

“A History of Loss”: Colonial Imaginings and Reimaginings of Jack Butler Yeats’ *Morning After Rain* and *The Liffey Swim*

JASPER WILLCOX
Lawrence University

Introduction

On December 6, 1921, the Anglo-Irish Treaty brought a resounding end to the Irish War of Independence and, by extension, over 700 years of English colonial rule in most of Ireland.¹ This long period of colonization was characterized not just by a pattern of systematic and insidious dehumanization, but also by stubborn resistance.² As this extensive history culminated in the outbreak of Ireland’s revolution in 1919, the unity and patriotism that had been forged by so much pain reached an all-time high. This feeling is clear in one of the most famous paintings of the revolution, Seán Keating’s 1922 *Men of the South*, a work that embodies the stoic and steadfast Irish spirit that had just triumphed.³ For the first time in Ireland’s collective memory, the future was solely in her own hands, filling Irish cultural consciousness with unprecedented hope and joy alongside trepidation towards the uncertain future ahead. Amidst this tumult, creative energy was amplified in all its forms.⁴ This energy captured the established artist Jack Butler Yeats (1871-1957), turning what might have been the tail end of his career into his most artistically productive years.

A native of the small Irish town of Sligo, Yeats grew up with his grandparents while his parents lived in London, where his father, John Butler Yeats, worked as a portrait painter. As a young man, Yeats attended the prestigious Chiswick School of Art in London, a city he described as “torturous to the heart and soul.”⁵ After completing his education, Yeats returned to Sligo to work on contract for local newspapers, magazines, and printshops, where he created engravings for postcards such as *The Pilot West of Ireland*, and a plethora of short comics and cartoons, including *Comedy and Tragedy* and *How to Dive*.⁶ These works were incredibly popular, but never brought him into the domain of high artistic consideration that his brother William B. Yeats (1865-1939) and his poetry had already been inducted into.⁷ Yeats’s commercial success also brought his work outside of the

¹The six Northern Irish counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Derry/Londonderry, and Tyrone remained under British rule and still are under British rule today.

²The British Department of War officially categorized 25 separate Irish revolutions throughout their occupation; John Gibney, *A Short History of Ireland, 1500-2000* (Yale University Press, 2018), 3.

³Seán Keating, *Men of the South*, 1922, oil on canvas, Crawford Art Gallery, Cork.

⁴The years of the Irish revolution coincided with the latter years of the Gaelic and Celtic Revivals (1877-1921), cultural movements that pushed for the reintroduction of the Irish language and lost culture into literature, theatre, and daily life. This was seen as a means to carve out a uniquely Irish identity that could be wholly separate from Britain and was an important factor in the artistic maelstrom that characterized the period.

⁵Bruce Arnold, *Jack Yeats* (Yale University Press, 1999), 68.

⁶Jack B. Yeats, *The Pilot West of Ireland*, 1912, The Warren Gallery, Cork; Jack B. Yeats, *Comedy and Tragedy; The Sligo Champion*, 1910; *How to Swim*, Punch Magazine, 1909. For more information on Yeats’ early works, see Arnold, *Jack Yeats*, 160. For more on Yeats’ comics specifically, see Micheal Connerty, *The Comic Strip Art of Jack B. Yeats* (Springer International Publishing, 2021), 7.

⁷Arnold, *Jack Yeats*, 165; Connerty, *The Comic Strip Art of Jack B. Yeats*, 6. William Butler Yeats’ artistic excellence was cemented with his 1924 nobel prize in literature, a distinction that marked the culmination of William’s rise

Irish world and into British comedic periodicals and newspapers, a diffusion not afforded to the more “serious” artists of the turn of the century.⁸

In the years after the Irish War of Independence, Yeats’s more serious oil paintings—a body of work spurred on by the fervor and spirit of the time—propelled Yeats to the forefront of the newly flourishing world of Irish art and cemented his reputation as a significant and thoughtful artist. The heights of this ascension were so great that he was recognized as a “modernist master” outside of Ireland, a title not afforded to a single other Irish painter of the time.⁹

This newfound acclaim startled Yeats, and he withdrew from the international attention that had been thrust upon him. The absence of Yeats’ own input about his works, combined with the influence of a wave of London critics travelling to Ireland to write about his work, created an opportunity for a subtle shift in the sentiment surrounding Yeats. Critics highlighted the forms, the painterliness, and the raw realism of Yeats’ work, placing him in a lineage with artists such as the French Expressionist Henri Matisse, while notably completely ignoring the post-colonial moment that brought forth and underscored his work.¹⁰ Additionally, the mass transfer of many of Yeats’s paintings from Ireland to England and America in the years after his death hastened the process of reframing, marking the start of their post-colonial lives. In these new lives, the dominant conception of Yeats’ work was transfigured from one of radical, nationalist, and deeply political depictions of post-war Ireland to one of facile and defanged representations of everyday subjects. Following this shift, Yeats’s work was remarketed as “UK” art and neatly situated into its new social context, creating an illusion of unity and collective identity across the Irish Sea.

Not all of Yeats’ work suffered this fate. Many of his prominent paintings stayed in Irish galleries and museums, creating two diverging paths for a body of work that by all accounts sprang from the same sentiment. The fact that we can sharply separate his artwork into these two post-colonial existences presents a unique opportunity to examine the mechanisms by which cultural exportation happens and how this appropriation can be resisted, or not resisted, by the work itself.

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to international acclaim—an acclaim that, due to his outward Irish republicanism and overt anti-British sentiment, was not recognized in Britain until much later.

⁸Yeats’ cartoons and comics appeared in British periodicals such as *Judy*, *Punch*, and the *Boy’s Own Paper* as well as newspapers including the *Observer* and the *London Times*; Connerty, *The Comic Strip Art of Jack B. Yeats*, 57.

⁹Arnold, *Jack Yeats*, 167.

¹⁰*English Critics on Yeats’ Exhibition*, *Irish Press*, February 25, 1946.

¹¹Tate, “Morning after Rain,” Art & Artists, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/yeats-morning-after-rain-00693>; National Gallery of Ireland, “The Liffey Swim,” *Highlights of the Collection*, <https://www.nationalgallery.ie/art-and-artists/highlights-collection/liffey-swim-jack-b-yeats-1871-1957>.

“*Morning After Rain*”



Figure 1: Jack Butler Yeats, *Morning After Rain*, 1923. Oil on Canvas. Tate Modern, London.

Yeats' 1923 work *Morning After Rain* presents the veneer of a calm and contemplative view of a quiet morning in Sligo (see fig. 1).¹² Behind this veneer, however, lies a deep sense of tension and ambiguity. The tenuous balance between calmness and anticipation begins with its composition; the painting's arrangement follows a stark progression from foreground to midground to deep background, directing the eye from the bottom left of the canvas to the top right and back down again with the triangular positioning of the waterline, the figure, and the roof of the primary building. Between the foreground and background, the mark-making of the river mirrors the sky's directional movement. The horizontality is only interrupted by the vertical and shadowy facades of the dingy industrial buildings. The windows of these buildings are notably dark and devoid of life, some almost resembling the gaping and ominous mouths hewn into the side of the wall. This verticality and imposing stillness plunge the eye back down into the rushing water, continually moving the viewer from a state of uncomfortable stillness to one of uncomfortable movement and thus destabilizing the viewing experience.

In contrast to this disharmony, the deep—and very visible—yellow ochre underpainting ties the

¹²Sligo, as the town of Yeats' upbringing, was a subject for much of the work which appeared in his 1926 traveling show *Life in west Ireland*. In 1923 it was a village of around 10,000. Sligo's economy revolved largely around fishing and metal refinement, two sectors that caused rapid industrialization around the turn of the century, transforming the quiet country town of Yeats's childhood into the hub of West Ireland's industry. "Population and Demography," Sligo County Library, <https://sligolibrary.ie/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/4-Population-3.pdf>.

piece's value scale together. It washes out the palette considerably, casting a miasma of shadow and dinginess over the scene. This impending darkness refuses to grant the viewer any certainty; is a new light truly on the horizon? Or has the storm only allowed a brief respite for Ireland? Against this confused backdrop, we are introduced to a solitary and uncertain figure, whose skin immediately stands out for both its harshness and redness. This contrast is balanced by the relaxed position with which the man leans over the stone rampart of the bridge, gazing wistfully to a point seemingly just outside the frame of the painting. His face is stark, with a wide-eyed and slightly concerned expression that leaves unclear the motive for his red, clenched hand. This moment feels intimate and personal, almost an intrusion on the part of the viewer, only amplifying the unsettling air of the entire painting.

The piece's tension and uncertainty are subtly understated, and are perhaps even unclear to Yeats himself, yet they are clearly present. In its current home, however, its subtlety is dampened significantly; at Tate Modern, the *Morning After Rain* caption reads: "[Jack Yeats's] paintings of the early 1920s... surveyed the character and activities of the ordinary people of Western Ireland. Here, a man stares over the parapet of the bridge at Sligo and into the muddy water of the river."¹³

His deportment and expression suggest a particular type of local character." This concise, largely empty description omits the fact that life in post-war Ireland had just been upended and forever changed by a new spirit of Irishness. The caption demphasizes the uncomfortable reality of the transition to post-colonial life, instead framing Yeats's painting as a detached image of one of many "local characters" without any sense of a cohesive and collective spirit.

The transformation of the essence of *Morning After Rain* has extended even to the title itself. Around the time of Tate Modern's acquisition of the painting in 1964 from the Waddington Gallery sale of the Jack Yeats estate, the title *Morning After Rain* was seemingly pulled out of the ether and given to the work.¹⁴ The painting's renaming is emblematic of how these kinds of post-colonial transformations happen; they are not necessarily cold and calculated efforts to undermine the art of the colonized. Many times, they stem from the ignorance and carelessness that accompany attitudes of cultural superiority. If Irish sovereignty isn't broadly respected, why should we expect the sovereignty of Irish art to be? The original life of *Morning After Rain* is now so distant and shrouded by this undermining that it can really only be gestured at. In the loss of its context, name, and Irishness, only a shadow of the piece remains; *Morning After Rain* becomes a work that, in its current context, is more about what has been lost rather than what is left intact.

¹³The river in *Morning After Rain* is the River Garavogue in Sligo, a river known for the unique way limestone sediment rises to the surface after storms, creating a unique bright yellow appearance.

¹⁴Tate, "Morning after Rain." Yeats originally recorded the work as *Untitled (Bridge in Sligo)*.

The Liffey Swim



Figure 2: Jack Butler Yeats, *The Liffey Swim*, 1923. Oil on Canvas. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

The Liffey Swim, another of Yeats' paintings from the same year, met an entirely different fate. The painting ended up in the National Gallery of Ireland in 1931, following a much more straightforward journey than that of *Morning After Rain*, and has largely avoided fraught post-colonial interpretations. *The Liffey Swim* depicts the sporting event of the same name, an annual race that has been held in Dublin through the River Liffey since 1920. Throughout its long history, the race has attracted huge crowds and, as one of Ireland's premier international sporting events, has served as a symbol of Ireland's capability on the international stage—an international recognition further reinforced when Yeats's painting took silver in the painting category of the 1924 Olympics.¹⁵

In *The Liffey Swim*, the uncertainty of a free Ireland present in *Morning After Rain* is fully replaced by the other face of post-independence sentiment: that of hopeful joy and collective identity. The lone figure of *Morning After Rain* gives way to a crowd of people that stretches around the entire composition, pulling the viewer in (see fig. 2). This compositional choice is much more

¹⁵Comité Olympique Français, *Les Jeux de la VIIIe Olympiade Paris 1924: Rapport Officiel*, ed. M. Avé (Librairie de France, 1924), 605. The Olympic art categories (which included painting, sculpture, literature, architecture, and music) were included between the 1912 and 1948 games. They were retired and replaced with a noncompetitive exhibition primarily due to scandals revolving around the amateur category and the difficulty of verifying its participants. This led to all medals received for the arts being struck from the Olympic record and today, they are not counted towards countries' totals.

harmonious and unified than that of *Morning After Rain*, with a single clear vanishing point and vibrant, colorful buildings stretching into the distance. Such candor lets viewers experience a moment of collective joy with little mediation; the canvas is not as personal as *Morning After Rain*, but instead sweeps viewers into the unique energy of the time, an energy reinforced by a sky blue palette that replaces *Morning After Rain*'s ochre underpainting, imbuing even the darkest sections of the painting with a reassuring light. Alongside the change from a blunt and confronting composition, this brightness separates the painting from *Morning After Rain*'s uncomfortability, replacing any dissonance with contentment.

Accordingly, the National Gallery of Ireland's caption for *The Liffey Swim* reads: "...[Yeats] invites his audience to engage with the event by placing them among the spectators, who lean forward to catch a glimpse of the swimmers as they surge towards the finish line. The painting marked Yeats' growing interest in Expressionism and his adoption of fluid brushwork, a charged palette, and a truly unfettered sense of Irishness."¹⁶ This framing invites the viewer to see the piece as a collective celebration that highlights the energy of political awakening characterizing the time.¹⁷ A lack of regard for the piece from British and American sources on Yeats and his work is also notable, given the explicit nationalism of *The Liffey Swim* itself—a choice that sticks out even more sharply due to the painting's status as an Olympic winner. The fact that Yeats' most well-known work can just be pushed aside due to its inconvenience is a testament to the fact that this colonizing force can easily flatten the rhetorical forces present in the work itself, even for works that were not directly appropriated.

An Archeology of Appropriation

In his prominent 1999 biography of Yeats, Bruce Arnold discusses the artist's post-Irish War of Independence work, writing: "There are many episodes which indicate [Yeats'] staunch nationalist views, but which should be read in the context of his life rather than his art."¹⁸ The depoliticization of Yeats's work has by no means occurred suddenly or abruptly; rather, it is the end point of a shift that began during Yeats' lifetime and only accelerated after his death in 1957.

In the 1930s and 1940s, when *Morning After Rain* and *The Liffey Swim* were first exhibited, the vast majority of coverage on the pieces came from exclusively Irish sources.¹⁹ In the April 23, 1926 issue of *The Irish Independent*, an exhibition of Yeats' work in London was described as follows: "Mr Yeats takes a distinctive view of his art and, uninfluenced by custom or convention, [he] makes his pictures not just a representation of what he sees, but being apparently guided only by a sense of his impressions, pulls the truth out of his subjects."²⁰ This metaphorically informed understanding of his work continued into the 1940s, which we can see another Dublin exhibition of Yeats' art is described in the October 1946 article *Yeats Exhibition at Limerick* in the *Irish Independent*, which reads: "[Yeats'] pictures in his new Dublin exhibition give a fresh look at Ireland in her newly unbridled modern age."²¹

In contrast to the early critics' reaffirmations of this art's Irishness, and following a surge in British patriotism that coincided with the end of the Second World War, later critics sought to build

¹⁶National Gallery of Ireland, "The Liffey Swim."

¹⁷Clare Carroll and Patricia King, eds., *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), 6.

¹⁸Arnold, *Jack Yeats*, 215.

¹⁹The *Irish Newspaper Archive* was used to source articles from this time period. This archive has not preserved any of the original writers of these articles and thus all citations will only include the date and publication.

²⁰"The Art of Mr. J. B. Yeats," *Irish Independent*, April 26, 1926.

²¹"Yeats Exhibition at Limerick," *Irish Independent*, October 18, 1946.

a coherent vision of the United Kingdom and its culture.²² In a Feb 25, 1946, *Irish Press* article titled “*English Critics on Yeats’ Exhibition*,” we see this interest in action. The article catalogs six English critics who traveled to see the same Limerick exhibition mentioned above.²³ The first critic mentioned is Maurice Collis, the art columnist for the London Newspaper *The Observer*, who writes that “Yeats’ style is traditional on account of his handling, which is in direct descent from Turner, Constable, Rubens and the greatest masters.”²⁴ The art critic for *The Spectator*, Michael Ayrton, writes that “Jack Yeats is Ireland’s major living artist, and his work is full of passionate poetry of a mysterious kind, while his execution is that of Turner or Gainsborough.”²⁵ Both of these comparisons are rather tenuous; the invocation of Turner, Constable, and Gainsborough does not seem to follow in either a formal or thematic sense.²⁶ These Romantic and Rococo artists are a far cry from the canvases these critics stood in front of. *The Life in the West of Ireland* exhibition under review here was full of expressionistic, grounded, and oftentimes gritty works, yet the English critics seemingly ignored these characteristics in favor of shoehorning Yeats into a misguided artistic lineage that he does not belong in.

These comparisons fit into a broader attempt to artistically and symbolically “re-unify” the former United Kingdom.²⁷ Irish sources emphasize an Irishness that British sources conveniently avoid mentioning, and as British cultural power has remained dominant even after the realization of Irish independence, that narrative has won out.²⁸ British dominance seeps into biographies like Bruce Arnold’s; Arnold writes from America in the 1990s with no commitment or relationship to British political ventures in Ireland, yet still comes to the conclusion that Yeats’ politics and historical moment “should be read in the context of his life rather than his art.”²⁹

Outside of Ireland, this line of thinking is so pervasive that it has—at least outside of Ireland—become the only option, and thus propagates itself into the 21st century. The gaps left behind can only be pulled from the surface of Yeats’s work. In a 1991 article for the *Independent*, art critic Tom Lubbock writes of Yeats’s art that “Sights and actions are briefly captured, and relinquished: that is the story of Jack and his mastery.”³⁰ The stripping of historical context has produced a body of work that is only capable of “briefly capturing” the subjects in front of the canvas—a husk of the vibrant and complex work that lies dormant beneath false conceptions.

Authorship and Colonialism

In a Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ) interview, when discussing the artistic philosophy behind his work, Yeats asserted: “A picture does not need translation, creative work happens. It does not need documentary evidence, dates, photographs of the artist, or what he says about his pictures. It

²²Carroll and King, *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, 16.

²³“English Critics on Yeats’ Exhibition.”

²⁴“English Critics on Yeats’ Exhibition.”

²⁵“English Critics on Yeats’ Exhibition.” In addition to the two artists quoted, similar comments are made in this collection by the critics Parveen Adams and David Lee; see “The Strange Art of Jack Yeats,” *Art Digest*, 1933; and “New Jack Yeats Pictures,” *Irish Press*, October 18, 1940.

²⁶For examples of the popular landscapes these critics would have used for comparison, see: John Constable, *The Hay Wain*, 1821, National Gallery, London; Thomas Gainsborough, *Landscape in Suffolk*, ca. 1750, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; and J. M. W. Turner, *The Fighting Temeraire*, 1839, National Gallery, London.

²⁷Carroll and King, *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, 96. The term “symbolically re-unify” is used to describe the cultural projects of Britain in Ireland after the Second World War.

²⁸Carroll and King, *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, 10.

²⁹Arnold, *Jack Yeats*, 215.

³⁰Tom Lubbock, “Art: Jack be Nimble, Jack be Quick,” *The Independent*, February 17, 1991.

doesn't matter who or what I am. People may think what they will of the pictures.³¹ This artistic philosophy seems almost a premonition to Roland Barthes's 1967 essay *The Death of the Author*, a work lauded as marking a turning point in literary and artistic criticism. Barthes argues that "to give a text to an author" by focusing on their interpretations and life is to "limit it."³² In freeing ourselves from the grip of the author, we are not only free to engage fully with the subject matter, but also to create a discursive and personal relationship with their work.

Yet in the art world, the master has historically held the same or maybe even a greater grip over his work than the author has in the realm of literature. This mythologizing of the artist led to the labelling of any interpretations and experiences of art that did not reckon with the mystique of its creator as surface-level or uncultured. The advent of continental modernism did little to shift this conception; figures like Matisse, Picasso, and Dali rose to the summit of the newly forming canon as the new avant-garde masters, continuing a lineage of Western master mythology rather than promoting any real upheaval. At the heart of these artists' philosophies were ideas about the individual and the mind, which left little room for the newly-born reader; such positionings have led art historians to coalesce around one "true" reading of modernist work until only recently.

The dual lives of Yeats's art are a testament to the fact that his artistic philosophy was completely effective. People have clearly "thought what they will of [his] pictures," bringing either a colonized or colonizer perspective into their readings. This has muddied their connection to Irishness greatly and is an injustice done to the work, but an injustice that is an inevitable outcome for non-didactic work produced in a colonial or postcolonial environment. When the author/artist dies, the process of decontextualization isn't even necessarily conscious; once a system is in place, "[c]olonial hierarchy propagates itself,"³³ and the tide of erasure acts largely independently of specific actors' choices. When the strict relationship between artist and work is removed, there is little left to counter this process, leaving the weight of a 700-year colonial legacy to diminish the nuance of a radical body of work.

The birth of the "reader" in the 20th century offered the opportunity to radically reframe the way a modern actor could engage with the world around them, yet in a fresh post-colonial situation, this new freedom was not so free. Appropriation lets the colonial reader rebuild a work in their own image and through their own biases. The absence of this reinterpretation in the case of *The Liffey Swim* also follows easily; the painting is viewer-focused, placing viewers among the throng of the vast crowd, but it also has more didactic qualities. The work still "[surveys] the character and activities of the ordinary people of Western Ireland,"³⁴ but that character and those activities are imbued with a free spirit and "unfettered Irishness" that would have been unambiguous to a London art critic. It also, as mentioned prior, won the silver medal in the painting category of the Olympics in 1924 under the banner of Ireland, beating out the British entrants George Bamber and Charles Simpson and bringing international attention to the culture of the new Irish Republic.³⁵ Notably, this win introduced new tension upon Yeats' return to Ireland; as an international Olympic win elevated him above his contemporaries, he became a "serious" artist that had been "corroborated by the European establishment."³⁶ In response to this tension, Yeats simply withdrew to his studio and continued to work, very rarely giving interviews or contending with the unwelcome situation he had been placed in.³⁷ It is almost as if Yeats could only remove himself from his new position

³¹Jack Butler Yeats, "Jack B Yeats, The Art Of Living," interview by Eamonn Andrew, RTÉ Radio, October 10, 1947.

³²Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (Hill and Wang, 1977), 147.

³³Edward Said, "Afterword," in Carroll and King, *Ireland and Post-Colonial Theory*, 181.

³⁴Tate, "Morning after Rain."

³⁵Avé, *Les Jeux de la VIIIe Olympiade Paris 1924*, 605

³⁶Arnold, *Jack Yeats*, 214.

³⁷Arnold, *Jack Yeats*, 220.

through societal isolation, binding him to two options: either to reinforce his image as *the* Irish modern artist—and thus reinforce a problematic and tokenized conception that marginalized his contemporaries—or to simply say nothing at all and open an opportunity for his work to be whisked away and transfigured.

A Legacy to Remember

Historian Kevin Whelan unpacks this brand of erasure in his essay “Between Filiation and Affliction, The Politics of Postcolonial Memory.” Whelan writes that “[r]adical memory allows for the parallel creation of a counterpoint history of loss. . . There is a close link between amnesty and amnesia. There may be a duty to go beyond anger and hatred to achieve a new horizon of justice, a culture with a just memory.”³⁸ To pull the paintings of Jack Yeats out of their postcolonial malaise is to restore Whelan’s conception of a just memory. It is to reaffirm the historical materiality of Ireland’s colonial experience and to create a “counterpoint history of loss,” a history that resists the crushing weight of the dominant culture’s postcolonial vision and instead reimburses Yeats’ painting with the power that has been stripped away from it.

The damage this loss has caused (and is still causing) spreads far beyond the walls of museums and the halls of academia. For many in Ireland, “Ireland’s revolution is unfinished,” and Britain’s continued control of Northern Ireland and influence over all of Irish culture only tightens as the legacies of anti-colonial action are whitewashed and “collectivized” into a defanged “UK history.”³⁹ In restoring the legacy of anticolonial action (not just through art but also through history and literature, which have suffered the same brand of insidious erasure), Ireland can move forward from a position of understanding rather than obfuscation. In his afterword to *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, when describing the need for postcolonial analysis of Irish history, the prolific scholar Edward Said writes: “What is at stake is nothing less than the whole question of Irish identity, the present course of Irish culture and politics, and above all, the interpretation of Ireland, of its people and of the course of its history.”⁴⁰ And as *Morning After Rain* continues to fade away into a passive existence on the wall of Tate Modern, across the sea from the “unfinished revolution” of its homeland, this postcolonial interpretation of Ireland remains incomplete.

³⁸Kevin Whelan, “Between Filiation and Affliction: The Politics of Postcolonial Memory,” in Carroll and King, *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, 40.

³⁹Mary Lou McDonald, president of Sinn Féin (Northern Ireland’s primary opposition and nationalist party), 2022; “Ireland’s revolution is unfinished” is a quote from her speech after Sinn Féin won a majority in the Northern Irish assembly for the first time.

⁴⁰Said, “Afterword,” 177.

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