

Irish Radical and Working Class History

Introduction: History and Marxism

Class Consciousness and Class Struggle 1729-1791

3 April 2025

a pump work without muscular exertion on the part of a man or a horse or some other docile animal. Science is finding things out: and in that sense history is a science.

(b) The object of history. One science differs from another in that it finds out things of a different kind. What kind of things does history find out? I answer, res gestae: actions of human beings that have been done in the past. Although this answer raises all kinds of further questions many of which are controversial, still, however they may be answered, the answers do not discredit the proposition that history is the science of res gestae, the attempt to answer questions about human actions done in the past.

(c) *How does history proceed?* History proceeds by the inter-

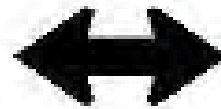
PLOT



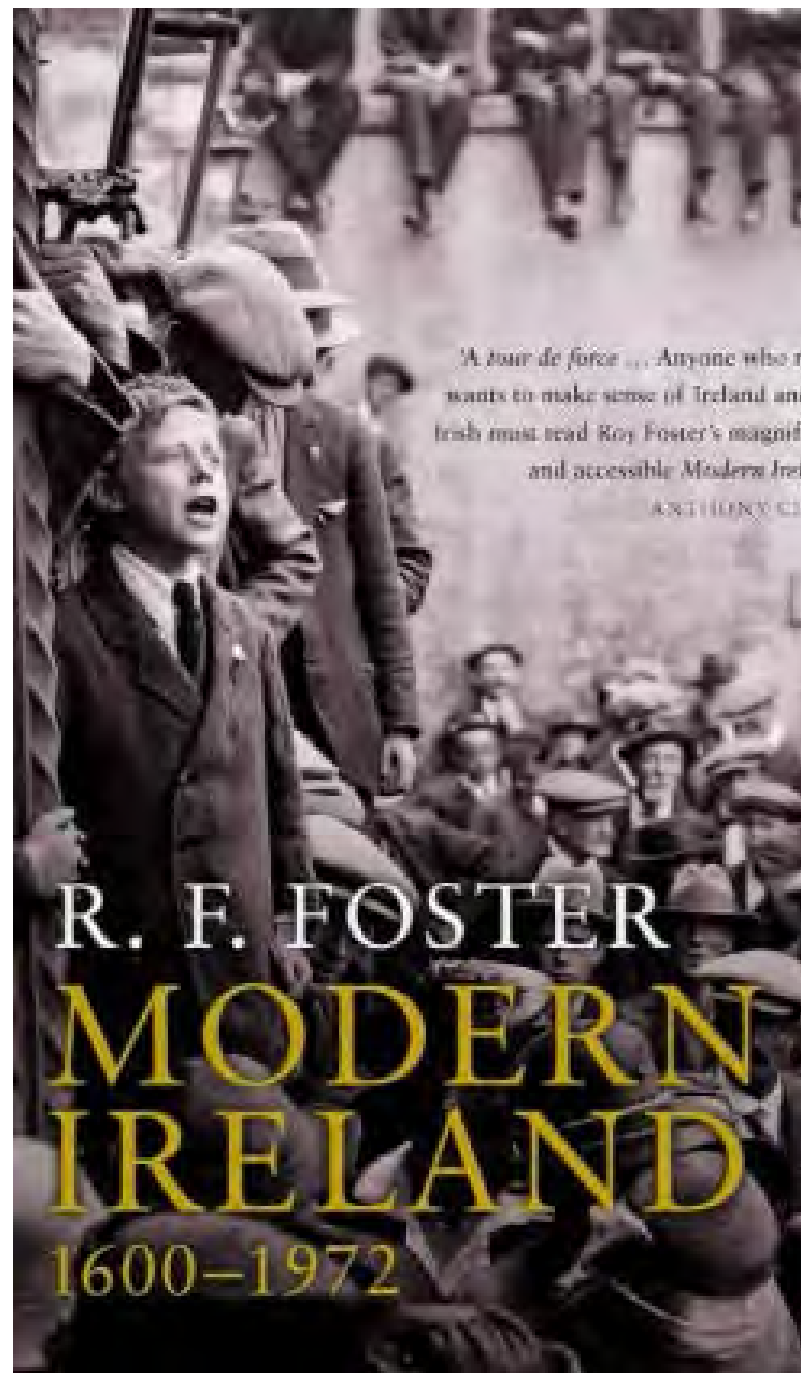
CHARACTERS



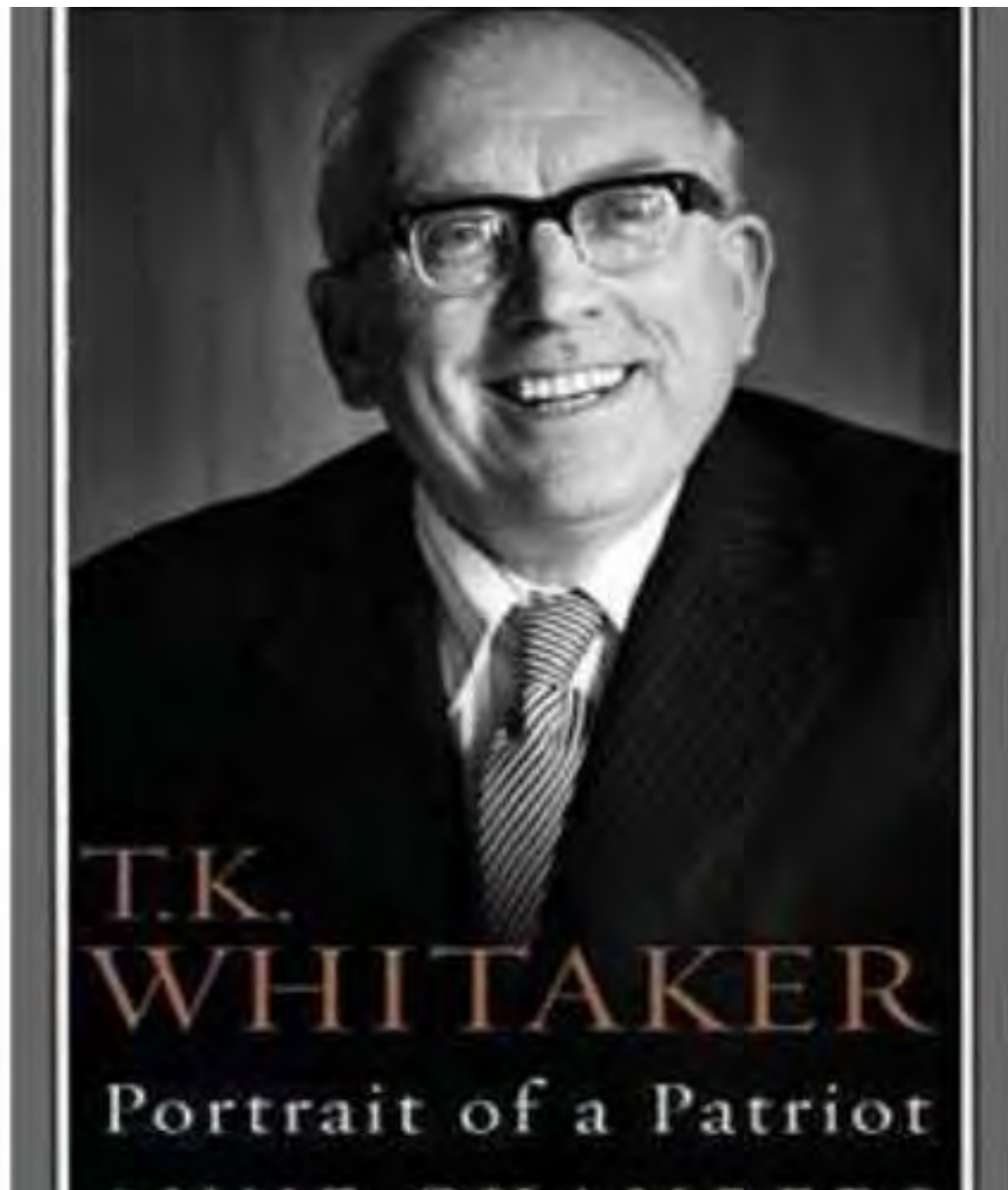
EVENTS



MOTIVATION









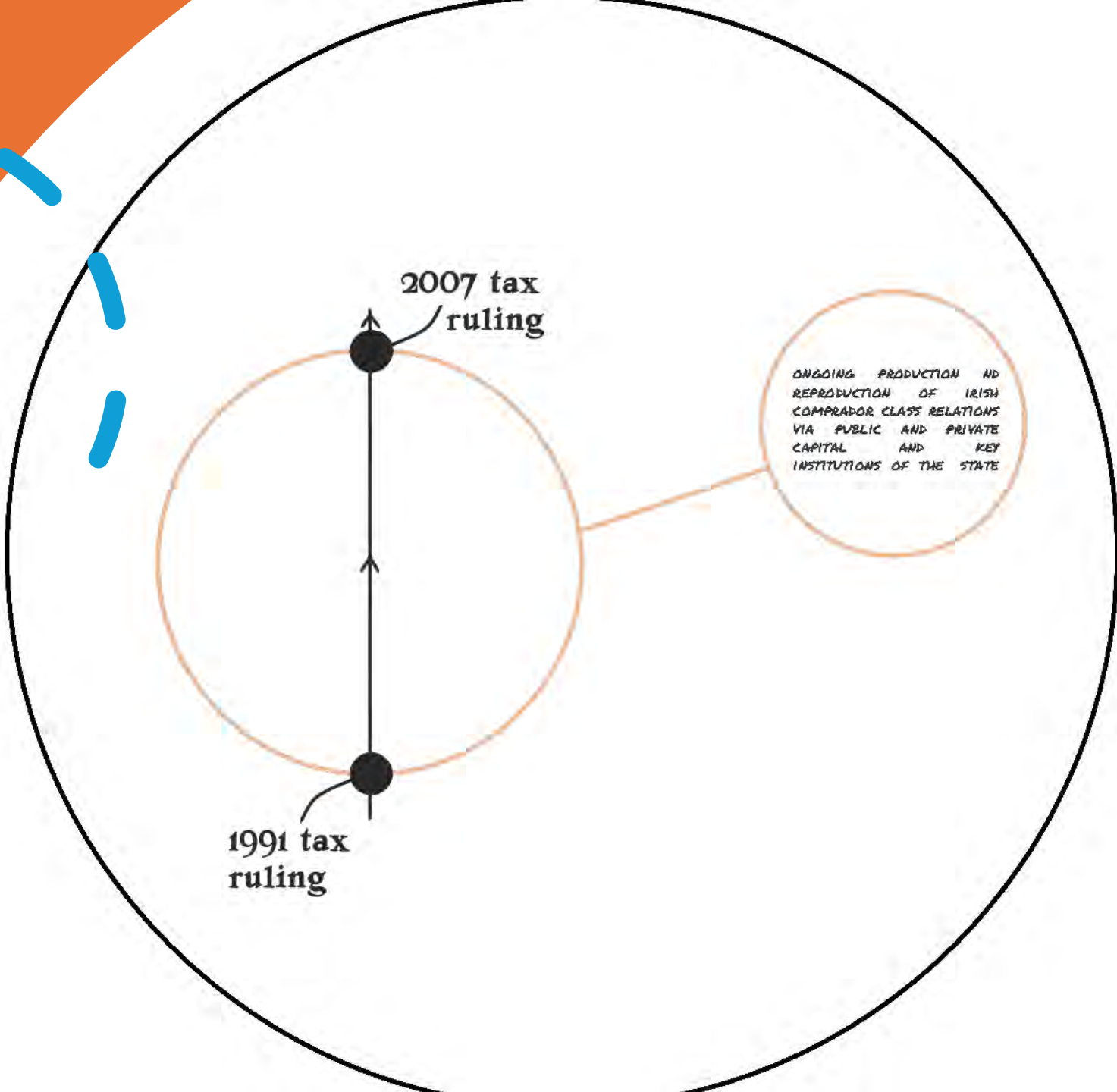
What about Ireland? Is there any other country that offers a more stable business climate for American manufacturers?

Businessmen experienced in international

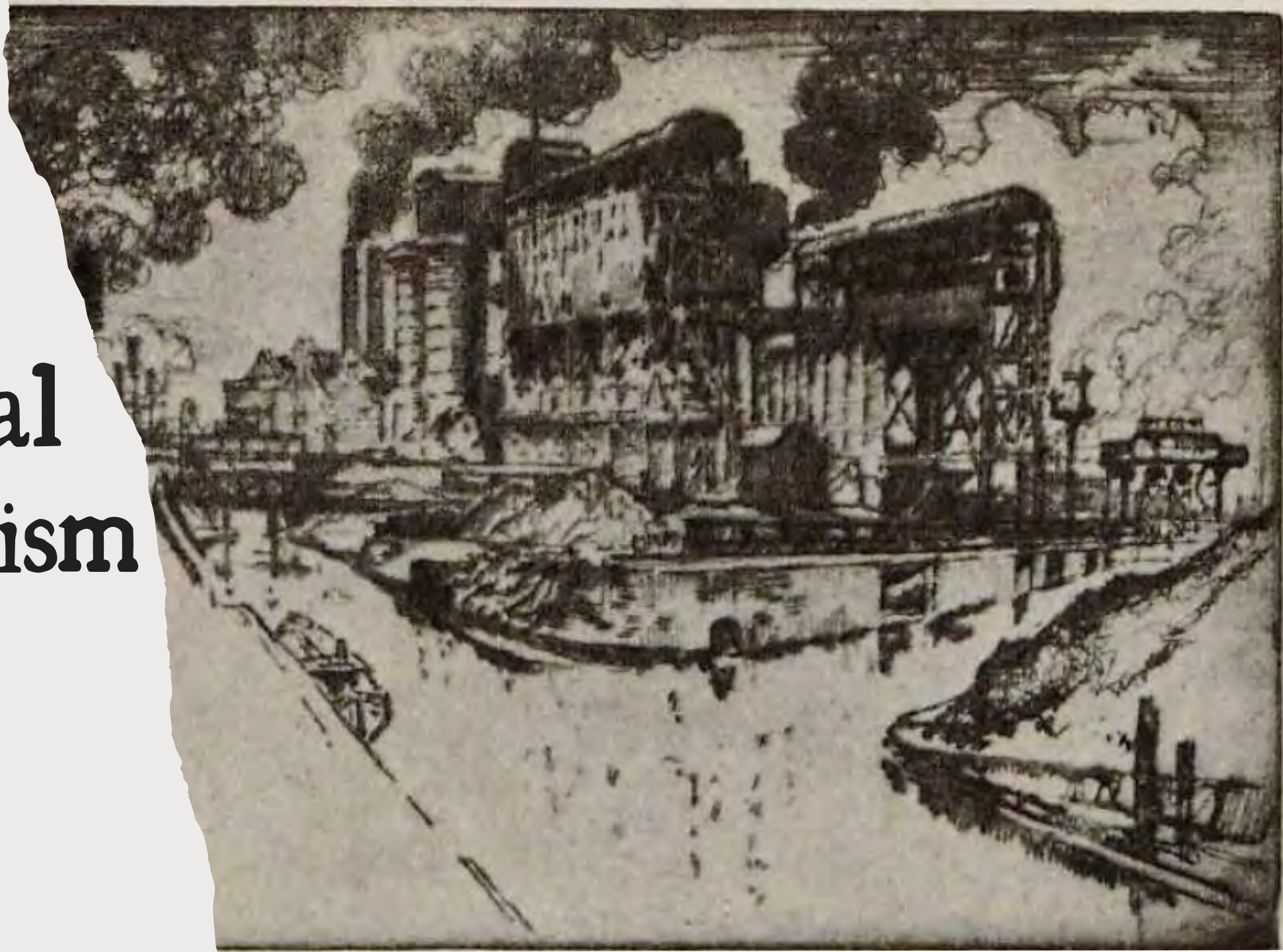
opportunity for growth. A young and vigorous
dedicated to industrial expansion

ucated. Their way of life is closer to that
of Americans than the pattern found in





Historical Materialism



Karl Marx, "Theses on Feurbach" (1844)

All social life is
essentially *practical*.

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All mysteries which lead
theory to mysticism find
their rational solution

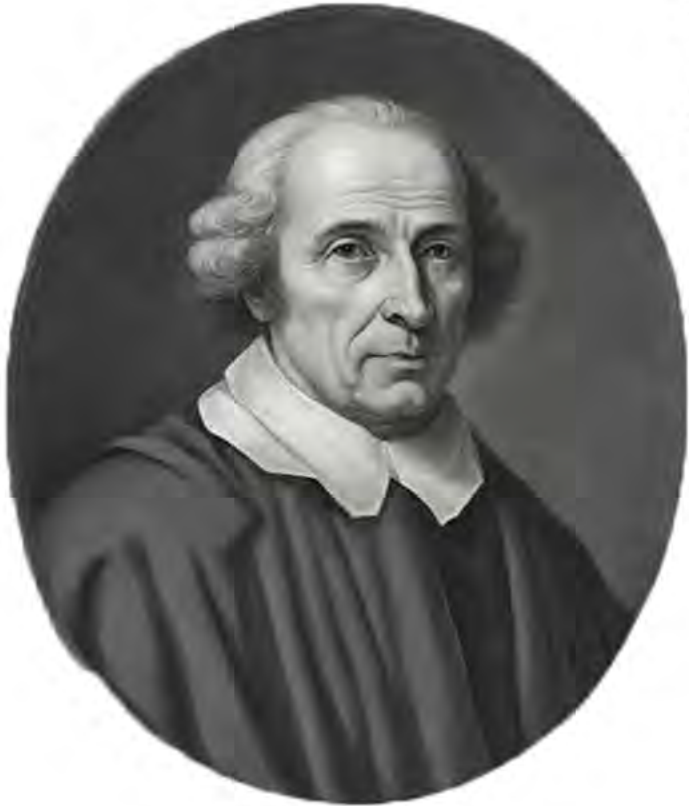
Karl Marx, "Theses on Feurbach" (1844)

All social life is
essentially *practical*.

All mysteries which lead
theory to mysticism find
their rational solution

in human practice and in
the comprehension of this
practice.

The ways of God and Nature may contain mysteries - but anything made by humans, can be understood by humans



Giambattista Vico
(1668-1744)

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(1668-1744)

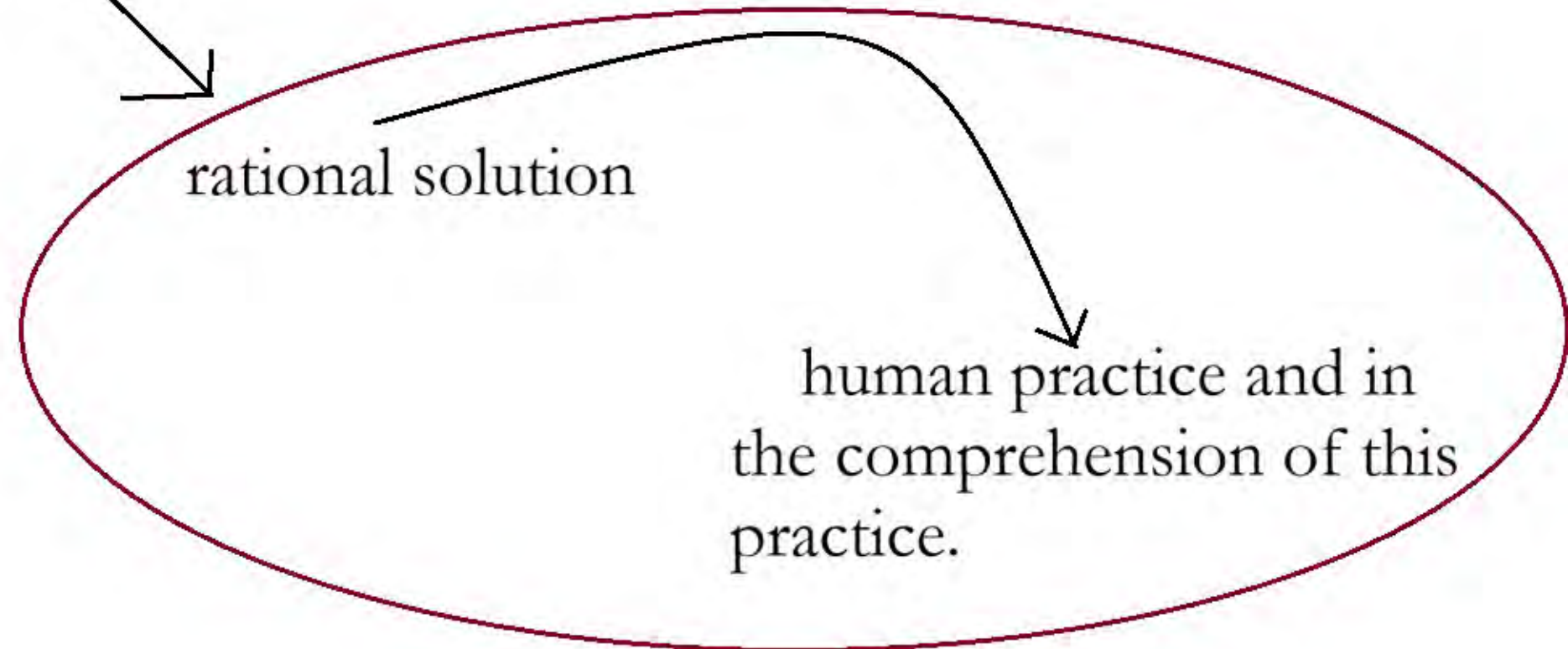
Including society, which is not mystical but the work of human hands and minds



Karl Marx, "Theses on Feurbach" (1844)

All social life is
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highly abstract - so some form of
ideological framework is needed



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PENGUIN CLASSICS

KARL MARX

CAPITAL
VOLUME I

rational solution

human practice and in the comprehension of this practice.

The physicist either observes natural processes where they occur in their most significant form, and are least affected by disturbing influences, or, wherever possible, he makes experiments under conditions which ensure that the process will occur in its pure state. What I have to examine in this work is the capitalist mode of production, and the relations of production and forms of intercourse [*Verkehrsverhältnisse*] that correspond to it. Until now, their *locus classicus* has been England. This is the reason why England is used as the main illustration of the theoretical developments I make. If, however, the German reader pharisaically shrugs his shoulders at the condition of the English industrial and agricultural workers, or optimistically comforts himself with the thought that in Germany things are not nearly so bad, I must plainly tell him: *De te fabula narratur!**

Intrinsically, it is not a question of the higher or lower degree of

his economic works, for example those on the historical character of capital, on the connection between the relations of production and the mode of production, etc., etc., even down to the terminology created by me, this may perhaps be due to purposes of propaganda. I am of course not speaking here of his detailed working-out and application of these propositions, which I have nothing to do with.

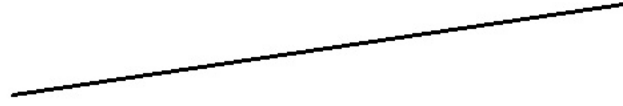
*'The tale is told of you' (Horace, *Satires*, Bk I, Satire 1).

development of the social antagonisms that spring from the natural laws of capitalist production. It is a question of these laws themselves, of these tendencies winning their way through and working themselves out with iron necessity. The country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future.

But in any case, and apart from all this, where capitalist production has made itself fully at home amongst us,* for instance in the factories properly so called, the situation is much worse than in England, because the counterpoise of the Factory Acts is absent. In all other spheres, and just like the rest of Continental Western Europe, we suffer not only from the development of capitalist production, but also from the incompleteness of that development. Alongside the modern evils, we are oppressed by a whole series of inherited evils, arising from the passive survival of archaic and outmoded modes of production, with their accompanying train of anachronistic social and political relations. We suffer not only from the living, but from the dead. *Le mort saisit le vif!*†

The social statistics of Germany and the rest of Continental Western Europe are, in comparison with those of England, quite

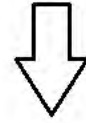
Mode of
Production



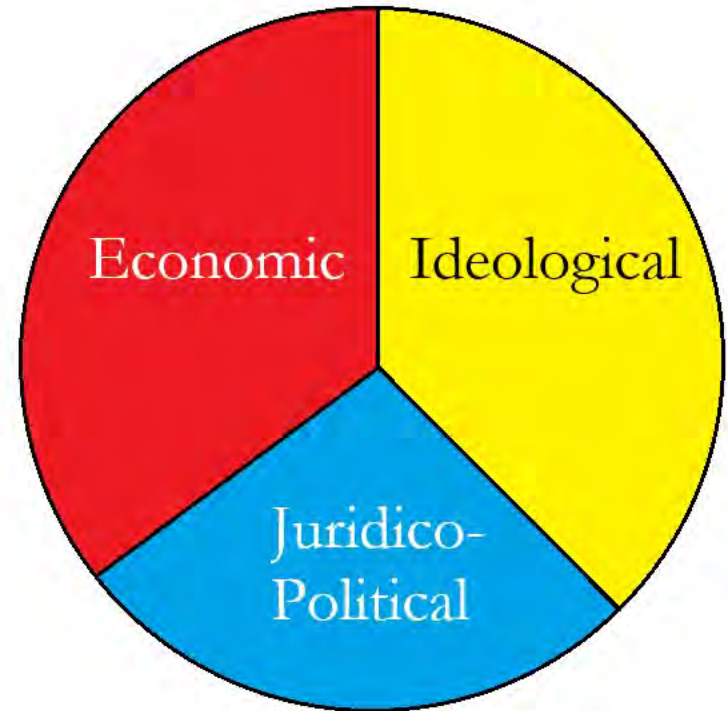
Mode of
Production



Theoretical Concept



Entire Social Totality



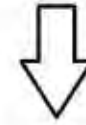
Mode of
Production



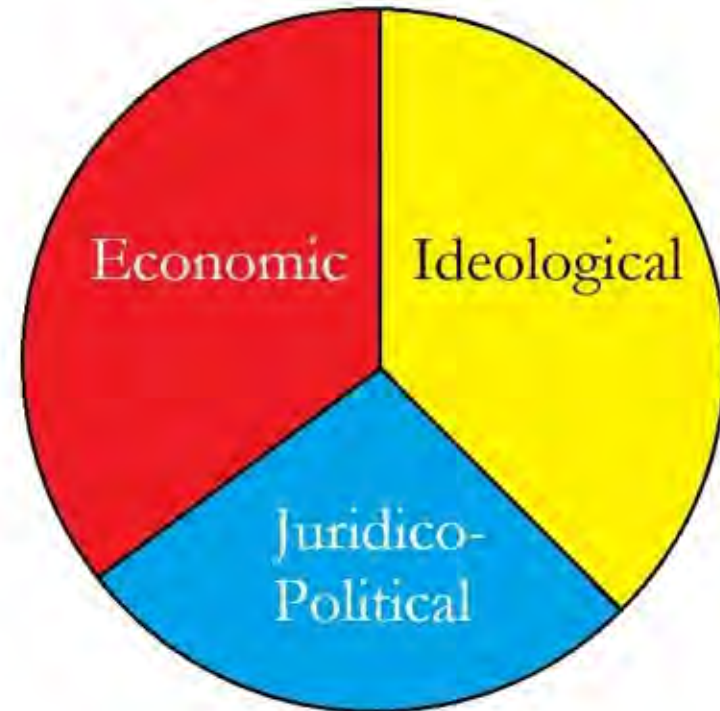
Juridico-Political: Every society, in addition to having given economic and ideological structures, possesses a combination of institutional apparatuses and norms designed to regulate the operation of society as a whole. These institutional apparatuses and norms constitute the juridico-political structure of the society, and form a part of the superstructure.

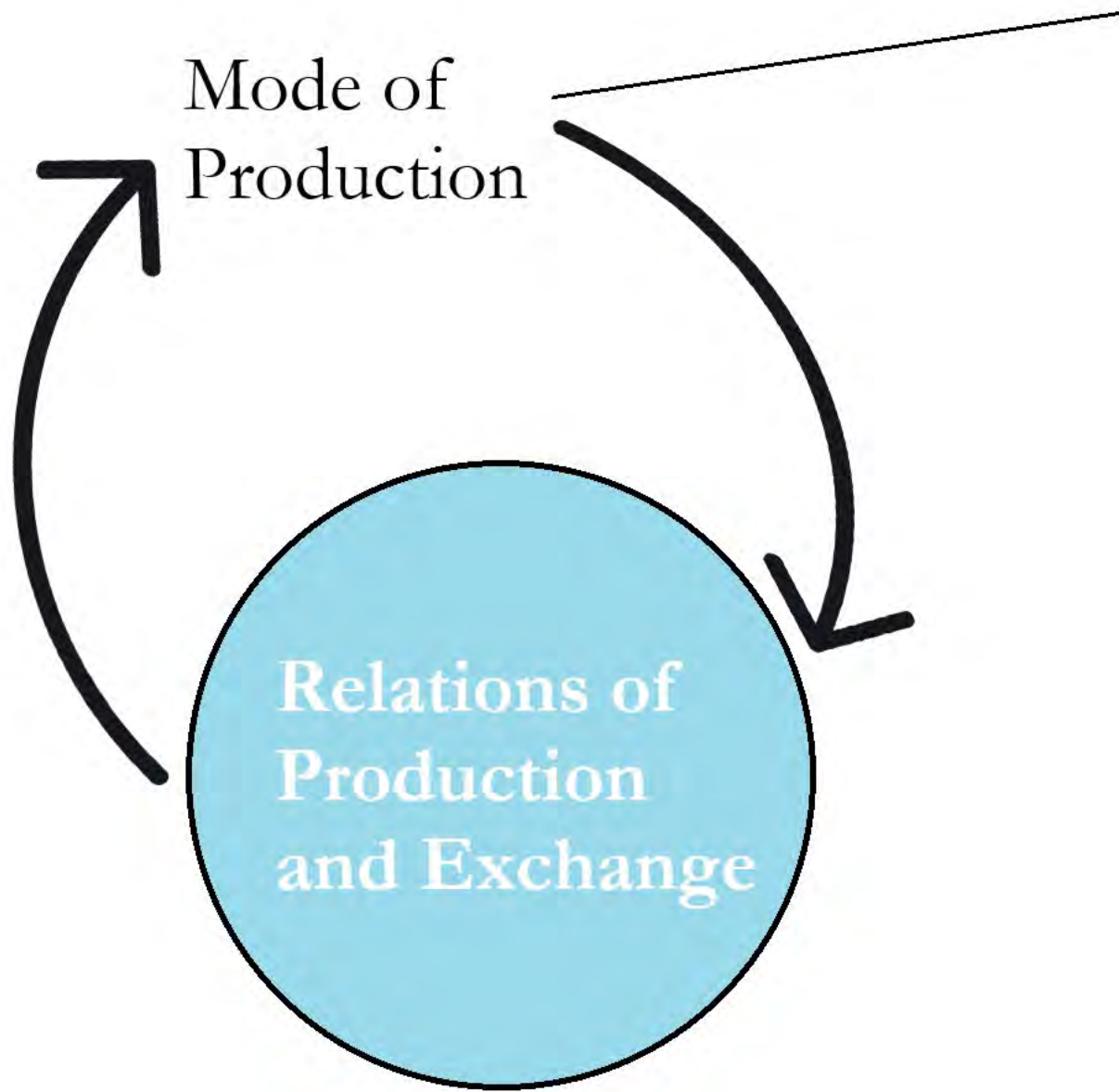
- Marta Harnecker (1937-2019)

Theoretical Concept

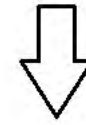


Entire Social Totality

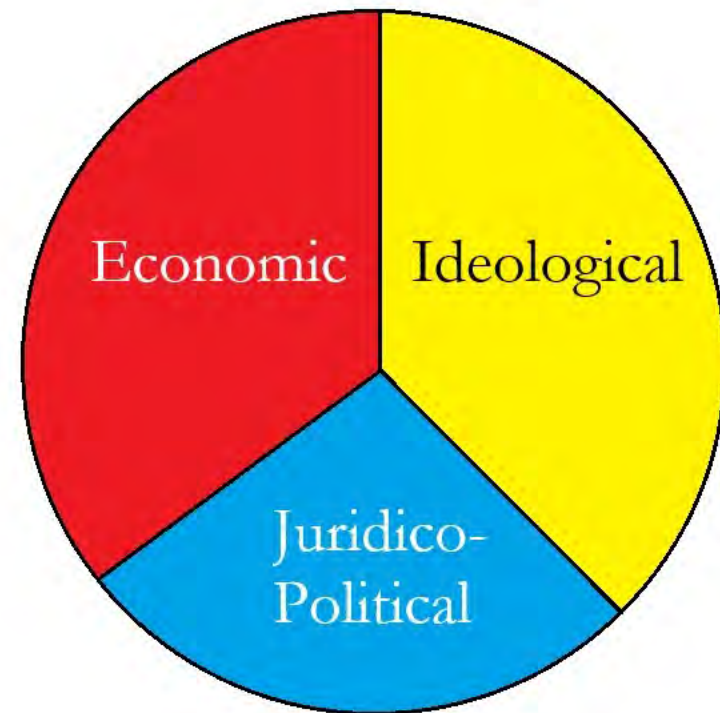




Theoretical Concept



Entire Social Totality







History as a finding of underlying structures in the world that are not immediately evident in experience.





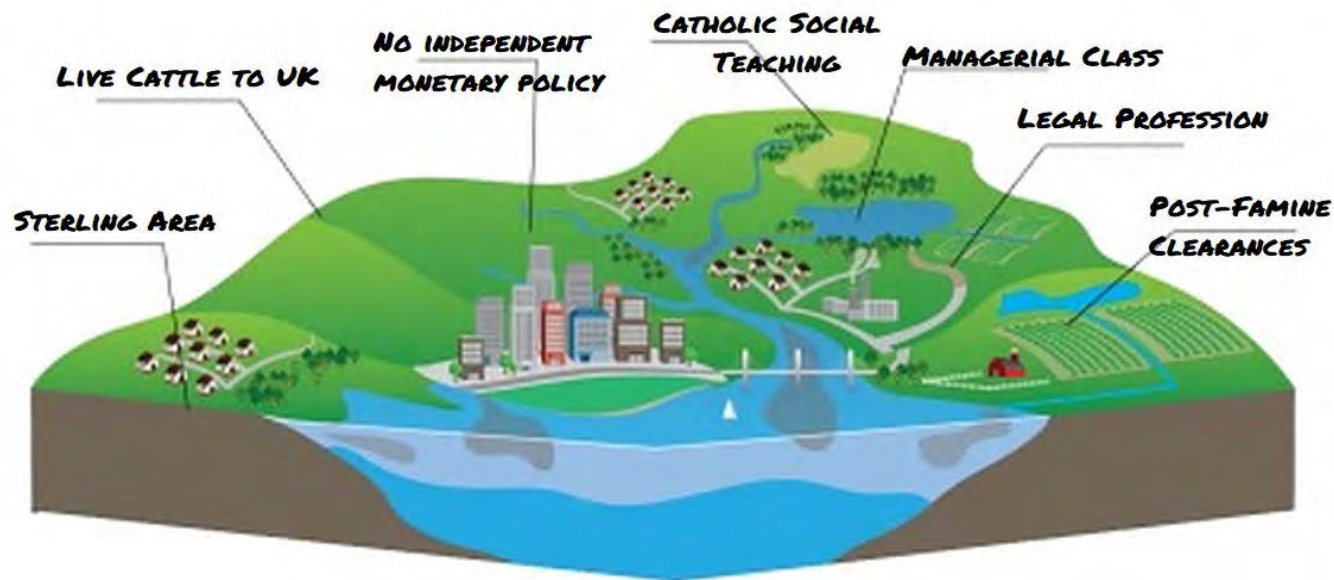
History as a finding of underlying structures in the world that are not immediately evident in experience.



To be radical, or to be a scientist, is the same thing; it is a question of trying to go to the root of the matter. For Marx, this meant trying to uncover the “economic laws of motion of modern society,” that is, first of all, seeing society as an organism in motion constantly changing and developing as it moves from its beginning to its end, and second of all, searching in the economy, i.e., in changing conditions of production and exchange, for the underlying basis of this motion.

In this essay, I wish to follow Marx’s approach by viewing the present conjuncture of international politics and economics in terms of the long-term growth and spread of capitalist social relations of production to a world level. More concretely, I want to try to relate the current crises in national and international politics to the world market created during the last twenty-five years by the American Empire, first by examining Keynes’ 1933 warnings of the difficulties and dangers for the develop-

- STEPHEN HYMER (1974)

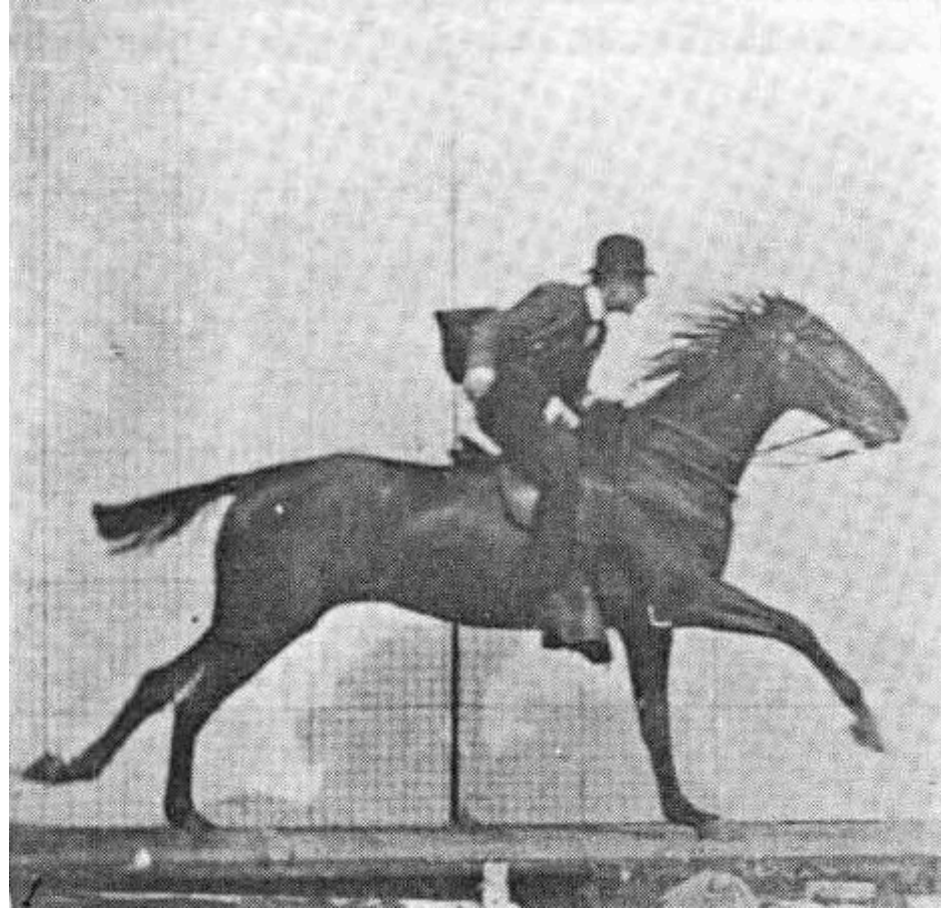


the creation of the National Asset Management Agency.

The power to do that did not develop overnight. In order to find the reason why that class was able to wield such influence at such short notice, we are going to have to dig. This book sets out a historical analysis of the events of September 2008 in order to achieve that objective.

History provides a canvas wide and deep enough to enable us to see the economic and political mechanisms, the machine itself, in motion. By looking at the way the Irish economy actually works – the deep structures and investment strategies – the government's response to the banking crisis, despite its inherent insanity, starts to make sense. The logic behind it reveals itself. It is still deeply shocking, but it was not the result of a few bad apples.

The plan of the book is, hopefully, straightforward enough. There are four chapters dealing with the development of the Irish economy, and two chapters on the crisis itself. It starts with housing, as the subject is saturated with so many myths and half-truths that it demands a factual analysis. There is no Irish property-owning gene. It is not part of our DNA. Home ownership outside of rural areas is a relatively new phenom-







THE PROTECTORS OF OUR INDUSTRIES.

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appearance of this poverty, but not of the poverty itself. Or the blame is laid on the Protestant church forced upon a Catholic nation; but divide among the Irish what the church takes from them, and it does not reach six shillings a head. Besides, tithes are a tax upon landed property, not upon the tenant, though he may nominally pay them; now, since the Commutation Bill of 1838, the landlord pays the tithes directly and reckons so much higher rent, so that the tenant is none the better off. And in the same way a hundred other causes of this poverty are brought forward, all proving as little as these. This poverty is the result of our social conditions; apart from these, causes may be found for the manner in which it manifests itself, but not for the fact of its existence. That poverty manifests itself in Ireland thus and not otherwise is owing to the character of the people, and to their historical development. The Irish are a people related in their whole character to the Latin nations, to the French, and especially to the Italians. The bad features of their character we have already had depicted by Carlyle. Let us now hear an Irishman, who at least comes nearer to the truth than Carlyle, with his prejudice in favor of the Teutonic character:¹

“They are restless, yet indolent, clever and indiscreet, stormy, impatient and improvident; brave by instinct, generous without much reflection, quick to revenge and forgive insults, to make and to renounce friendships, gifted with genius prodigally, sparingly with judgment.”

With the Irish, feeling and passion predominate; reason must bow before them. Their sensuous, excitable nature prevents reflection and quiet, persevering activity from reaching development—such a nation is utterly unfit for manufacture as now conducted. Hence they held fast to agriculture and remained upon the lowest plane even of that. With the small subdivisions of land which were not here artificially created as in France and on the Rhine by the division of great estates, but have existed from time immemorial, an improvement of the soil by the investment of capital was not to be thought of; and it would, according to Alison, require 120 million pounds sterling to bring the soil up to the not very high state of fertility already attained in England. The English immigration, which might have raised the standard of Irish civilization, has contented itself with the most brutal plundering of the Irish people; and while the Irish, by their immigration into England, have furnished England a leaven, which will produce its own results in the future, they have little for which to be thankful to the English immigration.

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March, 1885.

THE COMMON

and disorganised the narrower, but more matter-of-fact, movement of the English working class. At the very moment Chartism was bound to assert itself in its full strength, it collapsed internally, before even it collapsed externally on the 10th of April, 1848. The action of the working class was thrust into the background. The capitalist class triumphed along the whole line.

The Reform Bill of 1831 had been the victory of the whole capitalist class over the landed aristocracy. The repeal of the Corn Laws was the victory of the manufacturing capitalists not only over the landed aristocracy, but over those sections of capitalists too whose interests were more or less bound up with the landed interest: bankers, stock-jobbers, fundholders, etc. Free Trade meant the re-adjustment of the whole home and foreign commercial and financial policy of England in accordance with the interests of the manufacturing capitalists—the class which now represented the nation. And they set about this task with a will. Every obstacle to industrial production was mercilessly removed. The tariff and the whole system of taxation were revolutionised. Everything was made subordinate to one end, but that end of the utmost importance to the manufacturing capitalist: the cheapening of all raw produce, and especially of the means of living of the working class; the reduction of the cost of raw material, and the keeping down—if not as yet the *bringing down*—of wages. England was to become the “workshop of the world”; all other countries were to become for England what Ireland already was—markets for her manufactured goods, supplying her in return with raw materials and food. England the great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world, with an ever-increasing number of corn and cotton-growing Irelands, revolving around her, the industrial sun. What a glorious prospect!

The manufacturing capitalists set about the realisation of this their great object with that strong common sense and that contempt for traditional principles which has ever distinguished

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chronic state of all markets for all trades, that is what we have been living in for nearly ten years. How is this?

The Free Trade theory was based upon one assumption: that England was to be the one great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world. And the actual fact is that this assumption has turned out to be a pure delusion. The conditions of modern industry, steam-power and machinery, can be established wherever there is fuel, especially coals. And other countries beside England: France, Belgium, Germany, America, even Russia, have coals. And the people over there did not see the advantage of being turned into Irish pauper farmers merely for the greater wealth and glory of English capitalists. They set resolutely about manufacturing, not only for themselves but for the rest of the world; and the consequence is, that the manufacturing monopoly enjoyed by England for nearly a century is irretrievably broken up.

But the manufacturing monopoly of England is the pivot of

MARX TO SIGFRID MEYER AND AUGUST VOGT

April 9, 1870

On January 1, 1870,* the General Council issued a confidential circular** drawn up by me in French (for the reaction upon England only the French, not the German, papers are important) on the relation of the Irish national struggle to the emancipation of the working class, and therefore on the attitude which the International Association should take in regard to the Irish question.

I shall give you here only quite briefly the decisive points. Ireland is the bulwark of the *English landed aristocracy*. The exploitation of that country is not only one of the main sources of this aristocracy's material welfare; it is its greatest *moral strength*. It, in fact, represents the *domination of England over Ireland*. Ireland is therefore the great means by which the English aristocracy maintains *its domination in England herself*.

If, on the other hand, the English army and police were

* In the manuscript "December 1, 1869", which is a misprint.—
Ed.

** See pp. 252-55.—Ed.

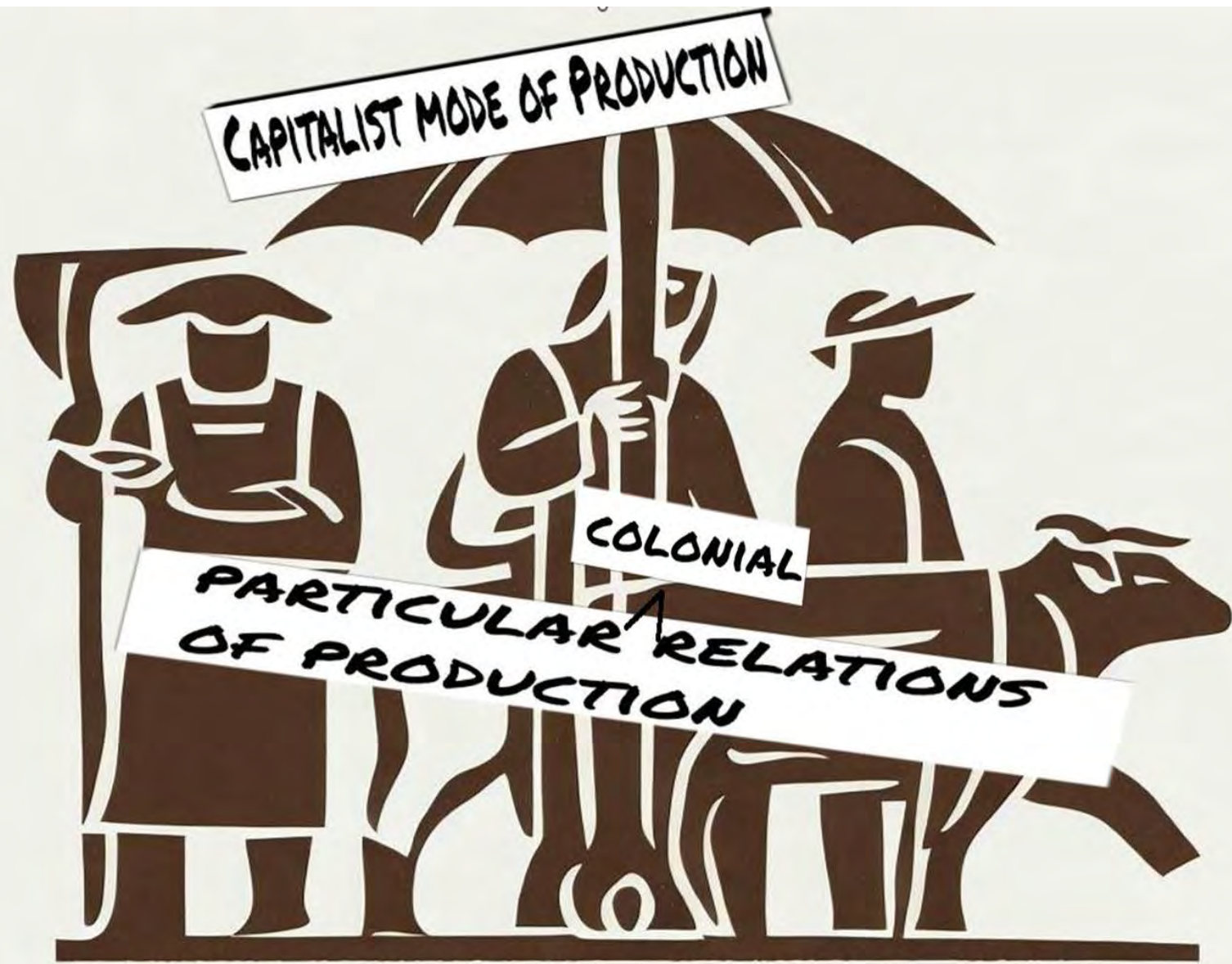
from the Irish being more passionate and revolutionary in character than the English.

As for the English *bourgeoisie*, it has in the first place a common interest with the English aristocracy in turning Ireland into mere pasture land which provides the English market with meat and wool at the cheapest possible prices. It is equally interested in reducing, by eviction and forcible emigration, the Irish population to such a small number that *English capital* (capital invested in land leased for farming) can function there with "security". It has the same interest in clearing the estate of Ireland as it had in the clearing of the agricultural districts of England and Scotland. The £6,000-10,000 absentee-landlord and other Irish revenues which at present flow annually to London have also to be taken into account.

But the English bourgeoisie has, besides, much more important interests in Ireland's present-day economy. Owing to the constantly increasing concentration of tenant farming, Ireland steadily supplies her own surplus to the English labour-market, and thus forces down wages and lowers the moral and material condition of the English working class.







CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION

COLONIAL

PARTICULAR RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

BUZZ SAW SERIES

IRISH SOCIALIST
REPUBLICAN PARTY

Erin's Hope

By...
James Connolly



NEW YORK LABOR
NEWS COMPANY
2-6 New Reade St., NEW YORK

Vol. 1

No. 4

Price

5c.

Ireland Under British Rule.

The break-up of the Kilkenny Confederation in 1649 and the consequent dispersion of the Irish clans was the immediate cause of that confusion of thought and apparent lack of directness in aim which down to our day has characterized all modern Irish politics. Deprived of any form of political or social organization which might serve as an effective basis for its practical realization, the demand for the common ownership of the land naturally fell into abeyance until such time as the conquest of some form of political freedom should enable the dispossessed Irishry to substitute for the lost tribal association the fuller and broader conception of an Irish nation as the natural repository and guardian of the people's heritage. But when the fusing process of a common subjection had once more welded the heterogeneous elements of Irish society into one compact nationality it was found that in the intervening period a new class had arisen in the land—a class which, while professedly ultra-nationalistic in its political aims, had nevertheless so far compounded with the enemy as to accept the alien social system, with its accompanying manifestation, the legal dispossession and economic dependence of the vast mass of the Irish people, as part of the natural order of society.

The Irish middle class, who then by virtue of their social position and edu-

cation stepped to the front as Irish patriot leaders, owed their unique status in political life to two entirely distinct and apparently antagonistic causes. Their wealth they derived from the manner in which they had contrived to wedge themselves into a place in the commercial life of the "Saxon enemy," assimilating his ideas and adopting his methods, until they often proved the most ruthless of the two races in pushing to its furthest limits their powers of exploitation. Their

their powers of exploitation. Their political influence they derived from their readiness at all times to do lip service to the cause of Irish nationality, which in their phraseology meant simply the transfer of the seat of government from London to Dublin, and the consequent transfer to their own or their relatives' pockets of some portion of those legislative fees and lawyers' pickings then, as at present, expended among the Cockneys. With such men at the helm it is no wonder that the patriot parties of Ireland have always ended their journey upon the rock of disaster. Beginning by accepting a social system abhorrent to the best traditions of a Celtic people, they next abandoned as impossible the realization

subsistence crises because they could no longer supplement farming with spinning or weaving. On a wider scale, Irish agriculture was transformed. Crotty (1966, pp. 283, 356) shows that rising English urban demand raised beef prices by more than 300 per cent during 1816–1920, while the prices of butter and bacon were stagnant and wheat prices declined by a third. As a result, production shifted from tillage and dairying to dry cattle. This new rural economy did not need the large numbers of landless rural labourers who had come to dominate the countryside over the previous century. Thus, through famine, evictions and emigration, the Irish human population fell by two million during the last half of the nineteenth century, while the cattle population rose by about the same number (Crotty 1966, pp. 354–5). A new middle class of (mainly Irish Catholic) graziers also arose, according to Crotty (n.d., chapter 8), who bonded together in a moderate nationalist movement to try to extend throughout Ireland the rights of tenure that were enjoyed by northern settler farmers. Far from increasing the viability of the domestic Irish market, incomes from the new grazing economy were transferred into the hands of the landed classes. They spent or invested a large part of their incomes in England, either directly or indirectly through the joint stock banks that were established over the same period (Crotty n.d., ch. 8).

is maintained on the several classes of farms, we have the following results:—

	HORSES & MULES.		ASSES.		CATTLE.		SHEEP.		PIGS.		POULTRY.	
	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.
Under 1 acre	.	28,219	.	17,405	.	67,168	.	100,678	.	323,337	.	1,850,632
Above 1 to 5	.	63,678	.	12,593	.	200,280	.	203,109	.	228,882	.	1,353,946
„ 5 to 15	.	74,225	25,234	.	.	164,555	.	213,243	.	260,881	.	982,021
„ 15 to 30	22,186	.	16,858	.	89,638	.	2,918	.	82,023	207,276	.	.
„ 30	130,222	.	22,033	.	541,622	.	600,306	.	107,687	.	1,253,575	.
	152,408	166,122	64,125	29,998	631,260	432,003	600,306	519,948	107,687	895,126	1,460,851	4,217,499
	13,714	Decrease.	34,127	Increase.	199,257	Increase.	60,358	Increase.	787,439	Decrease.	2,756,648	Decrease.

Here we have a more immediate result of the calamitous season which preceded that in which these returns were taken, by comparison with an average year such as 1841. The precise amount of change in the quantity of live stock in the possession of each class of farmers, cannot indeed be ascertained, from the causes already stated; but it is too obvious that the pigs and poultry, usually productions of the smaller holdings, exhibit a formidable decrease on those holdings, and indeed on the whole, not being compensated by the increase on the larger farms. Cattle and sheep are increased. This fact indicates a movement toward the extension of grazing, which it will be important to follow in future years. The horses and mules have decreased on the smaller farms, a change not perhaps to be regretted, while the number of asses shows an increase on those hardier and cheaper animals.

I have the honour to be,

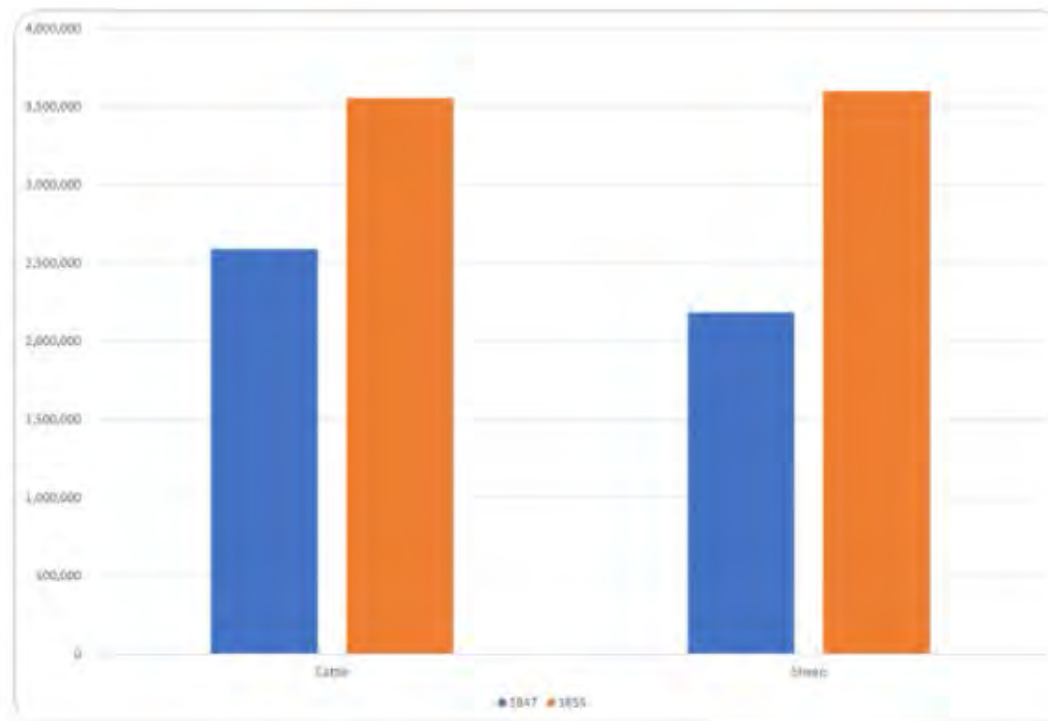
My Lord,

Your Excellency's very faithful servant,

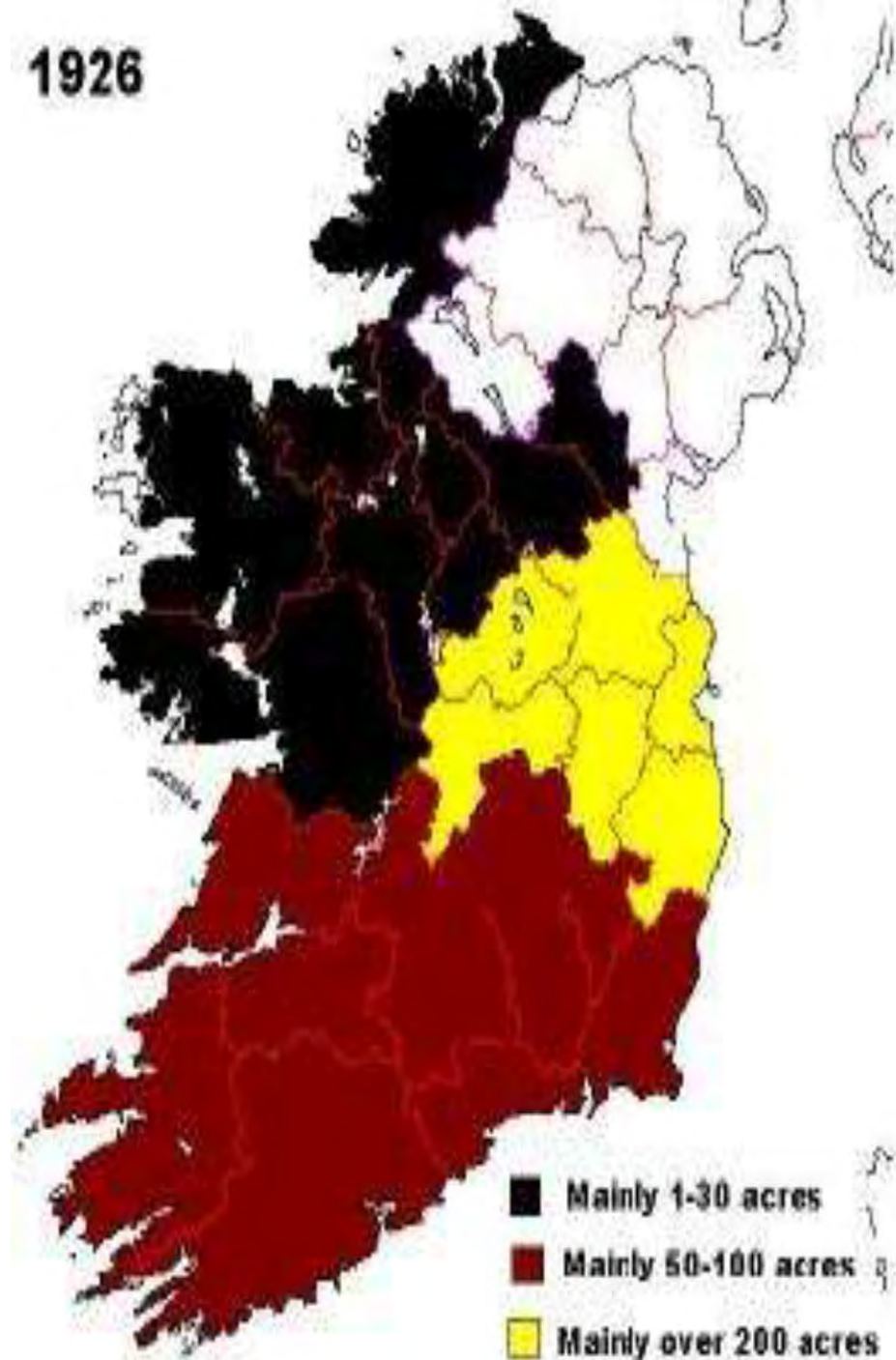
THOS. A. LARCOM.

OFFICE OF PUBLIC WORKS, DUBLIN,

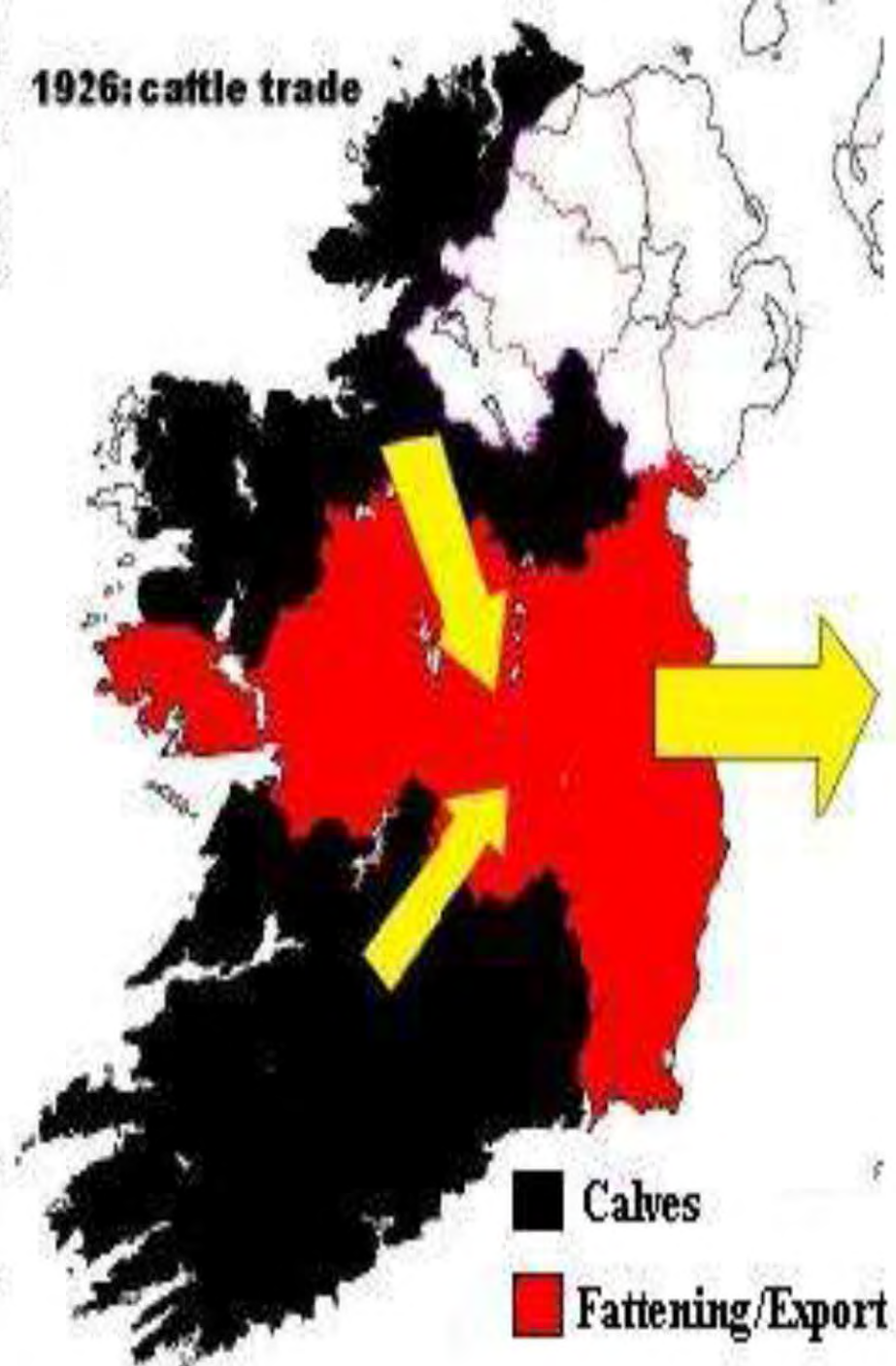
12th August, 1848.



1926



1926: cattle trade



R E P O R T

FROM THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON THE

EMPLOYMENT OF THE POOR

IN IRELAND.

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
16 July 1823.*

The nature of the late distress in Ireland was peculiar. In the districts to which Your Committee have already adverted, the potatoe crop, which furnishes the general food of the Peasantry, had failed; but there was no want of food of another description for the support of human life. On the contrary, the crops of grain had been far from deficient, and the prices of corn and of oatmeal were very moderate. The export of grain from ports within the distressed districts of Ireland, was considerable, during the entire period from May to August, infinitely exceeding the imports during that period; and those districts in the south and west presented the remarkable example of possessing a surplus of food, whilst the inhabitants were suffering from actual want. The meritorious patience of the Peasantry under the pressure of want, is here not undeserving of attention and of praise. The calamity of 1822 may therefore be said to have proceeded less from the want of food itself, than from the want of adequate means of purchasing it; or in other words from the want of profitable employment. In some districts, as at Clonekelty (Cork), where the potatoe crop failed, but where some part of the population was employed in manufacturing industry, no individual engaged in the linen trade is said to have had occasion to receive relief. This peculiarity in the character of the late distress in Ireland appears to Your Committee to have arisen from the entire dependence of the Peasantry upon the food raised by themselves. When the produce of the peasant's potatoe ground fails, they are unaccustomed to have recourse to markets, and indeed they seem rarely to have the means of purchasing. The potatoe crop is also very variable and uncertain; nor can the surplus of one harvest be reserved to supply any deficiency in a subsequent year. From the weight and bulk of potatoes there are great difficulties in the way of transport, and these difficulties produce great disproportion between the prices in one district and those in a district immediately adjoining.

Irish Radical and Working Class History

Class Consciousness and Class Struggle

1729-1791

3 April 2025

The Most excellent Oliver Cromwell Lord Gen^l of Greate Brittain
Chancellor of the Vniuersity of Oxford, & Chief Govern^r of Ireland



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Life and Death

Of His most Serene Highness,
OLIVER,
Late Lord Protector.

Wherein, from his Cradle to his Tomb, are impartially transmitted to Posterity, the most weighty Transactions, Forreign or Domestique, that have happened in his Time, either in Matters of Law, Proceedings in Parliaments, or other Affairs in Church or State.

By *S. Carrington.*

Pax quæritur Bello.

London; Printed for *Nath. Brook*, at the Sign of the Angel in *Cornhill*, 1659.



A Generous EXHORTATION to *Undertakers* and *Journeymen-Weavers*. &c.

ROUSE Lab'ring *Weavers*, never be dismay'd
To joyn those PATRIOTS who support your Trade;
But ev'ry Week from Shuffle-board and Ale
Retrench *One Penny* for the Publick Weal:
Remember well a Sick and Hungry Bed,
When Cash and active Youth and Friends are fled,
When Jolly Pot-Companions slip aside
And frowning Neighbours will your *Case* deride.
In vain you'll fend about the gaping Glove
To seek Relief for Charity, or Love.
An arrant Cheat your Messenger they'll think,
To say you stand in need of Meat or Drink.
The Parish turns you over to the Hall,
And there must sink or swim, or rise or fall.
Is this the Spark, say they, that ridicules
Our Constitution, and those candid Rules
That gracious *Carteret* at the Helm of State,

Dublin, 1726

Veneris, 24^o Die Octobris, 1729.

Leave Heads
to prevent un-
lawful Combi-
nations of
Workmen, Ar-
tificers, &c.

Ordered, That Leave be given to bring in Heads of a Bill to prevent unlawful Combination of Workmen, Artificers, and Labourers, employed in the several Trades and Manufactures of this Kingdom, and for better Payment of their Wages; as also to prevent Abuses in making Bricks and Tyles, and to ascertain their Dimensions, and for better regulating the Pavements and cleaving the Streets of the City of *Dublin*, and that Captain *Pearce*, Mr. *Tighe*, and Mr. *Gardiner*, do prepare and bring in the same.

gamit river, and try their colour upon a black flint stone.

Notwithstanding the unjust combinations of the journeymen, we can with pleasure assure the publick, That the trade of wooll-combing in the city and county of Dublin is carried on in the greatest perfection and success by the assistance of the army and other men, who from a worthy spirit resolve to support that national branch: The masters acknowledged their esteem and regard for them, and are firmly determined always to give them the preference of their work.

Last week the house of Mr. Greene, near Thurles in the county of Tipperary, was entirely consumed by fire; and Miss Greene (aged

“Notwithstanding the unjust combinations of the journeymen, we can with pleasure assure the public, that the trade of wool-combing in the city and county of Dublin is carried on in the greatest perfection and success by the assistance of the army and other men, who from a worthy spirit resolve to support that national branch. The masters acknowledge their esteem and regard for them, and are firmly determined always to give them the preference of their work.”

Dublin Courier, 3 Oct 1760, p.2

IT having been Advertised in the Dublin Courier, that two Waiters of good character were wanted by a Vintner, in this city; Now,

George Cartridge, and John Connolly,
two Waiters at Mr. Hughes's at the Rose in Dame-street, apprehending the said Mr. Hughes to be the Author of the said Advertisement, thereupon not only grossly insulted the said Hughes, but instantly withdrew themselves from his service, and seduced his other waiters along with them, and also convened a considerable number of their fraternity, who entered into a villainous and impudent combination against the said Hughes, endeavouring thereby to distress his house and disable him from having the nobility and gentry resorting thither, properly attended. This is therefore to caution the publick of the insolent and dangerous behaviour of the said George Cartridge and John Connolly, that all persons may beware of them hereafter.

N. B. George Cartridge is a low fat Landy knee'd crooked legg'd fellow, and John Connolly a tall slim fellow with a down look.

N. B. If any person unwarily induced to join in the above combination, will discover any of his accomplices, he shall receive two guineas reward, to be paid by said Hanger, on conviction of such offenders.

Dublin Courier, 19 March 1760

It having been advertised in the *Dublin Courier*, that two waiters of good character were wanted by a Vintner in this city; now, George Cartridge and John Connolly, two waiters at Mr. Hughes's at the Rose in Dame Street, apprehending the said Mr. Hughes to be the author of the said advertisement, thereupon not only grossly insulted the said Huges, but instantly withdrew themselves from his service, and seduced his other waiters along with them and also convened a considerable number of their fraternity, who entered into a **villainous and impudent combination** against the said Hughes, endeavouring thereby to distress his house and disable him from having the nobility and gentry resorting thither, properly attended. This is therefore to caution the publick of the insolent and dangerous behaviours of said George Cartridge and John Connolly, that all persons may beware of them hereafter.

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they have Power to adjourn from Time to Time, and Place to Place, and to send for Persons and Papers, and to examine in the most solemn Manner such Persons as they shall think proper upon the Subject Matter of the said Petition, and all Members

Petition of several of the Inhabitants of the Liberties of Thomas-Court and Donore, Dublin, on Behalf of themselves and others concerned in the Woollen, Linen, and Silken Manufactures, and the several Branches depending thereon, setting forth, That the exorbitant Use of spirituous Liquors is a great Cause of the Decay of Trade, as the working People are become idle and dissolute; and, as they do not work above Half their Time, they are under the Necessity of entering into unlawful Combinations to enhance the Price of Labour, which prevents the Petitioners bringing their several Manufactures on proper Terms to Market, besides not having a sufficient Quantity of Goods finished for home Consumption, which occasions such large Import from abroad. The Petitioners could enumerate many other Evils, the Consequence of this growing one, which must occur to your Honours: The Petitioners therefore humbly request the House will take the Premises into Consideration, and provide such Relief as to the House may appear adequate.

referred to said Committee

Committee of the House of Commons, Dublin, for the Petitioners

A Petition of several of the Inhabitants of the Liberties of Thomas-Court and Donore, Dublin, on Behalf of themselves and others concerned in the Woollen, Linen, and Silken Manufactures, and the several Branches depending thereon, setting forth, That the exorbitant Use of spirituous Liquors is a great Cause of the Decay of Trade, as the working People are become idle and dissolute; and, as they do not work above Half their Time, they are under the Necessity of entering into unlawful Combinations to enhance the Price of Labour, which prevents the Petitioners bringing their several Manufactures on proper Terms to Market, besides not having a sufficient Quantity of Goods finished for home Consumption, which occasions such large Import from abroad. The Petitioners could enumerate many other Evils, the Consequence of this growing one, which must occur to your Honours: The Petitioners therefore humbly request the House will take the Premises into Consideration, and provide such Relief as to the House may appear adequate.

Ordered, That the said Petition be referred to the Committee last named, with the like Powers touching this Petition as the before-going Petition.

A Petition of the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of the Corporation of Brewers, Dublin, was presented to the House, and read, setting forth, That the brewing of Malt Liquors has been always esteemed in this and a neighbouring Kingdom as a useful and beneficial Branch of Trade to the Community, as it affords an healthful Drink to every Class of Inhabitants, free from every noxious Quality, a sure and considerable Revenue for the Support of Government, and a great Consumption of Corn, whereby the landed Interest is greatly advantaged. That for these some Years past the Brewing Business has been on the Decline in this Kingdom, particularly in this City, notwithstanding the great Increase of Inhabitants who occupy the large Additions lately made to the City of Dublin; that the Trade of the above may be evinced by this Circumstance, that there were twenty Years ago above twenty Brew-Houses in this City more than at present, and by comparing the State of the Excise then and at this Day. That the Petitioners apprehend the great Consumption of spirituous Liquors of every Quality and Kind, which have been increasing daily beyond all Conception or Belief, to be the Infallible Prodigium of Trade and Manufactures, the Health, Sobriety, and Morals of the People, is the sole Cause of the Decay of the Brewing Trade: The Petitioners therefore pray the House will take the Premises into Consideration, and afford such Relief as to the House shall seem meet.

Ordered, That the said Petition be referred to the Committee last named, with the like Powers touching this Petition as the before-going Petition.

And also, A Petition of Edward Newsham, Esq; Collector of Ale, Wine, and Brewing Water Licenses for the County and City of Down, setting forth, That on or about the 27th Day of March

Petition of Edward Newsham, Esq; Collector of Ale, Wine, and Brewing Water Licenses for the County and City of Down

last Profits of that Office for one Year, ending the 29th of March, 1761, but the Spirit Licenses being raised by the Honourable Board of Commissioners from 100 per License to 200 per License, the Number of the Licenses decreased to such that

Petitioner lost his usual Fees for the granting of the said Licenses in the Year 1762, the Sum of £. 100 and in the Year 1763 he lost 240. and the said Spirit Licenses are likely to decrease more, by which the Fees of the said Collector will be greatly diminished. He further begs Leave to observe to your Honours, that by a late Act of Parliament, passed in the thirtieth Year of his Majesty King George the Second, the said Collector is thereby obliged to take a Bond of 1000 Pounds in every Person taking out a License to keep a good, sober, and orderly House; since the commencement of which Act the Petitioner hath, with greatest Expence and Trouble taken such Bonds, and returned the same, with the Persons Names, and the Cos of Abode, together with the Account of the respective Sums paid by them to the respective Clerks of the Peace for the said City and County of Down, which Regularity has produced in a great Measure the desired Effect, by the Number of Night Clubs and disorderly Houses in this Metropolis being diminished, to the great Use and Satisfaction of his Majesty's Subjects. That by this additional Trouble of signing, witnessing and making up the List of these Bonds, the Petitioner has been obliged to employ three additional Clerks, which, together with the Decrease of the Licenses, has greatly prejudiced the Petitioner in his said Employment, as some of the said Clerks are paid on the Revenue Establishment, but out of the Petitioner's Salary and Fees; the Petitioner humbly apprehends that if the Petitioner should be enabled to receive some small Fee on the Execution of the said Bonds, on the Wine and Spirit Licenses, the Petitioner might be compensated for his additional Trouble and Expence, without any Loss whatsoever to his Majesty's Revenue: And praying the House to take the Premises into Consideration, and to grant the Petitioner such Relief as to the House may seem meet.

Ordered, That the said Petition be referred to the Consideration of the Committee last mentioned.

And then the House adjourned until Monday Morning next, ten of the Clock.

Luna, 27^o Die Februarii, 1764.

MR. THOMAS KANE, the younger, reported from the Committee appointed to draw up an Address of Thanks to his Majesty, for his Majesty's most gracious Answer to the Address of this House, that they had drawn up an Address accordingly, which he read in his Place, and after delivered in at the Table, where the same was read, and afterwards read, Paragraph by Paragraph, and agreed to by the House, and is as follows:

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY. The humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

A Petition of several of the Inhabitants of the Liberties of Thomas-Court and Donore, Dublin, on Behalf of themselves and others concerned in the Woollen, Linen, and Silken Manufactures, and the several Branches depending thereon, setting forth, That the exorbitant Use of spirituous Liquors is a great Cause of the Decay of Trade, as the working People are become idle and dissolute; and, as they do not work above Half their Time, they are under the Necessity of entering into unlawful Combinations to enhance the Price of Labour, which prevents the Petitioners bringing their several Manufactures on proper Terms to Market, besides not having a sufficient Quantity of Goods finished for home Consumption, which occasions such large Import from abroad. The Petitioners could enumerate many other Evils, the Consequence of this growing one, which must occur to your Honours: The Petitioners therefore humbly request the House will take the Premises into Consideration, and provide such Relief as to the House may appear adequate.

Ordered, That the said Petition be referred to the Committee last named, with the like Powers touching this Petition as the before-going Petition.

Vertical text in the right margin, including names and dates, partially obscured and difficult to read.



SCABHAT AN INHILL
ENGINE ALLEY 8

H

C O M B I N A T I O N .

WHEREAS James Gafney, John Hayes, Benjamin Warren, Henry Warren, John George, Lawrence Maher, and Pat. Callaghan, all of the City of Dublin, Journeymen Carpenters, on Monday the 27th instant, quit my Employ, and have declared they will not return unless their Wages be advanced. The several Master Carpenters, Builders, &c. are therefore requested not to employ any of the before named Persons, as I am determined not only to prosecute them, but such Person or Persons as may employ them, to the utmost Rigour of the Law.—Engine-alley, Aug. 30, 1787.

ROBERT WALKER.

Dublin Evening Post, 20 March 1792

Yesterday more than ten thousand journeymen artificers of the different trades in this city, assembled in the Phoenix Park, to consider how far they might be affected by a Bill passed through the Commons, and now before the Peers.

The Bill professes for its object to prevent combination, and regulate the conduct of artificers, manufacturers, and labourers; but is thought by the working people to bear so hard upon them, that they unanimously resolved, with all duty and humility, to petition the Peers against it; in consequence of this resolution, a deputation of several thousands, in a very peaceable and orderly manner, proceeded through the city to the House of Lords – where their petition was presented, and received, and their Lordships were pleased to order that the petition be heard by their Council against the Bill.

The Magistrates, however, being alarmed at such an unusual concourse of people, called forth the military to preserve peace – and by a well-timed advice to them to withdraw, to await the result of their petition, these industrious artisans [showed] every due submission to the laws, and a proper regard to peace and good order, and immediately retired as requested by the Magistrates.

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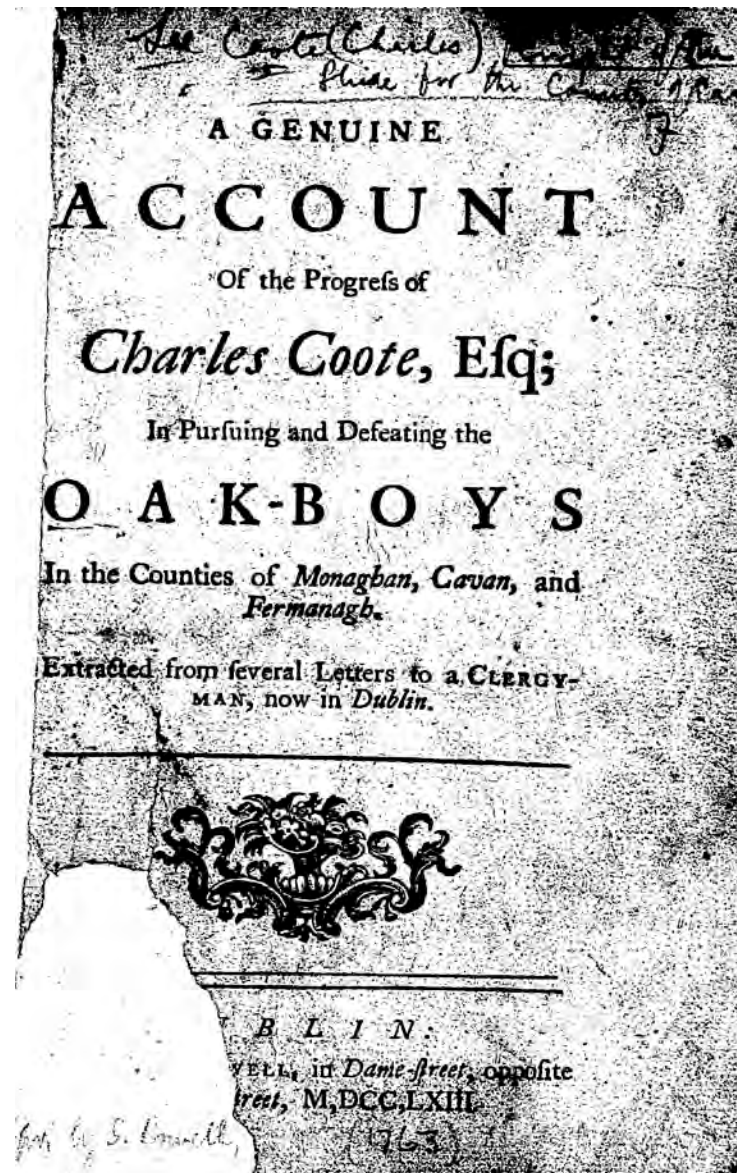
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CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL REVOLTS AND POLITICAL KITES AND CROWS.

"When the aristocracy come forward the people fall backward; when the people come forward the aristocracy, fearful of being left behind, insinuate themselves into our ranks and rise into timid leaders or treacherous auxiliaries."—*Secret Manifesto of Projectors of United Irish Society, 1791.*

IN the North of Ireland the secret organisations of the peasantry were known variously as Oakboys and Hearts of Steel or Steelboys. The former directed their efforts mainly against the system of compulsory road repairing by which they were required to contribute their unpaid labour for the upkeep of the country roads; a system, needless to say, offering every opportunity to the county gentry to secure labour gratuitously for the embellishment of their estates and private roads on the pretext of serving public ends. The Oakboy organisation was particularly strong in the counties of Monaghan, Armagh, and Tyrone. In a pamphlet published about the year 1762, an account is given of a "rising" of the peasantry in the first-named



unanswered, and, for aught I have heard to the contrary, even uncontradicted) is briefly, my Lord, as followeth.

“ Some landlords in Munster have set their lands to cottiers far above their value; and, to lighten their burthen, allowed commonage to their tenants, by way of recompence: afterwards, in despite of all equity, contrary to all compacts, the landlords enclosed these commons, and precluded their unhappy tenants from the only means of making their bargains tolerable. The Law, indeed, is open to redress them; but they do not know the Laws, or how to proceed; or, if they did know them, they are not equal to the expence of a suit against a rich tyrant. Besides, the greatest part of these tenures are by verbal agreement, not by written compact. Here is another difficulty: If these wretches should apply to Law, what could they do in this case? They were too ignorant of the principles of equity, to seek a reasonable redress: They had too deep a sense of their sufferings, to feel the less pungent call of virtue; nay, they thought equity was on their side, and iniquity on the part of their landlords, and thence flew with eagerness to what is ever the resource of low and uncultivated minds, VIOLENCE.”

A second cause of these tumults, my Lord, is the price of land for potatoes; from whence arises a third cause, as grievous as either of the former two, namely, the cruel exactions of tythe-mongers: For, as the same tract observes, “ It is not uncommon in Munster to charge from four to five guineas per acre for potatoe-ground; but we shall suppose the price but four guineas, that is ninety-one shillings: The daily wages for labourers is four pence per day: There are three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, of which fifty-two are Sundays; and suppose but thirteen holidays, the remainder is three hundred working days; the wages for which is an hundred shillings,

“ that is nine shillings above the price of their land; of which nine shillings five are paid for the tythe; and two for hearth-money; and the remaining two go towards the rent of their cabbin. What is left? Nothing.—And, out of this nothing, they are to buy feed for their garden, salt for their potatoes, and rags for themselves, their wives, and their children. —It must be observed, that in this calculation I have mentioned three hundred working days, though it is known, from the greater number of holidays-observed in that part of the kingdom than in any other; from the number of wet, and broken days, joined with the natural laziness of the people, there are not above two hundred days, for which they are paid.—What an aggravation does this make in the account? And will the best crop of potatoes enable them to maintain a family, often of six or eight persons, under the difficulties we have mentioned?

“ It is this exorbitant rent which produces the complaint of tythes. Ready money they have not; the reward of their labour goes in payment of their rent; they can seldom amass the mighty sum of two shillings to pay their hearth-money; how then shall they collect five shillings for tythes?—The clergymen in that country possess livings of vast extent, and little emolument: There are some livings which have a thousand acres under black cattle. Here the incumbent gets nothing; and the cottiers gardens become his principal support.—A gentleman of birth, perhaps, piety, and learning, is brought to the disagreeable necessity of chaffering with a set of poor wretches for two-pence, or six-pence, in a bargain, or forego the support of his own family. This business grows irksome to him, and he seeks some one person, who will take the whole trouble upon him. The distress of the parson is heightened by this agreement; and the tythe-monger, who is generally more rapacious

liberal.

Mayo Constitution, 11 April 1843, p. 2.

The manner in which the landlords set their land is also found fault with. How often have we heard the middleman system denounced as the worst evil of this country; and not a few of the murders that have disgraced it have been attributed to that system. One party calls on the landlords to discountenance it, and lease no more land to middlemen, but to direct tenants. Then they are informed that a cottier tenantry will be worse, again, than the middleman system. Those who propound the latter doctrine tell us that the real panacea is, to consolidate farms, and instead of a cottier tenantry to have labourers, who would be much better off employed on the large farms, or on public works, than they could ever be while deriving their sustenance from a small portion of ground. But

