

Rural agitation in Ireland 1710-2010: a bibliography

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Abstract

This bibliography brings together recent secondary literature on agitation in rural Ireland over a period of three centuries.

Keywords:

Ireland, rural agitation, land war, peasant resistance, Whiteboys, rural protest, tithe war, Ribbonism

Introduction

Studies of various aspects of rural agitation in Ireland have flourished over the last four decades. Prior to the publication of T Desmond Williams' edited collection on secret societies in 1973 –generally seen as the beginning of this flourishing- rural unrest had not been a major subject of unrest: aside from O'Donoghue's work on tithes and a variety of work published in local archaeological and historical journals, the land war had been almost the sole such subject of interest to mainstream Irish historiography. This changed with the arrival of social history and 'history from below' under the influence of English historians such as E.P. Thompson.

As Fitzpatrick noted in a 1985 review essay 'In addition to the three volumes under review, at least twenty-two major studies of various aspects of rural unrest have been published since 1978' (Fitzpatrick 1985: 98). By the time Cronin published her review in 2012 her bibliography had swelled to twelve pages, though some of the listed works were contextual rather than focused on specific cases of agitation. My recent review in *Interface* featured a bibliography of eighteen pages, though again a fair number of the listed works were contextual.

It is of course difficult to sort out the bounds within which rural protest may be contained. The general understanding is that it concerns contentious activity by the lower orders and the dispossessed, in a phrase poor people's social movements. However we also need to include, for example, the activities of the landlords' social movements, social movements from above. These would include the massive evictions after the famine as well as landlord organisations –such as the Property Defence Association- formed during the long land war. We also need to include the north-eastern exception, the Orange Order being definitely associated with, if not responsible for, a variety of rural unrest.

Cronin divides her treatment into four periods: the age of mass protest (1750-

1825), changing protest (1845-79), the transformation of protest (1879-1903) and reforms, solutions and disillusionment (1903-60). Cronin is an excellent guide to the different positions historians have taken up in attempting to explain rural unrest. It does however have blind spots, the largest of which, the peculiar disappearance of the period 1826 to 1844, means that treatments of the tithe war are missing. Her closing date of 1960 seems appropriate as traditional agrarian agitation may be seen as ending in the 1950s. This bibliography continues past that date in recognition of the fact that rural protest did not cease then, but simply changed in response to a new set of circumstances, including the late industrialisation of Ireland which led to the setting up of extractive and productive industries in rural areas. The majority of rural protest since then has involved objections to locally unwanted land uses, which were also a source of urban protest.

The bibliography is divided in two: the first section lists publications in episodes of unrest chronologically; the second consists of thematic and contextual approaches. The contextual section is necessarily brief and selective, as the vast majority of publications on Irish history could arguably be described as providing context for the understanding of rural unrest. For landlords and estates, those articles dealing with relations with tenants are chosen: those wishing to examine further aspects of this phenomenon are referred to Dooley's fine guide to sources. Similarly references to the agricultural, economic and geographical literature are selective. While the core of the literature has been produced by historians –both academic and amateur- contributions to the literature have also come from, anthropology, criminology, cultural studies, economics, geography, legal studies, social movements studies and sociology.

I hope this bibliography will be of use to all those who wish to engage with the history of protest and agitation in Ireland. As well as showing the achievements of the literature, the bibliography also shows where gaps in the literature exist. Jim Smyth, the historian who both noted the tendency of historians of the 1790s to concentrate on the United Irishmen and ignore the Defenders and was the historian who attempted to remedy this bias, noted in 1992 that 'the basic narrative history of the Defenders has still to be written' (Smyth 1992:100): twenty-five years later, it still awaits writing. One of the fundamental methodologies of historians has yet to be used i.e. publication/editing of original texts. Gibbons is the only publication of actual agrarian communications. Compare this dearth of publication to the massive editing and publication by historians and history journals of the texts of the enemies of the people: church, state, landlords, etc. The voice of the people –in Irish, the *cosmhuintir* (pedestrians, i.e. those without horses)- is beginning to be heard but is still only faint.

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Chronological

Eighteenth century

Eighteenth century disaffection

Anon (n.d.) Rural unrest in northern Tipperary 1750 to 1850.

http://www.grantonline.com/grant-family-genealogy/Tipperary/Shinrone/rural_unrest_in_northern_tippera.htm accessed July 30, 2018.

Anon (n.d.) Midnight legislation: class struggle in Ireland 1760-1840: how the Whiteboys resisted oppression. *Organise* 60: 13-16. <https://libcom.org/history/midnight-legislation-class-struggle-ireland-1760-1840> accessed May 12, 2017.

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Calkin, Homer L. (1943) Internal Irish organizations during the eighteenth century. *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 24(3):197-213.

Connolly, S.J. (2003) Jacobites, Whiteboys and Republicans: varieties of disaffection in eighteenth century Ireland. *Eighteenth Century Ireland* 18:63-79.

Crawford, W.H. and Trainor, B. (eds.) *Aspects of Irish social history 1750-1800: documents selected and edited by W.H. Crawford, W.H. and B. Trainor with an introduction by J.C. Beckett*. Belfast: HMSO. (landlord-tenant relations pp.11-24; resentment against tithes pp.25-32; causes and symptoms of agrarian unrest pp.33-48).

Dean Jr., Stephen Duane (2015) Firearms, legitimacy and power in eighteenth-century Ireland. Thesis. History Department, King's College, London. (Ch 5 Arming Ireland: confessional and conditional loyalty pp.161-197.

https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/files/51218014/2015_Dean_Junior_Stephen_0952757_ethesi_s.pdf, accessed July 28, 2018.

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Dunne, Terry (2018) Of riots and rituals. *Rabble* 15: 30-31.

Feely, Pat (1980) Whiteboys and Ribbonmen: early agrarian secret societies. *Old Limerick Journal* 4: 23-27.

Garnham, Neal (1996) *The courts, crime and the criminal law in Ireland 1692-1760*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press. (pp. 186-209 Public order and popular protest).

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McGlennon, C.F. (2011) *A very independent county: parliamentary elections and politics in county Armagh, 1750-1800*. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation. (Steelboys, pp.120-122; Oakboys, pp. 93-104; Armagh disturbances pp. 208-210; Peep O'Day Boys, Defenders, Boyne Societies, pp.237-239).

Houghers

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Steelboys, Peep O' Day Boys

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1790s Defenders, Anti-militia, Agrarian agitation

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Pre-famine Ireland

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