

The Merchant in Peripheral Ireland: A Case from Donegal

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The place of the local merchant or shopkeeper in rural Ireland is a point of some contention among the ethnographers of that island (1). Arensberg and Kimball describe the credit-debt relation of shopkeeper and countryman as an "extension of the sentiments surrounding the reciprocal familial relations" (Arensberg and Kimball 1968:395). Although dealing in money, the local shopkeeper is thus depicted as operating within the idiom and values of "traditional" social relations. Differences of income and cultural orientation seem not to separate the shopkeeper from his clientele, with whom he may be anxious to establish affinal relations. This sort of merchant is as dependent on his customers as they are on him, so that the relationship naturally follows the same egalitarian rules operating between small farmers. Peter Gibbon (1973), on the other hand, notes that rural shopkeepers in the west of Ireland are, and have long been, "gombeenmen": usurious exploiters of a dependent peasantry. This essay presents a description and analysis of the historical emergence of a particular group of rural merchants in western Ireland, but is further aimed at explaining the apparent discrepancy in described merchant-peasant relations with a model applicable to other, structurally similar, cases elsewhere.

The discrepancy can be explained, I contend, as the result of two different, but equally rational, responses to two sets of market conditions. Those regions which, like that portion of Donegal examined below, were extremely peripheral to the world market system presented conditions conducive to the rise of the more economically exploitive merchant. A man of this type favored social strategies and cultural contacts that augmented the class distance separating him from the surrounding peasantry. In less peripheral areas, like the County Clare of Arensberg and Kimball's study, a more substantial peasantry was more directly tied into the market, leaving a very different sort of brokerage niche for aspiring merchants to occupy. The social and cultural characteristics of such shopkeepers were naturally different from those in the more peripheral zones.

This hypothesis is presented in opposition to a view of social relations in the west of Ireland implicit in much of the popular and folkloristic literature describing that part of the world. This

view, which has roots in a Toennian view of the *Gemeinschaft*, imagines that the more culturally "traditional" the community is, the more egalitarian are its social relations. In the western Irish context, market-oriented relations and incipient class structure are thus perceived as proportional to the degree of English cultural influence and the concomitant collapse of Gaelic culture. Accordingly, it is assumed that the further west the community, the less likely it is to be "polluted" by the immoral ethos of market capitalism. Such a theory imagines that economic-cultural transformation spreads like the shock waves of an earthquake, the results being most strongly felt closest to the "epicenter". Hugh Brody (1973) seems to be making these sorts of assumptions in his account of declining conditions in the west of Ireland. The presence of the "gombeenman" there he takes to be evidence of the final penetration of the immoral market into the last fastness of Gaelic culture. In reviewing Brody's work, Gibbon correctly contends that such "gombeenmen" are in no way new to the western Irish scene, yet he too seems to describe their rise as due to the indiscriminate general influence of market capitalism—an influence, however, which he claims was strongly felt in the last century. There is no room in Gibbon's model, though, to account for varying responses to these forces. Although he recognizes that the Clare of Arensberg and Kimball was characterized by importantly different conditions than those applying in regions like Donegal, Gibbon sees no possibility for the rise of a different sort of merchant in Clare. As for Arensberg and Kimball's shopkeeper, Gibbon simply explains him away as a kind of "functionalist fantasy", evidently one of many, for, according to Gibbon, "On every score—the family, the 'mutual aid' system, the economic and cultural stability of the system, and its politics—their account ranges from the inaccurate to the fictive" (Gibbon 1973:491).

Their avowedly functionalist perspective no doubt led Arensberg and Kimball to many errors and omissions, as well as to insights—which is the price one pays for adopting any theoretical point of view. There is reason to believe, however, that the essential elements of the shopkeeper/peasant relationship they describe are accurate and accountable by reference to specific historical variables. Those variables emerge clearly in the examination of the contrasting situation which prevailed through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in a more remote region such as southwestern Donegal.

THE RISE OF THE MERCHANT CLASS IN SOUTHWEST DONEGAL

The western seaboard of County Donegal was, in the late eighteenth century, as it is to some extent still, peripheral to the heart-

land of capitalist development in Western Europe. The Cromwellian and Williamite conquests of the seventeenth century had completed the British destruction of the native Gaelic polity, and had thus brought the furthest reaches of even the remote northwest of Ireland under the economic as well as political domination of foreign landlords. Local conditions, however, including poor soils, rough mountain/bog terrain, and general inaccessibility, insured that these new landlords were likely to remain absentee, interfering little at first in local subsistence pursuits. The absence of local cash markets and the near total sufficiency of most settlements in this region also made it difficult for landlords to extract rents. In order to profit from their extensive holdings, landlords needed to encourage the development of some sort of cash economy through which the peasantry could obtain the means to pay rents. A clever landlord, in fact, might abet the development of some mode of production in which he might find a profitable role, and then collect his tenants' profits in the form of rent. This, in fact, is precisely what happened in the area around Teelin, a settlement along the western bank of the Glen River estuary, in the southwestern part of the county (see Figure 1).

In the first half of the eighteenth century, Teelin consisted of several small hamlets (*clachan*, or "cluster" in Gaelic; see McCourt 1971), situated in a narrow semi-fertile strip along the estuary. With the aid of both cattle manure and seaweed fertilizer, an infield surrounding each hamlet was kept in yearly cultivation. The infield was held in common by the hamlet-community, with usufruct to each of the small parcels into which it was divided being rotated from household to household on a regular basis. This arable land was of very limited extent, however, so that such settlements typically relied on fairly extensive livestock holdings. Herds were grazed communally on the open-field around the hamlet after the harvest, and were taken inland in summer, where temporary huts housed a portion of the community assigned to milk and care for the beasts. Because the estuary provided a degree of shelter on an otherwise stormy and dangerous coast, advantage could be taken of sea resources as well as those of the estuary itself. In addition to the gathering of seaweed, small hide-covered boats (*curragh*) were used for line and net fishing when the agricultural cycle permitted. The cod and ling of inshore waters were important food sources, as were the herring when their migration route brought them within the limited range of these slight craft.

The self-sufficiency of this adaptation was radically disrupted, as early as the mid-eighteenth century, by landlord development of the commercial potential of the local herring fishery. There were, at this time, high profits to be gotten in the high-demand

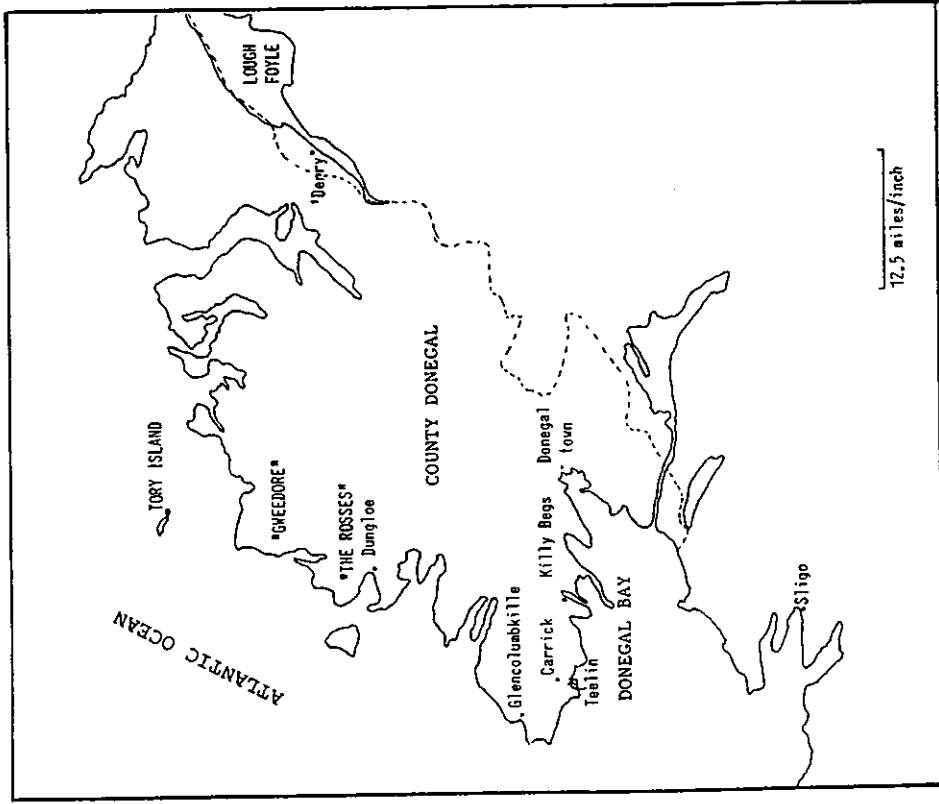


FIGURE 1

international herring trade, which was further encouraged by substantial bounties on shipped herring paid by the English government. These factors were noted by the agronomist Arthur Young, who visited this region during his celebrated tour of Ireland in 1776. Landlords, seeing a chance to profit from the development of this trade, and thus also to provide their tenantry with a cash income to be reclaimed in rent, did not hesitate to invest. Amongst others, Young reported that Mr. Burton-Conyngham, an important landlord in the southwest of the county, personally invested £30,000, and secured a parliamentary grant for a further £2,000 for development of port facilities around Killybegs, a substantial natural harbor some twenty miles east of Teelin. Always interested in the details of rational economic developments in backward areas, Young took careful account of the conditions prevailing in Killybegs at the time of his visit. His list of small craft operating in 1775 and 1776 in the herring fishery reveals an important, and growing, local specialization in communities ranging west and north, all the way around the western coast of the county:

Community	1775	1776
Inverbay	52	72
Killybegs and Fintra	50	60
Teelin (Teelin) and Tawney	47	47
Bruckless	20	25
Boylagh and Rosses	50	50
Gloghanless	18	18
Dunfanachly	20	25
Sheephaven	30	

Young's description of the fishery is worth quoting at length, despite his archaic punctuation:

In Inverbay only of the above, there is a summer fishery for herrings . . . all the other are winter fisheries. . . . Every boat costs £18 to £20 and has six shares of nets, at £3 to £3.5s. each; the nets are all made of hemp, from the Baltic, which cost, dressed, 8d. a pound, fit for spinning: 33 lbs. of it in a share of nets: 4d. a pound paid for spinning it, or 11s. a share: weaving the nets 1d. a yard for one string, or 63 meshes deep 200 yards running measure, at that depth, in each share. Six hands in each boat, a skipper and five men. In the common practice, a boat is divided into seven shares, the boat one; each net, half a one, and each man half: in which way they divide the produce, which vibrates between £10 and £100; average £35, or per week 10s. a man. These boats belong, in general, to the common inhabitants of the country. . . . (Young 1780:177-78).

By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Killybegs was thus the scene of a busy herring trade. A number of large, one hundred ton vessels, some owned by the landlord himself and some by other outside entrepreneurs, would sit in the harbor waters awaiting the arrival of hundreds of small boats with their

hard-won catch. Such fishermen were evidently quite thoroughly enmeshed in a money economy, and their dependence on the cash from this fishery was further accentuated by escalating rents and decreasing agricultural holdings—both results of rapidly rising population in this period. As long as the market demand for herring persisted and the government kept up its bounties, the English entrepreneurs were satisfied to hold up their end of the trade, buying the herring for shipment to foreign ports and selling the original and replacement supplies for the fishery. The relationship of these fishermen to the market was, however, tenuously peripheral. They were the furthestmost edge of herring production in the British Isles and totally reliant on the ships arriving in Killybegs for access to any market, as subsequent events were to make clear.

The fishery was an inshore pursuit. The small open boats could not go out for very long at a time and were subject to the frequent drubbings of the North Atlantic. In the early years of the nineteenth century, the herring varied their route enough to stay beyond the reach of the Donegal fishermen. They did come in occasionally, but with no predictable regularity—and regular, predictable production was the key to the trade. Without an assured supply of fish for shipment, entrepreneurs were not willing to risk capital. The falling prices following the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, and in the face of rising American competition, exacerbated matters. Eventually, the large merchant ships simply stopped arriving in Killybegs.

The collapse of the fishery was obviously as much the fault of the inflexibility of the local system of production as of the migratory whims of the herring. The pattern is in fact analogous to that of other technological transformations of the industrial revolution (see Hobsbawm 1968). Following the first stage of "cottage production", entrepreneurs began centralizing and investing in an advanced technology capable of more dependable and larger-scale production. When the thousands of cottage looms producing Irish linen stopped, mechanical looms took up the work in Belfast. Likewise, when the Teelin men sat idle, English and Scots fishermen set forth in trawlers able to follow and catch the elusive herring.

In 1823, fishery inspectors gave the following description of the once prosperous Killybegs:

This place is in great decay since the failure of the herring fishery. The harbour is the safest on the coast and several hundred sail of vessels have been known to be there at one time, purchasing or curing herrings. There do not now appear to be a dozen of boats in the whole lough, and none of them employed in the fishery due to the distance from the present fishing grounds (Parliamentary papers 1823:24).

Those portions of the coastline ungraced by natural harbors where the cash fishery had been a trying enterprise at best soon lapsed into their formal ecological adaptations, finding other sources of cash income, such as migratory labor and kelp production. In Teelin, however, the fishing continued. The same 1823 report cited above states that there were "seventy boats in Teelin and Towney, engaged both in a cod and ling fishery", and significantly, "and in carrying to and from the Connaught shore" (Parliamentary papers 1823:25). This report has important implications. The Teelin fishermen had evidently found some source of supply to continue the equippage of their fishery. They had also found a market sufficient to justify continued investment of time and capital. The critical links to both supplies and market were those boats "carrying to and from the Connaught shore".

As the fishery commission goes on to report, there were other fish caught besides herring, including cod and ling. The merchant fleet of Killybegs had never shown interest in such catch, which were instead salted for home consumption. Growing specialization around the west, however, had created a demand for such seafood in other communities either unable or less inclined to fish, so that cod and ling were, by the time of the report, basic commodities in a local trade. The trade proceeded in two directions, and by the appropriate means. At first the most important was across Donegal Bay to the Connaught shore, and particularly to Sligo town. The other trade route was overland to those inland communities recently established by the expanding coastal population. The oversea trade could be carried by any fisherman in an open sailing-rowboat, and the overland trade was plied by "carriers": local men equipped with a cart and a beast of burden. In addition to marketing fish, these budding commercial groups were in a position to take over the hardware and food supply in their own communities. Thus, when the collapse of the Killybegs herring trade left a vacuum in the money economy, there were already a number of local men capable of filling it. These new merchants were not members of any external society, however, as their predecessors had been, but rather emerged from the ranks of the local Irish Catholic peasantry of Teelin and the surrounding region. These new merchants now stood between the local peasantry and the markets on which they still depended. The brokers were now Gaelic speakers, but the peasantry relying on their services was as peripheral as before.

The fishery report of 1837 marks the continuing and growing importance of the burgeoning "middle class". The following account lists craft from Teelin proper (excluding the neighboring "Tawney" of previous reports):

1	Decked vessel	.....10	tons	.....3	men
4	Half-deckers	.....3	tons	.....12	men
13	open sailing	.....		.....39	men
43	rowboats	.....		.....301	men

(Parliamentary papers 1837: 98)

It is reasonable to assume that the five larger vessels listed here were more useful in trading than in fishing, and local tradition in Teelin accords with this view. The number of men fishing shows a strengthening rather than decline in the commitment to that pursuit since 1823 (2), and the size of the trading vessels suggests a growing disparity in the means of fishermen and local sea-going merchants.

As already noted, the local fisher-farmer in need of supplies and even some basic foodstuffs was doubly dependent on the merchant middleman. The difficulties and expense of transportation meant high prices for the commodities consumed by the locals, and very low ones for those he produced. The average fisherman was not in a position, after all, to market his own fish. There were no large concentrations of population nearby where fishwives could "wheel their wheelbarrows", as the Dublin song goes, but only long and very poor roads over mountain and bog to small inland communities or oversea trips to Sligo and lesser ports. Either mode was too time- and capital-expending to be worth the while of the small producer. According to individual family histories collected from this area, most of these merchants came either from "tradesman families" (3), or less often, from landless fishermen. Both categories were relatively peripheral to the local community, and thus probably most able to disengage themselves from collective responsibilities and to take entrepreneurial risks.

Once this commercial pattern was firmly established, local fishermen had little choice in the matter. They depended on a supply of food and materials on credit, pending the sale of fish whenever they came in. Credit was readily given, but on two conditions: first, an interest rate was charged which inspectors found "usurious", and second, the fishermen had to sell their catch to their suppliers. The extent of the local peasants' dependency on such merchants and the dramatically high relative costs involved are revealed in the average Teelin household budget submitted by inspectors for the Congested Districts Board in 1893 (4):

<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>	
Hen eggs,	Rent	2.00.00
84 doz. @ 5 ⁻ / ₄ d	County Cess	0.05.08
Duck eggs,	Dog license	0.02.06
10 doz. @ 7d	Oil, 1 gal. 8 wks./10d	0.07.11
Sale of cow beast	Salt, 4 cwt/3 ⁻ / ₄ d	0.09.04
Sale of 5 sheep,	Farm implements	0.05.00
15s ea.	Soap	0.15.00
Sale of pug	One suckling pig	0.15.00
Sale of flannel,	Tea, 2s3d/wk @ 3s	5.17.00
60 yds @ 1s2d	Sugar, 41 lbs/11d	1.19.00
Sale of corn,	Meal, 11 bags/14s	7.14.00
20 stone @ 9d	Flour, 3 bags/12s6d	1.17.06
Fishing (aver.)	Clothing, 1 woman	1.02.06
Salmon fishing	& 2 girls	1.15.06
Knitting and	Tobacco, 9d/wk	2.07.08
sprigging	snuff, 12d	
	Clothing, man & boy	3.10.06
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		30.06.70

(Micks 1893:13)

By this time the countryman depended on the local merchant for the marketing of fish and most of his other cash crops, while the price of such perceived necessities as tea (accounting for close to 20% of yearly household expenditures!) was high indeed. Equally clear in this budget is the need for credit, and the consequent debt incurred (the report gives 10% as an interest rate but does not calculate this item in the household budget). The peasantry in such areas were more at the economic mercy of their fellow Gaelic merchants than of the landlords whose newly lowered rents were, by this time, no longer so extravagant and considerably less than the cost of tea.

The development of this merchant class had been encouraged by the policies of the landlord, Connolly, who in addition to supporting the fishery to an unspecified extent, created the street town of Carrick in 1840. The men who traded by boat with Connolly kept to Teelin, but the increasingly important "carters" gathered in the new town where Connolly had the Post Office built, and a new road more negotiable than the old one snaking along the rocky coast. Improved transport gave these merchants access to the longer established towns of Kilcar, Killybegs, and Donegal Town. Their relocation was further encouraged by Connolly, according to local tradition, by the offer of plots of land there without the regular entrance fee. The process of town building (including pub licensing) continued under the next

landlord, James Musgrave, who purchased the estate in 1866.

Physical separation from older settlements nearby facilitated, no doubt, the replacement of reciprocal ties by asymmetrical relations of credit and debt of the type reported by the Congested Districts Board in 1893. According to local informants, the less morally constrictive but still loosely familial category of distant kin (meant both geographically and genealogically) was manipulated to the advantage of some of the merchants. In several cases Carrick merchants invested capital in boats which were crewed by distant kin still resident in Teelin. When the merchant wished to emphasize the co-operative and egalitarian moral commitment of the relationship thus forged ("people ought to deal through their kin") he could, but the contractual aspect of the relation was no doubt foremost at reckoning time (5).

The persistence of older idioms was encouraged in another way by the settlement of the merchants in Carrick, which could now be fitted into the old community ideology and thus impede the characterization of the merchants as a distinct class. Oppositions between Teelin men and merchants in Carrick, for example, could be talked about in terms of the age-old competition of neighboring communities (6). This was especially so in view of the fact that class differences had long been equivalent to ethnic and language differences: Catholic, Gaelic, Irish versus Protestant, English-speaking, English or Scottish.

However little the surrounding peasantry wanted to perceive these rising merchants as a distinct class, their relations to one another and their cultural inclinations tended more and more to distance them from the countrymen around them. Certainly nucleation in the new street-town facilitated the merchants' interrelations, and evidence indicates a very measured competition between them. In order to preserve their wealth and social position, merchants tended to contract marriages with other merchants in the same or nearby market community. The relatively few local peasants with holdings sufficient to make an acceptable "match" further accentuated this tendency. Over the generations, such merchants became increasingly related to one another and less and less connected to their poor neighbors.

If thus bound by the morality of kinship, these shopkeepers were also in need of one another's practical aid. As middlemen who had to procure their own supplies, such merchants remained carters even after settling down in permanent shops in Carrick. As many landlords built more and better roads through the county, the carrying trade could proceed more easily and to more distant centers of supply. Through most of the second half of the nineteenth century, the principal city to which the Carrick carters travelled was Londonderry, some sixty miles to the northeast. Their route lay as the roads took them, east to Donegal Town,

and then northeast through the fabled Barnes Gap to the Foyle valley and Derry beyond. The route traversed many miles of open and uninhabited country in which bandits could easily, and according to local oral tradition often did, lie in wait for the lone traveller. Banding together, however, the carters of any one community could comprise a formidable wagon-train. Armed with "loaded whips" (with lead weights in the ends), these intrepid entrepreneurs would move their loads in concert through the dangerous territory and return laden with supplies for the less mobile countrymen. The railroad reached Killybegs in 1888, much abridging this journey, but the merchants remained the one and vital link to such supplies and, more importantly, the most important purchasers of local produce.

Some of these merchants converted debts into land. There are a number of accounts, in the local lore at least, of such shopkeepers purchasing small holdings for low prices in payment of debts. One such local "gombeenman" is said to have acquired no less than "seventeen farms" (each a small parcel) in this fashion. In addition to the purchase of land by nefarious or legitimate means, most merchants invested a considerable amount in educating their children for professional careers as doctors, teachers, clergy or even engineers. In this way not only were respectability and prestige acquired for the family, but the business upon which all that ultimately depended could be inherited by a single heir. "Fortunes" were also spent in dowering daughters for proper alliances.

These strategies have had the combined effect of creating an appreciable cultural gap between the merchants and the surrounding small-holders. Even though changing markets and incomes have undermined the older severe dependency of countrymen on merchants, the shopkeeper families are still cultural brokers, whose far greater access to certain sectors of the outside world always gives them critical leadership roles in local affairs (see Taylor 1977 for full discussion).

CONCLUSION

Given the stability of their economic position, the merchants of Carrick did not find it necessary to maintain kinship relations with the surrounding peasantry by recruiting country wives. A kinship idiom was used in the early recruitment of crews to convert economic relationships into social and hence moral ones, but these were already distant kin, and destined to become more so. Marriage was better aimed at solidifying relations with fellow merchants. Insofar as they had to act together in obtaining supplies and enjoyed a monopoly over the well-populated (up to the 1880s) countryside, cooperation rather than competition within the community may have been the rule. The real antagonism was

more likely between market villages which were competing over widely dispersed rural hamlets and farmsteads.

This sort of merchant, which might sometimes assume the aspect of the "gombeenman", was not limited, of course, to the region under consideration here. Elsewhere in similarly peripheral zones, where a middleman was needed not only to sell consumer products but to buy the local money crops of manufacture, similar patterns are evidenced (7). Within Donegal other local specialities which might lead to the same dependency relation included weaving and knitwear. In all cases, these economic systems of cottage production were of increasing importance through the nineteenth century as rising population made it more and more difficult to make a living on less and less land.

The rise of such merchant classes was not, however, coincident with the destruction of "community" or of Gaelic culture. It is worth remembering that in Teelin and no doubt throughout Donegal such middlemen were nearly all Gaelic speakers; nor did the "proletarianization" of the fishermen of Teelin (already apparent in Young's depiction of 1776) necessarily involve the disengagement and alienation of the individual. As I have argued at length elsewhere (Taylor 1980), certain of the new modes of production introduced under the colonial regime, including herring fishing, probably contributed to the strengthening of certain types of communal bonds. Thus the rise of the "gombeen" and of a real merchant class may have accompanied the levelling and bonding of the nearby dependent communities.

The County Clare of Arensberg and Kimball held a different sort of economic promise for landlords, and hence followed a significantly different path. The poorest peasantry was driven out by starvation and eviction from their perilously small holdings. Most of the cleared land was eventually occupied by large-scale graziers, but a substantial middle peasantry was left, those whom Arensberg and Kimball call "small farmers" (not small by comparison with those of western Donegal, however). The essential transaction in this regime was the sale of cattle raised from birth by small farmers to these large graziers, usually through a middleman at fairs. Shopkeepers of the type Arensberg and Kimball describe had no part in this transaction, but rather were only retailers competing for the custom of a declining population of farmers of approximately equal means. It would make sense for shopkeepers of this sort to forge links with the surrounding countrymen through marriage and non-usurious "indirect reciprocity". This small-farmer culture of Clare, as Arensberg and Kimball found it, was in many senses less "traditional" than that which I have described for nineteenth-century Teelin. Far less Gaelic was spoken, the old corporate land-holding and subsequent divided inheritance systems were obliterated, and "com-

munity" existed only in the relative sense of networks of reciprocal connections between households. If shopkeeper-peasant relations were more egalitarian, that had nothing to do with the survival of traditional communities, but rather with the adaptation of local idioms to strategies rationally suited to prevailing conditions.

Cultural geographers have long been interested in areas like western Donegal as areas of cultural retention, where aspects of ancient Gaelic culture have survived the transformations of the modern era (see especially Evans 1942). In special cases, such survivals may even include elements of archaic patterns of social structure, such as Robin Fox (1978) found on Tory Island. When such regions become peripheral parts of what has been lately called "the world capitalist system", however, specific structural changes may ensue which do not necessarily disturb the other aspects of "traditional culture". Thus it is a danger to assume, for example, a correlation between the amount of Gaelic locally spoken (a fair index of the survival of the central element of traditional culture) and a lack of class relations. Positing such a correlation assumes that class structure arrives by way of cultural diffusion, rather than in response to the local economic situation. That view is no doubt strengthened by the fact that such new middle classes, although in rising make use of the local cultural idiom, often take over elements of the external, dominant (in this case, English) culture in order to accentuate their distance from the surrounding peasantry. The adoption of English cultural characteristics did not, however, cause the middle class to rise, but rather only served to further define its members as a local cultural category.

Although this discussion has concerned itself directly only with merchant-types in the west of Ireland, the argument is applicable in other similarly peripheral zones, and has particular relevance for areas in which such market relations are complicated by the existence of colonial or other sorts of cultural distances. In all such areas it is tempting to see the rise of the calculating and sometimes exploitive entrepreneur as part and parcel of the destruction of traditional cultural patterns, and hence expect the worst exploitation and the greatest class differences to develop where propinquity to the dominant cultural forces has most eroded traditional culture in other, visible ways. The case of Ireland should make us wary of jumping to such conclusions. There, at least, a model which assumes rational, although culturally idiomatic, reactions to market conditions better explains reported social relations.

NOTES

1. This is an expanded version of a paper given at the 1978 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Los Angeles. In addition to cited archival sources, the historical ethnography of especially helpful informants, including Alphonse Mac a Bhaired, made this analysis possible.
2. For a lengthy discussion of the ways in which this involvement in a cash economy through fishing strengthened local corporatism see Taylor 1980.
3. If any of these tradesmen were in fact "Tinkers" (see Gmelch 1977), then this process suggests an interesting and undescribed historical role for that disenfranchised group.
4. One possibly important item left out of the "receipts" is "poten", illegally distilled whiskey, of which the inspectors evidently were able to learn little.
5. This use of an originally "horizontal" relationship term to express "vertical" relations is reminiscent of the similar use of Godparenthood in many parts of the Catholic world.
6. Competition between communities is still an important element of contemporary relations, but in a different idiom (see Taylor 1981).
7. Evidence is available in Micks 1893, which includes reports for the entire "periphery of Ireland". For Donegal see Mac Gabhainn 1959 and Gallagher n.d.

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