

Righting the Farm Labourers' Wrongs: The Munster Labour League of 1881

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Whether it be he of the 'I can plough and sow and reap and mow /And be a farmer's boy' genus, as likely as not hired at the Kilmallock or Newcastle West hiring fair; or be it that quasi-mythical landless labourer, once dependant on the *talamh scóir* potato conacre, but later reliant solely on cash wages; or be it too that permanent labouring man, bound in servitude in a mud cabin in the countryside; that rural working class addressed its grievances in the Limerick of the 1880s. This study's narrative is, indeed, the relation of the labourers bid to better their lot.

The significance of a resolution, proposed by a delegate from Shanagolden named O'Sullivan, at a labourers' meeting at Newcastle West, in early August 1881, that moved that 'In so much as the condition of the farm labourers of Ireland is an outrage on moral and sanitary law, we call on the labourers to declare to the world that patience has its limits' may not, as such, have reverberated down the years but, at that moment, and in that place, it added further impetus to the emergence of a divisive agricultural labourers' movement in Limerick, even as the Land War raged. The declaration, indeed, by the chairman on the occasion, Fr James Gleeson, the C.C. of Newcastle West, that the labourers were the worst housed, clad and fed peasantry on the face of the earth, provided reasons for the creation of the Munster Labour League some weeks before.¹

Of that beginning, however, more later, for its provenance lay further back in time, back perhaps even in Gerald Griffin's fictional portrayal of those troubled labourers of the early part of the century² and, assuredly so, lay in that narrative of the labourers' circumstances from the Famine to the Land War's onset; years when their plight further deteriorated and, while provoking much comment, but also, producing little recompense,³ led them into recourse to Ribbonism, agrarian secret societies, Luddism, the destruction of machinery and to the forms of a trade unionism.

In terms of that discourse on the labourers' lot,⁴ it is certain, indeed, in Limerick's case, that, in early 1851, the Tenant League there tied any improvement in the labourers' poverty to the betterment of the tenant farmers' situation,⁵ a narrow focus that was again evident in 1869, when the Munster Farmers' Clubs meeting there looked no further than an uplift in the labourers' circumstances should the farmers benefit from legislation, although the candidates E.J. Synan and W.H. O'Sullivan, in the 1874 election, both had a record of support for the labourers.⁶

¹ *United Ireland*, 13 Aug. 1881.

² Gerald Griffin, 'Shuil Dhuv the Coiner' in *Tales of the Munster Festivals* (Dublin, 1857) pp 261-496.

³ J.W. Boyle, 'A Marginal Figure: The Irish Rural Labourer', in Sam Clark & J.S. Donnelly, Jr. (eds), *Irish Peasants: Violence and Political Unrest 1780-1914* (Manchester, 1983) pp 311-38.

⁴ P.G. Lane, 'Perceptions of Agricultural Labourers after the Great Famine 1850-1870', *Saothar*, 19 (1994) pp 14-35.

⁵ *The Nation*, 22 Feb. 1851.

⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 Jul. 17, 18 Sept. 1872; *Irishman*, 31 Jan. 28 Feb. 1874.

There was clear evidence in the 1850s that the labourers themselves, within the county, continued to have recourse to agrarian violence and to have engaged in Luddism when farmers resorted to farm machinery to reduce labour costs.⁷ It was a Luddism too that the labourers again had recourse to when they struck at Charleville, in 1870, in response to rising food prices, to a levelling in wages, and, of course, to the farmers increasing use of machinery.⁸ As Ribbonism remained a constant presence in those years, and as Luddism manifested itself, in Murroe in 1871, and in a range of outrages, including destruction of ploughs, in Adare in 1872, class tensions, evident in the Kildimo area, over the rent for conacre potato ground and over the larger farmers' control of access to it, were to continue to exist throughout that decade.⁹

Whatever deviation from that trust in agrarian violence occurred came, of course, with the formation of the Irish Agricultural Labourers' Union in the early 1870s, an offshoot of Joseph Arch's bid, in Britain, to organise the farmworkers. Motivated by P. F. Johnson's creation of the Kanturk Labour Club, aimed at being the nucleus of a country-wide movement, that would compel both the farmers and the State to take note of the labourers' wretched conditions, a similar club was formed in Kilfinane, on 23 January of that year, demanding the inclusion in Gladstone's Land Bill of a clause compelling farmers to give their labourers a cottage and a plot of ground, at a rent commensurate with the farmers' own rent to the landlord, and demanding also that consideration be given to the dire dwellings of those labourers driven off the land into the rural towns.¹⁰

As, by 1873, an alliance with Arch's British movement was formed, the state of the labourers' cottages, and the degree of their poverty, again noted, the call came from Limerick, condemnatory of the indifference of the Irish M.P.s, for the movement to widen the campaign into one demanding also a proper level of wages. But, even as a major gathering of labourers was scheduled for Kanturk, the movement became increasingly dominated by Isaac Butt, the Home Government Association's leader, rendering it ineffective, with the sole legacy being, perhaps, Peter O'Leary's, one of the English delegates, summation of the labourers' plight as one of dreadful accommodation, of wages of – at best – 6s. to 7s. a week, a level due not least to landlord absenteeism, and of a failure of the 1870 Land Act to effect any improvement.¹¹

Whatever though of O'Leary's own observations, the labourers' conditions were also the subject of Poor Law Commissioners reports in the early 1870s. In the first, in 1870, on wages and employment, it was noted that cattle rearing and the use of farm machinery had, indeed, reduced employment, even for a labour force reduced in numbers by emigration.¹² Landlords hired less labour, as substantial farmers hired but boarded servants for a term of months and as smallholders relied on family labour, the result, as W.H. O'Sullivan, the Limerick M.P., noted, in 1884, being that the great bulk of labourers, living in the main in the rural villages, were only employed for four weeks in Spring, six weeks in the harvest time, and perhaps four weeks in the digging out of potatoes, making for little work at other times, and none in Winter.¹³

⁷ *Select Committee on Outrages* H.C. 1852 (438), xiv, I, pp 17-45, 66-77, 178, 405: NLI, Larcom Papers, MS 7735.

⁸ National Archives Ireland (NAI), CSO, Reg. Papers (RP), 13494, 17975/1870, Larcom Papers 7757.

⁹ NAI, CSO RP 13892, 16927, 17133, 21857/1871; RP 6574, 11078, 16738, 19178/1872; Misc. Unreg. Papers, 1871-2092-6; 1872-2138-85.

¹⁰ P.G. Lane, 'The Organisation of Rural Labour, 1870-1890', *JCHAS*, 10 (1995) pp 140-60; *Irishman*, 22, 27 Jan. 1870.

¹¹ *Irishman*, 24 May, 9-23 Aug., 13 Sept. 1873: NAI, CSO, RP., 10054, 11219, 11256, 13695/1873.

¹² *Reports from the Poor Law Inspectors on the Wages, etc.* H.C. 1870 (C.35), xiv.I. pp 19-25, 66-78 (Hamilton and Horsley).

¹³ *Report from the Select Committee on Agricultural Labourers* (Ireland) H.C. 1884 (317), viii, 245, pp 4-7.

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That low level of employment was compounded by a poor level of wages, for while mowers, reapers and ploughmen could command 2s. to 2s./6d. at peak times, regular wages were at best 1s. a day, supplemented by meals at times when distance was travelled. While wages, indeed, might have nominally doubled since the Famine, the reality of higher prices for meal, milk and potatoes, lack of that access as of yore, to conacre potato ground, and of the casualness of employment, made for considerable poverty for labourers' families during the Winter months. Added to such misery was the wretched condition of the disease-ridden cabins, William O'Sullivan describing the demoralisation there of the mass of workers, whether those in the villages or those employed on sufferance by farmers in the countryside. Both King and Hamilton, the Inspectors for the Limerick region, in 1873, attributed, indeed the injustices perpetrated on the labourers, in terms of housing, work and wages, to the cessation of any bond between the labouring class and the farmers.¹⁴

Such then being the labourers' lot, and such the history of their bids to redress their wrongs, it was to be expected that constabulary reports, in 1880, as the Land War raged, would reflect elements of that labour protest within the corpus of general unrest. Whatever the observation made of disturbed districts like those of Croom, Ballingarry, Limerick, Rathkeale and Shanagolden, as illegal organisations, outrages and grassland notices took hold alongside the Land League,¹⁵ specific labour matters too were noted, whether they were labour meetings, such as the one at Bruff, on which intimidations followed, or the prevalence of farm machinery use, unemployment, and poverty,¹⁶ and the alarm raised by the Fenian Daniel Hishon's, and P.F. Johnson's, actions.¹⁷

Be it that the labourers have been deemed marginal to the course of the Land War,¹⁸ it is also accepted that Parnell and the Land League, considered it prudent to keep the farmworkers' support, through allusions to a broad struggle of labour against the landlords, and through talk also of the benefits that would come the labourers' way. In that respect W.H. O'Sullivan's support for the workers at a Dublin meeting, early in 1880, and the inferences of a Limerick Land League meeting, in August, had that import, whatever ambiguity surrounded the stance of the Limerick Farmers' Club.¹⁹

P.F. Johnson grasped, however, that the labourers chafed at the lack of improvement in their circumstances and directed the emergence of labour leagues, in Limerick, as elsewhere in Munster, in early 1881, towards a focus on the labourers' need for better employment, wages, conacre terms, and proper cottages, and towards the setting up of the Munster Labour League, in Limerick, in May.²⁰ There followed a delegation from that body to present W.E. Forster, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in London, with a case for legislative measures, as well as for Irish Party support for such laws.

At home, at Feenagh and at Ballingarry, the grass roots campaign was carried further, Hishon, at Feenagh, laying down a minimum of concessions that farmers were expected

¹⁴ *Reports from the Poor Law Inspectors on Labourers Dwellings* H.C. 1873 (C. 764), xxii, 65. pp 48-56, 70-3 (King and Hamilton).

¹⁵ NAI, CSO RP. 6572, 8101 (Croom), 29645 (Ballingarry), 27973, 28401 (Limerick), 12977 (Rathkeale), 32633, 33713 (Shanagolden), 34619/ 1880.

¹⁶ NAI, CSO. RP. 968, 1251, 2914, 4426, 10112, 11078, 27822/1880.

¹⁷ NAI, CSO. RP. 41617, 46171, 43963/1880. For Hishon see F. Lane, 'Daniel John Hishon and the Joyces', *James Joyce Quartere*, xxxvii, no. 1 (1999) pp 223-8.

¹⁸ Andrew Orridge 'Who Supported the Land War', *Economic and Social Review*, 12 no. 3 (Apr. 1981) pp 203-33; Paul Bew, *Land and the national question in Ireland, 1858-1882* (Dublin 1978) pp 173-5.

¹⁹ T.W. Moody, *Michael Davitt and Irish Revolution 1842-1882* (Oxford, 1981) pp 335-6; *Freeman's Journal*, 1 Sept. 1880.

²⁰ P. F. Lane, 'P.F. Johnson, nationalism and Irish rural labourers 1869-82', *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxiii, 130 (Nov. 2002) pp 191-208.

to make, even as Johnson cited the farmers' own straitened circumstances as a reason for avoiding acrimony.²¹ At Ballingarry too, at a meeting attended by delegates from Ardagh, Adare, Dromcollogher, and even from as far away as Kilkenny, and to which Parnell sent his endorsement, both of the labourers' demands and of its organisation, Johnson again alluded to the grip on the public mind that the labourers had achieved, while calling for unity in the broader land struggle.²²

Whatever, therefore, of moderated resolutions at Newcastle West, in early August, a growing opposition to the use of farm machinery emerged, as at Knockaderry and Cloncagh, the destruction of mowing machines, was noted and at Croom, it was resolved that mowing machines were not to be employed, and that no corn was to be cut with scythes while men with hooks could be hired, although labourers too were bidden not to demand more than 3s./6d. a day, Labour League members alone, bearing their cards at the hiring stand, to be given preference.²³

At Killeely, moreover, later that month, only hooks were allowed in the cutting of corn, while a ban was placed on threshing and other machines, that last interdict accompanying both a ban on the hire of farmers' sons and an entreaty for more generous availability of milk. At Castleconnell, and at Doon, furthermore, in September, farmers were bidden not to use threshing machines, while there were needy labourers to hand, and, at Croom, there came the demand that potatoes be only dug out, at 9s. a man for the week's work.²⁴

In other respects, resolutions recorded variously an expression of thanks from the labourers of Banogue, to those of Croom, for not working for a boycotted employer, an issue also emerging at Knockaderry and Cloncagh, Emergency labourers noted passing through Ballynanty; the salutary expulsion of a Land League farmer at Glenagower, near Athea, for evicting his labourer; and sundry calls for a Royal Commission, and for a compulsion on the farmers to abide by their requirements under the Land Act.²⁵

At the large labourers' meeting at Bruff in July, moreover at which Forster's acknowledgement of the legitimacy of their bid, to regulate the terms of employment, was noted, the speaker, Hartigan, a tenant farmer, referenced how the old bonds of struggle could again be strengthened by the farmers' obligations being lived up to, dissenting voices heckling him.²⁶ At Broadford, furthermore, and at Killeely, the latter attended by contingents from Pallasgreen, Hospital, Emly and Bruff, further exposition of the labourers' case was made.²⁷ The constabulary narrative, moreover, for 1882, bespeaking agrarian troubles at Kilmallock, Ballingarry and Charleville,²⁸ also contained note of the possible Labourers' Bill, and of the contentious labour meetings held at Dromcollogher, Killeely and Bruff.²⁹

By October, Parnell was in a position to launch the National League, incorporating the old Labour League and purporting to address the labourers' employment and housing

²¹ *Irishman*, 28 May, 25 Jun., 23, 30 Jul. 1881.

²² *United Ireland*, 30 Jul. 1881.

²³ *United Ireland*, 13 Aug. 1881.

²⁴ *United Ireland*, 27 Aug. 10, 24 Sept. 1881.

²⁵ *United Ireland*, 13, 27 Aug., 10 Sept., 1 Oct., 10 Dec. 1881.

²⁶ *United Ireland*, 8 Apr., 1 Jul. 1882.

²⁷ *United Ireland*, 1, 8 Jul. 1882.

²⁸ NAI, CSO RP. 18174, 12612, 18174, 24861/1882.

²⁹ NAI, CSO. RP. 23310, 28107, 29731, 30227, 33310, 33359, 35057, 35303, 35456/1882.

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demands, as well as contentious Poor Law rulings on subletting to the labourers.³⁰ Very soon, however, it became clear to the magistrates that class divisions threatened to abort the success of the new organisation, with Clifford Lloyd, for instance, reporting from Limerick, in early December, that farmers saw the new movement as a Communistic movement determined to intimidate them into concessions to the labourers, so that Kilmallock, New Pallas, Rathkeale and Newcastle West experienced an indifference to the National League.³¹ •

Indeed, as the picture unfolded, into 1883, the new National League's profile became more evident still, with, up to February, the observation made for Anglesborough, Kilfinane, Cappamore and Rathkeale, that the pressure coming on the farmers to surrender land for half-acre allotments, made the farmers determined not to join the new organisation, a stance reciprocated by the labourers. By May, Clifford Lloyd had it that the organisation was on the point of collapse because of the farmers' unwillingness to give land, a situation that, in March, held particularly true, it was said, for Croagh and Anglesborough.³²

Newspaper reports, too, created an image of tension between the classes in 1883, the Secretary of the Herbertstown Labour League, Courtney, adverting, in January, to the divide there, pointing to how farmers on hundreds of acres gave no plots while those with fewer acres were burdened. That situation persisted, indeed, throughout January and February, at Doon, Murroe, Cappamore, Herbertstown and Boher, as the farmers' willingness to contribute was canvassed,³³ whatever the accord that appeared to have been reached, in March and April, in places like Murroe, Pallas and Cappamore.³⁴

By June, however, the focus had shifted to the Labourers' Bill that T.P. O'Connor was piloting through Parliament and that obliged Boards of Guardians to assess their local areas and to initiate cottage and allotment schemes, though it was expected that farmers and landlords alike would object to both the location of sites and to the burden on the rates.³⁵

Therefore, for all of the importance of the refusal of the labourers at Murroe and Boher to work for Lord Cloncurry, meriting, it was said, an equal support for them as for the evicted tenants there,³⁶ the *topic de jour* was as to how, allowing for the measure's defects, as raised at a Cappamore meeting in September attended by Davitt, and by Fr. Thomas Cahill, the local C.C., the Labourers' Act might, indeed, be implemented locally, as at Knockaney, Knocklong, Glenbrohane and at Herbertstown, labourers readily applied for cottages.³⁷

By October, indeed, that tempo had quickened again, as, at Shanagolden, Daniel Hishon noted pithily that the onus for evicting labourers had clearly fallen on farmers on the Boards of Guardians though, as at Hospital and at Ballylanders, farmers did appear to acknowledge their duty to proffer sites. At Pallasgreen, however, farmers perceptively saw the new development as but a variation on the old labour demand for access to the land for all dwellers in the countryside.³⁸

³⁰ *United Ireland*, 21 Oct. 1882: Lane, 'Organisation of Rural Labour'.

³¹ NAI, CSO RP. 46857, 46993, 45615, 46921/1882. Dec. 1882.

³² NAI, National League Proceedings, Ctn. 6, 28 Feb., 31 May 1883.

³³ *United Ireland*, 6, 13, 27 Jan. 3, 24 Feb. 1883.

³⁴ *United Ireland*, 3, 31 Mar. 7, 21 Apr. 1883.

³⁵ *United Ireland*, 16 Jun. 4, 18 Aug. 1883: E. Hooker, *Readjustments of Land Tenure in Ireland* (N. Carolina, 1934) pp 177-8; T. Healy, *Letters and Leaders of My Day* (London, 1928), i. pp 193-4.

³⁶ Tenants had been evicted by Cloncurry in April 1882, following a demand for a 20% reduction in rent.

³⁷ *United Ireland*, 18 Aug. 8, 15, 22, 29 Sept. 1883.

³⁸ *United Ireland*, 6, 20, 27 Oct. 3 Nov. 1883.

Be it, of course, that William Gabbett, a labourer from the Murroe-Boher district, made claims that, in a regression to old ways, he was being threatened with eviction by his farmer-employer, a staunch National League member,³⁹ the progress report to date, in early December, on the implementation of the Labourers' Act within the county, painted a picture of some progress. The report, indeed, showed 83 proposals costing £8,300, in Croom; 45 proposed units in Kilmallock, costing £3,640; 139 sites listed for Newcastle West, costing £12,576; and 94 sites scheduled for Rathkeale, costing £9,400.⁴⁰

Whatever, of course, of constabulary reports in general, in 1883,⁴¹ that showed increased attention, indeed, to local site proposals and to the loans forthcoming for labourers' cottages, besides note being made of the labourers' meeting at Croom, the relationship between the two classes within the National League was of paramount importance. In that respect, in the period October to December, 1883, the concern was that farmers on Boards of Guardians were showing no eagerness to implement the Labourers' Act, a situation that continued into 1884. If the labourers, for their part, it was said, felt neglected by the farmers, by the first half of 1885, they themselves, it was noted, were afraid to disassociate from an organisation dominated by the labourers' demands, wariness still prevailing in 1887.⁴²

But, to return to 1884, a year in which constabulary returns, besides noting the labour meetings at Kilfinane and at Knockaney, observed also the elections to the Boards of Guardians, with their farmer-landowner balance,⁴³ newspaper reports focus on that attritional effort at local level to press for the implementation of the Labourers' Act and to excoriate those who placed obstacles in the way of the farmers' demand,⁴⁴ as at Knockaney, for high prices for land for sites, or landlord resistance, at Bruff and Herbertstown; the use of intermediaries, such as Fr Hogan, at Cappamore and Fedamore, to coax sites from the farmers, an interesting aside.

In 1885, political issues subsumed divisive social agitation but the attritional struggle re-emerged in 1886, as, at Caherline, Doon, Castleconnell, Ahane and Pallasgreen.⁴⁵ Where, too, as at Askeaton and at Ballysteen, farmers gained some credit for proffering quarter-acre plots of potato ground, the labourers to sow the seed, the labourers at Effin and Garriendeck, and at Nantimon, Croagh, Hospital, Knockaney and Athea, were scathing of farmers' attitudes to the Labourers' Act's implementation,⁴⁶ while at Knocklong, and at Manister, criticism was respectively made of the level of employment given and of the eviction of a labourer.⁴⁷

At Cappagh, Nantimon and at Ballyagran, farmers for their part, complained of the burdening of tillage land with rates for cottages, as grand lands seemed to escape, having schemes imposed on them for all that at Coolcappa, near Ardagh, farmers there assented to a 2d. levy to enable labourers to buy seed potatoes.⁴⁸ The general impression was, however, of a continued criticism of the Guardians who opposed schemes, and deprecation of farmers who held back on sites.⁴⁹

³⁹ *United Ireland*, 24 Nov. 1883.

⁴⁰ *United Ireland*, 1 Dec. 1883.

⁴¹ NAI. CSO. RP. 11935, 24135, 26963/1883.

⁴² NAI Proceedings of the National League, Ctn. 6, 31 Dec. 1883, 30 June, 1884; Ctn. 7, 30 June 1885; 18 June 1887.

⁴³ NAI CSO. RP. 1345, 1406, 2654, 27884.

⁴⁴ *United Ireland*, 5, 19 Jan.; 2, 9, 23 Feb.; 8, 29 Mar. 1884.

⁴⁵ *United Ireland*, 5, 19 Jan.; 2, 9, 23 Feb. 1886.

⁴⁶ *United Ireland*, 23 Feb., 8, 15, 29 Mar. 1886.

⁴⁷ *United Ireland*, 16, 23, 27 Feb. 1886.

⁴⁸ *United Ireland*, 6, 13, 20, 27 Mar. 1886.

⁴⁹ *United Ireland*, 6, 13, 27 Mar.; 3, 10 Apr.; 1, 15, 22 29 May 1886.

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But, to conclude, and to appraise both the labourers' circumstances and the success or not of their efforts at redressing that situation, it may be evinced that in 1865 Cork M.P. Timothy McCarthy-Downing noted that the uncertainty of their employment, that came from a fall in tillage, more than offset the nominal rise in wages, and led to their poverty.⁵⁰ The instancing of that large dairy farm of 572 acres, at Kilmallock, in 1888, that had only 8 acres set in tillage, though 80 to 90 acres were under hay, and that operated, labour-wise, in employment of boarded servants, four women and six men, hired for nine months, except for the ten men hired in the peak season, July to November and the ten more again hired for hay-ricking,⁵¹ bore out that report of 1880, that spoke of farmers not generally keeping staff but only hiring them intermittently from the local towns and, for all the seasonally high wages, leaving them go again, back to poverty and poor relief, when the work was done.⁵² It was a situation, moreover, that had not measurably changed by the early twentieth century, food prices eroding whatever rise in cash wages came the labourers' way from the 1880s to 1900, as farmers, in a recession, cut back further on employment.⁵³

In terms of their housing, of course, it was accepted that strides were made in the reduction of the number of the fourth-class houses that had constituted the cabins of the labourers and that had been a blight on the countryside, as the Labourers' Acts took effect, not least in the Southern counties. It was taken, however, that emigration too had had its part in that reduction so that by 1911, only 1,873 mud cabins remained, 6%, or only a ninth, of the 89,374 cabins, of that kind that had existed in 1861.⁵⁴

Indeed, where it was unnecessary here to prolong, beyond 1886, the account of the labourers' efforts to improve their lot, though further attempts at organisation, treated of elsewhere, were made in the following decades,⁵⁵ it might be supposed that the landless men and labouring boys who made up the rag tag support, in the 1850s and 1860s, for the Tenant League and Fenians, about Rathkeale, in Seán O'Faoláin novel *A Nest of Simple Folk*⁵⁶ made up the iconic image of that labouring class,⁵⁷ if it wasn't that the Coll family transfer of its effects, from the old cabin into the new Labourers' Act cottage, at Bruree, constituted an abiding image.⁵⁸

⁵⁰ *Report of the Select Committee on Tenure and Improvement of Land* (Ireland) Act H.C. 1865 (402), xi, 341, pp 141, 169, 212.

⁵¹ *Royal Commission on Labour*, vol. iv, H.C. 1893-4 (Cd. 6894 – xxii) xxxvii. Pt. 11, 483, pp 101-07.

⁵² *Richmond Commission*, Evidence, H.C. 1881 (Cd. 2778) xx.I, vol. ii, 528, 895, 891, 907, 1961, 1031.

⁵³ *Board of Trade Statistics on changes in the rate of wages and hours of labour for 1900 – 1908*. H.C. 1910 (Cd. 5324), lxxxiv, 535; *Local Government Report 1895*, p.249; *Royal Commission on Poor Laws*, H.C. 1890 (Cd. 9070), l. 195, pp 13, 243, 247.

⁵⁴ *Census of Population, General Reports* for 1871, pp 14-15; for 1901, pp 10-12; for 1911, pp xx – xxi, 78; *Report from the Select Committee on Agricultural Labourers* (Ireland) H.C. 1884 (317), viii, 245, pp 20-36; N. Synott 'The housing of the population of Ireland', *JSSI*, xi (Nov. 1903) pp 206-30.

⁵⁵ Lane, 'Organisation of Rural Labour'; P.G. Lane, 'The Land and Labour Association, 1994 – 1914', *JCHAS*, 99 (1993) pp 90-106; P.G. Ó'Laighlin, 'An Tiarna Emlý, Comhairle Chondae agus Lucht Saothair', *Feasta*, Marta, 1974, ctn., 15-16.

⁵⁶ Seán O'Faoláin, *A Nest of Simple Folk*, (New York, 1934), pp 104, 155.

⁵⁷ See the general folk image of the labourers in Kevin Danaher, *Irish Country People* (Cork, 1966) pp 106-11; Liam O'Donnell, *The Days of the Servant Boy* (Cork, 1997) pp 111-20.

⁵⁸ The Earl of Longford and T.P. O'Neill, *Éamon De Valera* (Dublin, 1970) pp 2-3.