 2 Eimerkettenbagger am Snipe-Berg.	Head race. 2 bucket chain excavators at Snipe Mountain.	-	-	A703	125	-
no date	971	Obergraben. Sprünge in der Böschung des rechten Dammes, wasserseitig Profil No. 350-360.	Head race. Cracks in the slope of the right embankment, water side profile no. 350-360.	-	-	A703	93	-

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no date	972	Obergraben. Sprünge in der Böschung des rechten Dammes, wasserseitig Profil No. 350-360.	Head race. Cracks in the slope of the right embankment, water side profile no. 350-360.	-	-	A703	92	-
no date	973	Untergraben. Zeichnung des Bachüberführungsbrücke.	Tail race. Drawing of Bach overpass bridge.	-	-	A700	97	-
17.9.28	974	Krafthaus und Wasserschloss vom rechten Damm Untergraben gesehen.	Power house and surge tank as seen from the right bank of the tail race.	-	-	A704	12	-
no date	975	Aufnahme des neuen Lageplans L.804 der Krafthausbaustelle.	Picture of the new site plan L.804 of the power house site.	-	-	A700	98	-
3.10.28	974	Wehr, Aushub- und Betonarbeiten im Fangedammabschnitt II.	Weir, excavation and concrete work in cofferdam section II	-	-	A702	95	-
3.10.28	977	Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk. Schützenmontage der Dortmunder Union.	Weir and intake structure. Sluiceway installation from the Dortmunder Union.	-	-	A702	95	-
3.10.28	978	Wehr, Fangedammabschnitt II. Aushub für den Sporn auf der Unterwasserseite, entlang Fangedamm Nr. 6.	Weir, cofferdam section II. excavation for the spur of the submerged side, along cofferdam No. 6.	-	-	A702	96	-
3.10.28	979	Wehr, Fangedammabschnitt II. Felspartie entlang dem Fangedamm 7 nach Durchführung der Dichtungsmassnahmen.	Weir, section II cofferdam. Rocky section along cofferdam 7 for the implementation of the sealing action.	-	-	A702	97	-
3.10.28	980	Wehr, Fangedammabschnitt II. Felspartie entlang dem Fangedamm 7 nach Durchführung der Dichtungsmassnahmen.	Weir, section II cofferdam. Rocky section along cofferdam 7 for the implementation of the sealing action.	-	-	A702	96	-
4.10.28	981	Obergraben, Blackwater-Bridge von Kanalsole stromabwärts gesehen.	Head race, Blackwater Bridge seen from the channel bed downstream.	-	-	A704	14	-

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4.10.28	982	Obergraben. Blackwater-Bridge, Blick durch rechten Dammbogen auf Wasserschloss.	Obergraben. Blackwater Bridge, looking through the embankment right arch at the surge tank.	-	-	A704	14	-
4.10.28	983	Krafthaus, Gesamtbild der Bauarbeiten Anfang Oktober.	Power house, Overview of the building work at the start of October.	-	-	A704	13	-
4.10.28	984	Ardnacrusha, Krafthausbau mit Druckrohren.	Ardnacrusha, power house building with penstocks.	-	-	A704	15	-
4.10.28	985	Krafthaus. Verlegen der Eisenarmierung für die Generatorrahmen.	Power house. Laying of the iron reinforcement for the generator frames.	-	-	A704	16	-
4.10.28	986	Krafthaus, Blick durch die Einlauföffnung des Wasserschlosses und Montage der Druckrohre.	Power house, View through the inlet opening of the surge tank and installation of the penstocks.	-	-	A704	15	-
4.10.28	987	Krafthaus, Blick durch die Einlauföffnung des Wasserschlosses und Montage der Druckrohre.	Power house, View through the inlet opening of the surge tank and installation of the penstocks.	-	-	A704	16	-
no date	988	Allgemeines. 2 cbm Selbstkippe.	General. 2 cbm self tipper.	-	-	A700	99	-
17.10.28	989	Wehr, Aushub, Beton- und Granitarbeiten im Fangedammabschnitt II.	Weir, excavation, concrete and granite concrete work in cofferdam section II.	-	-	A702	99	-
17.10.28	990	Wehr, Aushub, Beton- und Granitarbeiten im Fangedammabschnitt II.	Weir, excavation, concrete and granite concrete work in cofferdam section II.	-	-	A702	100	-
no date	991	Staustricke, Felseinschnitt bei Parteen Villa fertig.	Buffer area, rock cut at Parteen Villa finished.	-	-	A702	97	-

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17.10.28	992	Wehr. Hilfskraftanlage Lanzlokomobile.	Weir. Auxiliary power unit Lanz traction engine.	-	-	A702	98	-
17.10.28	993	Wehr. Hilfskraftanlage Lanzlokomobile.	Weir. Auxiliary power unit Lanz traction engine.	-	-	A702	98	-
17.10.28	994	Wehr. Hilfskraftanlage Lanzlokomobile, Schaltanlage.	Weir. Auxiliary power unit Lanz traction engine, switchgear.	-	-	A702	99	-
22.10.28	995	Allgemeines. 160 PS-Lokomotiv, Krauss U.Co.München.	General. 160 hp locomotive, Krauss U.Co.Munich.	-	-	A700	100	-
29.10.28	996	Untergraben, Parteien-Brücke, Betonierung rechtes Widerlager und Aufstellen des Leergerüsts.	Tail race, Parteien bridge, concreting right buttress and installation of the empty frame.	-	-	A702	127	-
29.10.28	997	Untergraben, Parteien-Brücke, Betonierung der Widerlager.	Tail race Parteien Bridge, concreting of the buttress.	-	-	A701	126	-
29.10.28	998	Untergraben, Bach= und Stromhilfsbrücke über den Untergraben.	Tail race, River and current temporary bridge over the Tail race.	-	-	A701	126	-
1.11.28	999	Wehr, Beton- und Granitarbeiten in Grundablass am weitesten links.	Weir, concrete and granite concrete work in bottom outlet on the farthest left.	-	-	A702	100	-
1.11.28	1000	Wehr, Blick auf die Fangedämme des 2. und 3. Bauabschnittes während des Hochwassers, Anfang November 1928.	Weir, view of the cofferdams at the 2nd and 3 construction stage during the flood in early November 1928.	-	-	A702	101	-
1.11.28	1001	Wehr. Betonierung des Absturzbettes zwischen de, 1. und 2. Strompfeiler links.	Weir. Concreting at the falling bed between 1 and 2 river piers on the left.	-	-	A702	101	-
no date	1002	Allgemeines. 5,3 cbm Wagen.	General. 5.3 cbm wagon.	-	-	A700	98	-
no date	1003	Allgemeines. 4,3 cbm Felswagen.	General. 4.3 cbm rock wagon.	-	-	A700	99	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
5.11.28	1004	Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk, Betonarbeiten im linken Fangedammabschnitt, Hochwasser im Shannon.	Weir and intake structure, concrete work in the left section cofferdam, flooding in the Shannon.	5	Civil	A702	102	-
5.11.28	1005	Wehr, Blick auf Weir und Einlaufbauwerk von linken Obergrabendamm.	Weir, view of weir and intake structure from the left head race embankment.	2	Loose	A702	104	2 photo panorama
6.11.28	1006	Krafthaus, Aufstellung der Maste für die Freiluftstation.	Power house, installation of the poles for the open-air station.	5,6	110/38, Album #1	A704	17	-
6.11.28	1007	Krafthaus, Schleuse, Aushub für die untere Schleuse und Mittelbau.	Power house, lock, excavation for the lower lock and central section.	-	-	A704	17	-
6.11.28	1008	Krafthaus und Wasserschloss, Gesamtbild von Unterstrom links gesehen.	Power house and surge tank, overall view seen from the left downstream.	6	Album #1	A704	18	2 photo panorama
7.11.28	1009	Krafthaus und Wasserschloss, Blick von Unterstrom.	Power house and surge tank, view from downstream.	5,6	Civil, Album #6	A704	19	-
7.11.28	1010	Krafthaus u, Wasserschloss, vom linken Ufer ausgesehen. Generatorpodium fertig betoniert.	Power house and surge tank, seen from the left bank. Generator platform finished concreting.	6	Album #1	A704	20	-
7.11.28	1011	Allgemeines. 160 PS-Lokomotiv, Henschel u.Sohn, Cassel.	General. 160 hp locomotive, Henschel & Son, Kassel.	-	-	A700	101	-
7.11.28	1012	Allgemeines. 120 PS-Lokomotiv, SSW.	General. 120 hp locomotive, SSW.	-	-	A700	101	-
no date	1013	Allgemeines. Luftdruckhammer. Fabr. Billeter u.Klunz A.G. Bärhub: 550 mm Bärgewicht: 250 kg.	General. Air pressure hammer. Factory Billeter & Klunz A.G. Hammer stroke: 550 mm Hammer weight: 250 kg.	-	-	A700	104	-

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no date	1014	Allgemeines. Schnellhobelmaschine, Fabr.Zimmermannwerke A.G. Grösste Hobellänge 4000 mm Grösste Hobelbreite: 1250 mm	General. Quick planer, Factory Zimmermannwerke A.G. Maximum plane length: 4000 mm Maximum plane width: 1250 mm	-	-	A700	103	-
no date	1015	Allgemeines. Leit- undZugspindel-drehbank, Fabr.Maffei, München. Spitenhöhe 350 mm; Spitzenweite: 5000 mm.	General. Screw cutting and bar lathe, Factory Maffei, Munich. Height: 350 mm, turning length: 5000 mm.	-	-	A700	104	-
no date	1016	Portumna. New Cut (Weelick) Weir. Umbau der Schütz. Hebewinde für H.H.W.Abfluss. Abbrennen der festen Hochwasserschilde.	Portumna. New Cut (Weelick) weir. Reconstruction of the sluice-gates. Winch for H. H. W. drain. Burning the solid flood shields.	-	-	A702	110	-
30.8.28	1017	Portumna. Scrubby-Island. Blick auf Keelogue, bewegliches und festes Wehr.	Portumna. Scrubby-island. View of Keelogue, movable and fixed weir.	-	-	A702	107	-
30.8.28	1018	Portumna. Keelogue-Wehr. Hiervon das "feste Wehr", das in ein Bewegliches umgebaut wird. Hinten links das bewegliche Wehr.	Portumna. Keelogue-Weir. Of these, the "fixed Weir", which is converted into motion. Rear left the movable Weir.	-	-	A702	106	-
30.8.28	1019	Portumna. "Festes Wehr" des Keelogue-Wehr, das in ein Bewegliches umgebaut wird.	Portumna. "Solid Weir" at the Keelogue dam, which is converted into motion.	-	-	A702	106	-
30.8.28	1020	Portumna. Scrubby Island. Blick auf abgebagerte Cromwell batterie.	Portumna. Scrubby island. View of dredged off Cromwell battery.	-	-	A702	108	-
30.8.28	1021	Portumna. Scrubby Island.	Portumna. Scrubby Island.	-	-	A702	109	2 photo panorama

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
30.8.28	1022	Portumna. Materialgewinn (Ton u. Steine) durch Abtrag Crommwell Batterie für Zuschüttung des Shannon armes zwischen Slaghta-Bigisland, mittels 0,6 Löffelbagger.	Portumna. Obtaining material (clay and stone) through removal Crommwell battery for filling up the low Shannon between Slaghta Big-island, using 0.6 shovel excavator.	-	-	A702	107	-
30.8.28	1023	Portumna. Fertiger Damm über den Shannonarm zwischen Friarsisland und Illaunboy.	Portumna. Completed dam on the Shannon between Friarsisland and Illaunboy.	1	MMC	A702	108	-
1.9.28	1025	Portumna. Friarsisland. Abbaggerung der durch der O-Bagger nicht fassbaren Ton-Massen mittels Schwimmgreifer und Abtransport mittels Klappschute.	Portumna. Friars Island. Digging not imposed by the O-Excavator tangible clay masses using dredger and transportation by barge.	1	MMC	A702	111	-
1.9.28	1026	Portumna. Friarsisland. Tonbaggerung mittels O-Bagger.	Portumna. Friars Island. Clay excavation with O-Excavator.	-	-	A702	110	-
1.9.28	1027	Portumna. Friarsisland. Abtransport der mittels Schwimmgreifer gebaggerten Tonmassen mittels Klappschute.	Portumna. Friars Island. Transportation of the dredger and dredged clay masses using the dredger barge	1	MMC	A702	111	-
1.9.28	1028	Portumna. Verladen eines kleinen Lübecker Baggers auf Schuten zwecks Transport.	Portumna. Loading of a small Lübecker excavator in to order to transport barges.	-	-	A702	112	-
1.9.28	1029	Portumna. Ton-Kippbrücke zwischen Slaughta-Big Island f. Dammschüttung durch einen Shannonarm.	Portumna. Clay tipping bridge between Slaughta-Big Island for embankment fill through a Shannonarm.	-	-	A702	112	-



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1.9.28	1030	Portumna. Nahezu geschlossener Damm über Shannonarm zwischen Bigisland u. Friars Island. Links oben der Landentwässerungsgraben.	Portumna. Nearly complete embankment on Shannonarm between Friars Island and Big Island. Top left the land drainage ditch.	-	-	A702	114	-
1.9.28	1031	Portumna. Fertiggestellter Dammteil mit Entwässerungsgraben (rechts).	Portumna. Finished embankment section with ditch (right).	-	-	A702	113	-
no date	1032	Portumna. Schutzdamm mit dahinterliegendem Drainage-graben (links), Shannon rechts.	Portumna. Protective dam with dig drainage behind it (left), Shannon right.	-	-	A702	114	-
1.9.28	1033	Portumna. Abgraben der Tonlage im Bereich des Entwässerungsgraben und Einbringen des Materials auf die Wasserseite des Dammes.	Portumna. Excavations in the clay area around the drainage ditch and placing the material to the water side of the dam.	-	-	A702	115	-
no date	1034	Portumna. Abgraben der Tonlage im Bereich des Entwässerungsgraben und Einbringen des Materials auf die Wasserseite des Dammes.	Portumna. Excavations in the clay area around the drainage ditch and placing the material to the water side of the dam.	-	-	A702	115	-
22.11.28	1035	Staustrücke, linker Damm oberhalb Wehr (Moorstrücke) Profil 32-20, Wasserseite.	Buffer area, left embankment above Weir (peat area) profile 32-20, water side.	-	-	A702	105	-
22.11.28	1036	Staustrücke, linker Damm oberhalb Wehr (Moorstrücke) Profil 32-20, Wasserseite.	Buffer area, left embankment above Weir (peat area) profile 32-20, water side.	-	-	A702	105	-
26.11.28	1037	Obergraben. Dammrutsch am 23.11.28, Profil 104-106 linker Damm landseitig.	Head race. Embankment slippage on the 23.11.28, profile 104-106 left land side.	-	-	A703	93	-

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no date	1038	Obergraben. Dammrutsch am 23.11.28, Profil 97-99 linker Damm landseitig.	Head race. Embankment slippage on the 23.11.28, profile 97-99 left land side.	-	-	A703	94	-
?.11.28	1039	Obergraben. Dammrutsch am 23.11.28, Profil 97-99 linker Damm landseitig.	Head race. Embankment slippage on the 23.11.28, profile 97-99 left land side.	-	-	A703	94	-
27.11.28	1040	Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk bei Hochwasser.	Weir and intake structure at high tide.	-	-	A702	103	-
27.11.28	1041	Wehr. Durchfluss durch den 1.Wehrbauabschnitt bei Hochwasser 840 cbm.	Weir. Flow rate through the 1st constructed weir section at high water 840 cbm.	-	-	A702	103	-
27.11.28	1042	Obergraben. Clonlarabrücke, Büro und Zügbeobachtungsstelle.	Tail race. Clonlara bridge, office and train inspection point.	-	-	A700	100	-
27.11.28	1043	Obergraben. Clonlarabrücke.	Tail race. Clonlara bridge.	-	-	A703	123	-
27.11.28	1044	Obergraben. Clonlarabrücke.	Tail race. Clonlara bridge.	-	-	A703	123	-
27.11.28	1045	Krafthaus, Rohrbahn und Wasserschloss von der Insel unterhalb des Leerschusses aus gesehen.	Power house, pipe rail and water castle seen from the island below the empty section.	-	-	A704	21	-
27.11.28	1046	Krafthaus, Gesamtansicht von Krafthaus u, Wasserschloss von Untergraben aus.	Power house, general view of the power house and surge tank from tail race.	-	-	A704	22	-
22.11.28	1047	Wehr, Baugrube im Fangedammabschnitt, rechte Obergrabenecke	Weir, excavation pit in the cofferdam section, right head race corner	-	-	A702	102	-
no date	1048	Ardnacrusha, Schienenrichtmaschine (Aufnahme angefertigt für Erfahrungsbericht).	Ardnacrusha, rail straightening machine (recording made for a review).	-	-	A700	110	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
30.11.28	1049	Ardnacrusha, Schienenrichtmaschine (Aufnahme angefertigt für Erfahrungsbericht). Arbeitsvorgang.	Ardnacrusha, rail straightening machine (recording made for a review). Work process.	-	-	A700	110	-
1.12.28	1050	Untergraben, Lehrgerüst für die Parteenbrücke.	Tail race, Scaffolding for the Parteen bridge.	-	-	A702	127	-
1.12.28	1051	Allgemeines. Transport einer Rotornabe durch Limerick.	General. Transport of a rotor hub through Limerick.	1,2, 4	MMC, Loose, Loose	A700	103	A55
1.12.28	1052	Allgemeines. Transport einer Rotornabe durch Limerick	General. Transport of a rotor hub through Limerick.	2, 6	Loose, Album #6	A700	104	-
1.4.29	1053	Obergraben. Profil 354-362 rechter Damm wasserseitig. Bruch der rechten Einschnittboschung; Die aufgequellens Sohle ist bereits durch Ba.I 6003 entfernt und durch Felsvorschtung ersetzt, über die nunmehr eine Ausfahrtsrampe führt. Die 2 linken Maste stehen noch auf geschüttetem etwa 2 1/2 m hohem Material, das zwecks Entlastung der gebrochenen Boschung noch entfernt wird.	Head race. 354-362 waterside right profile embankment. Break of the right cut slope, the bottom is already swelling up. Removed by Ba.I 6003 and replaced with Felsvorschtung, which now leads over an exit ramp. The 2 poles are still standing at rubble left about 2 1 / 2 m high material which is still being removed to strengthen the frail slope.	-	-	A703	97	-
1.12.28	1053	Allgemeines. Überladen der Rotornabe von Strassentiefadewagen auf einen Eisenbahn-Tiefadewagen.	General. Overloading of the rotor hub of road low-loader wagon on a rail, low-bed truck.	6, 4	Album #6, Loose	A700	104	A1
3.12.28	1054	Krafthaus vom der Schleuse aus gesehen.	Power house seen from the lock.	-	-	A704	19	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
3.12.28	1055	Krafthaus, Montage der Eisenkonstruktion der Generatorhalle.	Power house, installation of the iron structure of the generator hall.	-	-	A704	20	-
3.12.28	1056	Krafthaus, Montage der Eisenkonstruktion der Generatorhalle.	Power house, installation of the iron structure of the generator hall.	6	Album #6	A704	21	-
3.12.28	1057	Krafthaus, Zwischenlagerung eines Druckrohres.	Power house, temporary storage of a penstock tube.	6	Album #6	A704	22	-
4.12.28	1058	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss, Rechenböcke.	Power house, surge tank, screen supports.	-	-	A704	23	-
5.12.28	1059	Krafthaus, Gesamtbild.	Power house, overall view.	6	Album #6	A704	23	-
10.12.28	1060	Krafthaus, Ansicht vom rechten Ufer unterstrom.	Power house, downstream view from the right bank.	-	-	A704	34	-
10.12.28	1061	Krafthaus, Ansicht vom linken Ufer unterwasser; Rohrmontage; eiserne Hallenbinder fertig aufgestellt.	Power house, underwater view from the left bank; pipe installation; iron hall framework completed in place.	-	-	A704	34	-
10.12.28	1062	Wehr, Ansicht des Einlaufbauwerkes vom unterwasserlinks. Schützmontage.	Weir, view of the inlet structure from left underwater. Sluice-gate installation.	-	-	A702	116	-
10.12.28	1063	Wehr, Ansicht vom rechten Ufer.- Vorn links Wehrpfeiler des 1.Bauabschnittes.- Fangedamm des II.Bauabschnittes.- Betonarbeiten im III.Bauabschnitt.	Weir, view from right bank. Front pier on the left of the 1 construction stage. Cofferdam of the 2nd construction stage. Concrete work in 3rd construction stage.	-	-	A702	118	-
31.12.28	1064	Krafthaus, 38kV-Schalhaus und Kabelbrücke.	Power house, 38kV switchgear building and cable bridge.	-	-	A704	24	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
17.12.28	1065	Obergraben, Snipe-Berg elektr. Eimerkettenbagger, aufgenommen zwecks Geräteverkauf.	Head race, Snipe mountain electrical bucket chain excavator, taken as a sale device.	-	-	A700	112	-
20.1.29	1066	Untergraben, Rutschung des Einschnittsböschung auf der linken Seite bei Parteen, Profil 80-81.	Tail race, landslides of the cut embankment to the left side of Parteen, profile 80-81.	-	-	A702	128	-
19.12.28	1067	Obergraben. Eimerkettenbagger am Snipe-Berg.	Head race. Bucket chain excavator at Snipe Mountain.	-	-	A703	124	-
19.12.28	1068	Untergraben, Longpavement, Transport des Rotors Parteen auf Tief-ladewagen mit Daimler.	Tail race Longpavement, transport of the Parteen rotor on low-bed truck with Daimler.	6, 4	Album #6, Loose	A700	105	A188
no date	1068	-	(desolate land with church spire in background, number scratched in black)	1	MMC	-	-	-
??12.28	1069	Krafthaus, Blick vom Untergraben auf die Spitze der Insel und durch den Schiffahrtskanal zur Schleuse.	Power house, view from the tail race from the tip of the island and by the shipping channel to the lock.	-	-	A703	97	-
19.12.28	1069	Untergraben, Parteen, Überziehen des Rotors von Tief-ladewagen auf Spezial-wagen mittels Daimler (Neg. SSW)	Tail race, Parteen, coating of the rotor of low-bed truck on specialty truck by means of Daimler (Neg. SSW)	6	Album #6, Loose	A700	106	A2
28.12.28	1070	Krafthaus, Blick auf den Schragauf-zug, 38kV-Schaltheus und Ölwerkstatt.	Power house, View of the inclined hoist, 38kV switchgear building and oil workshop.	-	-	A704	35	-
31.12.28	1071	Krafthaus, Freiluftstation.	Power house, open-air station.	5	110/38	A704	35	A56
4.1.29	1074	Obergraben. Seitenentnahme bei Mount Catherine.	Head race. Side sampling at Mount Catherine.	-	-	A703	95	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
5.1.29	1075	Untergraben, Brücke bei Parteen.	Tail race, bridge at Parteen.	-	-	A702	128	-
8.1.29	1076	Krafthaus, Blick in die Generatorhalle.	Power house, view of the generator hall.	-	-	A704	30	-
9.1.29	1077	Krafthaus, Beginn der Montage der Turbine I.	Power house, start of the assembly of Turbine I.	-	-	A704	30	-
29.3.29	1078	Krafthausbaustelle. Blick auf Krafthaus, Wasserschloss und Schifffahrtskanal. Zu bemerken sind die umfangreichen, von Hand durchzuführenden Erd- und Böschungsarbeiten.	Power house site. View of the power house, surge tank and navigation channel. Of note are the huge, hand-carried out earthworks and embankments.	-	-	A704	66	-
9.1.29	1078	Krafthaus, Turbinenlaufrad am Krafthauskran (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Powerhouse, turbine rotor at the power house crane.	-	-	A704	31	-
9.1.29	1079	Krafthaus, Beginn der Montagearbeiten an der Schaltwarte	Power house, start of assembly work on the control room	-	-	A704	32	-
9.1.29	1080	Krafthaus, Betonierung des 10.KV-Schalthauses.	Power house, concreting of 10.KV switching house.	-	-	A704	25	-
9.1.29	1081	Krafthaus, Betonierung des 10.KV-Schalthauses.	Power house, concreting of 10.KV switching house.	-	-	A704	25	-
15.1.29	1082	Krafthaus, Montage des Sammelschienenraumes des 38kV-Schaltheus.	Power house, installation of the bus bar room of the 38kV switchgear building.	6	Album #6	A704	33	-
15.1.29	1083	Obergraben, Felsaushub (Sandstein) zwischen O'Briensbridge u, Wehr.	Head race, excavation rock (sandstone) between O'Briensbridge and weir.	-	-	A702	117	-

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16.1.29	1084	Krafthaus, Gesamtbild vom Untergraben aus gesehen.	Power house, overall view seen from the tail race.	-	-	A704	26	-
16.1.29	1085	Krafthaus, Schleusen, Blick von Schiffahrtskanal nach der oberen Schleuse. Aushub für das Mittelhaupt und die untere Schleuse beendet.	Power house, locks, View of shipping channel to the upper lock. Excavation for the middle section and the lower lock closed.	-	-	A704	24	-
16.1.29	1086	g	(view of power house showing island in the tail race)	6	Album #6	A704	28	-
16.1.29	1087	Krafthaus, Blick vom Untergraben auf die Spitze der Insel und durch den Schiffahrtskanal zur Schleuse.	Power house, view from the tail race from the tip of the island and by the shipping channel to the lock.	-	-	A704	27	-
16.1.29	1088	Krafthaus, Gesamtbild vom Untergraben aus gesehen.	Power house, overall view seen from the tail race.	6	Album #6	A704	26	-
16.1.29	1089	Krafthaus, Betonierung des 10kV-Schaltheus und des Krafthaushochbaues.	Power house, concreting of 10 kV switching station and Power house building construction.	6	Album #6	A704	28	-
16.1.29	1090	Krafthaus, Blick auf die linken Giebelwand. Unterstromseite von der unteren Schleuse aus gesehen.	Power house, look at the left end wall. Down stream side seen from the lower lock.	6	Album #6	A704	27	-
16.1.29	1091	Krafthaus, Blick auf die linken Giebelwand von der unteren Schleuse aus gesehen.	Power house, look at the left end wall seen from the lower lock.	-	-	A704	29	-
16.1.29	1092	Krafthaus, Blick auf die linken Giebelwand und Rohrbahn, von der unteren Schleusenkammer aus.	Power house, view from the left end wall and pipe track, from the lower lock chamber.	-	-	A704	29	-
19.1.29	1093	Wehr, Betonarbeiten im Fangedammschnitt III.	Weir, concrete work in cofferdam section III.	-	-	A702	117	-

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19.1.29	1094	Wehr, Betonarbeiten im Fangedammabschnitt III.	Weir, concrete work in cofferdam section III.	-	-	A702	116	-
29.3.29	1095	Krafthausbaustelle, Betonarbeiten an Schleuse und Leerschuss.	Power house construction, concrete work at lock and empty section.			A704	65	-
19.1.29	1095	Krafthaus, Montage der Generatoren (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, Assembly of the generators	-	-	A704	31	-
31.1.29	1096	Wehr, Fangedammabschnitt III, unterwasserseitige Abschlusschwelle des Tosbeckens.	Weir, cofferdam section III, underwater-side final level of the stilling basin.	-	-	A702	120	-
24.1.29	1096	Aushub von Hand im Auslauf des Untergrabens.	Excavation by hand on the outlet of the tail race.	-	-	A701	129	-
31.1.29	1097	Wehr, die beiden linken Grundablässe (Fangedammabschnitt III) fertiggestellt. (Aufnahme kurz vor dem Unterwassersetzen des Fangedammabschnittes.)	Weir, the two left bottom outlets completed (cofferdam section III). (taken just before the underwater setting of the cofferdam section.)	-	-	A702	119	-
31.1.29	1098	Wehr, die beiden linken Grundablässe (Fangedammabschnitt III) fertiggestellt. (Aufnahme kurz vor dem Unterwassersetzen des Fangedammabschnittes.)	Weir, the two left bottom outlets completed (cofferdam section III). (taken just before the underwater setting of the cofferdam section.)	-	-	A702	119	-
no date	1099	Wehr, Ansicht vom rechten Ufer, unterstromseitig.	Weir, view from right bank, downstream side.	-	-	A702	118	-



Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
11.2.29	1100	(no label)	(no label, man in room with metal frames, possibly part of auxiliary power system?)	-	-	A704	60	-
31.1.29	1100i	Wehr, Gesamtbild von Unterstrom.	Weir, overall picture from downstream.	5	Civil	A702	121	2 photo panorama
31.1.29	1101	Obergraben, Transport eines Absetzers über die Zufahrtsrampe zur Clonlara-Brücke.	Head race. Transport of a spreader over the access ramp to the Clonlara bridge.	-	-	A703	124	-
7.2.29	1102	Krafthaus, Generatormontage (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, generator assembly.	-	-	A704	33	-
9.4.29	1102	Wehrbaustelle, Abbau der festen Stütze des Kabelkranes.	Weir construction. Disassembly of the solid support of the cable crane.	-	-	A700	106	-
1.2.29	1103	Krafthaus, Generatormontage (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, generator assembly.	-	-	A704	32	-
9?.4.29	1103	Wehrbaustelle, Abbau der festen Stütze des Kabelkranes.	Weir construction. Disassembly of the solid support of the cable crane.	-	-	A700	107	-
8.2.29	1104	Krafthaus, Montageboden, Montage des oberen Rahmensterns beendet. Rotor I bei der Polmontage. (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, installation base, finished assembly of the upper star framework. Rotor I in pole mounting.	-	-	A704	49	-
9?.4.29	1104	Wehrbaustelle, Abbau der festen Stütze des Kabelkranes.	Weir construction. Disassembly of the solid support of the cable crane.	-	-	A700	107	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
8.2.29	1105	Krafthaus, Blick ins Krafthaus von der Giebelseite. Im Hintergrund Montage des ersten Rotors. (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, View from the power house to the gable end. In the background assembly of the first rotor.	-	-	A704	46	-
30.4.29	1105	Wehrbaustelle, Abbau der festen Stütze des Kabelkranes.	Weir construction. Disassembly of the solid support of the cable crane.	-	-	A700	108	-
8.2.29	1106	Krafthaus, Nabenstern für 30000 kVA Generator. 361 (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Powerhouse, drive collar for 30000 kVA generator. 361	2	Loose	A704	48	-
4.4.29	1106	Wehrbaustelle, Abbau der festen Stütze des Kabelkranes.	Weir construction. Disassembly of the solid support of the cable crane.	-	-	A700	108	-
4.4.29	1107	Wehrbaustelle, Abbau der festen Stütze des Kabelkranes.	Weir construction. Disassembly of the solid support of the cable crane.	-	-	A700	109	-
11.2.29	1108	Krafthaus, Turbine I Escher Wyss. (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, Turbine I, Escher Wyss.	-	-	A704	48	-
4.4.29	1108	Wehrbaustelle, Abbau der festen Stütze des Kabelkranes.	Weir construction. Disassembly of the solid support of the cable crane.	-	-	A700	109	-
9.4.29	1109	Krafthausbaustelle, Schrägaufzug.	Power house site, inclined hoist.	-	-	A704	37	-
11.2.29	1109	Krafthaus, Sammelschienen der Eigenbedarfsanlage. (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, bus bars to the auxiliary power system.	-	-	A704	59	-

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11.2.29	1110	Krafthaus, Haustransformeranschluss in der Eigenbedarfsanlage. (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, house transformer connection in the auxiliary power system.	-	-	A704	60	-
9.4.29	1110	Krafthausbaustelle, Schrägaufzug.	Power house site, inclined hoist.	-	-	A704	36	-
10.4.29	1111	Krafthaus, Blick vom Wasserschloss in den Schifffahrtskanal. Zu bemerken sind die umfangreichen, von Hand durchzuführenden Erd- und Böschungsarbeiten.	Power house, View from the surge tank in the shipping channel. Of note are the huge, hand-carried out earthworks and embankments.	-	-	A704	67	-
14.2.29	1111	Krafthaus, Öltankanlage (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, oil tank facility	-	-	A704	63	-
12.4.29	1112	Krafthaus, Hochbau über dem Schleusenoberhaupt.	Power house, construction of the main lock.					-
14.2.29	1112	Krafthaus, Ölküche mit 2 elektrischen ölkochen und gekapselter Verteilungsanlage (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, oil kitchen with 2 electric oil stoves and sealed distribution system	-	-	A704	63	-
10.4.29	1113	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss mit Leerschuss und Schleusenoberhaupt, Gesamtansicht.	Power house, surge tank with empty section and main lock, general view.	-	-	A704	44	-
14.2.29	1113	Krafthaus, Bedienungsgang der 38-kV-Anlage. (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, operating aisle of the 38-kV system.	-	-	A704	58	-
14.2.29	1114	Krafthaus, Reperaturwerkstatt. (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, repair workshop.	-	-	A704	58	-

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10.4.29	1114	Krafthuas, Wasserschloss, Montage des Feinrechens.	Power house, surge tank, installation of the fine screen.	5	Civil	A704	44, 58	A53
14.2.29	1115	Krafthaus, Hochspannungszelle in der 38kV-Anlage (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, high tension power cell in the 38kV system	-	-	A704	64	-
10.?.29	1115	Allgemeines. Doppelte Kreuzungsweiche (Aufnahme für die Montage in Bringhausen)	General. Double slip switch (recording for assembly in Bringhausen)	-	-	A700	114	-
14.2.29	1116	Krafthaus, Blick von der Haupttreppe ins Maschinenhaus. (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, view from the main staircase to the engine house.	-	-	A704	45	-
18.4.29	1117	Wehr, Transportbrücke und Wehröffnung 1 und 2 für dem mittleren Wehrbauabschnitt.	Weir, transportation bridge and weir opening 1 and 2 for the middle constructed weir section.	-	-	A702	130	-
no date	1117	Turbine II, Blick auf den Laufradflansch, Turbinendeckel. (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Turbine II, a view of the rotor flange, turbine cover.	-	-	A704	47	-
18.4.29	1118	Wehr, Montage der Windwerke am Einlaufbauwerk.	Weir, installation of the winding works on the intake structure.	-	-	A702	131	-
19.2.29	1118	Krafthaus, Montage des Stators für Generator I. (number crossed out and replaced with SSW)	Power house, installation of the stator for generator I.	-	-	A704	50	-
18.4.29	1119	Wehr, Ansicht des Einlaufbauwerkes vom Unterwasser mit fertiggestellten Schützen.	Weir view of inlet structure from underwater with finished sluice-gates.	-	-	A702	131	-

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19.2.29	1120	Krafthaus, Schaltzelle zu Generator 10, Baukraftwerk, aufgenommen für Baustelle Kembs.	Power house, switch cell generator 10, power plant construction, taken for Kembs construction.	-	-	A700	111	-
4.3.29	1121	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss, Leerschluss und Schleuse von oberstrom.	Power house, surge tank, empty closure and lock from upstream.	-	-	A704	39	-
4.3.29	1122	Krafthaus, Gesamtansicht von Krafthaus, Rohrbahn, Wasserschloss, Leerschluss und Schleuse von Schif-fahrtskanal aus.	Power house, general view from the power house, penstocks, surge tank, empty section and lock from navigation channel.	-	-	A704	41	2 photo panorama
4.3.29	1123	Krafthaus, 10kV-Schalhaus fertig betoniert.	Power house, 10 kV switching station concreting finished.	-	-	A704	38	-
4.3.29	1124	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss und Schleusenoberhaupt.	Power house, surge tank and main lock.	-	-	A704	38	-
6.3.29	1125	Wehr, Betonierung mit Giessmast.	Weir, concreting with casting pylon.	-	-	A702	120	-
18.4.29	1126	Wehr, Ansicht vom linken Ufer Unterstrom.	Weir, view from left bank downstream.	-	-	A702	130	-
6.3.29	1127	Stautrecke, Erdrutsch im Bereich des linken Staustreckendamms zwischen den Profilen 23-31, Blick in der Richtung gegen das Wehr.	Buffer area, landslides on the the area of the left embankment dam section between profiles 23-31, view in the direction of the weir.	-	-	A702	124	-
6.3.29	1128	Stautrecke, Erdrutsch im Bereich des linken Staustreckendamms zwischen den Profilen 23-31, Blick in der Richtung gegen Killaloe.	Buffer area, landslides on the the area of the left embankment dam section between profiles 23-31, view in the direction of Killaloe.	-	-	A702	125	2 photo panorama

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6.3.29	1129	Staustrücke, Erdrutsch im Bereich des linken Staustrückendamms zwischen den Profilen 23-31, Erdspalten.	Buffer area, landslides on the the area of the left embankment dam section between profiles 23-31, fissures.	-	-	A702	126	-
6.3.29	1130	Staustrücke, Erdrutsch im Bereich des linken Staustrückendamms zwischen den Profilen 23-31, Erdspalten.	Buffer area, landslides on the the area of the left embankment dam section between profiles 23-31, fissures.	-	-	A701	127	-
6.3.29	1131	Staustrücke, Erdrutsch im Bereich des linken Staustrückendamms zwischen den Profilen 23-31, Erdspalten und in die Höhe gepresster Moorboden.	Buffer area, landslides on the the area of the left embankment dam section between profiles 23-31, fissures and pressed into the peat soil level.	-	-	A702	126	-
6.3.29	1132	Staustrücke, Erdrutsch im Bereich des linken Staustrückendamms zwischen den Profilen 23-31, in die Höhe gepresster Moorboden.	Buffer area, landslides on the the area of the left embankment dam section between profiles 23-31, pressed into the peat soil level.	-	-	A701	127	-
8.3.29	1133	Staustrücke, Erdrutsch im Bereich des linken Staustrückendamms zwischen den Profilen 23-31, Abbruch und Verschiebung des Shannonufers.	Buffer area, landslides on the the area of the left embankment dam section between profiles 23-31, demolition and displacement of the Shannon shore.	-	-	A701	128	-
8.3.29	1134	Staustrücke, Erdrutsch im Bereich des linken Staustrückendamms zwischen den Profilen 23-31, Abbruch und Verschiebung des Shannonufers.	Buffer area, landslides on the the area of the left embankment dam section between profiles 23-31, demolition and displacement of the Shannon shore.	-	-	A701	128	-
4.3.29	1137	Krafthaus, Gesamtansicht.	Power house, overall view.	-	-	A704	40	-

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6.3.29	1138	Krafthaus, Blick durch den Schiffahrtskanal und die Schleuse.	Power house, view through the navigation channel and the lock.	-	-	A704	37	-
12.3.29	1139	Schiffschleuse.	Ship lock.	-	-	A704	64	-
18.4.29	1140	Wehr, Grundablassöffnung 5 und 6, Ansicht von Unterstrom.	Weir, bottom outlet opening 5 and 6, view from downstream.	-	-	A702	135	-
4.3.29	1141	Obergraben. Fertigstellung der Obergrabendämme, unterhalb der Clonlara-Brücke.	Head race. Completion of the head race embankments, below the Clonlara bridge.	-	-	A703	126	-
4.3.29	1142	Obergraben. Böschungsarbeiten unterhalb der Clonlara-Brücke.	Head race. Embankment construction below the Clonlara bridge.	-	-	A703	126	-
4.3.29	1143	Obergraben. Profil 323-328 linker dammseitig. Bruch der Einschnittsböschung infolge auf gewechter Sohle und Wasseraustritte in dem unteren Drittel der Böschung auf wassertragenden Schichten.	Head race. Profile embankment left side 323-328. Break of the incision due at slope soaked bottom and water seepage in the lower third of the slope at water-bearing strata.	-	-	A703	96	-
4.3.29	1144	Obergraben. Profil 323-328 linker Damm wasserseitig. Bruch der Einschnittsböschung links und Aufquellen der Sohle. Die Rippen in der Sohle entstanden infolge vorzeitigen Abruckens der Bagger Ba.III 5003 und 5004 auf der rechten Kanalseite, weil auch dort fortwährend die Böschung brach.	Head race. Profile 323-328 left water side. Break of the incision on the left slope and swelling of the bottom. The ridges in the bottom incurred as a result of the early work of Excavator Ba.III 5003 and 5004 on right side of the canal, which continually broke the slope there too.	-	-	A703	96	-

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4.3.29	1145	Obergraben. Profil 325-330 rechter Damm wasserseitig. Baggerung durch Ba.III 5003. Hinter ihm bereitet Ba.III 2009 das Planum für 5003 vor. Die Risse in der Böschung sind nicht zu erkennen, da gerade frisch darüber gebaggert war.	Head race. Profile 325-330 right water side. Dredging with Ba.III 5003rd Behind it Ba.III 2009, the ground level before preparing for 5003. The cracks in the slope are not evident, as it was just freshly dredged.	-	-	A703	95	-
13.3.29	1146	(no label)	-	-	-	A700	113	-
22.3.29	1148	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss und Leerschuss, sowie Schleuse vom Schiffahrtskanal aus gesehen.	Power house, surge tank and empty section, as well as lock seen from the shipping channel.	-	-	A704	40	-
19.3.29	1149	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss und Leerschuss, Gesamtansicht von Unterstrom.	Power house, surge tank and empty section, overview from downstream.	-	-	A704	43	-
22.3.29	1150	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss, Leerschuss und Schleuse. Gesamtbild vom linken Ufer unterstrom aus gesehen.	Power house, surge tank, empty section and lock. Overall picture seen from the left bank downstream.	-	-	A704	42	2 photo panorama
13.3.29	1151	Krafthaus, Blick in ein Druckrohr.	Power house, view inside a penstock.	-	-	A704	66	-
22.3.29	1152	Obergraben. Fertige Damme bei Blackwater, stromabwärts gesehen.	Head race. Finished dams at Blackwater, seen from downstream.	-	-	A703	98	-
22.3.29	1153	Obergraben. Fertige Damme bei Blackwater, stromabwärts gesehen.	Head race. Finished dams at Blackwater, seen from downstream.	-	-	A703	98	-
no date	1153	Untergraben, Parteen-Brücke, Ansicht vom linken Ufer Unterstrom.	Tail race Parteen Bridge, view from left bank downstream.	-	-	A701	130	-



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no date	1154	Obergraben. Blick von der Clonlara-Brücke, stromabwärts.	Head race. View from the Clonlara Bridge, downstream.	-	-	A703	127	-
22.4.29	1155	Untergraben, Parteen-Brücke, Ansicht vom linken Ufer Unterstrom mit Bachüberführung.	Tail race Parteen Bridge, view from left bank in operation, with river conversion.	-	-	A701	129	-
25.3.29	1156	Krafthaus, Lehrgerüst für die Betonierung des Rechenpodiums über dem Grundablass.	Powerhouse, scaffolding for the concreting of the podium screen above the bottom outlet.	-	-	A704	43	-
25.3.29	1157	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss, Schütz fertig betonierte.	Power house, surge tank, sluiceway concreting finished.	-	-	A704	39	-
26.3.29	1158	Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk, vom linken Ufer, oberstrom aus gesehen.	Weir and intake structure, seen from the left bank, upstream.	-	-	A702	123	-
26.3.29	1159	Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk, Fischpass.	Weir and intake structure, fish pass.	-	-	A702	124	-
26.3.29	1160	Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk, Fischtreppe vom linken Shannon-Ufer aus gesehen.	Weir and intake structure, fish ladder seen from the left bank of the Shannon.	-	-	A702	123	-
26.3.29	1161	Einlaufbauwerk und Wehr, Gesamtbild von Oberstrom.	Intake structure and weir, overall picture from upstream.	-	-	A702	122	2 photo panorama
22.9.29	1162	Obergraben, O'Briensbridge-brücke vom Oberstrom gesehen.	Head race. O'Briensbridge bridge seen from head current.	-	-	A702	16	-
27.3.29	1163	Ardnacrusha, Werkstatt, Wellenbruch am Drehwerk, Ba.I 6009	Ardnacrusha, workshop, shaft fracture on the rotator, Ba.I 6009	-	-	A700	112	-
30.3.29	1164	no label	-	-	-	A700	113	-
23.4.29	1165	Krafthaus, Schleuse, Herrichten der Erdböschungen im Schifffahrtskanal.	Power house, lock, preparing the earth bank in the shipping channel.	-	-	A704	67	-

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23.4.29	1166	Krafthaus, Ansicht des Einlaufsbauwerks von der Blackwaterbrücke aus.	Power house, view of the intake structure from the Blackwater Bridge.	-	-	A704	69	-
23.4.29	1167	Krafthaus, Schleuse, Bewehrung für den Entleerungskanal am Unterhaupt.	Power house, lock, reinforcement of the discharge channel on the lower part.	-	-	A704	67	-
23.4.29	1168	Krafthaus, Ansicht von Unterwasser auf Leerschuss und Schleuse. Im Vordergrund links Bewehrung für den Auslaufkanal am Unterhaupt.	Power house, view from underwater of the empty section and lock. In the foreground reinforcement for the outlet channel on the lower part.	-	-	A704	69	-
25.4.29	1169	Krafthaus, Ansicht von Unterwasser auf Leerschuss und Schleuse. Im Vordergrund links Bewehrung der Abtrennwand zwischen Leerschuss und Krafthaus.	Power house, view from underwater of the empty section and lock. In the foreground reinforcement of the partition wall between empty section and power house.	-	-	A704	68	-
23.4.29	1171	Krafthaus, Schleuse, Betonierung der Überbauten am Oberhaupt mit Teilsicht des Wasserschlosses.	Power house, lock, concreting of the superstructure at the main area with a partial view of the surge tank.	-	-	A704	71	-
2.5.29	1172	Allgemeines. Fremdenzimmer im Doonasshouse.	General. Guest room in Doonass House.	-	-	A700	117	-
2.5.29	1173	Krafthaus, Ansicht der Überbauten des Schleusenoberhauptes und des Wasserschlosses vom linken Obergrabendamm aus.	Power house, view of the superstructure of the main lock and of the surge tank from the left head race embankment.	-	-	A704	70	-

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2.5.29	1174	Obergraben, Blick von Profil 220 nach O'Briensbridge. Restliche Aushub- und Böscherungsarbeiten.	Head race. View of profile 220 through to O'Briensbridge. Rest of excavation and additional embankment work.	-	-	A702	18	-
2.5.29	1175	Obergraben, Blick von Profil 300 nach Clonlara.	Head race. View of profile 300 towards Clonlara.	-	-	A702	19	-
2.5.29	1176	Obergraben, Blick von Profil 220 nach Clonlara. Böschungsbauarbeiten.	Head race. View of profile 220 towards Clonlara. Embankment construction.	-	-	A702	18	-
no date	1177	Krafthaus. Längsschnitt durch die Schleusen.	Powerhouse. Longitudinal section through the locks.	-	-	A700	116	-
7.5.29	1178	Krafthaus, Ansicht vom Schleusenoberhaupt und Wasserschloss vom linken Obergrabendamms aus.	Power house, view from the main area lock and surge tank from the left upper head race bank.	-	-	A704	72	-
7.5.29	1179	Krafthaus, Überbauten am Schleusenoberhaupt.	Power house, superstructure at the main lock.	-	-	A704	71	-
8.5.29	1180	Krafthaus, Blick von der rechten Seite auf Wasserschlossdruckrohre.	Power house, view from the right side of surge tank penstock.	-	-	A704	82	-
8.5.29	1181	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss, Schützenwindwerke und Krane im Hochbau.	Power house, surge tank, sluiceway winches and cranes in building construction.	5	Turbine	A704	74	A67
8.5.29	1182	Krafthaus, Inneres des Turbinenspiral.	Power house, interior of a turbine spiral.	-	-	A704	80	-
9.5.29	1183	Krafthaus, Generatormontage.	Power house, generator assembly.	-	-	A704	73	-
9.5.29	1184	Krafthaus, Leerschuss, Grobrechen vorm Einlauf.	Power house, empty section, coarse screen in front of the intake.	5	Civil	A704	76	A74

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20.5.29	1185	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss, Blick in die Eisenbetonrechenstützen.	Power house, surge tank, view of the reinforced concrete supports.	-	-	A704	75	-
20.5.29	1186	Krafthaus, Ansicht vom Schleusenoberhaupt und Wasserschloss, kurz vor der Probefüllung des Obergrabens. Auf der linken Dammböschung Rammen für Landungssteg.	Power house, view from the main area lock and surge tank just before the test filling of the head race. On the left embankment dam pilings for the jetty.	-	-	A704	84	-
20.5.29	1187	Krafthaus, Wasserschloss, Ansicht von Oberstrom kurz vor der Probefüllung des Obergrabens.	Power house, surge tank, view from the upper stream, just before the test filling of the head race.	-	-	A704	84	-
20.5.29	1188	Krafthaus, Ansicht des Wasserschlosses kurz vor der Probefüllung des Obergrabens.	Power house, view of the surge tank just before the test filling of the head race.	5	Civil	A704	83	A79
no date	1189	Allgemeines. Aufrichten der Humphrey-Baracken (six photos)	General. Erection of the Humphrey-barracks	-	-	A700	115	-
21.5.29	1190	Krafthaus, Putzarbeiten im Saugrohr der Turbine I.	Power house, plaster work in the intake pipe of turbine I.	-	-	A704	77	-
21.5.29	1191	Krafthaus, Putzarbeiten im Saugrohr der Turbine II.	Power house, plaster work in the intake pipe of turbine II.	-	-	A704	78	-
22.5.29	1192	Krafthaus, Ansicht des Wasserschlosses bei Beginn der Probefüllung des Obergrabens.	Power house, view of the surge tank at the start of the test filling of the head race.	-	-	A704	85	-
22.5.28	1193	Obergraben, Blick auf Blackwaterbrücke und Krafthaus, Versuchsfüllung mit Wasserzuleitung vom Blackwater her.	Head race. View at Blackwater Bridge and power house, trial filling with water supply from Blackwater her.	-	-	A703	128	-

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??5.28	1194	Obergraben, Blick von der Blackwaterbrücke nach Oberstrom, Beginn der Versuchsfüllung mit Wasserzuleitung vom Blackwater her.	Head race. View from the bridge after Black Water upstream, the start of the trial filling with water supply from Blackwater.	-	-	A703	127	-
23.5.29	1195	Krafthaus, Generatormontage, Transport eines Rotors.	Power house, generator installation, transportation of a rotor.	-	-	A704	79	-
23.5.29	1196	Krafthaus, Generatormontage, Transport eines Rotors.	Power house, generator installation, transportation of a rotor.	5	Turbine	A704	80	A84
23.5.29	1197	Krafthaus, Generatormontage, Einsetzen eines Rotors.	Power house, generator installation, insertion of a rotor.	-	-	A704	81	-
23.5.29	1198	Krafthaus, Generatormontage, der Rotor eingestezt.	Power house, generator installation, the rotor inserted.	-	-	A704	81	-
24.5.29	1199	Krafthaus, Gesamtansicht vom Unterstrom.	Power house, overall view from downstream.	-	-	A704	82	-
24.5.29	1200	Krafthaus, Gesamtansicht von Unterstrom.	Power house, overall view from downstream.	-	-	A704	83	-
24.5.29	1201	Krafthaus, Bau der unteren Schleusenkammer.	Power house, construction of the lower lock chamber.	-	-	A704	70	-
31.5.29	1203	Untergraben, Parteen Brücke, Bachüberführung, Ansicht von Oberstrom	Tail race, Parteen bridge, river conversion, view of head current	-	-	A701	130	-
5.6.29	1204	Wehr, Ansicht des Schiffsdurchlasses von Oberstrom, mit fertig montiertem Schütz und eisernem Steg.	Weir, view of ship's passage from upstream, with pre-installed sluice-gates and iron footbridge.	5	Civil	A702	138	-
5.6.29	1205	Wehr, Gesamtansicht vom Oberwasser.	Weir, general view from upstream.	-	-	A702	134	2 photo panorama

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6.6.29	1206	Wehr, Ansicht des Wehres von Oberstrom, Grundablass 5 und 6 einschliesslich Überbau, bis auf Dachkonstruktion fertig. Pfeiler I im Bau.	Weir, view of weir from upstream, the bottom outlet 5 and 6, including superstructure, except for roof construction finished. Pillar I under construction.	5	Civil	A702	133	-
5.6.29	1207	Wehr, Sohlenbetonierung im mittleren Bauabschnitt.	Weir, bottom concreting in the middle construction stage.	-	-	A702	133	-
6.6.29	1208	Wehr, Transportbrücke vom mittleren Bauabschnitt nach dem linken Ufer.	Weir, transportation bridge from middle construction stage for the left bank.	-	-	A702	132	-
6.6.29	1209	Wehr, Ansicht des Einlaufbauwerkes mit fertig montieren Schützen und eisernen Stegen.	Weir, view of inlet structure with installed finished sluice-gates and iron ribs.	-	-	A702	132	-
8.6.29	1210	Allgemeines. Bagger Ba.I 6013, geschweisste Nietköpfe und Stemmkanten an der Feuertür, unsachgemasse reparaturbedürftige Arbeit.	General. Excavators Ba.I 6013, welded rivet heads and caulking edges at the fire door, improper repair requiring work.	-	-	A700	115	-
8.6.29	1211	Allgemeines. Lokomotiv Rb.I.5005. Durch Zusammenstoss eingedruckte und verbeulte Lokomotivstirnwand.	General. Lokomotiv Rb.I.5005. Locomotive front indented and battered by collision.	-	-	A700	114	-
10.6.29	1212	Obergraben. Brewa O'Briensbridge.	Head race. Brewa O'Briensbridge.	-	-	A702	17	-
10.6.29	1213	Obergraben. Brewa O'Briensbridge.	Head race. Brewa O'Briensbridge.	-	-	A702	17	-
no date	1214	Obergraben. O'Briensbridgebrücke mit Bau der Hilfsspund zur Probefüllung des Obergrabenabschnittes bis zum Einlaufbauwerk hin.	Head race. O'Briensbridge bridge construction with the auxiliary plug for the test filling of the upper portion to the race intake structure.	-	-	A702	16	-

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10.6.29	1215	Obergraben, Bruchige Felsböschung auf der linken Seite bei O'Briensbridge.	Head race. Brittle rock embankment at the left at O'Briensbridge.	-	-	A702	21	-
10.6.29	1216	Obergraben, Bruchige Felsböschung auf der linken Seite bei O'Briensbridge.	Head race. Brittle rock embankment at the left at O'Briensbridge.	-	-	A702	19	-
10.6.29	1217	Obergraben, Bruchige Felsböschung auf der linken Seite bei O'Briensbridge.	Head race. Brittle rock embankment at the left at O'Briensbridge.	-	-	A702	20	-
10.6.29	1218	Obergraben, Bruchige Felsböschung auf der linken Seite bei O'Briensbridge.	Head race. Brittle rock embankment at the left at O'Briensbridge.	-	-	A702	22	-
11.6.29	1219	Untergraben, Grosser Abschuss mit 3000kg Sprengstoff von 800 cbm am 11.Juni 1929, die Felswand vor dem Abschuss.	Head race. Brittle rock embankment at the left at O'Briensbridge.	-	-	A701	131	-
11.6.29	1220	Untergraben, Grosser Abschuss mit 3000kg Sprengstoff von 800 cbm am 11.Juni 1929.	Tail race, Big launch with 3000kg of explosives of 800 cubic meters on June 11, 1929.	-	-	A701	131	-
no date	1221	Untergraben, Grosser Abschuss mit 3000kg Sprengstoff von 800 cbm am 11.Juni 1929, die Felstrümmer nach dem Abschluss.	Tail race, Big launch with 3000kg of explosives of 800 cubic meters on June 11, 1929, the rock debris after the launch.	-	-	A701	132	-
13.6.29	1222	Staustrasse. Rutsch des linken Dammes, Aushubarbeiten für den Wiederaufbau des Dammes.	Buffer area. Embankment slippage of the left embankment, excavation work for the reconstruction of the dam.	-	-	A702	129	-

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13.6.29	1223	Staustrücke. Dammrutsch des linken Dammes. Hochpressen von Ton in dem ausgehobenen Schlitz entlang dem Dammrutsch. Bei Wiederaufnahme der Kipparbeiten.	Buffer area. Embankment slippage of the left dam. High pressure from clay in the dug slit along the embankment slippage. Upon resumption of the transition work.	-	-	A702	129	-
no date	1224	Ardnacrusha, Baukraftwerk Leistungsdiagramme.	Ardnacrusha, power house construction performance charts.	-	-	A700	116	-
no date	1225	Ardnacrusha, Baukraftwerk Leistungsdiagramme.	Ardnacrusha, power house construction performance charts.	-	-	A700	116	-
15.6.29	1226	Krafthaus, Gesamtansicht von der linken Seite her.	Power house, general view from the left side.	2	Loose	A704	89	2 photo panorama
2.6.29	1227	Obergraben, Blick auf den gefüllten Obergraben vom Wasserschloss nach der Blackwater-Brücke hin auf der linken Böschung, Rammgerüst für den Landungssteg.	Obergraben, view of the filled head race from the surge tank to the Blackwater bridge towards the left bank, pilings for the landing stage.	-	-	A704	90	-
28.6.29	1228	Staustrücke, Rutsch im linken Staudamm, Auspressen von Moor nach dem Kilmastulla-River zu.	Buffer area, embankment slippage in left dam, after the pressing from peat from Kilmastulla River.	-	-	A702	135	-
21.6.29	1229	Krafthaus, Betonierung der neuen Stützmauer auf der linken Seite des Untergrabens anschliessend an den Leerschuss. Im Vordergrund links Mauer zwischen Leerschuss und Krafthaus.	Power house, concreting of the new retaining wall on the left side of the trench adjoining the empty section. In the left foreground the wall between the empty section and the power house.	-	-	A704	86	-
15.6.29	1230	Krafthaus, Schleuse, Blick von unterstrom auf Schleuse und Leerschuss.	Power house, lock, view from downstream of the lock and empty section.	-	-	A704	85	-



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25.6.29	1231	Krafthaus, Ansicht des Wasserschlosses und der Schleuse von Oberstrom.	Power house, view of the surge tank and the lock from the head race.	5	Civil	A704	86	-
3.7.29	1232	Staustrücke. Dammrutsch am linken Damm. Bauzustand der Wiederherstellungsarbeiten am 3.7.29.	Buffer area. embankment slippage along the left embankment. Construction stage of the restoration work on the 3.7.29	-	-	A702	139	2 photo panorama
21.6.29	1233	Krafthaus, Schleuse, Rammarbeiten auf der linken Böschung des Obergrabens für den Landungssteg.	Power house, lock, pile driving work on the left bank of the head race for the jetty.	-	-	A704	90	-
28.6.29	1234	Wehr, Betonierung der Pfeiler im mittleren Bauabschnitt.	Weir, concreting of the pillar in the middle construction stage.	-	-	A702	136	-
no date	1235	Wehr, Fundierungsarbeiten im mittleren Bauabschnitt.	Weir, foundation work in the middle construction stage.	-	-	A702	137	-
28.6.29	1236	Obergraben. Wiesengelände auf der Landseite des rechten-Dammes vor der Füllung des Obergrabens (Sumpfgas und Sumpflumen infolge des bereits vorhandenen hohen Wasserstandes.	Head race. Meadows on the land side of the right dam prior to filling the upper trench (swamp grass and marsh flowers due to the already high water level.	-	-	A700	118	-
28.6.29	1237	Obergraben. Wiesengelände auf der Landseite des rechten-Dammes vor der Füllung des Obergrabens (Sumpfgas und Sumpflumen infolge des bereits vorhandenen hohen Wasserstandes.	Head race. Meadows on the land side of the right dam prior to filling the upper trench (swamp grass and marsh flowers due to the already high water level.	-	-	A700	118	-

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28.6.29	1238	Stautrecke, Umbau der Killaloe-Brücke, Eisenbewehrung für die linke Pfeilverstärkung.	Buffer area, reconstruction of the Killaloe Bridge, steel reinforcement for the left pillar strengthening.	-	-	A702	136	-
no date	1239	Stautrecke, Umbau der Killaloe-Brücke Fangedamm, Betonierung der linken Pfeilverstärkung, im rechten Pfeiler, Aussparung für die Verzahnung.	Buffer area, reconstruction of the Killaloe Bridge cofferdam, concreting the left pillar strengthening, in right pillar, opening for the gearing.	-	-	A702	137	-
?6.29	1240	Obergraben, Profil 308 bis 308,9, Betonverkleidung der brüchigen linken Felsböschung (vergl. Bild 216 und 1217)	Head race. profile from 308 to 308.9, cladding of the brittle left rock embankment (see Figure 216 and 1217)	-	-	A702	20	-
28.5.29	1241	Obergraben, Profil 309+18, Betonverkleidung der brüchigen linken Felsböschung (vergl. Bild 1218)	Head race. profile from 309+18, cladding of the brittle left rock embankment (see Figure 1218)	-	-	A702	22	-
18.6.29	1242	Obergraben, Profil 307,9, torkretierte brüchige linke Felsböschung (vergl. dazu Bild 1215)	Head race. Profile 307.9, guniting brittle left rock embankment (see fig 1215)	-	-	A702	21	-
11.7.29	1243	Krafthausbaustelle. Schleuse und Leerschluss, Ansicht von Unterstrom.	Power house site. Lock and empty section, view from downstream.	-	-	A704	98	-
11.7.29	1244	Krafthausbaustelle: Gesamtansicht von Unterstrom (auf der Kanalsole neben dem Krafthaus Bohrungsarbeiten für die Fundierung des Fangedammes für den Vollausbau).	Power house building site: general view from downstream (of the channel bed near the power house drilling work for the foundation of the cofferdam for the full extension).	-	-	A704	101	-

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16.7.29	1245	Krafthausbaustelle, Schleuse: Bewehrung der Schleusenabschlussgewölbe.	Power house site, lock: reinforcement of the finished lock vault.	-	-	A704	97	-
20.7.29	1246	Electrischer Schalter, benutzt bei Eröffnung des Wehres durch President Cosgrave.	Electric switch, used at the opening of the weir by President Cosgrave. (Commemoration switch and pen, Ardnacrusha)	6	Red	A700	117	-
25.7.29	1247	Wehr, Herstellung der Granitsteinabdeckung im Tosbecken des mittleren Bauabschnittes mit Blick auf die Überbauten der fertiggestellten Grundablässe V und VI.	Weir, manufacturing of the granite stone cover in stilling basin of the middle construction stage with a view of the superstructure of the finished bottom outlets V and VI.	-	-	A702	142	-
25.7.29	1248	Wehr, Schiffsdurchlass von Oberstrom mit 2 hölzernen Schiffsleitpfosten.	Weir, ship passage from upstream with 2 wooden ship guide posts.	-	-	A702	138	-
26.7.29	1249	Krafthaus, Schleusen, Einsetzen der Armierung der Schleusenabschlussgewölbe mithilfe des Kabelkrans.	Power house, locks, installation of the reinforcement of the finished sluice vault using the cable crane.	-	-	A704	97	-
25.7.29	1250	Krafthaus, betonierung des Böschungsbelages im Bereich der schwarzen Erde.	Power house, concreting the embankment lining in the area of black earth.	-	-	A704	99	-
26.7.29	1251	Krafthaus, Betonierung der Anschlussmauer der Leerschussbeckens. Rechts Bohrungen für die Fundierung des Fangdammes für den Vollausbau.	Power house, pouring concrete for the connecting wall of the empty section basin. Right holes for the foundation of the cofferdam for the full extension.	-	-	A704	98	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
27.7.29	1252	Untergraben, Schleusenauslaufcanal, Fels- und Erdböschungen auf der rechten Seite. (Zum Nachweis bei der Regierung, dass nicht nur Erde, sondern auch Fels ausgehoben wird).	Tail race. Canal lock outlet, rock and earth bank on the right. (To prove to the authorities that not only earth, but rock is excavated).	-	-	A700	119	-
27.7.29	1253	Untergraben, Schleusenauslaufcanal, Fels- und Erdböschungen auf der rechten Seite. (Zum Nachweis bei der Regierung, dass nicht nur Erde, sondern auch Fels ausgehoben wird).	Tail race. Canal lock outlet, rock and earth bank on the right. (To prove to the authorities that not only earth, but rock is excavated).	-	-	A700	119	-
2.8.29	1254	Wehr, Blick aus das Einlaufbauwerk von der rechten Kanalseite her.	Weir, view of the intake structure from the right canal side.	-	-	A702	140	-
2.8.29	1255	Wehr, Blick aus das Einlaufbauwerk von der linken Kanalseite her.	Weir, view of the intake structure from the left canal side.	-	-	A702	141	-
2.8.29	1256	Wehr, die fertiggestellten Grundablassse V und VI von Oberstrom gesehen.	Weir, the finished bottom outlet V and VI seen from upstream.	-	-	A702	141	-
2.8.29	1257	Obergraben, Blick von der O'Briensbridge-Brücke nach dem Wehr hin auf den teilweise gefüllten Obergraben.	Head race. O'Briensbridge view from the bridge to the weir attention on the partially filled head trench.	-	-	A702	23	-
2.8.29	1258	Obergraben, Blick von der O'Briensbridge-Brücke nach Clonlara hin auf den teilweise gefüllten Obergraben.	Head race. O'Briensbridge view from the bridge to Clonlara, attention on the partially filled head trench.	-	-	A702	23	-
25.10.29	1259	Demontage des Absetzers Ba IV 6002.	Removal of the spreader Ba IV 6002.	-	-	A700	125	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
9.8.29	1260	Stautrecke, Rutsch der Torfmassen am landseitigen Fuss des linken Staudammes nach dem Kilmastulla River zu.	Buffer area, embankment slippage of the peat on the land side base of the left embankment near to the Kilmastulla River.	-	-	A702	140	-
9.8.29	1261	Krafthaus, Gründungsarbeiten für den Fangedamm des Vollausbau.	Power house, foundation work for the cofferdam of the full development.	-	-	A704	100	-
23.6.29	1262	Krafthaus, Inneres der Druckrohre.	Power house, interior of a penstock.	-	-	A704	96	-
14.8.29	1263	Krafthaus, Ansicht des Schleusenbauwerks und des Leerschusses vom Schiffahrtskanal aus.	Power house, view of the lock structure and the empty section from the navigation channel.	-	-	A704	99	-
14.8.29	1264	Krafthaus, Ansicht auf Mittelhaupt und Oberhaupt der Schleuse von Unterstrom.	Power house, view of the middle area and main area of the lock from downstream.	-	-	A704	100	-
15.8.29	1265	Wehr u. Einlaufbauwerk, Gesamtansicht von Unterstrom, linke Seite.	Weir and intake structure, overview from downstream, left side.	-	-	A702	142	-
15.8.29	1266	Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk, Gesamtansicht von Unterstrom.	Weir and intake structure, overview from downstream.	-	-	A702	143	2 photo panorama
15.8.29	1267	Wehr u. Einlaufbauwerk, Ansicht des Wehres von der rechten Seite unterstrom (Bau der Pfeiler im mittleren Bauabschnitt)	Weir and intake structure, view from the right side of weir downstream (construction of the pillar in the middle stage)	-	-	A702	144	-
21.8.29	1268	Obergraben, umgestürzter Turmdrehkran bei Clonlara (für Versicherungszwecke)	Head race, fallen tower crane at Clonlara (for insurance purposes)	-	-	A700	142	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
21.8.29	1269	Obergraben, umgestürzter Turmdrehkran bei Clonlara (für ersicherungszwecke)	Head race, fallen tower crane at Clonlara (for insurance purposes)	-	-	A700	142	-
23.8.29	1270	Untergraben, Schleusenkanal, Stübmauer zwischen Profil 9 und 10 rechts, zum Schutz der Böschung.	Tail race, sluice channel Stüb(?) wall between 9 and 10, right profile, to protect the embankment.	-	-	A701	135	-
23.8.29	1271	Untergraben, Schiffahrtskanal, Steinmauer zwischen Profil 9 und 10 links als Böschungsschutz.	Tail race, shipping canal, stone wall between profiles 9 and 10 as left embankment protection.	-	-	A701	136	-
23.8.29	1272	Untergraben, Steinmauer zwischen Profil 19-20, links zum Schutz einer Erdtasche im Felsen.	Tail race, stone wall between profile 19-20, left to protect an earth pocket in the rock.	-	-	A701	136	-
23.8.29	1273	Untergraben, Steinmauer zwischen Profil 21-22 links, als Schutz einer Erdtasche im Felsen.	Tail race, stone wall between profile 21-22 left, protecting an earth pocket in the rock.	-	-	A701	139	-
23.8.29	1274	Untergraben, Steinmauer zwischen Profil 28-29 links, als Schutz der Böschung in einer in einer Erdtasche.	Tail race, stone wall between profile 28-29 left to protect the embankment in an earth pocket.	-	-	A701	139	-
23.8.29	1275	Untergraben, Betonmauer zwischen Profil 34 plus 11 bis 34 minus 15, links, als Schutz einer Erdtasche.	Tail race concrete wall between profile 34 plus 11-34 minus 15, left, as an protection for an earth pocket.	-	-	A701	140	-
23.8.29	1276	Untergraben, Betonmauer zwischen Profil 23-25 rechts als Schutz zweier Erdtaschen und Sicherung der oberhalb liegende Vollbahn.	Tail race, concrete wall between 23-25 right profile to protect and secure the two earth pockets located above the main line.	-	-	A701	140	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
23.8.29	1277	Untergraben, Betonmauer zwischen Profil 16-17 rechts als Schutz einer Erdtasche und zur Sicherung der oberhalb liegende Vollbahn.	Tail race, concrete wall between the 16-17 profile right, to protect an earth pocket and to ensure the full path lying above.	-	-	A701	141	-
23.8.29	1278	Untergraben, Steinmauer zwischen Profil 32-34, rechts als Schutz einer Erdtasche im Felsen.	Tail race, stone concrete wall between profile 32-34, right as protection for an earth pocket in the rock.	-	-	A701	141	-
23.8.29	1279	Untergraben, Betonmauer zwischen Profil 25 und 27, rechts als Schutz einer Erdtasche und Sicherung der oberhalb liegenden Vollbahn.	Tail race, concrete wall between profile 25 and 27, right to protect and secure the earth pocket lying above the main line.	-	-	A701	142	-
26.8.29	1280	Ardnacrusha: Blick vom rechten Kabelkran auf gefüllten Untergraben.	Ardnacrusha: View from the right cable crane of the filled tail race.	-	-	A705	17	-
26.8.29	1281	Ardnacrusha: Leerschuss von der Insel gesehen, offen während der Füllung des Untergrabens.	Ardnacrusha: empty space seen from the island, open during of the filling of the tail race.	-	-	A705	20	-
26.8.29	1282	Ardnacrusha: Leerschuss von der Insel gesehen, offen während der Füllung des Untergrabens.	Ardnacrusha: empty space seen from the island, open during of the filling of the tail race.	-	-	A705	18	-
26.8.29	1283	Ardnacrusha: Krafthaus, Wasserschloss, Leerschuss offen während der Füllung des Untergrabens.	Ardnacrusha: Power house, surge tank, empty space open during of the filling of the tail race.	-	-	A705	16	-
28.8.29	1284	Krafthaus, Leerschuss, Füllung des Untergrabens durch den Leerschuss (Leerschusschutz etwa 50 cm geöffnet)	Power house, empty space, filling of the tail race through the empty space (empty space gate open 50 cm)	-	-	A705	22	-

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28.8.29	1285	Krafthaus, Leerschuss, Füllung des Untergrabens durch den Leerschuss (Leerschussschütz etwa 50 cm geöffnet)	Power house, empty space, filling of the tail race through the empty space (empty space gate open 50 cm)	-	-	A705	21	-
25.8.29	1286	Krafthaus, Leerschuss kurz vor der Füllung der Untergrabens.	Power house, empty space just before the filling of the lower trench.	-	-	A705	14	-
25.8.29	1287	Krafthaus, Fundierung für den späteren Fangedamm für den Vollausbau des Krafthauses kurz vor der Füllung des Untergrabens.	Power house, foundation for future coffer dam for the full extension of the power house, shortly before of the filling of the tail race.	-	-	A705	14	-
26.8.29	1288	Krafthaus, Beginn der Füllung des Untergrabens durch den Leerschuss (Leerschussschütz etwa 20 cm geöffnet)	Power house, start of the filling of the tail race through the empty space (empty space gate opened about 20 cm)	-	-	A705	19	-
26.8.29	1289	Krafthaus, Unterwasserseite kurz vor der Füllung des Untergrabens.	Power house, underwater side just before of the filling of the tail race	5	110/38	A705	15	-
24.8.29	1290	Untergraben, Steinschüttung im Profil 81-89 rechts als Böschungsschutz (Blick nach dem Auslauf hin)	Tail race, rock fill on the profile 81-89 right and embankment protection (View through to the outlet)	-	-	A701	133	-
24.8.29	1291	Untergraben, Steinschüttung im Profil 81-89 rechts als Böschungsschutz (Blick vom Auslauf)	Tail race, rock fill on the profile 81-89 right and embankment protection (View from the outlet)	-	-	A701	133	-
24.8.29	1292	Untergraben, Steinschüttung im Profil 81-89 rechts als Böschungsschutz (am Fuss der Schüttung ein besonders kräftiger Steinfuss)	Tail race, rock fill on the profile than 81-89 right embankment protection (at the foot of the pile a particularly strong stone base)	-	-	A701	134	-



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2.9.29	1295	Untergraben, Abschlussdamm nach dem Shannon hin, Abbaggerung mit Greifbagger.	Tail race, the final dam through to the Shannon, digging with dredgers.	-	-	A701	134	-
2.9.29	1296	Krafthaus, Blick in die Generatorhalle mit den fertig montieren 3 Generatoren.	Power house, view of the generator hall with the 3 mounted finished generators.	-	-	A705	17	-
2.9.29	1297	Allgemeines, Demontage des Absetzers Ba.IV.6001.- Ansicht mit Gruppenschildern.	General, removal of the spreader Ba.IV.6001.- View with (Krupp) group plates.	-	-	A700	121	-
2.9.29	1298	Allgemeines, Demontage des Absetzers Ba.IV.6001.- Sicht vom Mittelwandträger in den Bandtunnel.	General, removal of the spreader Ba.IV.6001.- View from the central wall support in the band tunnel.	-	-	A700	121	-
2.9.29	1299	Allgemeines, Demontage des Absetzers Ba.IV.6001.- Maschinenhaus Fahrtriebepodest, Ecke rechts, hinten neben dem Eingang.	General, removal of the spreader Ba.IV.6001.- Engine house drive platform, right corner, back near the entrance.	-	-	A700	122	-
2.9.29	1300	Allgemeines, Demontage des Absetzers Ba.IV.6001.- Maschinenhaus Fahrtriebepodest, Auf- und Niedergang.	General, removal of the spreader Ba.IV.6001.- Engine house drive platform, entrance and exit stairs-cases.	-	-	A700	123	-
2.9.29	1301	Allgemeines, Demontage des Absetzers Ba.IV.6001.- Maschinenhaus Fahrtriebepodest, Tunnelüberdachung.	General, removal of the spreader Ba.IV.6001.- Engine house drive platform, tunnel roof.	-	-	A700	122	-
2.9.29	1302	Allgemeines, Demontage des Absetzers Ba.IV.6001.- Maschinenhaus Fahrtriebepodest, Ecke vorn, rechts mit Fahrmotor und Getriebe.	General, removal of the spreader Ba.IV.6001.- Engine house drive platform, the front corner, with the right drive motor and gearbox.	-	-	A700	123	-

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2.9.29	1303	Allgemeines, Demontage des Absetzers Ba.IV.6001.- Maschinenhaus Turasantriebspodest, Ecke links mit Eimerleiterhebewinde.	General, removal of the spreader Ba.IV.6001.- Engine house sprocket drive platform, left corner with bucket ladder winch.	-	-	A700	124	-
2.9.29	1304	Allgemeines, Demontage des Absetzers Ba.IV.6001.- Maschinenhaus Fahrtriebepodest, Ecke rechts, Transformatorenkammer.	General, removal of the spreader Ba.IV.6001.- Engine house drive platform, right corner, transformer chamber.	-	-	A700	124	-
6.9.29	1305	Obergraben. Blick auf Blackwater-Bridge von Unterstrom her bei teilweise gefülltem Obergraben.	Head race. View at Blackwater Bridge of downstream at the partially filled head race.	-	-	A703	100	-
6.9.29	1306	Krafthaus, Gesamtansicht des Krafthauses mit Wasserschloss, Leerschuss und Schleusen von Unterwasser her bei gefüllten Unterwassergraben.	Power house, general view of power house with surge tank, empty space and locks from underwater, with the filled underwater ditch.	-	-	A705	21	-
no date	1307	Krafthaus, Blick auf Leerschuss und Schleusen bei gefülltem Unterwassergraben von rechts gesehen.	Power house, view of the empty space and locks with filled underwater ditch from the right.	-	-	A705	20	-
7.9.29	1311	Wehr, mittlerer Bauabschnitt kurz vor der Unterwassersetzung (in der Mitte im Hintergrund der Betonfangedamm oberstromseitig).	Weir, middle construction stage just before the underwater settling (in the middle in the background the cofferdam upstream side).	5	Civil	A702	145	-
7.9.29	1312	Wehr, Grundablass 4, Blick von oben auf die Schüttschwelle	Weir, bottom outlet 4, View from above of the sluice-gate level	-	-	A700	138	-
7.9.29	1313	Wehr, Grundablass 3, Blick von oben auf die Schüttschwelle	Weir, bottom outlet 4, View from above of the sluice-gate level	-	-	A700	138	-

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12.9.29	1315	Allgemeines, Demontage des Absetzers Ba.IV.6001.- Ablassen des Unterbandträgers.	General Ba.IV.6001 removal of the spreader.- Draining the sub-band carrier.	-	-	A700	125	-
no date	1314	Untergraben, Abschlussdamm nach dem Shannon hin mit Ausschlitzen zum Öffnen kurz vür der Füllung des Untergrabens.	Tail race, by the completed dam with Shannon through off slots that open briefly for the filling of the lower race.	-	-	A701	132	-
12.9.29	1316	Obergraben. Clonlara-Brücke.	Head race, Clonlara bridge.	-	-	A703	128	-
20.9.29	1317	Allgemeines, Demontage des Absetzers Ba.IV.6001.- Abbau Schüttrinnen	General Ba.IV.6001 removal of the spreader.- Dismantling chutes	-	-	A700	126	-
20.9.29	1318	Untergraben, Entfernen des Abschlussdammes nach dem Shannon hin mithilfe von 2 Greiferbaggern.	Tail race, removal of the dam through to the Shannon, completion by using 2 grab excavators.	-	-	A701	135	-
13.9.29	1319	Obergraben, Sickerungen am Blackriver im Profil 33-34 rechts.	Head race, seepage at Black River profile 33-34 on the right.	-	-	A700	139	-
26.10.29	1320	Wehr, Gesamtansicht des Einlaufbauwerks, vom linken Obergrabendamm gesehen.	Weir, general view of intake structure, seen from left head race embankment.	-	-	A702	145	-
13.9.29	1321	Obergraben, Sickerungen am Blackriver, Einzelaufnahme zu Nr.1319	Head race, seepage at Black River, single shot to Nr.1319	-	-	A700	139	-
13.9.29	1322	Obergraben, Sickerungen am Blackriver, Einzelaufnahme zu Nr.1319	Head race, seepage at Black River, single shot to Nr.1319	-	-	A700	140	-
13.9.29	1323	Obergraben, Sickerungen am Blackwater, Einzelaufnahme zu Nr.1319	Head race, seepage at Blackwater single shot to Nr.1319	-	-	A700	140	-
13.9.29	1324	Obergraben, Sickerungen am Blackriver, Einzelaufnahme zu Nr.1319	Head race, seepage at Black River, single shot to Nr.1319	-	-	A700	141	-

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13.9.29	1325	Obergraben, Sickerungen am Blackriver, Einzelaufnahme zu Nr.1319	Head race, seepage at Black River, single shot to Nr.1319	-	-	A700	141	-
17.9.29	1326	Allgemeines, Demontage des Absetzers Ba.IV.6001.- Ablassen des Oberbandträgers (liegt vorn auf)	General Ba.IV.6001 removal of the spreader.- Draining the upper band support (located on front)	-	-	A700	126	-
17.9.29	1327	Allgemeines, Demontage des Absetzers Ba.IV.6001.- Ablassen des Oberbandträgers (liegt vorn auf)	General Ba.IV.6001 removal of the spreader.- Draining the upper band support (located on front)	-	-	A700	127	-
no date	1328	(photo missing, text unreadable)	(photo missing, text unreadable)	-	-	A700	137	-
no date	1329	(photo missing, text unreadable)	(photo missing, text unreadable)	-	-	A700	137	-
19.9.29	1330	Allgemeines, Demontage des Absetzers Ba.IV.6001.- Abbai Eimerleitern	General Ba.IV.6001 removal of the spreader.- Dismantling bucket ladders	-	-	A700	127	-
21.9.29	1331	Krafthaus, Einbringen des letzten Kübels Beton mithilfe des Kabelkranes (am Überbau des Mittelhauptes der Schleuse).	Power house, placing of the last bucket of concrete with the help of the cable crane (at the superstructure of the middle section of the lock).	-	-	A705	23	-
26.10.29	1332	Wehr, Gesamtansicht vom Wehr, vom rechten Ufer aus gesehen.	Weir, general view from the weir, as seen from the right bank.	-	-	A702	150	-
23.9.29	1333	Staustrücke, Killaloe-Brücke, Gesamtansicht von Unterstrom nach Entfernen des Gewölbes.	Buffer area, Killaloe Bridge, general view from upstream after removal of the arch.	-	-	A702	148	-
23.9.29	1334	Staustrücke, Killaloe-Brücke, Gesamtansicht von Oberstrom mit vorgebauter hölzerner Umleitungsbrücke.	Buffer area, Killaloe Bridge, general view from upstream with wooden bridge detour mounted in front.	-	-	A702	148	-

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23.9.29	1335	Stautrecke, Killaloe-Brücke, Blick auf den rechten Pfeilerkopf nach Entfernen des Gewölbes.	Buffer area, Killaloe Bridge, View of the pillar head right after the removal of the arch.	-	-	A702	149	-
23.9.29	1336	Stautrecke, Killaloe-Brücke, Blick auf den rechten Pfeilerkopf nach Entfernen des Gewölbes.	Buffer area, Killaloe Bridge, View of the pillar head right after the removal of the arch.	-	-	A702	149	-
4.10.29	1337	Krafthaus, Freiluftstation.	Power house, open-air station.	2	Loose	A705	18	-
5.10.29	1338	Krafthaus, Gesamtansicht von Unterwasser her.	Power house, general view from underwater.	-	-	A705	22	-
4.10.29	1339	Krafthaus, Blick auf Unterhaupt und Mittelhaupt der Schleuse von Unterstrom.	Power house, view of the main section and middle section of the lock from downstream.	-	-	A705	19	-
4.10.29	1340	Krafthaus, Ansicht von Schleusenoberhaupt und Wasserschloss (im Vordergrund links der hölzerne Landungssteg)	Power house, view from the head lock and surge tank (in the foreground left the wooden jetty)	-	-	A705	24	-
21.9.29	1341	Clonlara: Abbau des Absetzers	Clonlara: Dismantling of the spreader	-	-	A700	128	-
30.9.29	1342	Clonlara: Abbau des Absetzers	Clonlara: Dismantling of the spreader	-	-	A700	128	-
4.10.29	1344	Clonlara: Abbau des Absetzers	Clonlara: Dismantling of the spreader	-	-	A700	129	-
7.10.29	1345	Obergraben, Bau des neuen Tosbeckens am Blackwater-Düker-Auslauf. (Überschwemmung der Baugrube durch Hochwasser)	Head race. construction of the new stilling basin on the Blackwater culvert outlet. (flooding of the excavation pit from flooding)	1	MMC	A703	99	-

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7.10.29	1346	Obergraben, Bau des neuen Tosbeckens am Blackwater-Düker-Auslauf. (Überschwemmung der Baugrube durch Hochwasser)	Head race. construction of the new stilling basin on the Blackwater culvert outlet. (flooding of the excavation pit from flooding)	-	-	A703	99	-
9.10.29	1347	Krafthaus, Gesamtansicht (Standort unterhalb der Schleuseninsel)	Power house, general view (location below the lock island)	-	-	A705	24	-
9.10.29	1348	Krafthaus, Ansicht von der Felskippe her.	Power house, view from the rock dump.	-	-	A705	23	-
26.10.29	1349	Wehr, Gesamtansicht von Wehr und Einlaufbauwerk, vom linken Obergrabendamm gesehen.	Weir, general view from the weir and intake structure, seen from left head race bank.	-	-	A702	146	2 photo panorama
29.10.29	1350	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine I	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine I	-	-	A700	129	-
29.10.29	1351	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine I	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine I	-	-	A700	130	-
29.10.29	1352	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine I	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine I	-	-	A700	130	-

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29.10.29	1353	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine II	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine II	-	-	A700	131	-
29.10.29	1354	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine II	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine II	-	-	A700	131	-
29.10.29	1355	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine II	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine II	-	-	A700	132	-
29.10.29	1356	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine II	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine II	-	-	A700	132	-
29.10.29	1357	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine II	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine II	-	-	A700	133	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
29.10.29	1358	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine II	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine II	-	-	A700	133	-
29.10.29	1359	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine III	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine III	-	-	A700	134	-
29.10.29	1360	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine III	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine III	-	-	A700	134	-
29.10.29	1361	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine III	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine III	-	-	A700	135	-
29.10.29	1362	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine III	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine III	-	-	A700	135	-



Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
29.10.29	1363	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine III	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine III	-	-	A700	136	-
29.10.29	1364	Untergrabenseitiger Eisenbeton-Generatorenrahmen von der Untergrabenseite aus gesehen (siehe unseren Brief vom 22.11.29), und zwar: Rahmen über Turbine III	Head race side view of the reinforced concrete generator frame seen from the tail race side (see our letter of 22.11.29), namely: Framework of Turbine III	-	-	A700	136	-
13.11.29	1365	Wehr und Shannon-Unterwasser vom linken Obergrabendamm gesehen.	Weir and Shannon underwater seen from left bank of the head race .	-	-	A702	151	3 photo panorama
14.11.29	1366	Einbau von Drainagen zur Entwässerung der Wasserschichten.	Installation of drainage systems for draining the water layers.	-	-	A700	143	-
14.11.29	1367	Ansicht einer überschobenen Betonplatte in Profil 218.	View of an overthrust slab in Profile 218.	-	-	A700	143	-
14.11.29	1368	Einbau von wasserseitigen Drainagen,	Installation of water-side drainage,	-	-	A700	144	-
14.11.29	1369	Einbau Steindrainagen: Ansicht der Setzungen in den Betonplatten.	Installation of stone drainage: A view of the settlement in the concrete slabs.	-	-	A700	144	-
14.11.29	1370	Ansicht der gebrochenen Betonplatten von der Dammkrone zum Wasserspiegel aus gesehen.	View of the broken concrete slabs from the dam seen from the water table.	-	-	A700	145	-
14.11.29	1371	Ansicht der durch die Setzung veranlassten Ausbeulungen der Betonplatten in Profil 220.	View of the settlement created by the bulging of the concrete slabs in Profile 220	-	-	A700	145	-
16.11.29	1372	Kommando-Raum im Krafthaus.	Control room in the power house.	-	-	A705	25	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
11.11.29	1373	Strassenbrücken über den Untergraben bei Parteen	Road bridges over the tail race by Parteen	2	Loose	A701	143	A230
11.11.29	1374	Strassenbrücken über den Untergraben bei Parteen	Road bridges over the tail race by Parteen	-	-	A701	143	-
11.11.29	1375	Strassenbrücken über den Felseinschnitt des Untergrabens bei Parteen	Road bridges over the rock cut of the tail race at Parteen	2	Loose	A703	129	A229
11.11.29	1376	Strassenbrücken über den Untergraben bei O'Briensbridge	Road bridges over the tail race by O'Briensbridge	3	Loose	A702	24	-
11.11.29	1377	O'Briensbridge: Kanal mit Brücke kanalaufwärts gesehen.	O'Briensbridge: Canal seen with upwards bridge.	-	-	A702	25	-
11.11.29	1378	O'Briensbridge: Kanal mit Brücke kanalaufwärts gesehen.	O'Briensbridge: Canal seen with upwards bridge.	2	Loose	A702	24	-
22.11.29	1379	38 kV-Schaltheus.	38 kV switchgear house.	-	-	A705	25	-
22.11.29	1380	Gesamtansicht des Krafthauses von der rechten Kabelkranstütze gesehen.	General view of the power house seen from the right cable crane support.	-	-	A705	28	2 photo panorama
29.11.29	1381	Hauptwerkstatt: Oberwagen mit Hubmaschine des Löffelbaggers Ba I 6005.	Main Workshop: upper carriage with lifting equipment of the shovel Ba I 6005	-	-	A700	146	-
29.11.29	1382	Rammgerüst der Dampftramme S.C, I 2001	Framework of the steamroller S.C, I 2001	-	-	A700	146	-
5.12.29	1383	Einlaufbauwerk, vom rechten Obergrabendamms gesehen.	Intake structure, seen from right bank of head race.	2	Loose	A702	150	-
5.12.29	1384	Einlaufbauwerk und Wehr vom linken Obergrabendamms gesehen.	Intake structure and Weir seen from left bank of head race.	-	-	A702	147	2 photo panorama

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
14.12.29	1385	-	(two photo panorama of site)	-	-	-	-	2 photo panorama
14.12.29	1385	Generatorenhalle des Krafthauses.	Generator hall of the power house.	-	-	A705	27	-
14.12.29	1386		(turbines installed in hall)	2, 5	Loose, turbine			-
14.12.29	1387	Ardnacrusha: Inneres der Generatorhalle.	Ardnacrusha: Interior of the generator hall.	-	-	A705	26	-
14.12.29	1388	Ardnacrusha: Inneres der Generatorhalle.	Ardnacrusha: Interior of the generator hall.	-	-	A705	27	A191
14.12.29	1389	Ardnacrusha: Inneres der Generatorhalle.	Ardnacrusha: Interior of the generator hall.	-	-	A705	26	-
11.12.29	1390	Ansicht des 38kV-Schaltheus, des Krafthauses, des Einlaufbauwerkes, des Leerschusses und der Schleuse vom rechten Untergrabenufer aufgenommen.	View of of the 38kV switchgear house, the power house, the intake structure, the empty space and the lock taken from the right tail race bank.	2	Loose	A705	31	-
11.12.29	1391	Ardnacrusha: Gesamtansicht vom Untergraben rechte Dammseite.	Ardnacrusha: General view of tail race from the right dam side.	-	-	A705	32	-
11.12.29	1392	Leerschuss und Schleuse vom Untergraben aus gesehen.	Empty space and lock seen from the tail race.	-	-	A705	31	-
11.12.29	1393	Einlaufbauwerk, Leerschuss und Schleuse, vom linken Schiffahrtskanalufer aus aufgenommen.	Intake structure, empty space and lock, taken from the left navigation canal bank.	-	-	A705	32	-
16.12.29	1394	Ardnacrusha: Gesamtansicht vom Untergraben linke Dammseite.	Ardnacrusha: General view of tail race from the left dam side.	-	-	A705	33	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
16.12.29	1395	38kV-Schaltheus, Krafthaus, Wasserschloss, Leerschuss und Schleuse, vom linken Ufer der Schiffahrtskanals gesehen.	38kV switchgear house, Power house, surge tank, empty space and lock seen from the left bank of the shipping channel.	-	-	A705	29	2 photo panorama
16.12.29	1396	dto. Von der linken Kabelkranstütze gesehen. (photos missing with note dated 3.2.30 'am SSW Dublin geliehen')	ditto, seen from the left cable crane support. (photos missing with note dated 3.2.30 'borrowed by SSW Dublin')	2, 5	Loose, Civil	A705	30	A198/ 3 photo panorama
18.12.29	1397	Dambalkenverschluss der Ausfahrt aus der unteren Schleuse zum Schiffahrtskanal.	Dam beam seals the exit of the bottom lock to the shipping channel.	-	-	A705	34	-
18.12.29	1398	Untere Schleusenkammer mit Mittelhaupt.	Lower lock chamber with middle section.	-	-	A705	35	-
18.12.29	1399	Unterhaupt der Schleuse mit hochgezogenem Tor und Dambalkenverschluss der Ausfahrt zum Schiffahrtskanal.	Bottom section of the lock with pulled up gate and dam beam seals at the exit of the ship canal.	-	-	A705	36	-
18.12.29	1400	Obere Schleusenkammer und Mittelhaupt.	Upper lock chamber and middle section.	-	-	A705	37	-
18.12.29	1401	Obere Schleusenkammer und Oberhaupt.	Upper lock chamber and upper section.	-	-	A705	38	-
22.12.29	1402	Schleusenoberhaupt und Wasserschloss vom rechten Obergrabendam gesehen.	Upper lock and surge tank seen from the right head race embankment.	-	-	A705	36	-
22.12.29	1403	Schleusenoberhaupt vom linken Obergrabendam gesehen.	Upper lock seen from the left head race embankment.	-	-	A705	39	-

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
23.12.29	1404	38kV-Schaltheus, Krafthaus, Wasserschloss, Leerschuss und Schleuse, von der Insel zwischen Untergraben und Schiffahrtskanal gesehen.	38kV switchgear house, power house, surge tank, empty space and lock as seen from the island between the tail race and shipping channel.	-	-	A705	47	-
23.12.29	1405	Wasserschoss und Schleuse von der Felsenhinterfüllung aus gesehen.	Surge tank and lock seen from the rock back fill.	-	-	A705	33	-
30.12.29	1406	Blackwaterbrücke von Unterstrom aus gesehen.	Blackwater Bridge viewed from downstream	-	-	A705	34	-
30.12.29	1407	Obergraben mit Landungssteg und Blackwaterbrücke vom Schleusenoberhaupt-Hochbau gesehen.	Head race with jetty and Blackwater bridge from the upper lock building seen.	2	Loose	A705	35	-
30.12.29	1408	Wasserschloss, Rohrbahn, Wasserwiderstand, 10kV-Schaltheus und Kabelbrücke.	Surge tank, pipe track, water resistor, 10 kV switching station and cable bridge.	2	Loose	A705	38	A237
31.12.29	1409	38kV-Schaltheus und Krafthaus vom der Insel zwischen Untergraben und Schiffahrtskanal gesehen.	38kV switchgear house and power house seen from the island between tail race and navigation canal.	2	Loose	A705	37	A235
17.2.30	1409	Gerätelagerplatz auf der früheren Felskippe Ardnacrusha.	Equipment storage space on the former Ardnacrusha rock dump.	-	-	A700	147	-
17.2.30	1410	Gerätelagerplatz auf der früheren Felskippe Ardnacrusha.	Equipment storage space on the former Ardnacrusha rock dump.	-	-	A700	147	-
20.1.30	1412	100-kV Freiluftstation, Krafthaus und Untergraben.	100-kV open-air station, power house and tail race.	2	Loose	A705	46	-
20.1.30	1413	-	(two photo panorama of transformers)	2	Loose	-	-	2 photo panorama

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
20.1.30	1413	Krafthaus und Untergraben mit Einfahrt zum Schiffahrtskanal.	Power house and tail race with entrance to the shipping channel.	6	Album #6	A705	45	-
20.1.30	1414	38-kV Schalthaus, Krafthaus, Leererschuss und Schleuse, von der linken Untergrabenseite (+8,00) gesehen.	38-kV switching station, power house, empty space and lock, seen from the lower left side of tail race (+8,00).	-	-	A705	43	-
no date	1416	38-kV Schalthaus, Krafthaus, Leererschuss und Schleuse von der linken Untergrabenseite (+8,00) gesehen. (photo missing)	38-kV switching station, power house, empty space and lock, seen from the lower left side of tail race (+8,00). (photo missing)	-	-	A705	44	-
23.1.30	1416	Krafthaus.	Power house.	6	Album #6	A705	45	-
23.1.30	1417	Krafthaus.	Power house.	-	-	A705	44	-
24.1.30	1418	Shannon oberhalb des Wehres mit linkem Staudamm vom Wehr gesehen.	Shannon above the weir with the left dam seen from the weir.	-	-	A702	1	-
24.1.30	1419	Einlaufbauwerk und Wehr vom linken Obergrabendamm gesehen.	Intake structure and weir dam seen from left head race.	2, 6	Loose, Album #6	A702	2	A233
24.1.30	1420	Einlaufbauwerk und Wehr vom linken Obergrabendamm gesehen.	Intake structure and weir dam seen from left head race.	5, 6	Civil, Album #6	A702	152	2 photo panorama

Date	Number	German Title	English Translation	ESB Box	ESB Folder	Siemens Book	Siemens Page No.	Comment
24.1.30	1421	Wehrunterwasser: Abflussgestaltung bei einer Durchflussmenge von ca. 600 cbm/sec. Oberwasser + 31.75 m. Wehröffnung I und II, voll geöffnet ca. 120 cbm/sec. Grundablassöffnung 3 und 4, 130 cbm/sec. Grundablassöffnung 5 und 6, 350 cbm/sec.	Weir under water: Water run organization at flow rate of 600 cubic meters / sec. Headwater + 31.75 m. Weir opening I and II, fully open about 120 cubic meters / sec. Bottom outlet opening 3 and 4, 130 cubic meters / sec. Bottom outlet opening 5 and 6, 350 cubic meters / sec.	-	-	A702	1	-
31.1.30	1422	Schleusenoberhaupt und Einlaufbauwerk vom rechten Obergrabendam gesehen.	Upper lock and intake structure seen from the right head race embankment.	6	Album #6	A705	42	-
30.1.30	1423	Schleuse, Landungssteg und Einlaufbauwerk vom linken Obergrabendam gesehen.	Lock, landing jetty and inlet structure as seen from the left head race embankment.	2, 6	Loose, Album #6	A705	43	-

## Unnumbered photographs

Date	Number	German Label	English translation/description	Siemen Book	Siemens Page
14.5.29	-	Limerick. Ambria Nabenstern für 30000 kv 36 Tonnen (Neg. SSW)	Limerick. Ambria hubstar 30 000 kv for 36 tons (Neg. SSW)	A700	20
no date	-	Limerick Hafen, Ambria, Abziehen der Nabensterne für 30000 kV von Ambria mitte Dezember(Neg. SSW)	Limerick harbour, Ambria, removal of the hubstar for 30 000 kV from the Ambria, middle of December (Neg.SSW)	A700	21
no date	-	Sprengschäden am Löffelbagger Ba 1.6012 am 31.8.27	Explosive damage to the backhoe Ba 1.6012 at 31.8.27	A700	82
no date	-	Sprengschäden am Löffelbagger Ba 1.6012 am 31.8.27	Explosive damage to the backhoe Ba 1.6012 at 31.8.27	A700	82
1926	Lg 606a	-	(Loffelbagger)	A701	1
1926	Lg 606a	-	(Loffelbagger)	A701	1
1926	Lg 606a	-	(Loffelbagger)	A701	1
1926	Lg 606a	-	(Loffelbagger)	A701	1
1926	56 Lf 606a/1	-	(men with ropes and drills)	A701	1
1926	Lg 606a	-	(steam engine?)	A701	1
1926	-	-	(open truck with equipment on back)	A701	2
1926	-	-	(equipment)	A701	2
1926	-	-	(line of tipper trucks)	A701	2
1926	-	-	(line of tipper trucks)	A701	2
1926	-	-	(view of a works site, with end of railway)	A701	2
1926	56 Lf 606a/2	-	(men shovelling on embankment)	A701	2
1926	-	-	(metal frame of building)	A701	3
1926	-	-	(metal frame of building)	A701	3



Date	Number	German Label	English translation/description	Siemen Book	Siemens Page
1926	-	-	(metal frame of building)	A701	3
1926	-	-	(metal frame of building)	A701	3
1926	-	-	(men laying floor in building)	A701	3
1926	-	-	(boxes of equipment in building)	A701	3
1926	-	-	(view from top of metal building frame)	A701	4
1926	-	-	(view from top of metal building frame)	A701	4
1926	-	-	(building under construction)	A701	4
1926	-	-	(building under construction)	A701	4
1926	-	-	(building under construction)	A701	4
1926	-	-	(building under construction)	A701	4
probably 22.3.26	-	-	(diesel engines in temporary power house)	A701	7
probably 22.3.26	-	-	(diesel engines in temporary power house)	A701	7
1926?	-	-	(view of a works site, with end of railway)	A701	11
1926?	-	-	(equipment being constructed)	A701	52
1926?	-	-	(equipment being constructed)	A701	52
1930	-	Fischkippe am Stauwehr	Fish pass at the barrage	A702	2
1930	-	Fischkippe am Stauwehr	Fish pass at the barrage	A702	2
1930	-	-	(concrete work for the fish pass at the weir)	A702	153
1930	-	-	(concrete work for the fish pass at the weir)	A702	153
1930	-	-	(concrete work for the fish pass at the weir)	A702	153
1926	56 Lg 907	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	1
1926	56 Lg 907	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	1

<b>Date</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>German Label</b>	<b>English translation/description</b>	<b>Siemen Book</b>	<b>Siemens Page</b>
1926	56 Lg 907	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	1
1926	56 Lg 907	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	1
1926	56 Lg 907	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	1
1926	56 Lg 907	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	1
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	2
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	2
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	2
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	2
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	2
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	2
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	3
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	3
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	3
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	3
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	4
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	4
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	4
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	4
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	4
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	4
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	5
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	5
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	5
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	5

Date	Number	German Label	English translation/description	Siemen Book	Siemens Page
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	5
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	5
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	6
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	6
1926	-	-	(machinery at work on the canals)	A703	6
no date	-	-	(boats and equipment on the water)	A703	101
no date	-	-	(boats and equipment on the water)	A703	101
no date	-	-	(boats and equipment on the water)	A703	101
no date	-	-	(boats and equipment on the water)	A703	101
no date	-	-	(boats and equipment on the water)	A703	101
no date	-	-	(assembly of equipment)	A703	101
2.7.29	-	Ardnacrusha, Turbinenspiral II & III (Neg. Fa.Voith)	Ardnacrusha, Penstocks II & III (Neg.Fa.Voith)	A704	1
no date	-	Windenhäuser von Schragaufzug Ardnacrusha (Neg. Heckel Saarbrücken)	Winding house of the Ardnacrusha inclined hoist (Negative Heckel Saarbrücken)	A704	36
13.3.29	-	Turbinengehäuse mit Francis-Läufer III	Turbine housing with Francis rotor III	A704	45
13.3.29	-	Turbinengehäuse mit Francis-Läufer III	Turbine housing with Francis rotor III	A704	46
13.3.29	-	-	(side view of half-assembled turbine)	A704	47
19.3.29	-	Krafthaus, einlage des Stators für Generator I	Power house, insertion of the stator for generator I	A704	49
19.3.29	-	Wickelarbeiten am Generator-Ständer	Winding work on the generator-stand	A704	50
9.4.29	-	Aufziehen eines Nabensterns auf Welle II	Attaching a drive collar to shaft II	A704	51
9.4.29	-	Turbine I, Hilfseinrichtung für die Regulierung auf H.6, 70	Turbine I, auxiliary equipment for the regulation of H.6, 70	A704	51
9.4.29	-	Genertot I Höhe 13,90m	Generator I, height 13.9m	A704	52

Date	Number	German Label	English translation/description	Siemen Book	Siemens Page
9.4.29	-	Hilfeinrichtung für Turbinenregulierung	Auxiliary equipment for turbine regulation	A704	52
19.3.29	-	Krafthaus und Wasserschloss von unterwasser-seite gesehen, 1929	Power house and surge tank seen from under-water, 1929	A704	53
9.4.29	-	Generator II, Höhe 13,90. Im Hintergrund Gen-erator I, 1929	Generator II, height 13.9m. In the background, Generator I, 1929	A704	53
10.4.29	-	Wasserschloss mit Leerschluß, Ansicht von Oberwasserseite, 1929	Surge tank with empty sections, view from above water , 1929	A704	54
10.4.29	-	Wasserschloss, Montage des Feinrechens, 1929	Surge tank, assembly of the fine screen, 1929.	A704	54
10.4.29	-	Rechenreinigungsmaschinw (sic)	Screen cleaning machine	A704	55
10.4.29	-	Tiefbau des Freiluftstation nahe dem Krafthaus	Civil engineering of the open-air station near the power house	A704	55
19.3.29	-	Schiffsschleuse	Ship lock.	A704	56
9.4.29	-	Bockkran für Saugrohrendverschlüsse Höhe 8	Gantry crane for suction tube stoppers, height 8m	A704	56
19.3.29	-	Wasserschloss, Schütz und Windwerk	Surge tank, sluice-gates and winding gear	A704	57
19.3.29	-	Leerschuss von Untergraben	Empty section from the tail race.	A704	57
13.3.29	-	Hauptschaltwarte	Main control room	A704	59
19.3.29	-	Duroarbeiten im 10kV-Haus 17.50	Duro work in the 10 kV house, 17.50m	A704	61
9.4.29	-	Schaltanlage in der Generatorgrube Höhe 10,60	Switchgear in the generator pit, height 10.60m	A704	61
19.3.29	-	Duroarbeiten im 10kV-Haus H.20,90	Duro work in the 10 kV house, height 20.9m	A704	62
9.4.29	-	-	(short corridor with perpendicular wall panels on left, with equipment installed on them. 10kV house?)	A704	62
7.5.29	-	Ansicht in Unterwasser auf Leerschluß und Öffnung für das ursprünglich geplant 6. Druck-rohre.	View from underwater of the empty closing and the opening for the originally planned sixth penstock.	A704	72

Date	Number	German Label	English translation/description	Siemen Book	Siemens Page
9.5.29	-	Leerschuss, von Oberwasser	Empty section from above water.	A704	73
8.5.29	-	10kV-Sauvinchchienten(?? Unreadable handwriting)	10vK ?????	A704	74
6.6.29	-	Drehstromtrafo am Krafthaus, 1929	Three-phase transformer at the power house, 1929	A704	75
21.?.29	-	Hauptschaltwarte	Main control room	A704	76
8.5.29	-	Wasserschloss aus dem Spiralgehäuse durch die Leibdaufeln(?) zum Flange-Laufer, Turbine I	Surge tank, from the spiral housing through the Leibdianfeln(?) to the flange runner, Turbine I	A704	77
8.5.29	-	Wasserschloss aus dem Spiralgehäuse durch die Leibdaufeln(?) zum Flange-Laufer, Turbine I	Surge tank, from the spiral housing through the Leibdianfeln(?) to the flange runner, Turbine I	A704	78
21.5.29	-	Polich(??) in eine Turbinenausgerohr	?????? In a turbine penstock	A704	79
15.5.29	-	-	(pole with four turbine sections on it being lowered into place, at an angle)	A704	87
15.5.29	-	-	(view from underneath of pole with four turbine sections on it being lowered down)	A704	87
15.5.29	-	-	(view from above of pole with four turbine sections on it being lowered down, at an angle)	A704	88
15.5.29	-	-	(view from above of pole with four turbine sections on it being lowered down, resting vertically)	A704	88
4.7.29	-	-	(machinery in a white alcove that looks like switch gear)	A704	93
4.7.29	-	-	(white corridor with equipment alcoves)	A704	94
6.10.29	-	Krafthaus, 10kV-Sammel?????? (unclear handwriting)	Power house, 10kV ?????? (top corridor)	A704	109
6.10.29	-	Krafthaus, Bediengang der 38kV-Schaltanlage	Power house, operating area of the 38kV switchgear	A704	110

Date	Number	German Label	English translation/description	Siemen Book	Siemens Page
5.10.29	-	Schaltanlage i.d.Generatorengrube Höhe 10,60, Turbine II, Hilfenrichtung für die Regulierung auf Höhe 6.70.	Switchgear in the generator pit level 10.6m, Turbine II, auxiliary equipment for the regulation of level 6.70m.	A704	111
21.8.29	-	Krafthausbaustelle, Blick an die Schiffschleuse.	Power house site, view of the ship lock.	A704	111
5.10.29	-	Krafthausbaustelle, Blick von der linken Unterwasserseite auf die Schiffschleuse.	Power house site, view from the left underwater side of the ship lock.	A704	112
11.9.29	-	Transport eines Schaltepule mit dem Schrägaufzug.	Transport of a switching coil with the inclined elevator.	A704	113
8.11.29	-	(unreadable handwriting)	(box of fuses inset into wall, with cables feeding out to the left)	A704	113
7.11.29	Lg 911/1	-	(cables coming into side of power house)	A705	1
15.11.29	Lg 911/1	-	(control room)	A705	1
8.11.29	-	-	(erecting pylons)	A705	5
4.10.29	-	110KV-Ölschalter Freiluft-Schaltstation Ardnacrusha, 1929	110KV-oil switch outdoor switching station Ardnacrusha, 1929	A705	9
4.10.29	-	110KV-Ölschalter Freiluft-Schaltstation Ardnacrusha, 1929	110KV-oil switch outdoor switching station Ardnacrusha, 1929	A705	9
6.10.29	-	Transformator der 110kV-Freiluft-Schaltstation Ardnacrusha, 1929	Transformer of the 110 kV outdoor switchgear station Ardnacrusha, 1929	A705	10
no date	-	-	(turbine hall lift with window directly overhead)	A705	10
4.10.29	-	Transformator der 110kV-Freiluft-Schaltstation Ardnacrusha, 1929	Transformer of the 110 kV outdoor switchgear station Ardnacrusha, 1929	A705	11
11.11.29	-	-	(close-up of empty lift)	A705	11
15.10.29	-	-	(testing transformer)	A705	12
15.10.29	-	-	(testing transformer)	A705	12
15.10.29	-	-	(testing transformer)	A705	13

Date	Number	German Label	English translation/description	Siemen Book	Siemens Page
15.10.29	-	-	(testing transformer)	A705	13
4.11.29	-	-	(one man in lift)	A705	16
20.1.30	-	-	(stationary engine or generator)	A705	39
16.1.30	-	-	(room with metal framework and equipment)	A705	40
20.1.30	-	-	(room with metal framework and equipment)	A705	40
no date	-	-	(corridor with tanks on right)	A705	41
20.1.30	-	-	(internal corridor)	A705	41
16.1.30	-	-	(equipment with cables running horizontally across wall behind)	A705	42
10.12.26	-	-	(workers sitting eating in barracks hut)	1	mmc
19.7.27	-	-	(luffelbagger being driven down the road)	1	mmc
19.8.26	3xx	-	(machine with long bar sticking out, maybe erecting poles?)	1	MMC
5.10.29	-	-	(back of power station)	5	110/38
26.12.29	-	-	(canal)	5	civil
18.4.29	-	-	(partially built section of parteen weir)	5	civil
22.12.29	-	-	(partial panorama)	5	civil
10.4.29	-	-	(close up of back side of station with shuttering)	5	civil
22.5.29	-	-	(back of power station, partially built)	5	civil

## Appendix D - Interview Transcripts

### Transcript of interview with Patricia Haselbeck, October 27 2010

SO: I'm Sorcha O'Brien and I'm interviewing Patricia Haselbeck on the 27th of October 2010 in the Hunt Museum in Limerick, and we've just been looking at the exhibition of her family photographs, which is called 'Fond Memories Bring the Light...: The Photography of Franz Sebastian Haselbeck 1885 - 1973', which is Patricia's family photographic collection. So, Patricia, tell me about your grandfather's photos, please?

PH: Well, I'll tell you, it's not only my grandfather's photographic collection. I suppose what seems to be the main focus of the exhibition was what, as we researched the photographs and as we went through the glass plate negatives and went through the boxes and boxes and boxes of material available, also, very exciting we found so much support material, because he kept all his documentation, so really what you have is a whole social history and economic history of the era starting at the beginning of the early twentieth century, going right on through his period working with Siemens in Ardnacrusha in the Thirties and finishing shortly before his death in the Seventies. So, a great advantage for all of us here is that he kept all correspondence that he received and a copy of all that he sent. So, we start out, I suppose with his early days when he was indentured in Dublin, to Finnerty in Westmoreland Street and spent quite a number of years working in Dublin and also at the Metropolitan School of Art in Dublin, which obvious shows totally his commitment to his art and to his craft, because he was an artist and photographer, but primary later a professional photographer. He had a rather varied experience once he finished his formal training. He went to work with other studios, he went to work in Paris, and all of these are linked and documented. We have all the references from the studios he worked with, they are all intact, they will all be accessible. They're not all on display here in the exhibition, but they will all be accessible for research. Working in Paris, working in the Isle of Man, working then in what was to be a burgeoning tourist business in the Kerry and Killarney area, where he got wonderful experience with the reknowned Louis Anthony, who he worked with for a number of seasons, before coming back to set up his own studios in Limerick, where we believe initially, in probably 1914 or 1915, in possibly Thomas Street and we most certainly know 1919 to 1922 in 20 St. George's Street, which was later to become O'Connell Street. During the period he also worked as a freelance photo-journalist, he worked for the press, he took press commissions. What I should have mentioned and forgot to, was during the Killarney period of his work, which I call the Killarney period, we have in our possession some of the only remaining stills from some of the early movies that were shot in Killarney in the early part of the century. That's



been established very recently by some in-depth research from outside, so that's rather exciting, because it needs a little more research as time comes on. We did see them and thought, gosh, these seem a little too good to be true, but the reason that they were too good to be true was that they were actually film sets. (laughs) After the, well, I may be jumping from period to period, but after the Civil War with the little bit of unrest and certainly economic difficulties in Ireland in the early Free State, his photography, certainly his studio photography had fallen behind a little bit. He had two children to support and was absolutely delighted and most fortunate to be employed by Siemens for the building of the Ardnacrusha power station, where he was interpreter and storekeeper.

SO: That's because he was bilingual in German and English?

PH: Yes, because he was bilingual in German and English, that was a huge benefit and I think it worked to his great advantage there, and also he was able to, I'm not quite sure when, whether it was in his spare time or was it, I think it was his spare time, but he also took a wonderful record, a photographic record of the building of the power station.

SO: Because he would have been there for, what four years, during the construction?

PH: He was there for four years and he befriended many of those working there, many of the Germans, many of the German engineers, socially, he kept up contacts with his throughout the year and there is, as I think you may well have seen by now, Sorcha...

SO: Yes.

PH: ...there is that lovely correspondance that has gone backwards and forwards between them and interestingly enough, as a photographer, the one photograph that we have of my grandfather at Ardnacrusha was taken by the engineer Mr. Uitting, I believe it was. At first we thought it was the other way around...

SO: This one on the back of the catalogue.

PH: The one on the back of the catalogue, at first we thought it was the other way around, that this was for Mr. Uitting, but when we looked a little further we saw that it was taken by Mr. Uitting and given to my grandfather, as he was photographing the works there.

SO: I was wondering do you know, of the cameras that there are upstairs, do you know which ones he might have used on the Shannon Scheme?

PH: Well, on the Shannon Scheme, I'd need to look into it a teeny little bit further. He may well have used, I know certainly the ones that we have downstairs...

SO: The photograph here, that's one of the big box cameras, isn't it?

PH: That's one of the big box cameras, he was working on glass plate, maybe 8 by 10 and also, there's a further one that isn't in the exhibition now that is showing, a 12 by 15 architectural camera. It may be Sandringham, I'm not 100% sure of that. It's still in the process of being restored, it didn't come to the exhibition for these purposes. And of course, he would have used the Victo, he would have used the smaller Thornton

Pickard, and what he did have in particular, and maybe you've seen this, was this magnificent Grubb lens, which was made in Dublin in 1893, which is one of the very, very few and very rare Grubb lenses. They went on to make extraordinary telescopes worldwide, highly noted.

SO: Bausch and Lomb lenses as well.

PH: Bausch and Lomb, and he had all the catalogues and you can see that he kept up, and one of the things that was wonderful Sorcha, and I'm going to tell you what he did along the way. He always, as we are always now encouraged to keep a backup..

SO: Yes.

PH: He, as technology improved kept a backup, so as I have continued I found that, while we have, for the purposes of this exhibition, we have worked totally and purely with glass negatives, which have not been enhanced, purely enlarged, there's been nothing done to them, there's no photoshopping, if they're spotty, they're spotty. But, what he did was, as time went on, he rephotographed everything again onto cellulose.

SO: Oh, that's really interesting.

PH: So, almost everything is, as we are told today 'back it up' he backed it up, knowing the short life...

SO: And backed it up in a different medium and a more current medium, as well?

PH: Yes, he did, as well.

SO: That's really interesting.

PH: And you might like to hear this, although it might not be quite relevant to what you're doing, but one of the most moving pieces of writing that I got, when opening this. He died in 1973 and I found a note, written in 1971, which was in one of the boxes we opened instructing us, for when we were to open this box, how we may best reproduce this photograph, given current technology, which he presumed to be 35mm film, what exposures we should use, and excetera. Detailed.

SO: So he's thinking in the long term?

PH: Yes, in 1971, he was talking about pictures he had taken 50 years previously, in 1921, so he was thinking in the long term. So, somewhere in there, he knew.

SO: Yes, he's thinking about posterity and how you could keep reproducing these?

So, how many photos are thereof Ardnacrusha in this collection, do you think?

PH: In the entire collection, if we deviate from glass plate negatives, and I can't tell you exactly how many glass plate negatives, there are many, and sadly, as we know, some of them have been destroyed by fire and flood, but those existing there are a number but when I looked through his personal collection of prints and cellulose and postcards and everything else that he collected, there must be several hundred.

SO: Of Ardnacrusha?

PH: Of Ardnacrusha.

SO: Different shots?

PH: Different shot, not necessarily all his own photographs, but things he also collected.

SO: Ah, okay, that he collected as well. And how many of them are there in the glass negatives, do you think?

PH: In the glass negatives, I would imagine that there are probably about 60 or 80, not all perfect, sadly, but there must be 60 or 80.

SO: Okay, that's really good, because he was there for that period of time.

PH: But he also photographed Ardnacrusha as well on cellulose. I also have cellulose negatives.

SO: Are they cellulose photos that he's taken of the existing prints or existing negatives, or did he go back out and take the same shots?

PH: I know that my experience with him, as a photographer and growing up with him, I would have seen him use both medium. Now whether that was the case or not, I can't establish that.

SO: That would be very interesting, to look at the prints and see are they ones that were taken and then retaken, or whether they are ones that he went out and...

PH: Yes. Because he did both, he retook, certainly I know things that he wanted to save, and also when he moved on with his new cameras, with new technology, he also took them with both, very often comparing the end product and sometimes being quite cross indeed with industrial design...

SO: (laughs)

PH: We would have had quite a lot of lively discussion about modern industrial design...

SO: Camera design, I'd say, as well?

PH: Camera design, as well, indeed. I think that he would have been very pleased indeed to see what we've done today.

SO: Particularly the exhibition downstairs?

PH: Particularly the exhibition downstairs, but he would have also been very, very excited about the digitalising, and the scanning and the recording, because everything that he did all the time, I'm sure that in his lifetime, he had lots of cinecameras, he had lots of movie cameras, he kept up to date and I think even though it went totally against his idea about what photography was, he also purchased an Instamatic camera, to see what they were like when they came out.

SO: To try them out?

PH: To try them out and see.

SO: So he's definitely a professional photographer from that point of view...

PH: Absolutely.

SO: ...even though at the time of the Shannon Scheme, he wasn't working as a professional photographer, but he was still thinking like one, from the sound of it.

PH: You've got the nail on the head, yes.

SO: That's really interesting. And buying photographic journals and photographic magazines?

PH: And buying all his journals and magazines and keeping all the ones that were associated. Not now as we have presented it today, because time and space is limited, but you can actually match the journals, the original catalogues of most of the early cameras, most of the early lenses, you can see order forms, payment forms, because he kept every receipt.

SO: Everything?

PH: Everything, as unfortunately or fortunately do I. (laughs)

SO: (laughs) You need a lot of storage space. There's a section here in the catalogue talking about a photographic reference library and there's catalogues from Agfa from 1933 and copies of the Professional Photographer from 1923, so this was his reference material at the time?

PH: And when you go back to 1911 or 1916, he has reference material at the time, exactly.

SO: And a primer on making gelatine plates from 1893.

PH: So these were his, what he used and what he worked with. And also, catalogues of the equipment we still have, like the Marion retouching plates, all of those things there. They're all there.

SO: And he's been down on the docks in Limerick taking photographs, is that the steamers coming in?

PH: Can't you see Siemens being unloaded there?

SO: As well as photographs of the penstocks being installed, there's photographs of the embankments being constructed.

PH: That's is very similar to the Keating painting, isn't it?

SO: It is. I was wondering did you pick that Keating painting purposely because of that?

PH: We did, purposely, to draw the eye to the eye, yes, we did.

SO: It's interesting, because the Keating painting is a lot more, I don't know, impressionistic in some ways? Whereas this is much more documentary, with the detail in it.

PH: Yes, it is, but the eye is still drawn... and also during that period of industrial change in Ireland he would have photographed all the budding industry that came here following the Free State.

SO: Industrial buildings? I saw some some photos, when I talked to you before, of steel-framed buildings being constructed, were they in Limerick?

PH: They were all in Limerick. That was Ranks, where in fact they've just opened their archive here [the Hunt Museum], Ranks on the Dock Road, the Mungret Cement Factory, all of these, of course, following the electrification of the Free State, with this huge industrial supply of Shannon Power. So, he followed all of that, and was requested

to do that, we have all the payments, we've letters requesting him to do that, so that again fed into his new business.

SO: And it sounds like he's interested in architecture and architectural photography.

PH: Very much so, as well.

SO: And new types of building, as well, he's looking at things like cement factories, was it a cement factory?

PH: Yes, that's in Mungret, that was the thirties. [Mungret is a town south-west of Limerick city] He also, did, as you know, you can see all those wonderful social events, many, many prominent personages, and not only that, but he also had a wonderful eye for the street urchin and a bit of humour in his pictures as well, so that's one of the things that was rather nice. And then, of course, he catalogued the whole political campaign of the Civil War, right on through from the Volunteers to the early British occupation years, so we have quite a social history in those seventy years. The one marvelous piece of this being so fondly sponsored by the ESB, this exhibition and by Siemens, in recognising one of their own, by coming forward, is that there was a little secret in our house and I never quite worked it out, because I grew up in this extended family with my grandfather. While we seemed to be awfully modern in lots of ways, in our old town house, there was one floor where there was no electricity. We had oil lamps and we had Aladdin lamps and we had a few candles and that was Grandad's floor and I couldn't work it out, because Grandad was quite a progressive man in some ways. What we discovered, and I thought I would save this until the exhibition had opened, I discovered, and there is documentation, as you will see to prove this, he had, that when Siemens had to go and pack up and go to Germany and now there were going to be jobs in the ESB, he had...

SO: And most of the German workers had moved back to Germany.

PH: Yes, but then he was an Irish worker, really, so he was staying here with his family, so he thought well, obviously I'm going to get a job with the ESB, that's natural progression. He applied for that job, didn't get that job, never forgave them and never put in the ESB [i.e. installed electricity]. (both laugh) So, we think that the ESB more than well.. that he's looking down on us, he would be very pleased with the turn in they way things have gone today.

SO: Okay, that's brilliant, thank you.

### **Interview with Lar Joye, August 5 2010**

Interview was conducted in the National Museum, Collins Barracks, Dublin, but without a usable audio recording to create a transcript.

Lar (Laurence) Joye is the Curator of Military History in the National Museum and his grandfather (also Laurence Joye) had worked for the ESB Publicity Department in the late 1920s. I had found references to Laurence Joye in several newspaper articles on tours of the Shannon Scheme and lectures to the public and asked Lar to expand on his family connection to the ESB.

His grandfather was born in 1890 and had been manager of a creamery in Dundrum, Co. Tipperary. During the War of Independence he had been an intelligence officer in the IRA 3rd Tipperary Brigade. Several of his neighbours were also in this brigade, most notably the Prouts, including John Prout, an Irish-American who later ended up as a general on the pro-Treaty side during the Civil War. Joye acted as quartermaster because of his book-keeping and managerial skills. He was involved in the Army Mutiny in 1924 and was forcibly retired in 1926. He had met his future wife's family (Egans) at a creamery in Waterford in 1922, while he was involved in buying supplies of milk. There was a severe shortage of work in the late 1920s and the Army had been reduced to 20,000 men on the order of Minister for Justice Richard Mulcahy in 1924, so a large number of ex-soldiers who had relevant skills got jobs with the ESB, including Joye. His wife Anne had been born in 1910 and he met her while working for the ESB in Waterford in 1930.

We discussed the role of the Guide Bureau and the Publicity Department in the ESB, but Lar did not know any more detail about the workings of the department, other than the fact that his grandfather had worked for them. The family have a framed picture of Laurence demonstrating a model of the Shannon Scheme to a group of people, which was reproduced in the *Waterford Star* and Lar agreed to check and see if they had any further material at home (he subsequently sent me a number of newspaper clippings, mostly concerning his grandfather's funeral in 1939 and an article on his grandmother, who had returned to work for the ESB after her husband's death until her retirement in 1975).

We then discussed possible military sources for information about the Scheme, including possible records in the US Library of Congress of McLaughlin's fact-finding visit to the USA in 1927 and Department of Justice files from the 'open watch' observation on Germans living in Ireland during WWII. He recommended contacting the Department of Defense to see if they had pension files on other ex-Army members of the ESB Publicity Department.

## Appendix E - ESB newspaper advertisements

Published in sample newspapers and trade journals from August 1928 to January 1929

Advertisement	Newspaper	Date	Page No.
90,000 horsepower	<i>Irish Times</i>	Thursday August 30 1928	5
90,000 horsepower	<i>Limerick Leader</i>	Saturday September 1 1928	2
90,000 horsepower	<i>Connaught Tribune</i>	Saturday September 1 1928	11
Electricity does the heavy work	<i>Irish Times</i>	Thursday September 13 1928	5
Electricity does the heavy work	<i>Limerick Leader</i>	Saturday September 15 1928	3
Electricity does the heavy work	<i>Connaught Tribune</i>	Saturday September 15 1928	10
PROGRESS	<i>Irish Times</i>	Thursday September 27 1928	5
PROGRESS	<i>Limerick Leader</i>	Saturday September 29 1928	2
PROGRESS	<i>Connaught Tribune</i>	Saturday September 29 1928	10
Electricity does the heavy work	<i>Irish Builder &amp; Engineer</i>	Saturday October 13 1928	889
Digging 4,000 tons a day	<i>Limerick Leader</i>	Wednesday October 17 1928	11
Digging 4,000 tons a day	<i>Irish Times</i>	Thursday October 25 1928	5
Electricity does the heavy work	<i>Irish Builder &amp; Engineer</i>	Saturday October 27 1928	925
Digging 4,000 tons a day	<i>Irish Builder &amp; Engineer</i>	Saturday November 10 1928	969
Building by Electricity	<i>Limerick Leader</i>	Saturday November 24 1928	5
Building by Electricity	<i>Connaught Tribune</i>	Saturday November 24 1928	11
Building by Electricity	<i>Irish Builder &amp; Engineer</i>	Saturday November 24 1928	1005
Building by Electricity	<i>Irish Times</i>	Tuesday November 27 1928	5
PROGRESS	<i>Irish Times</i>	Saturday December 1 1928	12
Building by Electricity	<i>Irish Builder &amp; Engineer</i>	Saturday December 8 1928	1049
Building by Electricity	<i>Limerick Leader</i>	Saturday December 15 1928	11

<b>Advertisement</b>	<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Page No.</b>
Building by Electricity	<i>Connaught Tribune</i>	Saturday December 15 1928	11
PROGRESS	<i>Irish Builder &amp; Engineer</i>	Saturday January 5 1929	36
PROGRESS	<i>Limerick Leader</i>	Saturday January 5 1929	6



## Appendix F - Keating Shannon Scheme paintings and drawings

Based on information from DELANY, B. & D. COLLIER. (2001) *ESB Art Portfolio: The Sean Keating Collection*. Dublin: Electricity Supply Board.  
Titles of ESB-owned works agreed by Brendan Delany with Justin and Michael Keating in 2000.

Name	Media	Size	Now Owned By
Shannon Hydro-electric scheme – sketch of preparatory works	Charcoal on paper	41 x 58 cm	ESB
The Timber Gang	Charcoal	43 x 59 cm	ESB
Study for Der Ubermann	Pencil	43 x 38 cm	ESB
Der Ubermann (Apetzier)	Oil on canvas	78 x 93 cm	ESB
Excavators for Headrace with Wagon Train	Oil on canvas	77 x 92 cm	ESB
Excavator at work. Lubecker with stone wagon and steam shovel	Oil on board	76 x 92 cm	ESB
Headrace Looking East: Finishing work for headrace	Oil on board	66 x 81 cm	ESB
Headrace Looking West: View of canal during preparatory work from top of barrage	Oil on board	70 x 84 cm	ESB
Construction of navigation locks - timbering	Pencil and oil wash on board	74 x 89 cm	ESB
Building site with Luffelbagger and Wagon Train	Oil on canvas	78 x 93 cm	ESB
Wagon Train at Ardnacrusha (1): Equipment used on the construction of banks	Gouache and conte	42 x 60 cm	ESB
Wagon Train at Ardnacrusha (2): Work in progress illustrating railway and machinery	Oil on board	76 x 90 cm	ESB
Railway Yard at Ardnacrusha	Watercolour	38 x 49 cm	ESB
Luffelbagger at work with Stone Wagon in foreground: Construction equipment in operation at headrace	Tempera	44 x 51 cm	ESB
Luffelbagger, Wagon Train and large group of figures in the foreground: Group of visitors being shown the progress of the works	Gouache and conte	42 x 60 cm	ESB
View of Dam from Power Station site with figures in the background: Stonewagon and crew	Oil on board	78 x 92 cm	ESB
Upstream of Powerhouse with Drilling Gang and Wagon Train	Oil on canvas	77 x 92 cm	ESB

Name	Media	Size	Now Owned By
Commencement of Tailrace: excavation work for canal and building of the banks	Oil on board	76 x 92 cm	ESB
Head of Tailrace from foot of Barrage: Excavation work below the power station	Oil on board	66 x 84 cm	ESB
The Canteen	Watercolour	41 x 48 cm	ESB
Head of a Connemara labourer: Working drawing of Michael McDonagh	Pencil	19 x 18.5 cm	ESB
Night's Candles are Burnt Out	Oil on Canvas	101 x 126 cm	Gallery Oldham, Manchester (on loan to the ESB)
Ardnacrusha	Watercolour?	Unknown	Seamus Maguire
The construction of the great dam	Charcoal drawing	Unknown	Unknown, published in <i>Free State Handbook</i> in 1932
Les chantiers, travaux d'électrification du Shannon [The building site, Shannon electrification works]	Oil painting?	Unknown	Unknown, exhibited in 1930 exhibition of Irish Art in Belgium
Bunkhouse at Shannon, Ardnacrusha Works	Charcoal and pastel	46 x 60 cm	Private collection, sold by Whyte's to ESB in 2006
Bank building machine at Blackwater aqueduct	Watercolour	16.5 x 24 cm	Private collection, sold by Adam's to ESB in 2008

**Keating Shannon Scheme work exhibited in the RHA summer shows 1927 and 1928**

From *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts Catalogue 1927* and *Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts Catalogue 1928*.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Media</b>	<b>Name</b>
1927	Painting	Shannon Scheme No. 3 Series, 1926 – Site of the Power Station
1927	Painting	Shannon Scheme No. 4 Series, 1926 – Excavation for Site of Power Station, Looking West
1927	Painting	Shannon Scheme No. 5 Series, 1926 – Excavation for Power Station, Looking South
1927	Drawing	Shannon Scheme, No. 18 Series', 1926. 'Site of the Viaduct on the Broadfort Road
1927	Drawing	Shannon Scheme, No. 19 Series', 1926. 'In the Tailrace, Loading Limestone Debris Into Trams
1927	Drawing	Shannon Scheme, No. 20. The Break-down Gang
1928	Drawing	The Bank-Building Machine (Shannon Scheme Series, 1927)
1928	Drawing	The Steam Navy (Shannon Scheme Series, 1927)

## Appendix G - Exhibition of Atkinson's Shannon Scheme etchings

Gallery	Exhibition Dates	Title of print	Price
Royal Hibernian Academy, Dublin	April 1927	Shannon Scheme – No. 1 Keeper Mountain	£5 5s
Dublin Civic Week	September 1927	“a view of the Shannon Scheme works in progress”	-
Royal Hibernian Academy, Dublin	April 1928	Shannon Scheme - Excavations	£5 5s
Aonach Tailteann, Dublin	August 1928	“3 etchings”	-
Imperial Institute Gallery of Art, London	May 1929	Shannon Scheme - Excavations	-
Exposition d'Art Irlandais, Brussels, Belgium	May - June 1930	Les travaux de l'électrification du Shannon [Work on the electrification of the Shannon] - 'Mont Keeper [Keeper Mountain]' - 'L'aqueduc [The Aqueduct]' - 'Terrassements [Groundwork]'	-
Victor Waddington Gallery, Dublin	February 1931	Shannon Scheme - Excavations	-
Oireachteas Art Exhibition, Dublin	1932	Shannon Scheme - Excavations Shannon Scheme - The Culvert	£5 £5
Victor Waddington Gallery, Dublin	May 1933	“3 etchings”	-
Argus Gallery	July-August 1933	Excavations The Culvert Keeper Mountain	£5 5s £5 5s £5 5s

## Appendix H - Commercial Shannon Scheme postcards in the Limerick City Museum

LCM No.	Publisher	Print Process	Date Printed	Title	Posted?
0000.1528	Valentine	Photo Brown	Unknown	Shannon Power Station, showing Tailrace & Salmon Staircase, Limerick	No
0000.3476	“	“	Late 1920s	“	Yes
1986.0205	Valentine	Photogravure?	1950s?	“	1951
1995.0050	Valentine	Photogravure?	Late 1920s	“	Yes
2000.0045	Valentine	Collo Colour	Late 1920s	“	No
0000.1529	Valentine	Photogravure?	Unknown	Aerial. Shannon Power Station, sluice gates	No
0000.4789	Valentine	Photogravure?	Late 1920s	The Shannon Electric Power House, Ardnacrusha, Limerick. Aerial.	No
1988.0203	Valentine	Photogravure?	1930s	Greetings from Limerick (5 scenes, including ‘Shannon Electric Power House’)	No
1993.0277	Valentine	Collo Colour	1950s	“	1956
1999.0324	Valentine	Photogravure	Late 1920s	Shannon Electric Power House, Showing Tail Race joining River Shannon, Limerick	No
2003.0154	Valentine	Sepia	Late 1920s	The Shannon Scheme, Ardnacrusha, Limerick (Excavation in progress on site of power station)	No
2001.0550	Mason	Real Photo	Late 1920s	Intake, Shannon Scheme, Ardnacrusha, Co Limerick	Yes
1994.0061	Mason	Real Photo	Late 1920s	Interior of Power House, Ardnacrusha, Co. Limerick	In envelope?
2005.0336	Mason	Real Photo	1930s to 1970?	Canal & River Shannon, Ardnacrusha, Co. Limerick	No
1995.0049	Signal – E. & S.	Real Photo	Late 1920s	Electric Power Station/ Ardnacrusha Limerick	No
2000.0281	Signal – E. & S.	Real Photo	Late 1920s	“ (negative of image at 2000.0509 noted as 1940s)	No

## Appendix I - Shannon Scheme postcards using Siemens photographs

Siemens BauUnion G.m.B.H. Komm Ges. Limerick Ireland Postcards (ESB Archive)

Number	Series	Title	Haselbeck Collection	Image repeated in T.C. Carroll series?	Siemens Photo Number	Siemens Photo Date
01	Italics	Road in Irish Camp	-	-	333	13.9.26
02	Italics	View of Ardnacrusha Camp	-	-	318	22.8.26
03	Italics	Houses for employees at Ardnacrusha	-	-	182	27.4.26
04	Italics	View of workshops, etc.	-	-	321	22.8.26
05	Italics	Temporary Power Station	-	1332/ 3928	328	13.9.26
06	Italics	(no record)	-	-	-	-
07	Italics	Multiple Bucket excavator excavating Head Race	-	-	258	29.6.26
08	Italics	(no record)	-	-	-	-
09	Italics	Transporter forming embankments for Head Race	HP139	-	380	22.11.26
10	Italics	(no record)	-	-	-	-
11	Italics	Washing and stone crushing plant at Ardnacrusha	-	-	390	9.11.26
12	Italics	Weir site, Construction of coffer dams	-	-	361	22.10.26
01	Plain	Tail Race. 2 cbm. shovel excavator working in rock	HP140	1340/ 3922	491	13.4.27
02	Plain	Ardnacrusha. Excavation of foundation pit for Power Station	HP141	1339	488	11.4.27
03	Plain	Ardnacrusha. Excavation of foundation pit for Power Station	HP143	1342	526	14.7.27
04	Plain	Temporary Power Station	HP150	1332/ 3928	280	28.7.26
05	Plain	Chief Repair Shop	HP148	1335	410	11.12.26

Number	Series	Title	Haselbeck Collection	Image repeated in T.C. Carroll series?	Siemens Photo Number	Siemens Photo Date
06	Plain	Blackwater Bridge under construction	HP144	-	529	n.d. 6.27?
07	Plain	Transporters 6001 and 6003 at the entrance of the annegrove valley	-	-	570	20.7.27
08	Plain	Coffer dam and stationary cable crane tower at the Weir	HP149	-	509	27.4.27
09	Plain	Transporter at O'Briensbridge	HP142	1337/ 3924	464	16.2.27
10	Plain	Ardnacrusha. "Intake" Sluice House and foundation pit for Power Station	HP145	-	639	29.2.27
11	Plain	Irish Camp	HP146	-	*	1926?*
12	Plain	General view of Intake Sluice House and foundation pit for Power Station, Ardnacrusha	HP147	-	659	27.10.27

\* Album A700 has a number of photographs missing, in between pages showing the camp and worker accommodation taken in 1926, so this postcard may have been reproduced from one of these missing photographs.

T.C. Carroll Postcards, 1928-29 (ESB Archive & Limerick City Museum)

Number in stamp box	LCM Inventory Number	ESB Archive	Irish Architectural Archive	Title	Image Repeated?	Siemens Photo No.	Siemens Photo Date
V 1330 28	1989.0067	2	1	Ardnacrusha. Irish Workmen's Camp	No	391	22.8.26
V 1331 28	1998.1334	2	1	Interior of an Irish Workman's Hut	No	328	13.9.26
V 1332 28 V 3928 28	200.0108	2 1	1	Temporary Power Station	LCM: 1953	280	28.7.26
V 1333 28	2005.0007	2	1	Head Race, Electrical bucket excavator and electrical bank builder excavating the canal	No	383	?11.26
V 1334 28 V 3927 28	1996.1279 200.0112	2 1	1	Head Race. Electrical bucket excavator and bank builder at work	LCM: 1954	464	16.2.27
V 1335 28 V 3926 28	2000.0113	2 1	1	Chief Repair Shop	No	410	11.12.26
V 1336 28 V 3925 28	2000.0111	2 1	1	Ardnacrusha. Crushing and Washing Plant with inclined lift	No	456	4.2.27
V 1337 28 V 3924 28	1998.1338 2000.0103	2	1	O'Briensbridge. Electrical bank builder at work	No	464	16.2.27
V 1338 28 V 3926 28	2000.0114	2 1	1	Tail Race. Boring with Drop Hammer Boring Machine and rock excavation with shovel excavator	No	472	14.3.27
V 1339 28		2	1	Ardnacrusha. Excavation of foundation pit for Power Station	No	488	11.4.27
V 1340 28 V 3922 28	2000.0099	2 1	1	Tail Race. 2 cbm. Shovel excavator working in rock	No	491	13.4.27
V 1341 28 V 3921 28	1998.1335 2000.0109	2 1	1	Cable crane with concrete mixer	No	534	?6.27
V 1342 28	1998. 1339		1	Ardnacrusha. Excavation of foundation pit for Power House	No	562	14.7.27



Number in stamp box	LCM Inventory Number	ESB Archive	Irish Architectural Archive	Title	Image Repeated?	Siemens Photo No.	Siemens Photo Date
V 1343 28	1998.1336 2006.0067	2	1	Weir. Cofferdam for the first section	No	686	12.2.27
V 1344 28		2	1	Ardnacrusha. View of foundation pit for Power Station and Intake Sluice House	No	747	11.1.28
V 1345 28 V 3919 28	2000.0107	2 1	1	Boring work with compressed air. Above Drop Hammer Boring	No	772	7.2.28
V 1346 28 V 5129 28 V 3918 28	2005.0008 1985.0287 2000.0105	2  1	1	Blasting of rock at Clonlara. Four 12m. deep boreholes	No	775	15.2.28
V 1347 28 V 3920 28	1998.1337 2000.0110	2 1	1	O'Briensbridge Bridge under construction	No	781	3.2.28
V 3909 28		1		General view of the work at the Weir at Parteen Villa	No	940	25.7.28
W 82 29 V 3912 28	1987.0202 1987.0632.03 1996.1264 2000.0100	1		O'Brien's Bridge across the Shannon, Head Race / General View of the work at O'Brien's Bridge showing the canal bridge and the Shannon Bridge	No	913	20.6.28
V 3913 28		1		General view of the work on Power Station at Ardnacrusha	No	954	28.7.28
V 3914 28	2000.0104	1		View of the Intake at Ardnacrusha from the canal site	No	949	30.7.28
V 3215 28		1		View of the work on the Power Station at Ardnacrusha	No	950	2.8.28
W 78 29		1		General View of the Power House	No	1199	24.5.29
W 3280 29 W 3280 29 V 3910 28	1987.0362.01 1996.1262 2000.0106	1		Blackwater Bridge	No	918	2.7.28

Number in stamp box	LCM Inventory Number	ESB Archive	Irish Architectural Archive	Title	Image Repeated?	Siemens Photo No.	Siemens Photo Date
W 81 29 V 3911 28	1987.0201 1987.0632.02 1996.1263 2000.0101	1		Turbine Casings	No	866	18.8.28
W 3283 29	1987.0232 1987.0632.04 1996.1265			Generator Nr. 1 and Rotor for second Generator	No	1196	23.5.29
W 84 29	1987.0632.05 1996.1266			Control Room	No	No number	21.?.29
W 85 29	1987.0632.06 1996.1267			View of Intake during first filling of Head Race	No	1192	22.9.29
W 86 29	1987.0632.07 1996.1268	1		Parteen Bridge and Tail Race	No	1203	31.5.29
W 87 29	1987.0632.08 1996.1269			General view of Power House	No	1200	24.5.29
W 88 29	1987.0632.09 1996.1270			Navigation Locks and Waste Channel	no	1202	24.5.29
W 89 29	1987.0632.10 1987.0203			Interior of Spiral Casing and closed guide vanes	No	1182	8.6.29
W 90 29	1987.0632.11 1987.0227 1996.1271			General view of Penstock	No	1180	8.6.29
W 91 29	1987.0632.12 1987.0228 1996.1272			Clonlara Bridge	No	1043	27.11.29
W 92 29	1987.0632.13 1996.1273	1		Generators in the Power House	No	No number	9.4.29

Number in stamp box	LCM Inventory Number	ESB Archive	Irish Architectural Archive	Title	Image Repeated?	Siemens Photo No.	Siemens Photo Date
W 93 29	1987.0632.14 1987.0229 1996.1274			Rock Cut Clonlara	No	753	16.1.28
W 94 29 ???? 28	1987.0632.15 1987.0230 1996.1275 2000.0102			Intake Building Parteen Villa	No	1159	26.3.29
W 95 29	1987.0632.16 1996.1276			Weir openings, Parteen Villa	No	1140	18.4.29
W 96 29	1987.0632.17 1987.0231 1996.1277			Interior of Penstock	No	1151	13.3.29
W 97 29	1987.0632.18 1987.0204 1996.1278	1		General view of Weir	No	1126	18.4.29

Appendix J - 'Shannon Electric Power Scheme', W.D. & H.O. Wills cigarette cards, 1930

LCM Inventory Number	Irish Architectural Archive	Set No.	Title	Siemens Photograph Number	Siemens Photograph Date
1992.0126.01		1	General Plan of Works	-	-
1992.0126.02		2	The Head Race Intake	1349	26.10.29
1992.0126.03		3	Construction of the Weir	1100	31.1.29
1992.0126.04	2003/109	4	The Weir		
1992.0126.05		5	The Fish Pass	No number	1930 pencilled on page
1992.0126.06		6	Exploding a Charge: Construction of the Head Race	1220	11.6.29
1992.0126.07		7	The Head Race (A)	1194	?5.29
1992.0126.08		8	The Head Race (B)	1257	2.8.29
1992.0126.09		9	Blackwater Bridge over Head Race	1305	6.9.29
1992.0126.10		10	The Power Station (Cross Section)	Diagram	
1992.0126.11		11	The Power Station, Intake Building (A)	1188	20.5.29
1992.0126.12		12	The Power Station, Intake building (B)	1340	4.10.29
1992.0126.13		13	Construction of the Power Station (A)	747	11.1.28
1992.0126.14		14	Construction of the Power Station (B)	921	2.7.28
1992.0126.15	2003/109	15	Construction of the Power Station (C)	1199	27.5.29
1992.0126.16		16	The Rail Lift	A115	11.7.29(?)
1992.0126.17	2003/109	17	Construction of the Penstock (A)		
1992.0126.18		18	Construction of the Penstocks (B)		
1992.0126.19		19	Intake Building and Penstocks		
1992.0126.20		20	Interior of Penstock	1151	13.3.29

LCM Inventory Number	Irish Architectural Archive	Set No.	Title	Siemens Photograph Number	Siemens Photograph Date
1992.0126.21	2003/109	21	Interior of Spiral Casing	1182	8.6.29
1992.0126.22		22	Turbine Speed Ring and Guide Vanes	A71	8.5.29
1992.0126.23		23	Turbine in Position	No number	13.3.29
1992.0126.24		24	Construction of the Generators (A)	No number	15.6.29
1992.0126.25		25	Construction of the Generators (B)	1130	24.7.29
1992.0126.26		26	30,000 H.P. Generator		
1992.0126.27		27	Interior of Power Station		
1992.0126.28		28	The Control Room		
1992.0126.29		29	The Power Station Today		
1992.0126.30		30	Excavation for Navigation Locks	1007	6.11.28
1992.0126.31		31	Waste Channel and Locks (A)	1288	26.8.29
1992.0126.32		32	Waste Water Channel and locks (B)		
1992.0126.33		33	Bridge over the Tail Race	1203	31.5.29
1992.0126.34		34	The Tail Race	1280	26.8.29
1992.0126.35		35	The 30,000 K.V.A. Transformers		
1992.0126.36		36	Erection of Steel Masts	No number	8.11.29
1992.0126.37		37	Spanning the River Suir		
1992.0126.38		38	110,000 Volt Outdoor Sub-station		
1992.0126.39		39	The High Tension Transmission System	Map of Ireland with distribution system	
1992.0126.40	2003/109	40	The Full Development of the Scheme	Photograph of scale model	

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